APPLICATION OF MARKETING STRATEGIES BY POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA

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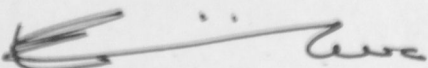
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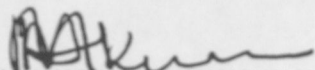
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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my parents Sapientia and Gabriel Isabwa.

My Husband, Kepta for your support and friendship.

My sons Ramsa and Jabali, this should be an inspiration for you to aim high and always work hard to achieve your goals.

To my sister Prakah and brothers Chrisostom, Emmanuel, Chrispin and Gregory thank you for your encouragement and material support.

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ABSTRACT

A political party is known by its advocacy of the common good in principle and by its enduring persistence in search for the welfare of the society as a whole. Marketing is a social activity which goes beyond the selling of physical products like toothpaste, soap and steel or services. The basic concepts of product development, pricing, distribution and communication can also apply to non business organizations interested in services, persons, and ideas. Political parties, just like for profit organisations, can apply marketing concepts. Marketing is an integral and inevitable concept in a dynamic environment. Therefore there is need for political parties to market themselves and their candidates.

The objectives of this study was first to examine the extent to which political parties in Kenya have applied the marketing mix in popularizing themselves to Kenyans. Secondly the study sought to establish the factors influencing the choice of marketing strategies of political parties in Kenya. To achieve these objectives the study adopted a descriptive survey research design.

Out of the total population of one hundred and thirty four (134) political parties, 70 political parties were targeted. The sample size was therefore seventy (70). The study relied on primary data which was gathered using a questionnaire with both open-ended as well as structured questions.

The findings of the study indicate that a marketing budget is important for political parties since it enables the parties to reach as many potential members as possible although 26% of the studied parties did not have a marketing budget. The most important factor that members considered as important about their party was accountability and reliability. Further, apart from the requirements set by the electoral commission of Kenya, most political parties did not put in place unique features that would distinguish their party from others. However 98 % of all parties had advertised in one or the other form of media. The researcher found that door-to-door campaigns and leaflets were the most prevalent means of promotion used by the political parties.

It is clear from the findings that, political parties understand that marketing of parties is increasingly becoming critical in a highly competitive political environment. The study

recommends that political parties should make a provision in their budgets for marketing activities as this will definitely help in delivering their message to their target market.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The Concept of Marketing

The American Marketing Association defines marketing as the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational goals. Marketing is a social activity which goes beyond the selling of physical products like toothpaste, soap and steel. The basic concepts of product development, pricing, distribution and communication can also apply to non business organizations interested in services, persons, and ideas (Mindak and Bybee, 1988).

Marketing has also been described by Kotler as a social process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating, offering and freely exchanging products and services of value with others. According to him, it involves ten types of entities namely goods, services, experiences, events, persons, places, properties, organizations, information and ideas (Kotler, 2003). He also contends that marketing, like all other disciplines, is dynamic and has changed radically as a result of major societal forces such as technological advances, globalization and deregulation which have created new behaviours and challenges Kotler identifies certain core concepts attributed to marketing. These include target markets and segmentation where marketers divide the market and develop an offering that is positioned in the minds of the target, the relationship being that there is exchange in monetary terms (price) or information. Markets are a term used to describe various groupings or customers of products and services, while a marketer is someone seeking a response (a purchase, a vote or a donation) from another party also referred to as the prospect. Further, he describes needs as the basic human requirements; these become wants when directed to specific objects which satisfy needs and are shaped by the societies we live in, demands on the other hand are wants for specific products backed by the ability to pay. Marketers, along with societal factors, are able to influence wants.

Marketing is that function of an organisation that can keep in touch with the organisations consumers, read their needs, develop "products" that meet those needs, and build a programme of communication to express the organizations purpose (Oliver, 1995) Companies respond to customer needs by coming up with benefits they offer the customer for the satisfaction of their needs. These benefits can then be bundled and branded .A brand is an offering from a known source which is supposed to carry an association in people's minds, and makes up the brand image. Buyers are then able to choose from different offerings on the basis of which they are perceived to deliver the most value and satisfy their needs.

Exchange is defined as the process of obtaining a desired product by offering something in return. A transaction, on the other hand, is a trade of values between two or more parties. An exchange does not necessarily have to be monetary and aims at building mutually satisfying long term relationships. These relationships develop into networks that consist of the entity and its stakeholders.

Marketing channels are used to reach the target market. The marketer may use different channels which are dependant on the type of message to be conveyed. Competitors are seen as the actual and potential rival offering and substitutes that a buyer will consider while making the decision to obtain a particular product or service. The other concept is a marketing programme which consists of the decisions to use the marketing mix variables to promote a product or service. The marketing environment includes the immediate actors involved as well as the broad environment in which the product or service is operating in, which contains the forces that can have a major impact on that particular product.

These concepts that Kotler identifies can be applied to political parties where the product is the party or the candidate. Political parties are described as societies formed for the purpose of competing for and gaining or retaining political power. Dowes and Huges, (1972) define political parties as associations formally organized with the explicit and declared purpose of acquiring and or maintaining legal control, either singly or in coalition with other similar associations, over the personnel and the policy of the government of an actual or prospective state.

A Political party is known by its advocacy of the common good in principle and by its enduring persistence in search for the welfare of the society as a whole (Wanjohi, 1997).According to Wanjohi, political parties are supposed to be organized around ideologies. An ideology is a philosophy or a set of principles that underlies a political programme and consists of shared beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that cause a certain group of people to join together .He further contends that a political party should have a manifesto. This is a statement of the goals and principles the party promises to pursue if voted into power. This is supposed to justify the party's plans and persuade the public that these plans are feasible. The party must have a structure. This is a requirement by law that every political party must have officials and a network of local branches. Lastly a party has a membership base which should be as large and broad based as possible. Members are important as they determine the internal functioning by participating in party governance, policy formulation and campaigning. They are a pointer to citizens' participation in national politics and also shape ideology and policies.

To be able to project its image appropriately and enable the voters judge it fairly, a party assumes the character of a formal organization in its structural set up and operational procedures in order to carry out the various functions and obligations required to reach and win the electorate. Political parties aim at gaining popular support which entails proper organization to reach and mobilize the population so as to secure sufficient number of votes to enable it get into power (Newmann, 1994). A look at the political parties set up reveals efforts in the use of tools that can serve the parties' decision making. Political parties are aggregates of various interest groups which want to realize those interests. Therefore members are not homogenous.

A party should establish structures that will enable it to function as one body for the attainment of one goal. The better organized a party is the easier it will reach the public and project its good public image. For most parties this will mean employing every method and strategy possible to get into power.

The ultimate goal of the political party is to offer ideologies and programmes that the public can identify with therefore electing the party to a position of power in order to put those ideas into practice by forming the government.

1.1.2 Political Parties in Kenya

In Kenya, political parties are established under the Societies Act (Cap 108) of the Laws of Kenya. This in essence treats political parties as societies despite the unique role they play in electoral and government activities. The ninth parliament passed the *Political Parties Act, 2007* which transfers the responsibility of party registration to the Electoral commission of Kenya this seeks to improve the framework for political parties' registration, management, financing and accountability.

From when Kenya gained its independence in December 1963 up until 1992, there was a one party system, a trend that was all over Africa. This was manifested by power being personalized in the hands of the leader who was also the president. There was a move from federal to quasi-federal systems of government. This meant that power was diverted from party organs to the bureaucratic machine. The argument being that this system was best for the sake of political stability.

Because of this system, competitive elections were rarely held, and if they were held, they were to reaffirm the ruling parties' mandate to continue ruling. Open party parliamentary and civic elections were held, where as many candidates as possible were free to stand for nomination for the party ticket. This in effect ensured that only party stalwarts were elected. This system effectively entrenched politics of patronage with elections characterized by anarchy, corruption and violence. The ruling party used state resources to mobilize the voters as well as influence its outcome.

According to Muthee and Makokha (2005), due to the weak ideological base and party machinery, political alliances became important since politicians had to rely heavily on other linkages and networks for support, with non party organisations like *Maendeleo ya wanawake* and COTU becoming politicized due to patronage of politicians.

During the 1990's a wave of democratization swept across the African continent. This took different forms in Kenya, externally the influence came through western democracies as well as the donor community, while internally, religious organizations and civil society

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started the clamour for change. These events later led to the legalization of opposition parties with the repeal of Section 2a of the Constitution which had criminalized political opposition. This in turn led to the emergence and development of opposition political parties as well as liberalization of both print and electronic media.

In December 1992, the first Multi-Party elections were held in Kenya which saw a fragmented opposition loose to the then ruling KANU. Factionalism once again prevented the opposition from winning in the 1997 general elections. The 2002 elections remain the most significant of all in Kenya's multi-party history. First, because president Moi was not eligible for re-election, secondly, the opposition finally united and handed KANU a resounding defeat and thirdly, it was during this elections that marketing principles were significantly applied by the various parties and candidates.

Currently, political parties in Kenya are weak structures formed along ethnic lines and are seen as advancing narrow class interests. Most are inoperative and neither have working organisational structures nor offices. Elections within the party which are rare are usually chaotic and unfair due to the different factional fights. Sycophancy and patronage characterize membership while loyalty to the party bigwigs is reciprocated through handouts and political appointments. The parties have no way of determining membership as there is no concrete database. In Kenya, as in many other African countries, the patrimonial type of power exists. This elevates the individual rather than the institution and is due to the fact that the position is equated to acquisition of resources, power and personal prestige (Githaka and Bwiria, 2005).

According to the Electoral Commission of Kenya, by 1993, there were about 39 political parties. Currently there are one hundred and twenty seven registered political parties in Kenya but only twenty one are represented in the current parliament. This clearly indicates that the political parties are still in various states of development and that a lot needs to be done in terms of selling themselves to the electorate.

Although the Registrar of societies has powers to refuse to register a society if satisfied that it did not exist (section 11(2)(e) there are still many registered political parties that exist only in name , the registrar has not yet sought to deregister them.

1.1.3 Political Marketing

Political parties, just like goods and services, can apply marketing concepts. Marketing is an integral and inevitable concept in a dynamic environment. Therefore there is a latent need for political parties to attempt to market themselves and their candidates.

Political marketing can be defined as the application of marketing strategies, tactics and tools in the communication process between voters and political entities (parties or candidates)   (Norri, 2005).The American Marketing Association (AMA) defines it as marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party, or proposition. An attempt by an individual or organization to educate or change people's attitudes is not political marketing. This application of marketing theory to the political sphere constitutes a relatively new phenomenon. (O'Shaughnessy, 1990). Classical marketing tools can be used in areas other than business (Kotler and Levi, 1969). Over the last 30 years, there has been a lot of focus on political marketing, it is indeed true that the 1979 electoral campaign of the conservatives in Britain was strongly influenced by an advertising agency (Schammell, 1996). There exist a considerable number of publications concerning political marketing especially in the areas of campaign management but political marketing gained momentum and was driven by the dynamic development of marketing applications by political parties (Hanneberg, 2002). Political marketing has grown with the maturation of broadcast media that has triggered the need to reach a wider target market (Marland, 2003).

Various tools have been used in political marketing. Hanneberg, (2004) writes on communication and spin, strategies for product and image management, news management, strategy development, market research, and organization professionalism whereas Marland, (2003) tackles comparative advertisements, celebrity endorsements, direct mail, stealth campaigns to more recent internet campaign, push polls, paid phone banks and video imaging as tools used in political marketing. Political parties are now increasingly using professional advertisers from the business world as well as research

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companies to inform their campaigns. This makes them become market oriented and therefore able to design their product to suit consumer demands (Less-Marshment, 1998).

Existing research by Niffenegger 1989, Newman 1994, O'Shaughnessy 1990, and Wring 1994, have focused on the marketing functions of selling and communications. Les-Marshment discusses the implementation of marketing philosophy and its influence on the nature of the "product" or political party as an entity. Maarek 1995 emphasizes on design and content while Smith and Saunders 1990 talk about image building, voter targeting and proper timing of elections. Today many public and private non-profit organizations recognize that they have stakeholders or clients to work with from a marketing perspective. Although they take a unique characteristic while applying this concept, they definitely provide an opportunity for improved management and tend to be socially responsive. Studies have shown a significant impact of communication on voting patterns (Patterson and Mclure, 1976). The impact of marketing can be seen especially in presidential campaigns from the more credible media therefore signifying a lot of potential in this field.

Political marketing in Kenya, though a relatively new practice is rapidly growing. Some reasons that have seen its emergence include the liberalization of airwaves, which saw a proliferation of radio stations. Since independence in 1963 there was only one station, which was seen censoring anything that was anti-government. After the liberalization, there are currently one hundred and thirty five (135) FM radio stations registered and licensed by the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) that are currently on air. Of these, one hundred and four (104) are privately owned by business people and churches. These broadcast in English, Kiswahili as well as local languages and are able to reach a wide range of people. Newspapers are no longer the preserve of big media houses. Kenyans now have access to various publications ranging from gutter press to newspapers. Even the TV stations were not to be left behind. Currently, there are thirteen (13) free to air TV stations while the more affluent families have access to pay TV from South Africa (DSTV and GTV). With all these developments, there was need for the various parties to segment and choose the best medium to reach their target audience.

The other reason for the growth of political marketing in Kenya has been the changes in the political space, the repeal of Section 2a of the Constitution which introduced multi party politics in Kenya saw the opening up of political space from the single party regime that was widely seen as oppressive. This led to the growth of non-governmental organizations offering civic education, as a result of which people were able to question their leaders on the issues affecting them without fear. This opened up competition amongst the candidates vying for elective offices right from presidential to civic seats, therefore the need to be seen and heard by the candidates become of great concern. A new party Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) which was formed as the opposition that was supposed to usher in change, later fragmented to form different parties each being registered as a separate entity. Considering that these splinters had little differentiation in offering, the parties had no real ideological differences only the person at the helm was different. It was therefore necessary for the different parties to be visible and be seen by the electorate as the vehicle through which the second liberation of the country would come.

Further, due to the intense civic education by different organisations, Kenyans developed an awareness of their civic rights. This has been evidenced by the high voter registration which was at 8,967,569 during the 1997 general elections, 10,451,150 during the 2002 general elections and climbed up to 11,608,899 during the 2005 referendum, while in the 2007 elections 9,870,201 people were said to have cast their votes. The Electoral Commission of Kenya did voter education, which was also funded by the donor communities and executed by the local non-governmental organizations. Kenyans were able to engage any hopeful candidate on pertinent issues as opposed to waiting for handouts that the candidates previously used to dish out. Therefore candidates had to be in touch with their constituents' needs and develop a campaign agenda around those issues. The best presented and executed campaigns would guarantee the candidate party nomination and eventually secure the seat.

With most politicians going around their constituencies implementing projects as well as attending rallies, the running and management of political parties was left to professionals who were employed to ensure that their party secretariats were running efficiently. These

were young professionals from various fields, who were not interested in any elective posts but were guided by professionalism.

During the run up to the 2002 General Elections, National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Kenya employed the services of an advertising firm, Ogily, which managed its election campaign using various marketing mix variables including endorsements, TV advertisements as well as promotions during the rallies.

During the constitutional referendum of 2005, Kenyans were supposed to choose whether or not to adapt the newly drafted constitution, the Electoral Commission Chairman provided the brand identity of Banana (YES) for the adoption and Orange (NO) for the rejection of the new draft. Political marketing was used by both the yes and no proponents to deliver their messages. Both built campaigns around these symbols, used perception positioning as well as brand champions.

In the 2007 General elections the major political parties Party Of National Unity (PNU), Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya (ODM-Kenya) used marketing to sell their parties. These included viral marketing, Songs, Media advertisement as well as merchandising. Advertising firms were used as well with PNU using Ogilvy while ODM employed the services of a communications expert.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Although a lot of research has been undertaken in understanding the intricacies of marketing of products and services in Kenya, P.A Chepkurui (1981), Nyaga J.K. (1986), Mirie S.W (1987), Chege Chris (2001), Abdalah A.K (2001), Aseto B.O (2002) Cheche R .J. (2004), Matwere G (2004), Muasya N.M. (2004) Kyeva M.B. (2005) not much has been done on political parties yet they are important in any country. This is because they are the vehicles through which the citizens get representation, as well as through which governments are formed and managed in properly working democracies. Unlike in The United States of America and India where one can stand as an independent candidate, the

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Electoral Commission of Kenya has among other requirements that one must be a member of a registered political party to be able to stand in the general elections. Through the governments they form, political parties have the greatest impact on public policy and management of the country's economic and political resources. Therefore the extent that those political parties can communicate to and persuade their electorate with their message not only increases their capacity to earn votes but also increases the vibrancy of the electoral politics.

It is therefore assumed that political parties are the custodians of the interests of not only the members and supporters but also the general public who are the taxpayers and whose taxes pay the wages of those nominated as representatives. How then do the parties shoulder this responsibility without the electorate knowing exactly what ideals those parties espouse?

After the repeal of Section 2a of the Constitution of Kenya, there is evidence from the registrar of societies showing that registered political parties have grown in number and are still growing. With the world becoming a global village, there is a lot of influence from countries with developed democracies. Due to the shifting alliances on the global political scene, allies are being sort from different continents to strengthen positions on issues. It is therefore of importance for political parties to come out clearly on what ideals they stand for and how the electorate stand to benefit from these alliances.

The Kenyan electorate has now become empowered due to the civic awareness carried out by various organizations. This change has necessitated the candidates and political parties to change their strategy in their campaigning efforts because, the electorate are looking for something more than just names and money. Political debates are being aired on various radio stations targeting different groups in the society with call-in sessions that guide the panellists. People are now more informed and even the illiterate citizens now have information that is tailored to them.

Therefore there was a need to carry out a study on political parties and their marketing strategies in order to fill the existing knowledge gap to better understand the reasons why

some parties are able to attract voters while others are only names, as well as identify the challenges faced in this area to enable the stakeholders come up with solutions. Also in order to provide information on how political parties and the candidates can better package themselves and put across their message more strongly.

From the review of literature and the best of my knowledge, it is evident that no study has been conducted specifically on the marketing strategies of political parties in Kenya. It is a fact that the more developed democracies have used political marketing to their advantage. With the growing of the democratic space in Kenya it is a channel that political parties may want to explore with a view of conforming to models that have been tried out, and localizing them to suit the country's needs in the current political dispensation

This study therefore aimed at examining political parties in Kenya to establish whether indeed they practise marketing principles and for those that do, whether they have succeeded in their communication to the electorate or not.

Specifically, this study addressed the following concerns: To what extent do political parties in Kenya practice marketing? What are the factors affecting the use of marketing? How effective are the strategies employed? Underlying these broad questions it will address the nature of those strategies and how they have been executed.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1. To establish the extent to which political parties in Kenya have applied the marketing mix in popularizing themselves to Kenyans
2. To identify the factors influencing the choice of marketing strategies of political parties in Kenya

1.4 The Importance of the Study

This study will be of importance to political parties as it will assist them put their marketing strategies in order, using tried and tested methods, to ensure that they come out victorious in the general elections. The other political parties not in the study will learn from the experiences of those in the study.

To the aspirants in the upcoming general elections, it will enable them improve the state of affairs in their parties as well as consolidate their position from an informed point of view.

The Government of Kenya will gain some insightful information as the debate on the political parties' bill comes to the floor of parliament.

Marketers and marketing organizations will benefit as they will clearly see the opportunities arising which they can come in and fill with their expertise.

Students of both political science and marketing will benefit greatly in understanding better the linkages between the two disciplines.

The University authorities will use it for future curriculum development.

Educators in general will be able to use the study as a reference when teaching about political parties.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Historically businesses were oriented towards production rather than marketing. This was seen as the proper way to maximise on profits and it become difficult for many organisations to shift orientation when supply exceeded demand (Viebranz, 1969).According to Viebranz, during the last twenty years, a reversal of conditions has been witnessed. Technological advances have increased research, new products have been developed and the increase in disposable income has increased spending, which has lead to attention being directed towards the consumer.

According to Oliver (1995) marketing traditionally was confined to goods and services, but now it has extended its scope and broadened to include non-business exchanges involving not-for-profit organisations and even public sector organisations .It is now generally accepted that the marketing concept and the range of marketing techniques are useful to a very wide range of organisations, broadening the scope of marketing beyond the commercial company. When marketing therefore is defined in terms of exchange relations between organisations and its publics, non profit- organisations should expect to benefit from the more explicit use of modern marketing techniques.

Political marketing can be seen in the context of social marketing. There are different definitions of social marketing Gibbs, (1995) argues that political marketing is the application of appropriate marketing tools and the systematic analysis, development, implementation, evaluation and integration of a set of comprehensive, scientifically formulated and user relevant program components designed to ultimately influence behaviour change that benefits society.

Gordon, (1995) describes social marketing organisations as "idea-promoting organisations whose main characteristic is that they are established in order to create, sustain or change attitudes towards a particular topic. Political groups represent a type of idea promoting organisation in that a political party may seek to suggest that it will work in a certain way

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in the hope of winning votes. Political activity like commercial activity can be seen as having moved from an era of unsophisticated selling towards an era of strategic marketing

Social marketing has also been described as the application of marketing concepts and techniques to exchanges that result in the achievement of socially desirable aims that benefit society as a whole (Dann 2004). According to Laczniak, Lusch and Murphy, (1979).Marketing of political candidates is an example of social marketing. Social marketing evolved in tandem with commercial marketing. Studies confirmed that the more a social campaign mimicked a commercial campaign the greater its chances of success (Gibbs,1995). Therefore the use of marketing in politics could be explained in this context. This application of the marketing mix in non commercial areas raised concern among many scholars, they argued that replacing a tangible product with an idea or concept would threaten the economic exchange concept. It was with this in mind that the marketing concept was expanded as well as the shift in policies geared towards addressing root causes of social problems that paved way to the development of social marketing. In 1971 Kotler and Zaltman published an article in *The Journal of Marketing* where the term 'Social Marketing' was used for the first time. They defined social marketing as the design, implementation and control of programmes calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involved considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research.

Early examples of social marketing emerged during the 1960s as part of international development efforts in the third world and developing countries. By the 1980s the question scholars were asking was how marketing should be applied in social issues. In 1981 Bloom and Novelli identified a need for research to examine audience segmentation, choosing media channels and designing appeals, implementing long term positioning strategies, and organizational and management issues.

It is assumed then that political marketing is consumer oriented, the consumer is assumed to be an active participant in the change process. The candidates build a relationship with the electorate over time where they seek to understand the issues driving the electorate. These issues are then used as a platform to seek votes to represent the voters with the aim of addressing and solving them.

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There are two or more parties are involved, each with something to exchange. In political marketing, it is the exchange of ideas by the political parties and the electorate, while from the electorate it is the promise to cast their vote to a particular candidate. To facilitate this voluntary exchange, the political parties have to offer something to the electorate that they really want, for example, the winning party in an election will be the one that offers the electorate a manifesto that identifies with their problems and how they will be addressed. Therefore political marketing is embedded in the exchange structures of voters, media and the candidates' parties.

There is need for long term planning in political marketing where there is continued campaigning which climaxes when the election date is set. This is a time when pollsters conduct polls to show peoples' reactions to either the political party or the candidates which forms the basis of conducting situational analysis by both the parties and the electorate. It is with this information that party manifestos are re-launched to ensure that the party ideals are in tandem with those of the electorate, the intention being guaranteed election.

Political marketing seeks to move beyond the individual consumer to influence the behaviour of the individual as well as groups, organizations and communities. During the campaign period it is common to hear candidates addressing communities on various issues affecting them, for example squatters and land issues. This is important as it impacts on the whole community as opposed to the individual voter. It seeks to legitimise a candidate and his party in the eyes of the community and political protagonists may see themselves as identifying wants amongst the electorate and bidding to satisfy them more effectively than the other political party (Oliver, 1995).

Political marketing borrows heavily from services marketing. A service is defined as any act or performance that one party can offer to another that is essentially intangible and does not result in the ownership of anything. Its production may or may not be tied to a physical product (Kotler, 1998).This definition relates to political marketing in that there are two parties the political party or the candidate providing a service to the electorate. This is not tangible or a physical product.

According to Lovelock (1996) Marketing of services began in earnest in the early 1980's. It became an established field from 1986. This is the same time the industrialized nations began the transition to service economies. After the deregulation of service industries in Europe, firms especially in transportation, financials, healthcare and telecommunications, woke up to an environment of new rivals, intensified price competition and rising consumer expectations. The role of marketing was thus transformed to a core function vital to the survival of the organization.

Non business organizations are adopting strategies that will make them competitive in the changing world. Competition is intensifying for political parties as the rules of the game change and therefore the parties need to stay visible in order to retain top of mind awareness by the electorate.

Candidates and political parties are expected to meet a personal need of the voter by the promises they claim they will deliver, and therefore they have to develop marketing programs to address this personal service. Due to the intangibility of services, the buyer will look for evidence of this service. Place, people, equipment used, communication materials, symbols and price all become very important in identifying the kind of service perception (Elvy 1995). Therefore, for candidates and political parties, this physical evidence becomes a major preoccupation to ensure that the evidence represents them well.

Service is produced and consumed at the same time, and although it can be consumed it cannot be possessed. Therefore it is a deed, performance or effort (Kotler 1995). This inseparable nature means that both the provider and the recipient of the service affect its outcome, for political parties and candidates, this is judged by the crowds the candidates attract during rallies and their reaction to the speeches. What this means is that the service is first sold, then produced and then consumed, so the presence of the service provider is vital and this can be evidenced by the candidates going on the campaign trail.

According to Elvy, (1995) services are variable and is dependant on whom, when and where the service is being provided. The receiver of the service will always talk to others before selecting the service provider. In politics, during the campaign period, word of mouth becomes very important in mobilizing crowds to attend rallies. Therefore the

candidates will use all strategies to ensure that they get publicity for their rallies which could guarantee positive feedback from the electorate.

Service is highly perishable as it is consumed real-time and feedback is generated immediately on the perception of the service (Lovelock 1996). In political rallies, this is brought out by the crowds' reaction to the candidate's promises. A wide range of issues are addressed during this time and this is meant to talk to the crowds so that a decision is made based on the promise spoken. If a candidate does not satisfy the individuals in the crowd then that opportunity is lost. When opinion polls results are released, many candidates have been adversely affected due to the fact that there ratings have not been convincing. This can be translated as them not being popular candidates. Therefore the service only exists at the moment in time that it is being provided (Elvy, 1995).

Each service experience is different depending on the interaction with the people giving the service, the time and location thus the heterogeneity of service which makes it difficult to standardize. This cannot be planned or avoided as it is dependant of various factors. In politics, this is seen when candidates are campaigning and get different reception in different regions. In Kenya there is zoning for political parties, this is evidenced by the previous voting patterns where some political parties only manage to get their candidates elected in their ethnic backyard.

There has been an observed global change in electoral campaigning, which can be attributed to modernization and professionalism. Schaffner, (2002) identifies two models which he calls trans-national diffusions to explain this phenomenon. The first is the shopping model which is more widespread and involves importing professional campaign practices from developed democracies and modifying them depending on the countries situation. This is evidenced in Kenya by the way presidential candidates have adopted techniques like websites, the use of short messaging service (sms), and advertising in the print media while political parties have adopted names like Democratic Party, Green Party and Liberal Democratic Party all of which have their roots in the western democracies.

The second is the adoption model which aims at the gradual phasing out of the traditional campaign techniques and replacing them with capital-intensive, media and consultant

driven campaign strategies. This model is yet to be used in Kenya as we are still testing out the shopping model.

The involvement of local and international entrepreneur actors forced political parties to adopt new ways of attracting voters. The parties feel that by having chapters in the Diaspora, it legitimizes their nationalistic outlook as well as affords them the much needed funds to run the party. This is also due to the fact that party membership has been on the decline and so has been the ability to mobilize members.

New conflicts and values have emerged increasing the number of volatile voters and therefore making it difficult to determine the outcome of elections. It is with this in mind that parties have to be more creative in how they run their campaigns. In Kenya major political parties have forced the individual presidential aspirants to look for allies and have different plans of action to guarantee their survival.

Political marketing manifests itself in diverse activities focusing on application of segmentation techniques, for example, endorsements, highly priced dinners, huge bill boards, and other media communications. Political marketing is thus a way of coming to grips with the development of democratic life (Hannenberg, 2002).

2.2 Incorporating the Marketing Mix Variables into Political Marketing
The term marketing mix can be described as the controllable variables used or manipulated to gain competitive advantage. It is the set of tools the firm uses to pursue its marketing objectives in a target market (Kotler, 1998). For any successful marketing, a combination of the mix must be used. The marketing mix is commonly referred to as the 4Ps (product, price, place and promotion).A satisfactory marketing mix is achieved by taking all these factors into consideration. This is true to physical goods, with the growing recognition that non business organisation also need marketing strategies, the 4Ps were found to be inadequate to describe the key aspects of services marketing therefore requiring an expanded mix to incorporate people, physical location and processes (Rust, Zahovik & Keningham, 1996).These elements have the characteristic of each having an influence on attracting the consumer to a product and each is capable of variation to suit

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the needs of the consumer.(Elvy, 1995).Further this concept of marketing mix was developed due to the need for having a combination of benefits specific to the needs of the customer, while the initial 4 P's are essential elements of the mix, others are incorporated whenever necessary to take into account of peculiarities either of the product or of the market. Since political marketing can be seen in the context of services marketing or social marketing, this study will consider the following expanded variables in the marketing mix: product, price, place, promotion, people, processes and physical facilities.

2.2.1 Product

A product is a physical good, service, idea, person or place that is capable of offering tangible and intangible attributes that individuals or organizations regard as necessary, worthwhile or satisfying and are prepared to exchange money, patronage or some other unit of value in order to acquire it (Bassington and Pettitt, 1997). The ultimate goal is to offer an augmented product that meets the customers desires beyond their expectations (Kotler, 1998). A customer attaches value to a product in proportion to its perceived ability to help meet his needs or solve his problems (Levitts, 1980). Consumer purchases are motivated by deep psychological motives which are rooted in the human tendency to form habits and stick to routines. Therefore a consumer's past experience with a brand is the most important factor in determining the future choices (Drane and Kathleen, 1996).A product can therefore be physical (cattle, houses, cars, vegetables), a service (legal advice, treatment, travel), places (Mt. Kilimanjaro, Nairobi National Park), people (Nelson Mandela, Michael Jackson) or ideas (lectures, democracy, religion) (Kibera, 1997).

The aspect of a product being an idea or person therefore relates to the image of the political party or candidate. These are the cues that the voters assess when making voting decisions (Kotler and Kotler, 1999). The product therefore comprises three elements: the candidate, the party itself and the ideology. These three are inter related and can be offered together or singly. The promise to be delivered after the candidate gets elected becomes a future action. Political parties present to the electorate ideas candidates in exchange for their vote. This they do by making the electorate see them as solving the problems that the previous regime or representative could not. This is aimed at appealing to the electorates' emotions where a past experience could have awoken negative feelings therefore a need to

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change. Positive feelings can also be elicited therefore a need in the electorate to re-elect the same candidate. Since this is a promise, the characteristics associated with the product include: trust, reliability, integrity, accessibility, ability to inspire as well as accountability (Kibera ,1997).

Another aspect of the product is the packaging which not only serves a functional purpose but also acts as a means of communicating the product information and character. This is normally the first point of contact, therefore it is essential to make it attractive. Packaging therefore becomes a powerful tool in helping create a solid and distinct brand image.

According to Kibera,(1997) a branding strategy includes individual branding, for example, in 2002 all the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) candidates wore orange outfits, family branding like Raila and Ida Odinga known for dressing in similar outfits while attending public functions, multiple brands like all the ODM presidential candidates attending joint rallies, and private brands strategy where all ODM presidential candidates chose to launch their presidential bid on their own.

Organizations aim at making their product or offering different and better in a way that will cause the target market to favour it (Kotler, 1999). This is evident in the way all political parties go around the country popularizing their parties and candidates while using different strategies that appeal to the electorate with an aim of being seen as better than the rest.

Organizations can enhance their chances of success with a new product if they are systematic about developing the product (Churchhill and Peters, 1995). Product development can be seen in the way some political parties evolved. During the clamour for multi-party democracy, the opposition formed a movement called Forum For The restoration of Democracy (FORD).When this was won there were wrangles on the leadership and this lead to the split of the original FORD into FORD Kenya, FORD Asili and FORD People, this were all registered as different political parties. During the 2007 elections a new splinter party from FORD Kenya , New FORD Kenya was formed while NARC Kenya was formed from the original NARC all in the belief that the new product will be more successful than the older one.

Political parties have packaged themselves to distinguish and identity purposes. There has been continued use of colour by the different parties and candidates in their clothing and venues. During the referendum it was yellow for the yes team and orange for the no camp where as Party of National Unity (PNU) used blue. Thus colour has been used to distinguish the various parties.

2.2.2 Price

Price is the consideration given in exchange of a product. It is the value placed on a product by consumers at some point in time (Kibera and Wariungi, 1998). During campaign time, politicians make promises in return the electorate are expected to vote for them. Psychologically, price elicits emotion; the higher the better. It is also the management of the actual or perceived attitudinal and behavioural barriers on the part of the voters (Hanneberg, 2002).Price can be seen as the element of cost or sacrifice similar to opportunity cost, it is what the voter loses by rejecting a certain candidate or party. This is the element of the marketing mix that links marketing considerations to economic considerations (Churchill and Peters, 1995).

Factors that influence price include demand, competitor reaction, as well as the other elements of the marketing mix. Demand in the context of politics can be the number of candidates vying for a particular seat. When there are many then it becomes costly to run a campaign as more creative ways are sort to communicate to the electorate. Competitor reaction can be evidenced by the way the different messages are received by the opposing camp. This can result in one party or candidate completely changing some aspects of their campaign to counter any adverse effects from the opponents.

It takes money to sell party policies as well as recruit members. Most of this money is from party membership although this is never sufficient; the result being that many political parties are rendered unviable. A recent report by the Coalition For accountable Political Financing (CAPF) indicates that in the 2007 General Elections the campaigns spend for the top three parties was Party of National Unity (PNU) 2.1 billion, Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) 1.2 Billion and Orange Democratic Movement Kenya (ODM-K) 157 million. Exact figures are difficult to come by as the country is yet to enact a law compelling candidates to declare the amounts they raise for election campaigns.

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Price incorporates the elements of incoming funds like campaign fundraising. The 2007 General Elections were the most competitive with the highest voter turnout as well as the most expensive. There were many individual, corporate, foreign as well as in-kind donations to the various parties that help fund the campaigns, the two major political parties became creative by fundraising from the Kenyans living in the Diaspora. Donations as well as funds from recruitment of members provide the Party and candidates with resources to popularize themselves. The amounts spent on promotions can also be considered as price although these are outward bound payments. During the referendum, it is estimated that politicians used over 35 million on advertising. Many times, money determines the outcome of the elections with those spending the highest winning.

It has been noted that smaller political parties, which are normally not organized around any ideology, are normally sold to the highest bidder especially during the election year. Most of these parties have limitations in terms of resources and many times may not be given the clearance by the Electoral commission Of Kenya nominates aspirants to vie. These become a healthy hunting ground for disgruntled elements in the bigger political parties who exchange membership for a fee or take over the party completely. Wealthy politicians have used money to their advantage to woe people to their rallies, in anticipation of cash handouts.

2.2.3 Place

Place can be defined as the structure linking a group of individuals or organizations through which a product or service is made available to the user. The degree of formality in the relation will vary depending on the level of organization (Brassington and Pettit, 1997).It refers to the location where exchange takes place. This must be convenient and accessible since the interaction is direct from the provider to the consumer. This is also where information can be accessed. Services are often supplied directly to the consumer because production and consumption take place at the same time.

The use of intermediaries is necessary for the convenience of the consumer since a lot of cost and money would be unnecessarily spent in dealing directly with whole populations. They ensure spread of the service coverage like when political parties send representatives to various parts of the country and are able to get their message across in a shorter period

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of time. They also add value, for example, in identifying loyal party supporters when they are required. Volunteers who are loyal party supporters lead to strong ties between members. They are normally used as agents during elections However, conflict may arise if some members feel they are getting a raw deal. An example would be the defections witnessed during the run-up to elections when candidates feel they are strong on the ground but are not getting the support from the party.

Place helps a political party in the selection of suitable branch locations and other channels through which to reach the target market (Lovelock, 1984). This will be determined by several factors which include: the characteristic of the target market consideration on who the ideals represent, the objectives of the party, the character of the party, , the intermediaries handling the product who include the financers and where they will be comfortable, and the environment, for example, during the clamour for multi-partyism most rallies were held at *Kamukunji* grounds as this conjured in the people a lot of imagery on the independence struggle which was the mood at the time. The choice of venues for political rallies, by politicians therefore is key in ensuring the turnout as well as its significance.

2.2.4 Promotion

This is the direct way in which an organization attempts to communicate with the various target audiences (Brassington & Pettitt, 1997). It includes advertising, public relations and mass communication. Advertising is any paid form of non-personal promotion transmitted through the mass media. This therefore creates demand, emotional appeal, self-esteem and image.

It is through marketing communication that information to increase product awareness, demand for the product and making it unique from the rest as well as enhancing the value offered is communicated to the target market (Churchill and Peters, 1995).

This helps to define and project the service firm's personality and to highlight the competitive advantage of specific features. Effective communication makes tangible what might otherwise be an ephemeral product. It also informs and educates customers, helping them make sensible choices and obtain better value (Lovelock, 1996).

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Promotions normally take place to increase awareness of a new and existing product. Promotion gives prospective users plenty of visual imagery therefore building in the minds of those with limited experience of the product (Baker, 1999).

Promotion forms the essence of political marketing. It involves informing the primary exchange partners of the political offer and its availability that is linking the product (political party or candidate) to the customers (electorate) (Palmer, 2002). For political parties this involves providing political content, images, and cues besides interpreting and making sense of the complex political situation (Kotler and Kotler, 1999).

The most used promotion strategy is advertising. Politicians like advertising because they can control it. This can be done through various medium and guarantees exposure to the target market. This was stepped up in the 2002 and 2007 elections by the presidential candidates especially with newspaper and billboard advertising. Others advertised on TV both local and regional

Public relations are a deliberate, planned and sustained effort to institute and maintain mutual understanding between an organization and its publics. It helps in the creation and maintenance of corporate identity, enhances the parties standing through the participation in activities such as sports sponsorships as well as candidates forming foundations. It also includes communication of the parties' philosophy and purpose as well as media relations. These are used for long-term strategic image building, developing credibility and raising the parties' profiles.

Celebrity endorsements were used in the run up to the 2002 elections with the leading candidates showing their support of the then presidential candidate. This gave the party a nationalist outlook therefore carrying favour with different people. The candidates campaigned as a unit in different parts of the country and this had the effect of attracting huge crowds which showed the popularity of the party.

Viral marketing was used especially Short messaging service (sms) being popular. Some candidates' had people subscribing and getting updates on what that candidate was doing and other information. This at times was used adversely by people sending word around

that a certain candidate had stepped out of the race. This was also used as a way to mobilise people for rallies.

Word of mouth or personal selling is a powerful tool, which was deliberately used especially to mobilize people to rallies. With the high electoral volatility and awareness, it is now possible to mobilize people effectively by word of mouth.

The use of satellite and mobile phones, live TV coverage, internet, radio stations, billboards and posters mounted on vehicles pushed up the communications budgets in the 2007 General elections.

2.2.5 People

Service marketing depends on people and interactions between people. This includes the service provider, staff, customer and the other customers. Since the customer is also a participant in the service, there are implications on the service delivery and quality, for example, candidates and the electorate (Brassington and Pettitt, 1997). The ability of the politician to deliver the message to the electorate and present an image consistent with the party is of vital concern. It is a proven fact that the audience in a rally can take control of the meeting and it degenerates into chaos.

In service, the people relationship can either be formal or informal. Political parties have formal relations that are membership based. Membership usually results in loyalty therefore political parties ensure that this is ongoing.

Candidates and political parties seek to have relations with the electorate by way of tangible actions directed to them and so requiring their presence throughout, for example, during rallies. This will require medium contact, for example, when the electorate visit the party offices or meet in a different location where a relation will be established, the problem defined face to face and a physical possession picked.

Understanding and managing the encounters that take place is central in creating satisfaction and there the message is received and the willingness to enter into a long term relation established. When receiving a service, the consumer's evaluation of the service

will include the appearance and demeanour of those involved. Therefore a prospective candidate who appears shabbily dressed at a rally is unacceptable.

An essential aspect is to recognize the different roles people are involved in political marketing activities. The most important are the voters who are the target market whose decision will influence the election outcome. The political parties and candidates all regard the voter as king especially during an election year. When a rally is held it is not only for the audience in the venue but also those in different parts of the country.

The campaign personnel are directly involved in planning and executing the party's or candidate's strategy are key. These are the people charged with the task of ensuring the party and candidates are successful in their bid to enter parliament. As seen from the last election, many losers at the NARC Party nomination stage ended up joining the presidential brigade and were rewarded with nominations to parliament. This makes people spend their energies in ensuring that they are visible during these campaigns.

In Kenya, the law requires that for a political party to be registered, it has to have officials, the most important being a chairman, secretary general and a treasurer. These are considered as the bona fide owners of the party. Currently, there is the struggle within PNU as well as ODM with different officials vying for positions. This makes these three positions key and those holding those posts coveted.

The other group of people who inadvertently determine the direction the electorate will take due to their standing in society are the influencers. These will almost always be the financers of the party. In most cases they determine who will get the party ticket to vie in the elections.

2.2.6 Physical Evidence

This refers to the appearance and physical setting which demonstrates both promise and quality. Customers are constantly in touch with at least some part of the service facilities, equipment and personnel. This gives some indication of the service to be expected and adds substance to the service concept. Identity can be achieved through colours, symbols or even documents (Lovelock, 1996).

This comprises the tangible elements that support the service delivery and gives clues about the positioning of the service product or gives the customer something solid to take away with them to symbolize the intangible benefits they have received (Brassington and Pettit, 1997).

The symbolic value attached to the evidence has greater impact on the target market. According to Kotler, the physical setting can be described as "atmospherics". These include visual, aural, olfactory and tactile perceptions and therefore having the potential to influence ones impression. The organization is able to manipulate and create the impression intended by using the physical evidence.

Managing the physical evidence is of high priority (Shostack, 1977). The physical environment has the potential to influence ones impression of the service. It can also provide the customer with tangible indications of the service. This is where the candidates and the electorate interact.

Essential evidence includes the party offices that are why most parties have their offices on the better side of town. FORD Kenya, NARC Kenya and ODM offices are in Kilimani area while DP offices are in Lavington. These are all painted in party colours and symbols and one will find party members hanging around them. KANU, on the other hand, had for a long time appropriated the KICC building which is a government building and for a long time this building was identified with the party until NARC came into power.

Peripheral evidence includes keepsakes like T-shirts and caps as well as leaflets and booklets given during launches. These are designed to show that the service provider cares about the customer and also serve as promotional material for the party or candidate.

During the campaigns, vehicles used to traverse the country are most likely be the off roads which many political parties hire from private individuals. To the electorate, this is a sign that the party or the candidate is able to reach a wider audience and therefore seen as the right candidate.

2.2.7 Processes

This is the system that allows the service to be created and delivered efficiently, reliably and cost effectively. The service and process that create it reflect how all the marketing mix elements are co-ordinated to create value for the customer (Lovelock, 1996).

Since creation and consumption of a service are usually simultaneous, the production of the service is an important part of its marketing because the customer either witnesses it or is directly involved in it. Some processes are required to ensure that the customer gets through with minimum fuss and delay and that all elements of the service are properly delivered (Brassington and Petite, 1997).

Processes involve the procedures, tasks, schedules, activities, and routines a product (candidate or party) or service undergoes as it is delivered to the customer (voter). It is how a party works or the set of activities a party pursues to achieve its objectives. This paper looks at processes as first, the internal process of the political parties and second, the processes required by law as pertains to elections and political parties. These may include the involvement of the customer in the production process, and the working environment and controls. A political party must establish the kind of organization structure that will enable it function as one body. The better organized the party, the more easily it can co-ordinate its activities and the better it will reach the electorate.

In Kenya, some of the processes pertaining to elections include that an election is held every five years and only persons over 18 years are eligible to vote. The election process is governed by the Electoral Commission of Kenya. The voting process involves the election of a Councillor (Ward), Member of Parliament (Constituency), and President (Nation). Voting is done through the secret ballot.

There is an electoral commission which was set up under section 41 of the Kenya Constitution. It is a constitutional body with a chairman and is supposed to oversee the general elections and act on election malpractices that arise; it is also tasked with delineation of constituencies as well as the registration of voters.

Political parties, on the other hand, are supposed to carry out the initial selection of candidates to participate in the election as well as carrying out political communication

and education, providing information on which the voters may base their selection of the candidates before them, mobilizing citizens and leaders to be active in politics as well as carry out political mobilization and encouraging the public to cast their votes.

Another process is the recruitment of members to the party. This is very vital as the electoral commission requires a presidential candidate to have over one thousand party members endorsing him as their candidate. To most parties this is an ongoing process which peaks during an election year or before party elections.

2.3. Challenges of Political Marketing

Like any other discipline political marketing too has its challenges. The first is ill conceived campaigns. Many politicians plunge into politics due to selfish reasons which lead to hurriedly put up campaigns. Some end up going into unpopular parties which they do not espouse their ideals therefore making it difficult to market themselves or the party.

In Kenya and Africa as a whole there is lack of trust in politicians. This makes the electorate very suspicious of their intentions. This has come about due to the fact that many politicians make promises during the campaigns which they do not keep after being elected into parliament.

Drawing parallels between consumer marketing and political marketing is a challenge due to the fact that in political marketing the values are real and not invented to be perceived by human emotions. Dialogue is also genuine where the candidate will stand on a platform and engage the electorate while products dialogue is merely a marketing tool. In political marketing there is the potential to fulfil promises when the party or candidate gets into that position of power while in product marketing it is always an aspiration.

The other challenge is in defining political parties through imagery and symbols rather than ideological positioning to evoke perception of the party and reconnect with the electorate. This challenge is encountered because of the realness of the issues to the electorate and imagery may not be adequate, for example, the symbol of the orange for Orange Democratic Party or the cockerel of KANU does not connect with the people.

With the current electoral volatility and the changes in the political environment, it is very difficult to maintain a target audience for a long time, making it hard to develop a sustained marketing campaign. Unlike with a product which can be targeted to a particular age group, there is always the assurance that this age group will always be there despite the fact that others will be leaving since others will be joining.

As in all services, the intangibility poses a great challenge. What the candidates offer is a promise that can only be delivered after the customer has committed. The electorate is only able to see the benefits after they have elected the candidate. There is no guarantee that the customer will be satisfied after making the commitment.

The perishability of a service is yet another challenge. When the candidate or party plans for a rally which turns out to be poorly attended, this moment cannot be recaptured and will portray a negative picture of the organizers especially when the press are present.

Since it is not possible to separate the experience from the service, the experience will be affected by many other factors and this could either be positively or negatively. Depending on where a rally is taking place the crowds can either be hostile or accommodative, therefore affecting the delivery of the message.

According to Elvy,(1995) care must be taken in applying the commercial marketing concepts to the field of politics there could be for example likely tension between policy principals and short term populist issues that could arise.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This was a descriptive research, which aimed at establishing the extent of marketing strategies applied by various political parties in Kenya.

Out of the total population of one hundred and thirty four (134) political parties, 70 political parties were sampled and questionnaires administered.

3.2 Data Collection

The study relied on primary data. The required data was collected using a questionnaire with both open-ended as well as close ended questions (Appendix 2).

Section 1 consisted of questions aimed at obtaining information about the political parties.

Section 2 focused on factors generally considered important in marketing and how important they are to the party.

Section 3 consisted of semi-structured questions designed to identify challenges encountered in marketing political parties and how the party has tried to overcome these.

The questionnaire was administered through personal interviews as this had the potential of yielding the highest response rate and the interviewer can explain the meaning of questions should the respondent need clarification.

3.3 Data Analysis

Data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics, which included charts, tables, and graphs for ease of understanding. Interpretive analysis was done in order to respond to the objective of the study. Descriptive statistics (such as frequency distribution, means, percentages, simple and cross tabulation.) were employed for the basic analysis. A database was prepared using SPSS computer package and then this data was processed to produce requisite descriptive statistics

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

The research was conducted using questionnaires with both open as well as close ended questions. Questionnaires were sent to 70 political parties in Kenya. However, those that responded to the questionnaires were 69. Data collected was then analyzed using SPSS where the output was presented in the form of tables, pie charts and bar graphs. Frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviation were used to interpret the information.

The Lickert scale was used where a mean score of 3 and above means to a very large extent influences the marketing mix variables, 0.5-3.0 indicates a moderate extent while less than 0.5 indicates to a very small extent.

Standard deviation was also used in determining the significant differences amongst the various scores. A standard deviation of less than 1 indicates that there were no major variations and that most political parties were doing the same thing. However where the deviation was greater than 1 then the practices were different.

4.2 Findings from The background Information

This section shows the information of the various political parties in Kenya that were interviewed by the researcher. The information drawn from this section was important to the researcher since it gave guidance on whether the sample was a representative estimator.

The study found that most political parties had a marketing budget. 73.3% had a marketing budget while 26.7% did not have. This indicates that majority of political parties in Kenya have a marketing budgets for their party.

The parties that had a budget also had representation in parliament. Therefore it can be inferred that marketing of the party has a great deal to do with elections into parliament.

Table 1: Marketing Budget

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	51	73.3
No	18	26.7
Total	69	100.0
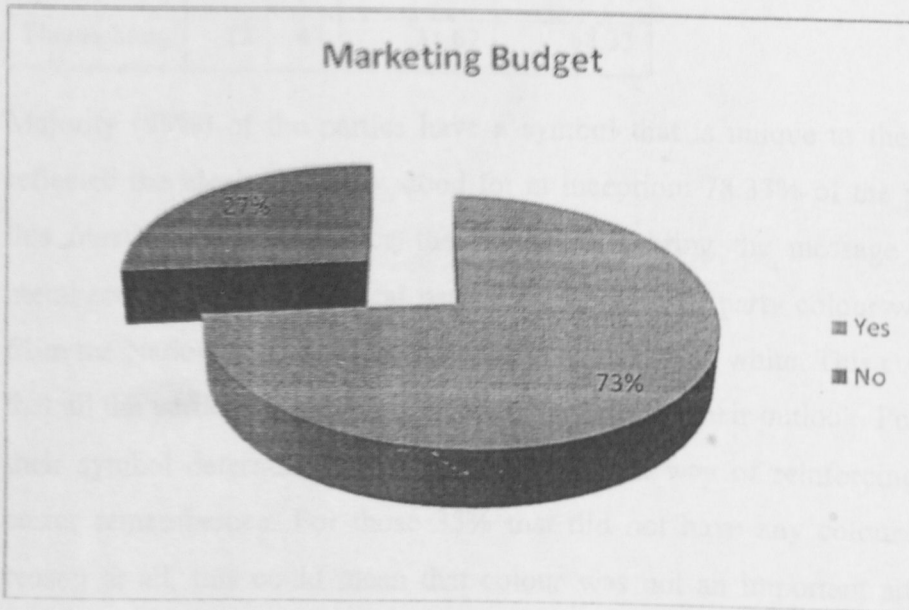
Marketing Budget

Further it was evident that the number of years a party has been in existence was a determining factor on whether a party had a marketing budget or not. Those with over 10 years in existence had a marketing budget whereas those with less than 5 years did not have.

4.3 Product

Consideration when nominating a candidate to vie on the party ticket

The research found out that majority of the political parties rated highly ability of a candidate to fund their own campaign. The other factor was visibility in matters pertaining to the party as well as paid up membership to the party. Others considered an individual's visibility in championing democracy in the country over the years while complying with party and national constitutions being the gauge.

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Table 2: Attributes Distinguishing parties

	Frequency		Percent	
	Yes	N0	Yes	N0
Symbol	68	1	99.00	0.00
Slogan	52	17	78.33	21.67
Colour	45	24	65.00	35.00
Theme Song	22	47	31.67	68.33

Majority (99%) of the parties have a symbol that is unique to them only.The symbols reflected the ideals the party stood for at inception. 78.33% of the parties have a slogan this mostly was to reinforce the symbol and bring the message more clearly to the members. 65% of the political parties have a distinct party colour with most being taken from the National flag colours of red, green, black and white. This could be taken to mean that all the parties are intended to be nationalistic in their outlook. For others the colour of their symbol determined their party colour as a way of reinforcing the party name for easier remembrance. For those 35% that did not have any colour in particular had no reason at all, this could mean that colour was not an important attribute distinguishing them from other parties.

68.33% of all the respondents' parties do not have a theme song. This could be interpreted to mean that a rallying call to them was not a distinguishing factor but rather symbol, colour and slogan was.

Attributes Distinguishing parties

Bar chart with y-axis "Percent" (10.00 to 100.00) and x-axis "Task" showing categories: Symbol, Slogan, Colour, Theme Song. Legend: Yes, NO.
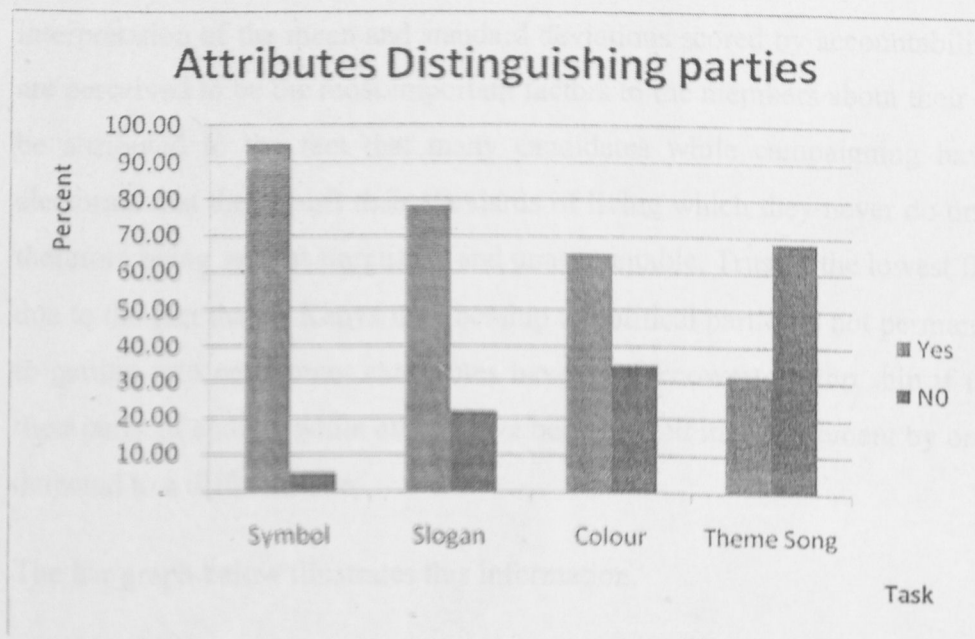
Table 3: Extent to Which Some Factors Are Perceived As Important To the Members about a Party

	Very Great Extent	Great Extent	Moderate Extent	Less Extent	No Extent	Mean	Std Dev
Trust by members	25	29	12	3	0	1.90	0.85
Accessibility	10	35	18	0	2	2.20	0.81
Accountability	12	11	32	10	4	2.77	1.09
Reliability	13	23	12	8	11	2.77	1.35
Responsibility	11	45	0	13	0	2.22	0.91

According to the research, five factors were analyzed which included the trust by the members, accessibility of the party, its accountability, reliability as well as the responsibility of the party to the members. The research found trust by the members had a mean of 1.9 with a standard deviation of 0.85 while accessibility had a mean of 2.20 with a standard deviation of 0.81. However, both accountability and reliability had a mean of 2.77 each with a standard deviation of 1.09 and 1.35 respectively. This researcher's

interpretation of the mean and standard deviations scored by accountability and reliability are perceived to be the most important factors to the members about their parties. This can be attributed to the fact that many candidates while campaigning have promised the electorate that they uplift their standards of living which they never do once in parliament therefore being seen as unreliable and unaccountable. Trust is the lowest factor, this can be due to the fact that in Kenya membership to political parties is not permanent but a vehicle to getting into parliament candidates have been known to jump ship if not nominated in their party of choice, while others have been elected into parliament by one party and later defected to a different one.

The bar graph below illustrates this information.

Extent to Which Some Factors Are Perceived As Important To the Members about a Party
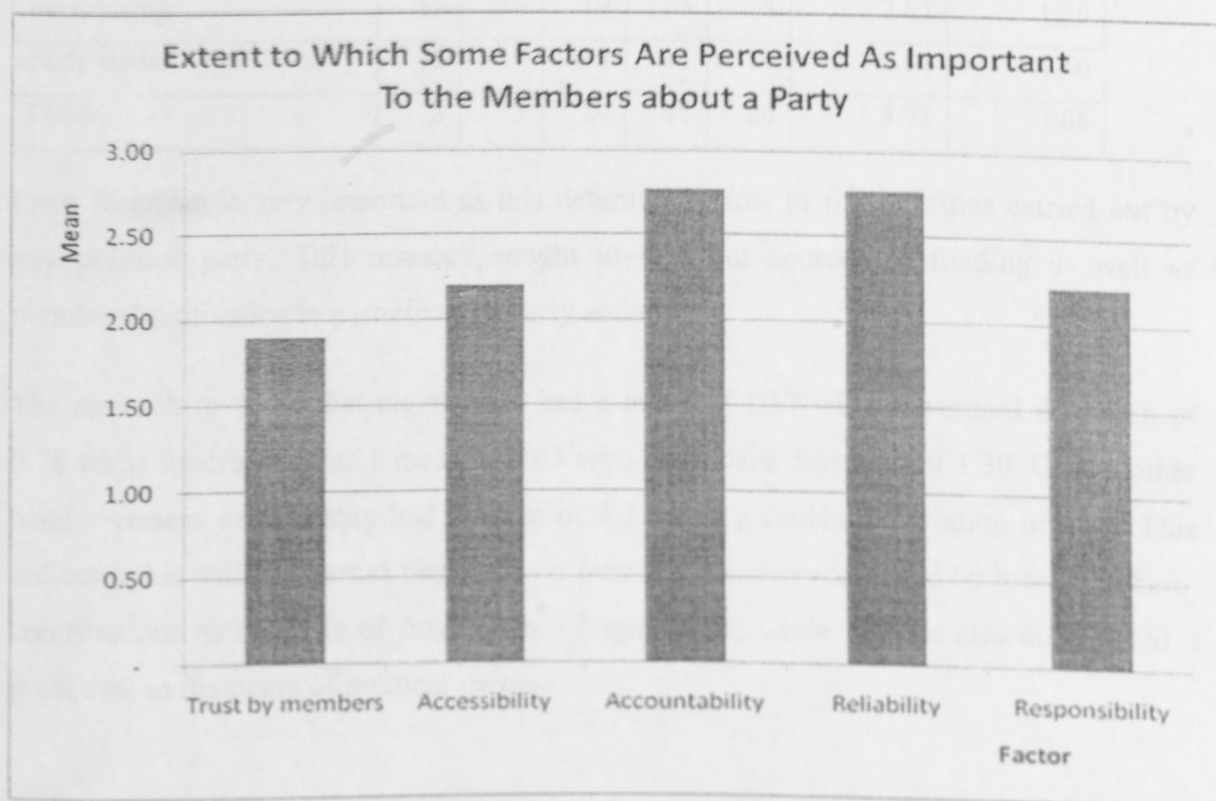
4.4 Price

Table 4: Extent to Which Political Parties Use certain means to Sources for Funds

	Extent	Great Extent	Moderate Extent	Less Extent	No Extent	Mean	Std Dev
Local member contributions	2	4	7	25	22	4.02	1.02
Overseas members	0	5	11	9	35	4.23	1.02
Registration	36	15	8	1	0	1.57	0.78
Fundraising	15	13	19	5	8	2.63	1.30
Party leader	16	16	3	11	14	2.85	1.56
Patron	2	3	24	11	20	3.73	1.08

Price (finance) is very important as this determines most of the activities carried out by any political party. This research sought to find out sources of funding as well as members' motivation to participate in party activities

The research revealed that registration had a mean of 1.57 with a standard deviation of 0.78 while fundraising had a mean of 2.63 with a standard deviation of 1.30. On the other hand, overseas membership had a mean of 4.23 with a standard deviation of 1.02. This indicates that political parties depended on overseas members followed by local members' contributions as a source of funding to a large extent, while patrons also contributed a great deal in financing of political parties.

Extent to Which Political Parties Use Certain Means to Source for Fund
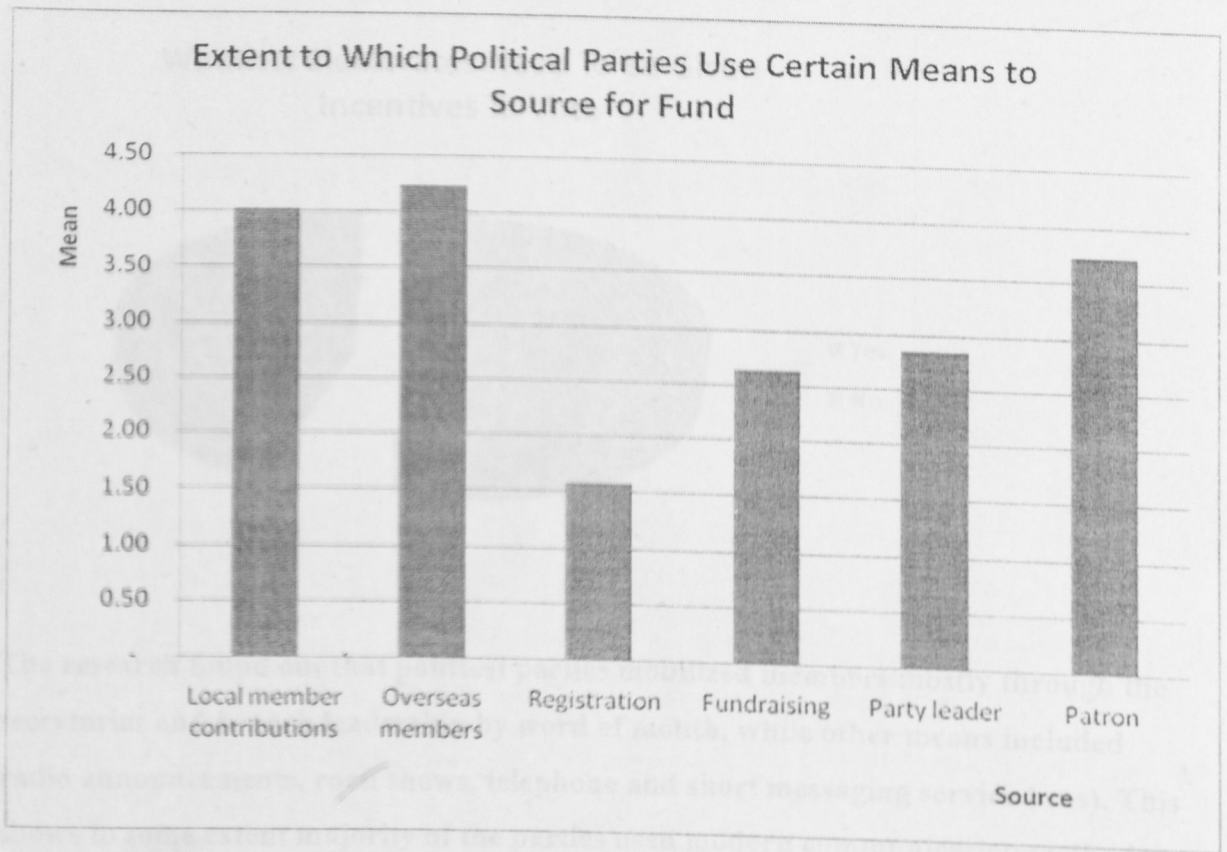
Table 5: Whether the Electorate Need To Be Given Incentives to Vote

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	38	55.0
No	31	45.0
Total	**69**	**100.0**

The research established that according to 55% of the respondent political parties there is need for the electorate to be given incentives in order for them to vote, while 45% said there is no need. From the forgoing it is not surprising that during voting day there are agents of some political parties at polling stations dishing out money to the voters to influence them to vote in a manner favourable to them.

Whether Electorates Need To Be Given Incentives To Vote

45%

55%

■ Yes
■ No
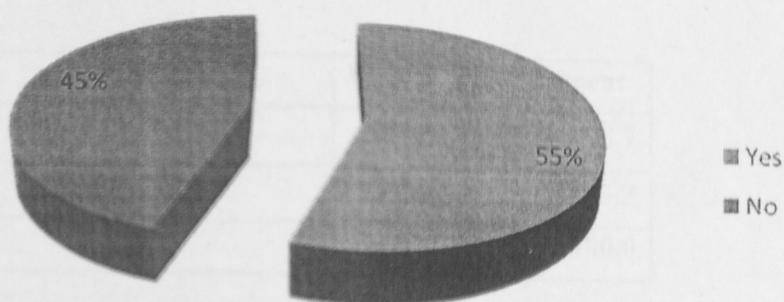
The research found out that political parties mobilized members mostly through the secretariat and branch leadership by word of mouth, while other means included radio announcements, road shows, telephone and short messaging service (sms). This shows to some extent majority of the parties used modern communication methods to reach their members.

4.5 Place

According to the research it appears that physical location of the party offices are chosen mainly due to convenience and easy accessibility by the members. Some parties were given the premises by the patron while to others the decision to have the party offices was based on having a location that was a quiet and serene environment away from interruptions.

According to this researchers' observation many parties used personal offices of their secretary general or party leader to transact their party businesses, most of these people ran their own businesses there making it possible to have these same premises as drop off points for the political party matters.

Table 6: Whether the Parties Have Party Branches in Other Parts of the Country

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	66	96.7
No	3	3.3
Total	69	100.0

As shown in the table above most the political parties have party branches in other parts of the country. 96.7% said that their parties do have branches while 3.3% said that their parties do not have. This implies that majority of the respondents' parties have branches in other parts of the country. These branches are used to popularize the party as well as serving as an office for coordination in these regions. This also proves that most parties want to be seen as having a nationalistic outlook.. The pie chat below shows this information.
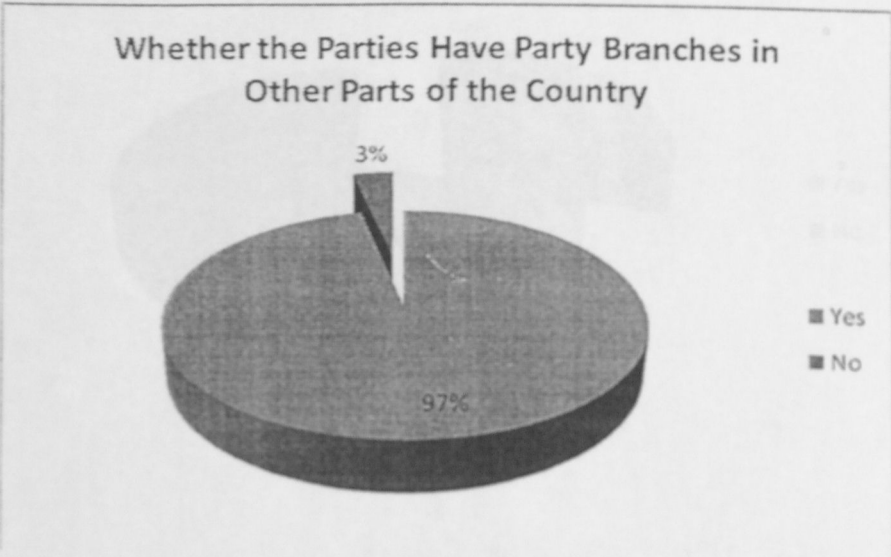
Whether the Parties Have Party Branches in Other Parts of the Country

3%

■ Yes

■ No

97%

Table 7: Whether Respondent Parties Have a Preferred Venue to Hold Rallies

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	21	30.0
No	48	70.0
Total	69	100.0

As shown in the table above parties do not necessarily have a preferred venue to hold your rallies. 70% said they did not have a preferred venue while 30% said they had. This shows that generally parties purposefully choose rally venues to respond to the targeted audience and particular message. The most popular venues are school fields, market places and stadiums. This could be due to the fact that one can attract a large crowd in these venues and they are not intimidating to the majority. This is also illustrated by the pie chart below.

Whether Respondent Parties Have a Preferred Venue to Hold Your Rallies

30%

70%

■ Yes
■ No
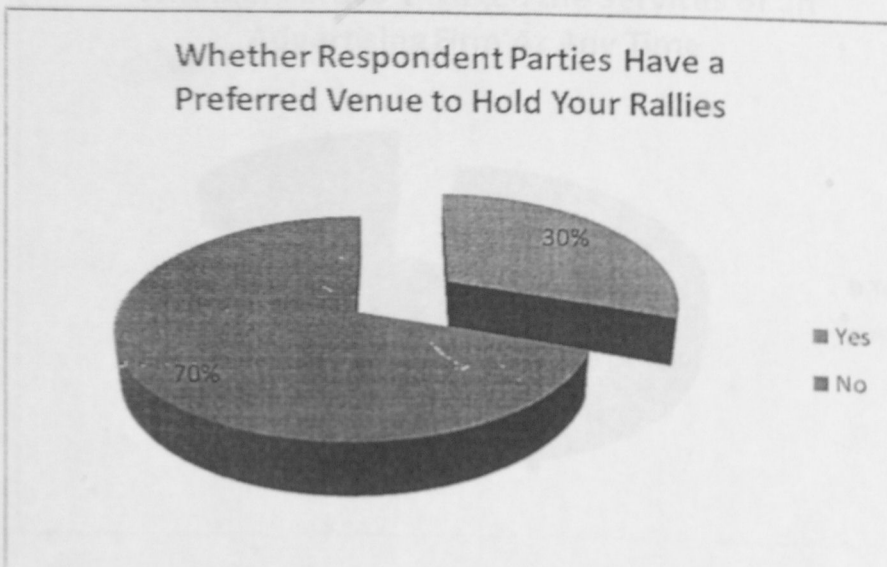
4.6 Promotions

It is universally acknowledged that promotion is vital in attracting and increasing awareness and knowledge of a product or service. The research sought to find out whether parties had engaged the services of an advertising firm. According to the findings 81.7% of the respondents said they have never while 18.3% said that they once engaged the

41

services of an advertising firm. This could be due to the fact that most parties did not see this as priority when selling themselves to the electorate, also the cost of these services could have been prohibitive.

Table 8: Whether Parties Engaged the Services of an Advertising Firm At Any Time

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	81.7
No	13	18.3
Total	69	100.0

Whether Parties Engaged the Services of an Advertising Firm At Any Time
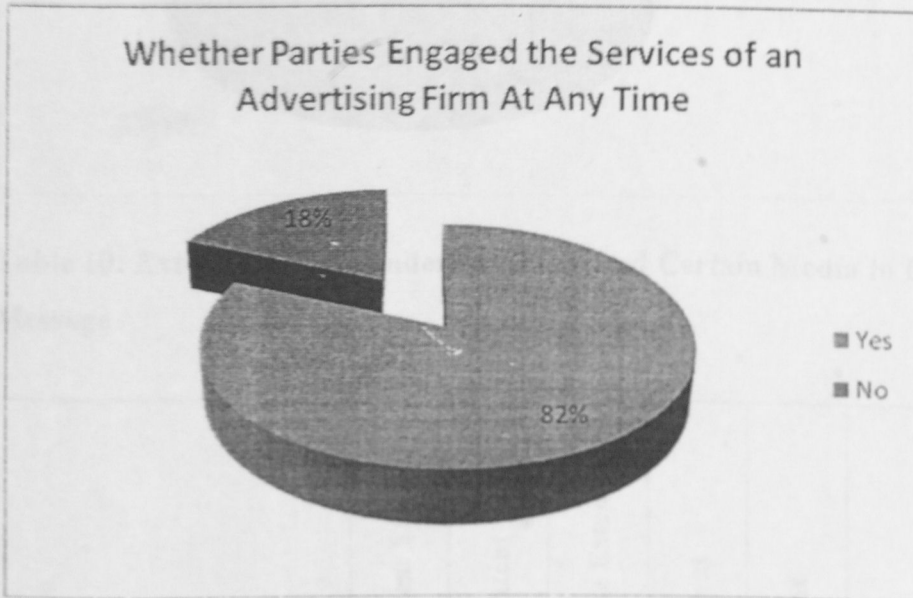
Table 9: Whether Parties Have Advertised in Any Media

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	68	98.3
No	1	1.7
Total	69	100.0

The research findings showed that 98.3% of the parties had advertised some form of media while 1.7% said that they had not. Therefore majority of the political parties do advertise themselves in the media. This shows that, media is considered a very important means through which political parties can advertise themselves. Further analysis showed that the most widely used media was newspapers and local vernacular radio stations

Whether Parties Has Ever Advertized Itself in Any Media

2%

98%

Yes
No
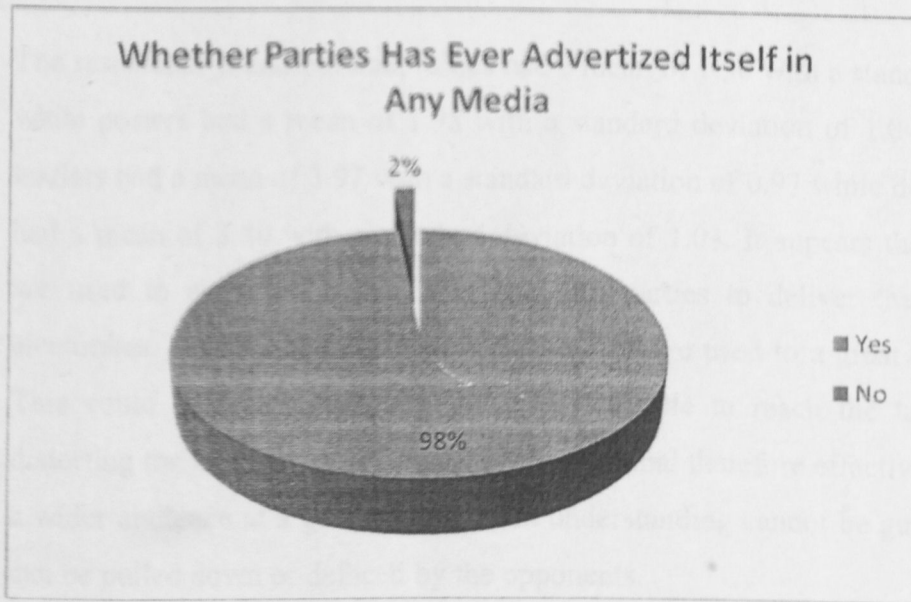
Table 10: Extent that Respondents' Party Used Certain Media to Deliver the Party Message

	Very Great Extent	Great Extent	Moderate Extent	Less Extent	No Extent	Mean	Std Dev
Door to door campaigns	2	5	18	25	19	3.80	1.03
Television	9	25	14	16	5	2.80	1.18
Radio	28	18	19	1	3	2.03	1.06
Posters	30	21	12	5	1	1.98	1.04
Billboards	5	15	19	19	11	3.27	1.21
SMS	38	14	0	3	14	2.15	1.59

Newspapers	16	19	18	8	8	2.63	1.35
Sponsorship	0	9	43	9	8	3.27	0.83
Telephone	4	16	13	30	6	3.28	1.13
Rallies	54	12	0	3	0	1.30	0.71
Internet	34	15	4	5	11	2.13	1.44
Leaflets	0	5	20	19	25	3.97	0.97

The researcher found out that, rallies had a mean of 1.30 with a standard deviation of 0.71 while posters had a mean of 1.98 with a standard deviation of 1.04. On the other hand, leaflets had a mean of 3.97 with a standard deviation of 0.97 while door-to-door campaign had a mean of 3.80 with a standard deviation of 1.03. It appears that, rallies and posters are used to a moderate extent by political parties to deliver their messages to their electorates. Door-to-door campaign and leaflets are used to a great extent by the parties. This could be due to the fact that both are able to reach the target market without distorting the message ,and are considered personal therefore effective ,while rallies reach a wider audience at a go but the content understanding cannot be guaranteed and posters can be pulled down or defaced by the opponents.

Extent that Respondents' Party Used Certain Media to Deliver the Party Message

4.7 People

Members' Recruitment

According to the research findings all political parties have ongoing recruitment of members. This peaks just before the general elections or party elections. This can be attributed to the fact that during party elections only bona fide party members are allowed to either vote or be elected. During the general elections the campaign period is a good time to lure members who are expected to nominate them as their preferred parties' torch bearers and elect them.

Party Secretariat

The research sought to find out whether the parties had secretariats. All the respondents did have secretariats. Regarding the structure all have an Executive director reporting to a national executive council and support staff to assist in the daily running of the secretariat.

The respondents were asked whether they had campaign teams in place and what their composition was. Most did not have permanent campaign teams, but they were formed during elections and mainly composed of the aspiring candidates for the parliamentary and civic seats, with the secretariat acting as the centre of operations.

Party Organs

The research concluded that there were different structures the majority having a national Executive Committee. Those parties that had representation in parliament, the parliamentary groups were the apex. Most parties had women and youth leagues and their leaders sat in the National Executive Council. Campaign personnel and party officials were the most important people in the party.

Political patronage and its effect

The respondents were asked whether their party had a patron and the effects of such patronage. The research found out that most parties did not have patrons. Of the few parties that had a patron, these indicated that the patrons were rich individuals who played a role in decision making. This was mostly in electing of officials and financing the party, essentially controlling the party and its activities. This has led to lack of internal party democracy, corruption within party system, manipulation of party affairs, manipulation of the political system in the country.

4.8 Physical evidence

The research sort to find out what tangible evidence the political parties had to show the members. Most parties had manifestoes which were to be found in the secretariat.

Majority of the parties do give members free merchandise such as T-shirts and caps. 91% of the respondents indicated that they give only 9% of the respondents stated that they do not. Those that do not give sited cost as a hindering factor others that this was not in

accordance with their ideals while to others there were other ways of popularising their candidates that were more effective.

9%

91%

☐ Yes
■ No
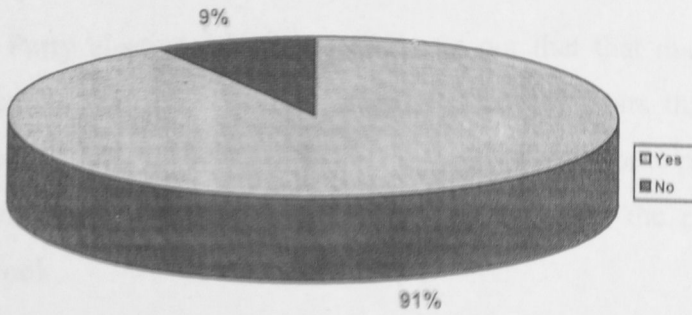
The researcher sought to find out whether the party offices were open to the members. Most party offices wee opened during working hours that is Monday to Friday .However the party offices become vibrant during elections time.

4.9 Processes

Participation in Elections

The research sought to find out whether the political parties had participated in all elections since registration. 65% of the respondents indicated that their parties have not participated in all elections since registration while 35% said that their parties have participated in all the general elections held since their formation.

35%

65%

☐ Yes
■ No
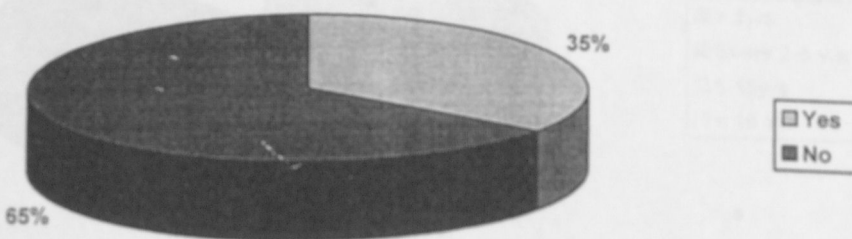
The respondents attributed the non participation in elections to the fact that in the last two general elections parties have participated in elections as coalitions of parties. Other

reasons included not believing in the electoral process to not being able to raise enough money to field candidates.

Party Elections

On Party elections the research found out that that majority of the parties held regular elections for office bearers, mostly after four years this tended to be after the general elections .this could be explained by the fact that some previous party officials could have been trounced in the general elections therefore the party requiring portraying a new outlook.

Voter Education

The respondents were asked how frequent their respective parties conducted civic education. 73% of the respondents indicated that their political parties conduct civic education every 2-5 years. 27% of the respondents stated that their political parties conduct civic education every 6-10 years. Thus a majority of the respondents indicated that their parties conducted civic education every two to five years. This can be attributed to the fact that General elections in Kenya are held after every five years. The findings are illustrated in figure below.
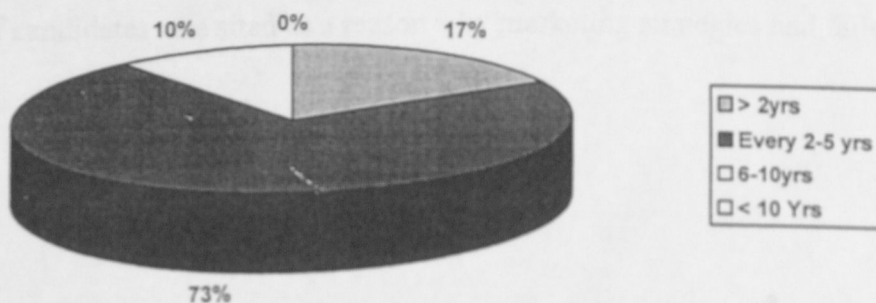
4.10 Challenges facing marketing of political parties

Among the challenges faced while trying to market themselves to the electorate were that the political parties lacked finances to conduct serious marketing. Most political parties raised their funds from the recruitment drives, these was very minimal as they had to be low priced to attract more members. The other source of funds for political parties was from the registration fees paid by aspiring candidates, this however could not be relied on as the amount is not guaranteed and comes in during the election year. This therefore limited ongoing marketing activity to the last minute thereby not being effective.

The research found that the political parties are also faced with the problem of ethnicity. The respondents argued that the political parties are hindered in their marketing by perceptions that certain parties belonged to certain geographical areas therefore it would be a waste of time trying to sell themselves in such regions.

Many of the respondents were of the view that violence was a big hindrance. That their efforts had been frustrated by violence, for example when the opponents of a certain political party use violence against their party supporters during rallies.

Some respondents alluded to the incompetence of party executive organs in giving direction to activities of the party to different target groups. The impact of party patronage was negative to the campaigns, and the perceived dominance of top party officials in election of candidates was sited as a reason why marketing strategies had failed.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the summary of the research, conclusion as well as the policy recommendations by the researcher. The study sought to find out the application of marketing strategies by political parties in Kenya.

5.2 Summary and Discussions

According to the research findings, majority of the political parties in Kenya have a marketing budget. This was evidenced by 73.3% who said they had while 26.7% said they did not have a marketing budget. As to the attributes distinguishing the party from the others, the researcher focused on four attributes which were symbols, slogan colour and the theme song. Concerning the symbol, 95% had at least a unique symbol as opposed to 5% of the parties which do not have any symbol. 78.33% of the parties had a slogan while 65% have the party colour. However, 68.33% of all the respondent parties did not have a theme song.

As to the extent to which some factors are perceived as important to the members about a party, five factors were analyzed which included the trust by the members, accessibility of the party, its accountability, reliability as well as the responsibility of the party to the members. The researcher found out that accountability and reliability had the same weighting in the eyes of the respondent and was the most important factor followed by accessibility. All the factors were perceived as being important to some extent

The study established that political parties had some sources of funding. From the findings, oversees members contributed the highest amounts while registration contributed the least. Patrons contribute to some extent although their contribution comes with conditions that could be seen as detrimental to the party.

The study established that the location of Party offices was dependant on factors such as accessibility to the members, no destruction, closeness to Statehouse as well as some that

were beyond there control like being goodwill from the patron From this researchers observations , many parties did not have secretariats but used the party leaders business premises as party drop-off points. It was noted that majority of the parties had branches in other parts of the country which could mean that they wanted to portray a nationalistic look in order to gain favour from many.

The findings revealed that most parties do not necessarily have a preferred venue to hold their rallies. Rally venue for those who had a preference corresponded to member needs as well as the kind of message to be relayed. Majority of the parties had the view that open spaces were the most ideal as these had the potential of attracting more people and they were cheap and easy to access.

Advertising was found to play a big role in most of the political parties' strategy. Majority of the parties had engaged the services of an advertising firm at some point, while an even larger number had advertised in one form of media. The research findings indicate that leaflets were widely used medium of communication followed by door-to-door campaigns and billboards. In this case political parties need to understand the most effective means of communication to reach their target audience.

People are a very important asset, the research concluded that recruitment is an ongoing process that enables political party get funds, as well as establishing a stream of loyal members who can be relied at in time when the party needs volunteers. Volunteers can be found in the various party branches and are used as agents during elections as well as being used as campaign personnel. The study also revealed that most of the political parties attempted to incorporate the youth and women in the party organs to ensure equitable representation.

Majority of the political parties sought to create an impression in the eyes of the public by giving merchandise like t-shirts and caps. The value attached to this was the pride that the member was associated with that particular party. These were also used as promotional material especially during election time. They were used as uniform to identify the party agents and other officials associated with the party. Colours and symbols were used to distinguish one party from the other. The research established that the party office was

used as a meeting point by the party members and that there was a correlation between the parties that had offices and representation in parliament in that those parties that had dedicated secretariats had a higher representation in parliament.

The research findings indicated that the procedures and schedules of the election process are clearly understood by all parties. The few that choose not to participate in any election had reasons ranging from not having faith in the electoral process to opting not to join the coalition of parties. According to the research findings majority of the parties held regular elections with these elections coming immediately after the country's general elections. Voter education was done by all parties mostly during the election year

5.3 Conclusions

From the foregoing findings the following conclusions may be drawn, that political parties in Kenya have applied marketing to some extent. They may not have systematically planned the use of the marketing mix as would be recommended but there has been use. Considering that most parties have a marketing budget, it would be of great urgency for them to engage the services of professionals in the marketing field to position their parties to attract more members. It would be incumbent on the officials of the political parties to ensure that the finances set aside for marketing purposes are put to their rightful use.

The study concluded that the choice of marketing strategies employed by the different parties depended on various reasons which included availability of funds, the target audience, party leadership, in some cases the patron who was the chief financer of the party determined the type of marketing strategy and also whether the party participated would participate in the general elections. The other factor that was seen to affect the marketing effort was violence, especially during the run up to the general elections when the supporters of candidates from the different political parties have run in with each other during the campaigns.

5.4 Recommendations

It is clear from the finding that, marketing of political parties is an essential activity that political parties should undertake continuously. Political parties need to develop a budget that should cater exclusively for marketing expenses. This study recommends that Political parties undertake research on issues that their members find pertinent and build their campaigns around this to ensure a wider voter base.

The study also recommends that the political parties should develop a marketing strategy to consolidate their ideas while targeting their different target market while at the same addressing and overcoming the challenges encountered in the marketing of their parties. This can be done by employing the services of professionals in the marketing field.

5.5 Limitations of the Study

Limitations faced by the researcher were mainly those of time constraints, accessibility of respondents, the study assumed that all registered political parties would be easily located on the location and numbers provided, which was not the case.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

The study addressed the extent to which political parties in Kenya have applied marketing to popularize themselves and what influences the choice of strategy. However, more research is required on political marketing in Kenya .Effort should also be directed to understand the impact on individuals and society of the use of specific marketing theory and concepts, market orientation and how these theories influence the development of government policies   and their implementation. Future research could also examine the structural and process changes that are occurring as a direct result of marketing's growing influence in politics.

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Elizabeth Isabwa

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School Of Business

To whomever it may concern

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am an MBA (Marketing) student currently doing my thesis entitled *Application of Marketing Strategies By Political Parties in Kenya.*

The objectives of the study is to examine the extent to which political parties in Kenya have applied the marketing strategies to popularise themselves and to establish factors influencing the choice of marketing strategies of political parties in Kenya.

I would be grateful if you assisted me in filling out the attached questionnaire which would go a long way in assisting me in my research.

Thank you in advance

Kind Regards

Elizabeth Isabwa

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION ONE

Name of your Party:	Number Of registered members:
Year of Registration:	How many members of parliament does your party have:
Designation of respondent:	Do you have a marketing budget? Yes..........(1) No.....(2)

SECTION TWO: PRODUCT

Q1: What are your major considerations when nominating a candidate to vie on your party ticket (please list)	1. 2. 3					

Q2(a): Does your party have the following attributes which serve to distinguish it from others				**Yes**	**No**
	1	Symbol		1	2
	2	Slogan		1	2
	3	Colour		1	2
	4	Theme song		1	2
	5	Others (specify)		1	2

Q2(b): Please explain how the attributes above relate to your party ideals			
	1	Symbol	
	2	Slogan	
	3	Colour	
	4	Theme song	
	5	Others (specify)	

Q3: Please indicate the extent to which you believe the following are perceived as important to the members about your party.			Very large extent	Large extent	Some extent	Small extent	No extent
	a	Trust by members	5	4	3	2	1
	b	Accessibility	5	4	3	2	1
	c	Accountability	5	4	3	2	1
	d	Reliability	5	4	3	2	1
	e	Responsibility	5	4	3	2	1
		Other s (specify)	5	4	3	2	1

Q4: To what extent does your party get funding from the following sources?			Very large extent	Large extent	Some extent	Small extent	No extent
	a	Local member contributions	5	4	3	2	1
	b	Overseas members	5	4	3	2	1
	c	Registration	5	4	3	2	1
	d	Fundraising	5	4	3	2	1
	e	Party leader	5	4	3	2	1
	f	Patron	5	4	3	2	1

Q5: Do you believe that the electorate needs to be given incentives to vote?	Yes	1
	No	2

Q6: During campaigns how do you mobilize your members (please list)	1. 2. 3.

PLACE

Q7 (a): Where are your party offices located?	
Q7 (b): What is the rationale for having it in that location?	1. 2. 3.
Q8 (a): Do you have party branches in other parts of the country?	Yes 1 No 2
Q8 (b): If **YES,** kindly list	1. 2. 3.
Q9 (a): Do you have a preferred venue to hold your rallies?	Yes 1 No 2
Q9 (b) If YES, where?	1. 2. 3.
Q9 (c) If NO, why?	1. 2.

PROMOTIONS

Q10 (a): Has your party engaged the services of an advertising firm at any time?	Yes 1 No 2
Q10 (b): If **YES,** which one?	1. 2. 3.
Q11(a): Has your party advertised in any medium?	Yes 1 No 2
Q11 (b): If yes which one?	1. 2.
Q12 (a): Has any of the candidates associated with your party advertised themselves on any mass medium ?	Yes 1 No 2
Q12 (b): I f **YES,** which one?	1. 2. 3.

Q13: To what extent has your party used the following media to deliver your party message

		Very large extent	Large extent	Some extent	Small extent	No extent
a	Door to door campaigns	5	4	3	2	1
b	Television	5	4	3	2	1
c	Radio	5	4	3	2	1
d	Posters	5	4	3	2	1
e	Billboards	5	4	3	2	1
f	SMs	5	4	3	2	1
g	Newspapers	5	4	3	2	1
h	Sponsorship	5	4	3	2	1
i	Telephone	5	4	3	2	1
j	Rallies	5	4	3	2	1
k	Internet	5	4	3	2	1
l	Mailshot	5	4	3	2	1

PEOPLE

Q14: When do you do recruitment of members?	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
Q15 (a): Does your party have a secretariat?	Yes	1
	No	2
Q15 (b) If YES, What is the structure at the secretariat?	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
Q16 (a): Does your party have a campaign team?	Yes	1
	No	2
Q16 (b): If YES, What is its composition?	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
Q17: What is the structure of your party organs		
Q18 (a): Does your party have a patron?	Yes	1
	No	2
Q18 (b): If YES, What is their role?	1.	
	2.	
	3.	

Q19: To what extent are the following important to your party			Very Important	Important	Neither	Not important	Not Important at all
	a	Campaign personnel	5	4	3	2	1
	b	Party Officials	5	4	3	2	1
	c	Patron	5	4	3	2	1

PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Q20 (a): Does your party have a manifesto?	Yes	1
	No	2
Q20 (b): Does your party give members merchandise (e.g. t-shirts, caps etc)	Yes	1
	No	2
Q20(C): When are your party's offices open to its members?		

PROCESSES

Q21 (a): Has your party participated in all elections since its registration?	Yes		1	
	No		2	
Q21 (b): If NO, Why?				
Q21(c):.When was the last time your party held its elections	1			
Q22:How regularly does your party hold voter education	Every 2-5 years	1	More than 10 years	3
	Every 6-10 years	2	Never	4
Q23: What challenges has your party faced while marketing itself to the electorate?				

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire