

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN EMOTIONS AND
VOTING BEHAVIOUR AMONG VOTERS IN MACHAKOS COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of an academic degree in any other university.

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I confirm that the candidate has conducted the research and submitted this research project for review with my approval as a university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research proposal to my parents, Mr and Mrs Peter Mulandi.

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I thank the Almighty God for the gift of life and all that He has enabled me to accomplish, including this research study.

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ABSTRACT

Politics is mainly emotional as people tend to respond to political matters from an emotional perspective. Consequently, these reactions tend to have a major influence on peoples conduct and attitudes. Political rallies are composed of emotional appeals as aspiring leaders attempt to evoke positive or negative emotions among the people. The aim of this research was to study the affiliation between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. The study objectives were: to examine the relationship between negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters; to assess the relationship between positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters; and to find out strategies that can be put in place to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour. This study adopted a descriptive research design. Stratified sampling was used to select a sample of 385 respondents from 4 electoral wards in Machakos County. Data was collected using a questionnaire as well as a Key Informant Interview (KII) schedule. Demographic variables of the respondents were analysed using descriptive analysis. Additionally, the researcher used regression analysis and Pearson correlation tests to check whether there is a relationship between negative and positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour. The study established that there was a statistically noteworthy affiliation between positive emotions, and voting behaviour among the voters, where positive emotions were found to predict voting behaviour significantly. The study concluded that age, religion, education level, and monthly income statistically significantly affected the relationship between positive voting emotions and voting behaviour. However, gender, marital status, employment status and ethnicity did not have a significant influence. The study endorses that Strong social sensitisation should be conducted by community organisations and electoral commissions to encourage female voters and young people to take part in elections.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1. Background of the Study

Voting is the foundation of a democratic society. It is through voting that the led make a choice of the men and women, or policies, they want to lead them, and this has implications on the overall functioning of society. Emotions play a distinctive role in politics, and diverse emotions have various stimulating political innovations (Abelson, Kinder, Peters, & Fiske, 1982; Brader, 2006; Bruter & Harrison, 2017; Marcus & MacKuen, 1993). Bruter and Harrison (2017) argue that electoral psychology includes customs in which various aspects such as emotions, personality, and other psychological factors often influence the electoral experience and social behaviours. Underlying voting is the assumption of rationality, that candidate or policy choice will be well thought out, that factors and their impacts have been considered, and that the choice is based on nothing but benefits to society. However, it is not always so, with societies around the globe settling for choices that they regret soon after the voting exercise. Rather than rationality, emotions step in and informed selection is the basis of this study.

Much of politics is emotional with heightened tensions during the campaigns, and as people vote (Bruter & Harrison, 2017). People retort to political matters including political messages emotionally. Consequently, these reactions may positively or negatively impact on people's behaviour and attitudes (Bruter & Harrison, 2017; Chang, 2001; Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013). In that case, political campaigns are, in many instances, filled with emotional pleas and attempt and arouse negative emotions or the positive ones amongst the voters. Brader (2006; 2011) argues that the most of the political slogans, and the advertisements are aimed at eliciting emotions among the voters and some of them have been seen to have a strong impact. Negative activism by the politicians has been seen to bring out very strong reactions among the voters (Chang, 2001; Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013).

According to Garry (2014), there are emotional foundations for political view and conduct. In particular, there are significant consequences of two diverse adverse emotions, that are anger and anxiety. Garry believed that emotional effects during campaigns are global. Brader (2006) conducted a study to assess how political advertising motivated and persuaded electorates by alluring to their emotions. The study noted that politicians characteristically target to the emotions of electorates, a conduct critics claim undermines balanced decision-making that facilitate democratic processes. Nevertheless, little is known regarding emotional appeals and its impact voting conduct. The current study sought to examine if the use of images and music that evoke emotions in political advertising can change the way voters make choices. Prior research has suggested that voters conduct themselves in a different way while in varying emotional states but has not assessed whether politicians can employ campaigns to alter emotions and influence changes in political conduct.

In Africa, politicians capitalise on the emotions of voters to change voting behaviour and decisions (Bratton, 2008; Ojekwe, 2015; Wafula, 2015). Ojekwe (2015) conducted a study to measure the efficiency of political campaigns in shaping the voting behaviour of Nigerian voters. Specifically, the study examined political campaigns of a gubernatorial candidate in Lagos State. Findings from the research seemed to suggest that political rallies do not have a substantial influence on the electorate's voting conduct but still played a role in the electoral procedure. The researcher concluded that political contenders and parties needed to focus on other election campaign approaches. Wafula (2015) sought to examine voter behaviour during general elections in Kenya between 1992 and 2007. Results indicated that region, religion and income were essential forecasters of voting conduct. For example, voters in the then Nyanza region (the Luo) were significantly impacted by social bonds in their voting conduct. At the same time, Islam had a influential impact on the voting conduct of its devotees when compared to other religions. Nonetheless, voters with a relatively stable income were established to be autonomous of social bonds in their voting conduct.

Negative and positive campaigning also appears to create varying emotional responses with certain people feeling that their social economic and political considerations may have been left out in the elections process (Bruter & Harrison, 2017). For example, following the December 2007 disputed presidential elections in Kenya, there was much violence leading to a projected 1,200 deaths and displacement of many people particularly in the Rift valley and Nairobi areas (Dercon & Gutiérrez-Romero, 2012; Nyandera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020; Mara, 2009; Wango, 2015). This led to a new constitution passed in 2010 (Republic of Kenya, 2010) to hopefully deal with such high emotions and reduce the tensions (Nyandera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020). Positive rallying prompts more positive spirits, while negative rallying evokes negative feelings (Chang, 2001; Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013).

In the same way, negative campaigning tends to not only induce negative feelings, but it also reduces positive emotions towards the attacker (Crigler, Marion, & Belt, 2006; Just, Crigler & Belt, 2007). This is chiefly because as noted by Bruter and Harrison (2017), the emotional tension of votes (in what is regarded as pro or against a certain political movement or conviction) can also lead to queries about could have change in the political psychology of electorates, leading to various results that many people had assumed, or wanted, to be unbearable. Additionally, negative campaigning is claimed to evoke feelings of anger, dislike and anxiety (Mattes & Redlawsk, 2014; Kiss, 2012; Russo, 2016; Redlawsk, Roseman, Kyle & Steven, 2016; Kiss & Hobolt, 2011; 2012). It also tends to arouse emotional retorts than positive campaigning (Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013; Kiss & Hobolt, 2011). This study investigated the relationship between campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Kenya.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Political emotions can be either positive or negative. An emotional appeal attempts to stir the feelings of the audience, while at the same time delivering a political message. Brader (2006; 2011), for instance, argues that political campaigns motivate and persuade electorates by alluring to their emotions. Negative rallying arouses more emotional retorts than positive campaigning and varying emotional retorts, including more adverse feelings.

In that case, campaign messages are designed to the emotions of the prospect electorate. In general, voters respond most favourably to emotional appeals aligned with their emotional states prior introduction to the campaign message. Nevertheless, there are exceptions as certain voters may also experience fear and anxiety arising out of the political sentiments. However, there are limited studies linking emotional vulnerabilities of voters to the choices they make during voting, particularly in Kenya. This research, therefore, pursued to fill this gap by checking whether there exists a relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour, in a bid to establish whether influence in emotions leads to changes in the voting behaviour of voters.

Most of the literature reviewed in this study seems to suggest that emotions during political campaigns have a significant effect on the voting behaviour of voters across the globe (Brader, 2006; DeSteno et al., 2004; Garry, 2014; Chang, 2001; Roseman, Abelson, & Ewing, 1986; Wafula, 2015). However, a study conducted by Ojekwe (2015) was of the view that electoral campaigns do not have a significant influence on voting behaviour. This study sought to examine whether emotions evoked during political campaigns have an impact on voting by examining the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

- 1) To examine the relationship between negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.
- 2) To assess the relationship between positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.
- 3) To identify strategies that can be put in place to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour.

1.5. Research Questions

1. What is the relationship between negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters?
2. What is the relationship between positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters?
3. What strategies can be put in place to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour?

1.6. Study Hypotheses

- H₁. There is a significant relationship between negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.
- H₂. There is a significant relationship between positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.
- H₃. There are strategies that can be put in place to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour.

1.7. Justification of the Study

For democratic principles to take root, political choice ought to be a rational activity. There is a need, therefore, to understand factors that may undermine this endeavour and lead to wrong or poor choices. In this study, the researcher sought to study the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour. Information gathered could help increase electoral/political reforms by demonstrating how electoral campaign behaviours influence voters in voting or failing to vote for candidates.

Findings from this study will hopefully assist policymakers, stakeholders, and political parties in creating reforms and setting standards that will assist in improving electoral campaigns. Further, it will hopefully provide guidelines on monitoring electoral campaigns that cause negative emotions and lead to unrest or violence.

1.8. Significance of the Study

This study is of significance to various people, including policymakers, voters, and to various local and international organisations with an inclination to politics.

To policymakers, findings from this research will provide strategies for minimising the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour. This will assist in reducing possible cases of political violence.

To voters, the findings will enlighten voters on the impact of electoral campaign emotions on their voting behaviour. This will, in turn, help them be sober and objective when making leadership choices.

The study is of relevance to local and international organisations with interests in political, social-economic wellbeing, including curbing electoral violence. This is because the study will identify social, economic, political issues as well as identify essential strategies to minimise strong emotions during electoral campaigns. The findings will therefore assist the organisations in establishing effective action plans crucial in preventing electoral violence that is often the result of emotions raised during electoral campaigns.

1.9. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study targeted registered voters in Mavoko Sub-County, Machakos County, aiming to find out the relationship between negative and positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour. The independent variable was electoral campaign emotions, while the dependent variable was voting behaviour. The intervening variables were the age, gender, marital status, economic status and religion of the voters.

One of the limitations of this study was that Machakos County is vast. Consequently, the researcher would not be able to cover the whole of it owing to logistical challenges. To overcome this challenge, the researcher obtained a representative sample of voters from the eight sub-counties that make up the county and which are divided into forty electoral wards. It was also challenging to reach a good number of participants since they were held up in their daily duties. The researcher overcame this challenge by conducting the data collection exercise over three weeks in order to capture sufficient data from sample participants.

1.10. Operational Definition of Terms

- Campaign** This can be defined as the period before the electorate make their political choice on Election Day (Brady, Johnston & Sides, 2006).
- Campaign emotions** These are the emotions (feelings, inclinations, sometimes strong sentiments) that are specifically associated with campaigns and elections as candidates (you may call them political (potential) leaders) go about seeking the attention, support and acceptance of the electorate. These often-intense emotions may emanate from the candidates, electorate or both (Dr. Geoffrey Wango, Psychology, University of Nairobi, in Conversation, 20th November, 2019).
- Election** This is a formal group decision-making procedure in which a population chooses an individual to hold a public office. The elected leaders make various decisions which have social economic and political ramifications, including safety and security health, education and other social services.
- Electoral campaign** An electoral campaign is an organised effort seeking to influence decision-making progress within a specific population (Kiss, 2012). Kiss and Hobolt (2012) further argues that electoral campaign have direct and indirect effects.
- Emotion** Emotions refers to a mental state linked to the nervous system, and that is attributed by chemical variations diversely linked with thoughts, feelings, behaviour retorts, and a rate of pleasure or displeasure. In politics, emotions involve the decision-making process (Bruter, & Harrison, 2017).
- Emotional appeal** this is an effort which is aimed at arousing people feelings and emotions with a view of sending a political message
- Negative emotions** Negative emotions can be described as feelings that cause people to be miserable or sad.
- Positive emotions** Positive emotions can be explained as feelings where there is a lack of negativity, such that no discomfort or pain is felt.

- Voter** This is an individual who has a right and is registered to take part in choosing a preferred candidate for a given public office during an election.
- Voting** Voting is a selection process for a group or a population, with processes put in place to collectively choose a candidate to run for a given position. Voting behaviour is part of elections.
- Voting behaviour** Voting conduct refers to the actions or indecisions of voters in relation to engaging in elections. This includes campaign effects (Brady & Johnston, 2006).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter is a review of current literature on the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters. The chapter was founded on the study objectives.

2.1. Negative Electoral Campaign Emotions and Voting Behaviour among Voters

Negative election rallying is composed of multiple forms of messages that elicit varying emotions. There are few studies that have assess how the varying adverse campaign messages influence the voter's emotional response (Mattes & Redlawsk, 2014; Russo, 2016). Among the findings of these studies is that the emotional reactions differ from one another with respect to whether the campaign message was targeting an individual or it had a targeted issue. Mattes and Redlawsk (2014) did a study whose sole focus was on the anger feelings and established that individuals are less angry towards character as compared to whether a message was based on promoting a certain issue. The study further found that particular aspects of the individual based issues which were targeting family resulted into fiercer anger that those political advertisements which were regulated and had a strict rule. Russo (2016) established that individual exposure to negative messages form a particular political party will have mixed reactions which may have negative consequences. Negative campaign messages from a particular party based on issues may lead to revolution and less excitement among the community members. The outcomes of the study resulted into a combination of negative feelings among individuals.

Anger is evoked when an individual's basic beliefs and the accepted values are breached under various political messages (Steenbergen & Ellis, 2006; Marcus, 2000). It reflects stable conflict with the opposition. Individuals may encounter anger for a wide scope of circumstances, for instance, when offended, unconvinced, frustrated, or harmed in any capacity. Exemplary anger emerges in light of functions in which the culprit's conduct speaks to an infringement of good guidelines; in such instances the damaged need not be

felt among the individuals. An individual may experience anger when he has been ethnically abused by particular factions of individuals in the society (Haidt, 2003). Noble anger has been viewed to serve various morals at different capacities which have the capability to persuade "outsider" spectators to make a move so as to cure watched treacheries (Haidt, 2003). Anger can urge residents to take part in governmental issues, by dissenting, composing letters, and communicating their suppositions (Brader, 2006).

According to Redlawsk et al., (2016), negative campaign messages have been seen to elicit mixed reactions among voters that makes them become angry as well as anxious leading to them dismissing an opponent against their candidate. These findings need to be incorporated to future studies that aim at establishing the emotional reactions among voters who are subjected to different campaigns (Haidt, 2003). Contempt includes looking down on somebody and feeling ethically prevalent. In various levelled social orders, contempt towards that underneath oneself is a sort of cool impassion, an explanation that the other isn't even deserving of solid sentiments, for example, outrage. In more populist social orders, nonetheless, contempt is all the more regularly evoked by the discernment that someone else doesn't have the goods (Redlawsk et al., 2016). Negative rallying arouses more emotional retorts than positive campaigning and varying emotional retorts, including more adverse feelings. In that case, campaign messages are designed to the emotions of the prospect electorate. In general, voters respond most favourably to emotional appeals aligned with their emotional states prior introduction to the campaign message (Redlawsk et al., 2016).

A perceived threat triggers anxiety in an individual. It is traditionally considered as a response to an unknown threat (Craig, Brown & Baum, 2005), in this way it is more future-situated than is outrage (Tiedens and Linton, 2001). most of the political slogans, and the advertisements are aimed at eliciting emotions among the voters and some of them have been seen to have a strong impact (Marcus and MacKuen, 2003, Albertson and Gadarian, 2015). In Kenya, this is reflected in the winner-takes-it-all political influence and particularly in the event of a loss as summarised by Nyandera, Agwanda and Maulani (2020:4):

However, after losing elections, the opposition parties had very little participation in public affairs. Losing the election means being alienated from development projects, employment, and even justice. Elections have been seen as a high-stakes issue in Kenya, and therefore politicians have resulted in using several means to win the election, including corruption, manipulation of results, violence, and intimidation.

This makes politics and hence campaigns and voting highly emotive issues and thus may be subjective to negative electoral behaviours. However, this does not necessarily rule out positive campaigns, and this is the subject of the next section.

2.2. Positive Electoral Campaign Emotions and Voting Behaviour among Voters

Positive campaigning occurs when candidates emphasize on their personal abilities, policy stands, and accomplishments. Common emotional appeals include hope, pride, reassurance, compassion and empathy (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Montague, 2009; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). O'cass (2002) conducted a study that focused on issues identified with political advertising and constituent conduct through an assessment of political publicizing authenticity, the apparent estimation of data sources used and accessible in political races, elector inclusion, certainty, and feeling. The investigation was attempted in a state political decision in Australia. The outcomes showed that the positive campaign ran by the officeholder government was accepted by the voters. Further, citizen association, fulfilment, and feeling influenced the acceptability of the good campaign.

Pride has been found to be categorized under positive emotions since it focuses on individual self as well as self-praising. It has been also found as an attribute that measures one's disposition as well as the pointer to individual excitement (Marcus, 2000; Marcus et al., 2006). Pride can result from a person own accomplishment or praise form a different source. The contrast among pride and bliss is that one doesn't simply appreciate a positive result, however that one assumes individual acknowledgment for the accomplishment (Nabi, 2002). Pride invigorates favourable to social conduct (Panagopoulos, 2010).

Panagopoulos (2010) established that pride can go hand in hand with the voting behaviour of an individual (Finn and Glaser, 2010).

Hope reflects on a sense of urgency as evidenced through the capacity to act and a path forward (Snyder, 2004; Just, Grigler & Belt, 2007). It is also oriented towards the future. However, it is different from joy or enthusiasm that the future holds some uncertainty (Frijda, Kuipers, & Schure, 1989) offers the choice of progress from the present status (Just, Crigler and Belt, 2007). Crigler, Marion, and Belt (2006) contend that candidates that move want to draw in residents in the campaign. Just, Crigler and Belt (2007) found that expectation animates voters to utilize campaign correspondence as they look for help for their future desires. Sentiments of expectation are a solid indicator of voters' candidate inclination and vote decision (Just, Crigler and Belt, 2007; Finn and Glaser, 2010).

2.3. Strategies to Minimise the Impact of Electoral Campaign Emotions on Voting Behaviour

From the research conducted it has been found that most of the Individuals have different reactions as pertain to political stimulation. The political negative campaign emotions lead to negative reactions while positive campaign emotions have been seen to elicit positive reactions from various individuals (Conover & Feldman, 2006; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Indeed, Marcus & Mackuen (1993) pinpoint that emotionality supports, rather than disrupt the political reasoning among the electorate, and thus they enhance rather than diminish the apparent quality of democratic life. However, voters are different and elicit different reactions depending on how well they interpret the political messages, yet an understanding of its importance in the formulation of strategies on minimising their impact.

Marcus, Newmann & MacKuen (2000) proposed the hypothesis of full of feeling knowledge, a utilization of mental examination on feeling in legislative issues. They contended that two emotional frameworks establish a framework for objective conduct by controlling residents between dependence on propensity and more smart cycles, as per the

requests of the world of politics (Roseman, Abelson, & Ewing, 1986; Kinder 2004). Utilizing the National Election Studies (NES), they exhibited that restless residents are bound to be mindful and settle on contemplated decisions, while eager residents will in general depend on party inclinations. The researchers additionally recommended that the hypothesis of Affective Intelligence may reveal insight into how campaign correspondence functions.

Emotions refers to a mental state linked to the nervous system, and that is attributed by chemical variations diversely linked with thoughts, feelings, behaviour retorts, and a rate of pleasure or displeasure (Damasio, 2000), and in this case, their decision in voting (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Thus, it is possible to control one's behaviour despite the electoral campaign emotions being fronted by a politician. But in Kenya, the new constitutional dispensation was expected to assist deal with highly charged political emotions and hopefully diffuse the unlikelihood of a recurrence of the 2007 violence and displacement of people (Kramon & Posner, 2011; Nyandera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020; Republic of Kenya, 2010)

To minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour, Marcus et al. (2006) proposed the adoption of various strategies which are viewed to minimize the effect of electoral campaign emotions. These strategies will help the voters to be in a person to deal with the emotions which are elicited by campaigns from the opponent candidate. This would ensure that there is no anger and that the voters vote in relation to the issues raised not to what the individual physically portray. On edge sentiments stir the mindful and receptive resident for whom political researchers have since quite a while ago looked. Marcus, Newman & MacKuen (2000) and Marcus et al. (2006) refer to this dual system as affective intelligence, and that emotions in politics require to be assessed since it adapts behaviour to the demands of the situation.

By understanding how emotions work, voters can effectively control their voting behaviour. For instance, enthusiasm appeals through images and content associated with success increase the desire to choose a candidate. On the other hand, fear appeals brought

out by images and content linked to threat encourages a reconsideration of one's choices and most likely makes a voter go for the opposing candidate (Brader, 2006).

2.4. Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by field theory and sociological theories of voting, which are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.4.1. Field Theory

The proponent of Field Theory was Kurt Lewin (1936; 1938; 1951). Field theory examines the patterns of relations among the individual and the setting (Burnes & Cooke, 2013; Martin, 2003; Parlett, 1991). It holds that conduct needs to be derivative from a totality of simultaneous factors that control our being (Lewin, 1951; Martin, 2003). According to the Field Theory, an individual's life is made up of numerous different spaces; that is, it reflects various dynamics. In that case, people may have a similar objective, yet the field to arrive might be unique. One's field might be changed so as to pick up the most throughout everyday life.

A few fields might be erased, and some additional, all relying upon specific functions that happen in an individual's lifetime (Burnes & Cooke, 2013). Field theory also entails the notion that every individual has a varying experience that significantly influences their social field or situation. It is not necessarily the case that two individuals' encounters of a function won't be comparable. Rather, there is some distinction dependent on their concentration or experience. This prompts that no two encounters are the equivalent for an individual either, as the dynamic field is continually evolving (Parlett, 1991).

From the Field Theory's ideology, the voting behaviour of individuals can be altered as a result of electoral campaign emotions. This is because campaigns will affect a person's consciousness and also the unconsciousness in line with field theory. Specifically, politicians can decide to use positive emotions to drive an agenda of success and attachment, thus making voters vote in their favour (Ridout & Searles, 2011). On the other hand, some politicians might decide to use negative emotions to drive agendas of inability,

fear and detachment, making voters decide not to vote for some candidates. However, the Field Theory also adds that individuals might respond differently to the same situation. This, in turn, means that voters can control the impact of electoral emotions, and vote based on objectives and clearly defined facts. It is, therefore, possible to develop and implement strategies that can control the influence of electoral emotions on voting behaviour.

2.4.2. Sociological Theory of Voting

The sociological theory focuses on the impact of social aspects on voting behaviour (Antunes, 2010; Bartels, 2008, Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). The proponents of the theory argued that the demonstration of casting a ballot is an individual demonstration, influenced for the most part by the character of the citizen and their introduction to the media. The aftereffects of their exploration, nonetheless, negated this speculation, highlighting casting a ballot being more influenced by the social gathering the citizen had a place with than media presentation (Bartels, 2008).

The affiliation among the social group of the voter and their voting decision was significant that voting conduct could be explained using factors of region, religion, and the socioeconomic status (Eldersveld & Pollock, 1951). This disclosure drove the researchers to contend that casting a ballot conduct is reliant on logical variables, that is, social structure and culture. At the end of the day, this school considers participation in segment gatherings, for example, nationality, financial status, area, religion, and corporate entertainers (early stage and purposive) as key determinants of casting a ballot conduct (Anderson and Sobel, 2003; Andersen, Tilley, and Heath, 2005, Granovetter, 2013).

This research entails voting conduct. The topic has been in the interest of sociological and Marxist theorists where human conduct is embedded in the social relations of a society. Socialization structures individuals into being overwhelmingly delicate to the assessments of others, and subsequently faithful to the directs of consensually created frameworks of statuses, standards, and qualities (Granovetter, 2013). This implies that during the time spent association, people model their conduct in solid, equal frameworks of social relations

and structures. The resultant social setting is the paste that gums atomised people caught by the math of voting rationale (Abrams, Iversen and Soskice, 2015).

This thought challenges the possibility of the sane elector natural in the liberal perspective on vote-based system and requires the requirement for an extended assessment of the basic connections that condition casting ballot behaviour. It is also the central attribute of voting conduct from which it determines its possible pros and cons. Through this arrangement, voters don't expect what they need legitimately with the government and other authorities. They do as such through their chosen agents; accordingly, the responsive demonstration of the administration or any expert besides won't mirror the citizen deal straightforwardly, yet rather their delegates and the legislature.

The theory is applicable to the study as it informs the researcher on how the social aspect of the individual influences his or her voting behaviour. The demonstration of casting a ballot is an individual demonstration, influenced for the most part by the character of the citizen and their introduction to the media. The aftereffects of their exploration, nonetheless, negated this speculation, highlighting casting a ballot being more influenced by the social gathering the citizen had a place with than media presentation.

A conceptual framework is a diagram that shows the relationship between independent and dependent variables. It is presumed that an independent variable either determines or affects the dependent variable (Van der Waldt, 2008). Although it changes as required, the values in no way represent a problem in need of explanation in the analysis but can be taken as given. The conceptual framework is based on the affiliation between various variables. The independent variables are positive and adverse electoral emotions. The dependent variable is the voting conduct among voters.

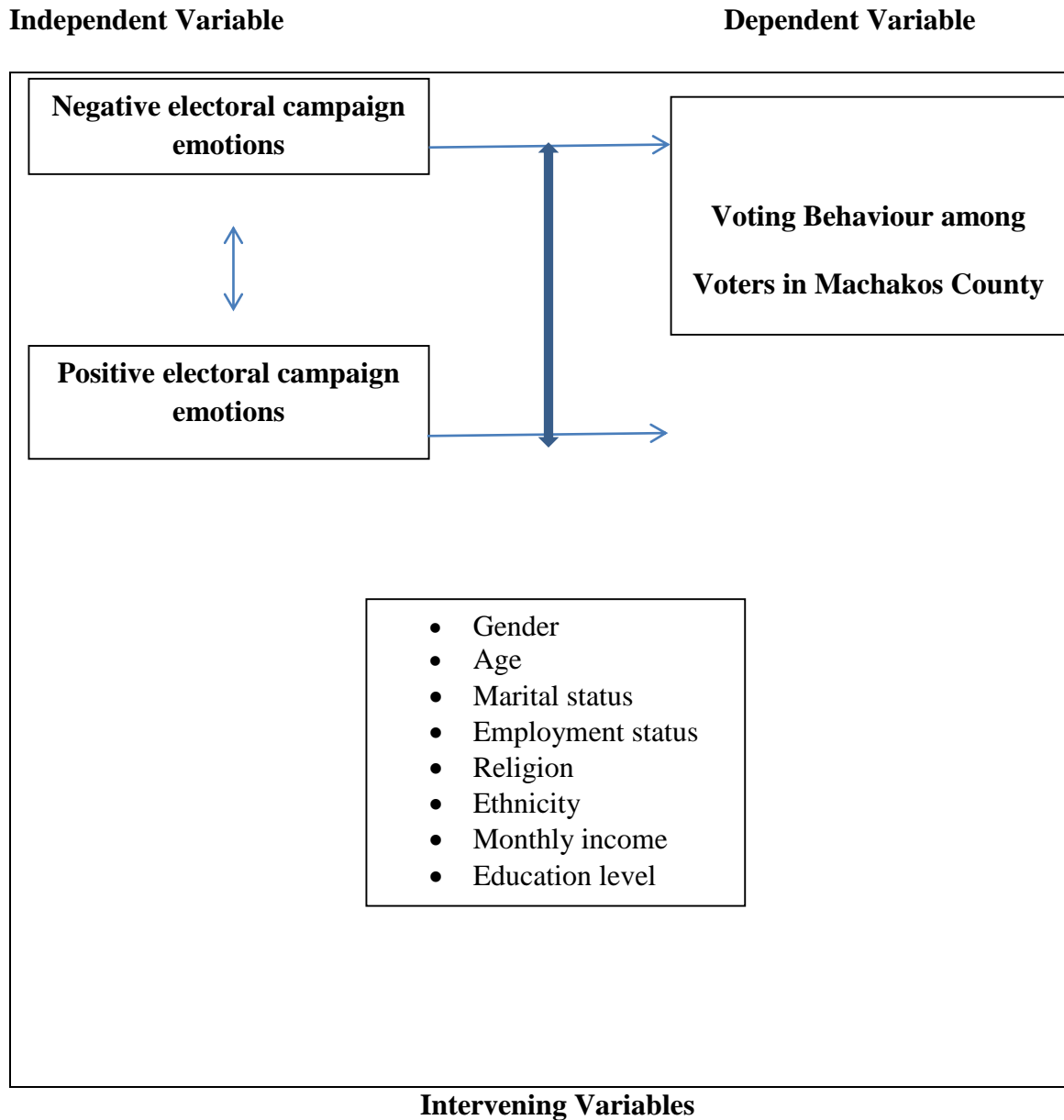


Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework

2.5. Conclusion

The literature reviewed showed that negative campaigning on voting behaviour incorporates various message types, eliciting different attacks and subsequently, different emotions. Just a handful of information matter for voters' emotional reaction to different messages during campaigns (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944; Mattes & Redlawsk, 2014; Russo, 2016). On positive campaigning and voting

behaviour, the literature showed that candidates involve themselves in positive campaigning when the emphasis is on their accomplishments, abilities and policy stands. Some emotional appeals frequently recognised by scholars as dominant in positive rallying are optimism, pride, encouragement, concern and compassion (Montague, 2009).

The literature on strategies to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour showed that people have comparable emotional reactions to political provocations: negative campaigns elicit negative responses, while positive campaigns trigger affirmative emotional rejoinders (Conover & Feldman, 2006). Nevertheless, voters vary in their responses to campaigns. Heterogeneity in assessing ways in which voters retort to negative rallying has gained minimal attention; yet knowledge about voters' heterogeneity and emotional response to various negative campaigning is essential in engaging electoral approach effectively. That said, the researcher reached a conclusion that as psychologists, we need to interpret the psychology of politics in campaigns and voting behaviour; thus, the drive to undertake this interesting study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

The chapter presents the various methodologies which the research utilized in achieving the objectives of the study. The methods included the research design, the target populace, the sampling design, the sample, data collection instruments and procedures, methods and techniques of data analysis.

3.1. Research Design

Descriptive research design was utilized in the study. This research method was chosen since it allows the researcher to collect data that answers questions regarding the study status (Creswell, 2002; Dawson, 2009; Franfort-Nachmias, Nachmias, & DeWaard, 1996; Walliman, 2010). The method is appropriate for the study in that it reports the way things are at that time, in that particular place and that particular moment (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Descriptive survey is a data gathering process that involves the administration of questionnaires to a group of individuals which are considered to be the study sample. This method was appropriate for the study in that it helped in portraying the accuracy of people's profile, events and situations.

3.2. Location of the Study

The study was carried out in Machakos County that is located in Eastern Kenya. The county is composed of eight constituencies that are Masinga, Mavoko, Kangundo, Yatta, Mwala, Matungulu, and Kathiani. The county's administrative town is Machakos. The county border Kiambu and Nairobi County towards the West, Embu County to the North, Kitui to the East, Kajiado to the South West, Makueni to the South, Kirinyaga and Muranga to the North West. The regions population is currently 1,098,584 people, and is rapidly growing (Machakos County, Kenya, 2019).

3.3. Target Population

This study targeted registered voters in Mavoko sub-county, Machakos County. The sub-county has four electoral wards. According to records from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (2017), Mavoko sub-county has the highest number of voters as compared to the other seven sub-counties, with 118,180 registered voters. The study focused on Mavoko sub-county, also known as Athi River, because the sub-county is relatively cosmopolitan; with different ethnic and social status groups residing in the area due to the sub county's development in terms of the various factories, companies, good transport network, increased real estate development and proximity to the companies, factories and Nairobi city. It is thus a part of the Nairobi Metropolitan area.

3.4. Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling was employed to select the sub-county (Mavoko Sub-County) as it has the highest number of registered voters compared to the other sub-counties of Machakos County. Simple random sampling was utilized to select the sub-county's wards, where the researcher conducted the study. Stratified random sampling procedure was employed to sample the participants, who are registered voters, to fill in the questionnaires. The voters were stratified according to electoral wards.

The sample size was determined according to a formula proposed by Using Yamane (1973) to determine the sample size;

Using Yamane (1973) formulae

$$n = N / (1 + N * (e)^2)$$

Where

n = sample size

N = the population size

e = the tolerable sampling error (5.1%) at 94.9% poise rate

Thus;

$$n = 118,180 / (1 + 118,180) (0.051)^2$$

$$n = 385$$

Thus the sample size was 385 respondents.

The researcher, therefore, targeted 385 registered voters in Mavoko Sub-County. Additionally, the researcher randomly interviewed ten politicians from the regions; those who conducted campaigns in the region using a KII tool to identify their views regarding electoral campaigns and voting behaviour.

3.5. Research Instruments

Data was collected using a semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix II), as well as a Key Informant Interview (KII) schedule (Appendix III). The study's questionnaire was composed of closed and open-ended queries split into three sections. The first section captured the voters' demographic characteristics, the second section measured voting behaviours among the voters, while the third measured electoral campaign emotions. Pilot testing was conducted using 10% of the total study's sample in a different county. The pilot test was crucial in measuring the instruments' validity and reliability. Findings from the pilot, as well as comments from the university supervisor, were used to amend the research instruments to make them effective in capturing the required data.

3.6. Data Collection Procedure

The data gathering process began an approval letter was issued by the institution to go to the field. The letter was further used to seek a permit to conduct the study (Appendix V). Subsequently, the officer in charge of political affairs in Machakos County was informed regarding the research and all the related stakeholders were informed. The researcher relied on three research assistants in the data gathering procedure. They were trained on how to issue the questionnaire. The drop and pick method was employed where the research assistants distributed the questionnaire to the participants and collected them once completed.

3.7. Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

Validity alludes to the degree at which the instrument estimates what it was expected to gauge (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) states that there are three sorts of legitimacy which incorporate substance, develop and basis legitimacy. The investigation used substance legitimacy where the specialist utilized the guidance of the boss to build up whether the things in the poll tended to the examination destinations. To ensure the legitimacy of the exploration instrument the investigation pretested the examination instrument on 39 respondents (spoke to 10% of the example populace) who were excluded from the real examination.

Test-retest reliability was conducted through the administration of the questionnaire prior to beginning the data gathering session to establish the stability of the questionnaire. Data gathered through the pilot study of 39 subjects assisted in the identification of some of the inadequacies likely to occur during the data gathering process and the amendments conducted assisted to enhance the reliability of the questionnaire. The collected information during the pilot study were employed to tabulate the reliability coefficient from a correlation matrix. The reliability was assessed through Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient, which is a level of inside consistency. An unwavering quality of at least 0.70 at $\alpha=0.05$ (95%) portrays a higher dependability and noteworthiness pace of certainty that is satisfactory (Gable and Wolf, 2003).

3.8. Data Analysis

Collected data was cleaned, re-organised and coded before data analysis. Data for the study was analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The data collected was keyed in and analysed using SPSS version 24. The Quantitative information gathered were exposed to the descriptive statistics feature in SPSS to produce mean, and standard deviation, that were depicted through tables, frequencies and percentages. Qualitative data entail words and observations, not numbers. In order to assess the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters, inferential data analysis was used. Specifically, the researcher used regression analysis and person correlation tests to check

whether there is a relationship between negative and positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour.

Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to show the strength of the relationship between negative and positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters. A regression analysis was used to assess the association between the variables and describe the relationship in percentages. Regression was used to show how gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income contribute to the voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. Qualitative data was analysed through the identification of common trends among the responses from participants who took part in key informant interviews; the questions were meant to measure the study's third objective; from the responses; the findings addressed the strategies can be put in place to minimise the impact of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour, which was the third objective's purpose.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

The researcher got clearance from appropriate authorities before carrying out the research study. In that regard, the researcher got clearance from the Research Board at the University of Nairobi. Secondly, the researcher sought clearance from the County Government of Machakos. Further, written consents were sought from the targeted participants before collecting data. The participants were clearly informed that participation was voluntary. The researcher also clearly clarified the study aim and informed the participants why they were chosen to engage in the study. Confidentiality of the collected data was guaranteed, where the researcher informed the voters that the captured data would only be used for the purposes of this research only. Contact information, including names and initials, were not captured. The questionnaires were labelled using assigned numerical codes. The originality of the study was ascertained by running the entire report through Turnitin to ensure that there was no plagiarised work.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0. Introduction

This chapter outlines data analysis, presentation, interpretation and discussion of the findings. The study examined the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

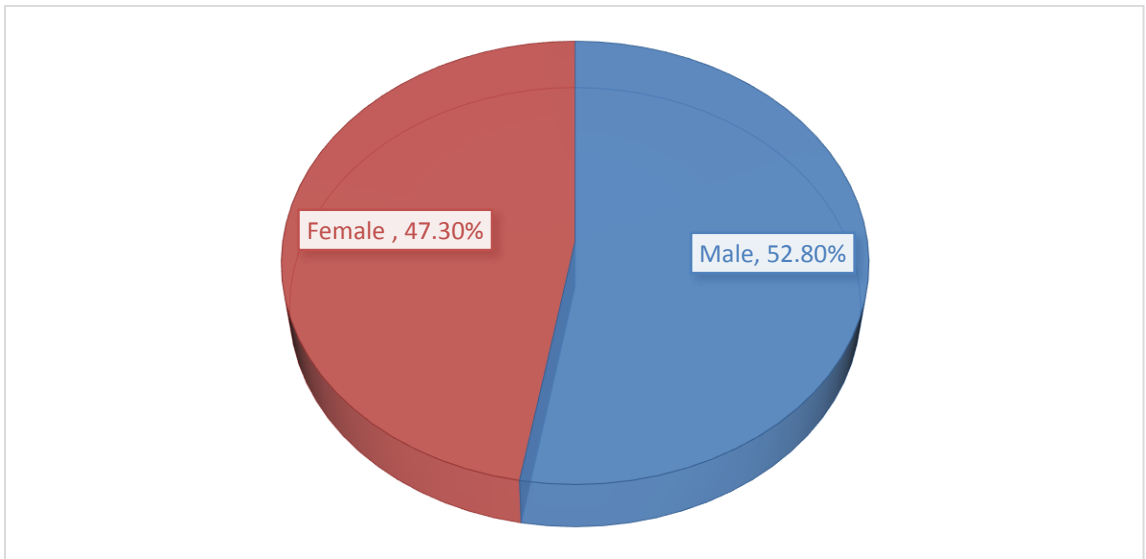
4.1. Characteristics of Research Participants

This section presents the demographic composition of the research participants. Variables considered in this section are gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity and monthly income. Out of the 450 research questionnaires prepared for the anticipated 385 participants, 400 were returned, and hence the study had an overwhelming response rate.

4.1.1. Gender of Participants

The participants were asked to indicate their gender which is as indicated in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2. Participants' Gender



From the findings, a majority (52.8%) of the participants were male, while (47.3%) were female. This implies that the majority of the responses emanated from males. This further suggested that the majority of the men were active in politics and thus could offer a great deal of information in relation to voter behaviour in Machakos County.

4.1.2. Age of Participants

The participants were requested to indicate their age bracket. The findings are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Age of Participants

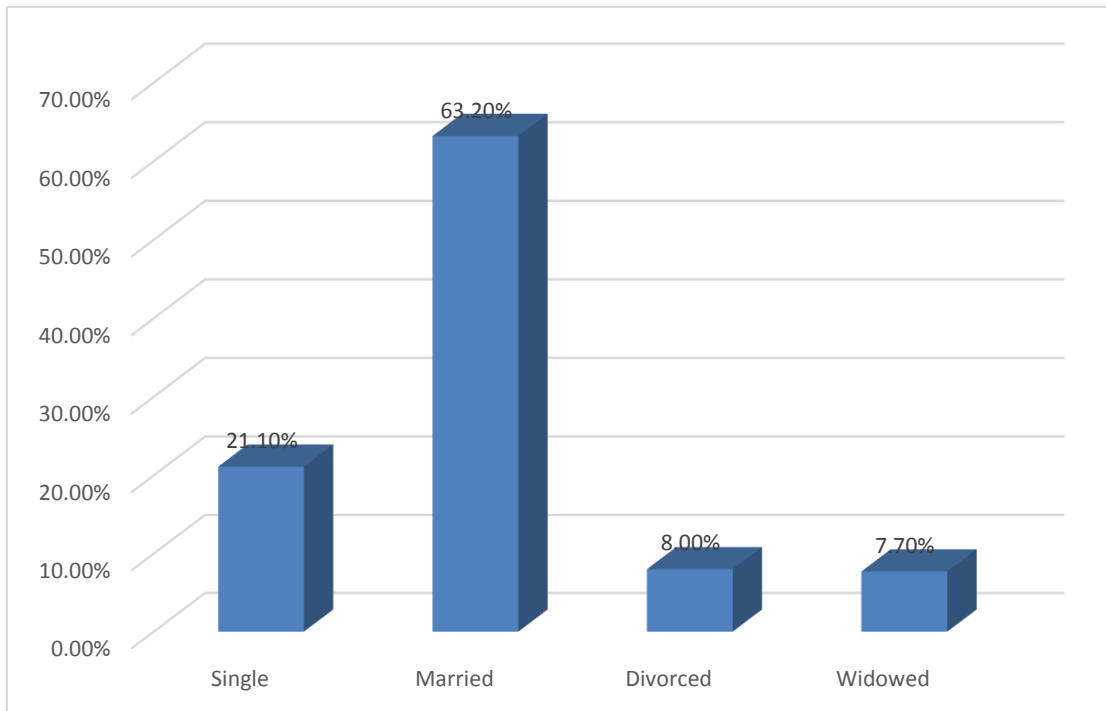
| Age of participants | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 18 - 24 years | 46 | 11.5 |
| 25 - 34 years | 139 | 34.75 |
| 35 - 44 years | 57 | 14.25 |
| 45 - 54 years | 109 | 27.25 |
| 55 and above years | 49 | 12.25 |
| Total | 400 | 100.0 |

From the findings, most of the participants (34.75%) were between 25 - 34 years, 27.25% between 45-54 years, 14.25% were between 35-44 years, 12.25 were above 55 years while 11.5% were between 18-24 years. This suggests that the majority of the participants were middle-aged and thus could offer important information regarding the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. It was also possible that they were hyped due to what happened in the 2007 Kenya presidential elections that resulted in a lot of unprecedented violence (Nyandera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020).

4.2.3. Marital Status of Participants

The participants were asked to state marital statuses which is indicated in figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Participants' Marital Status

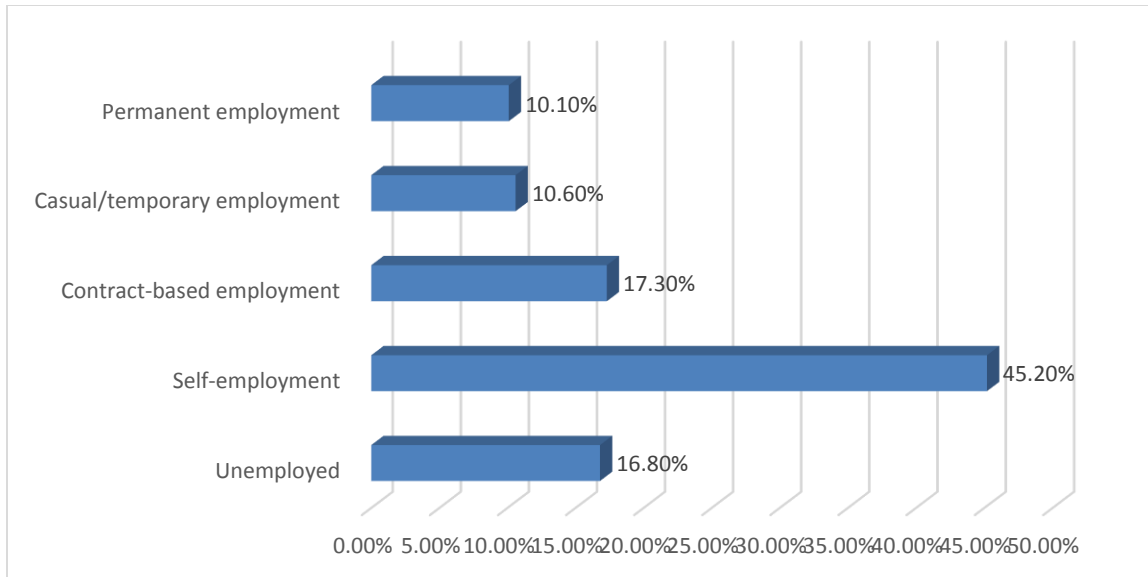


From the findings, the majority (63.2%) were married, though there were those who were single (21.1%) and a few (8.0%) were divorced, while 7.7% were widowed. This depicted that majority of the participants were married couples. This showed that majority of the couples were involved in electoral affairs and thus could offer reliable information in relation to electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

4.1.4. Employment Status of Participants

The participants were requested to indicate employment statuses. The findings are as shown in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. Participants' Employment Status

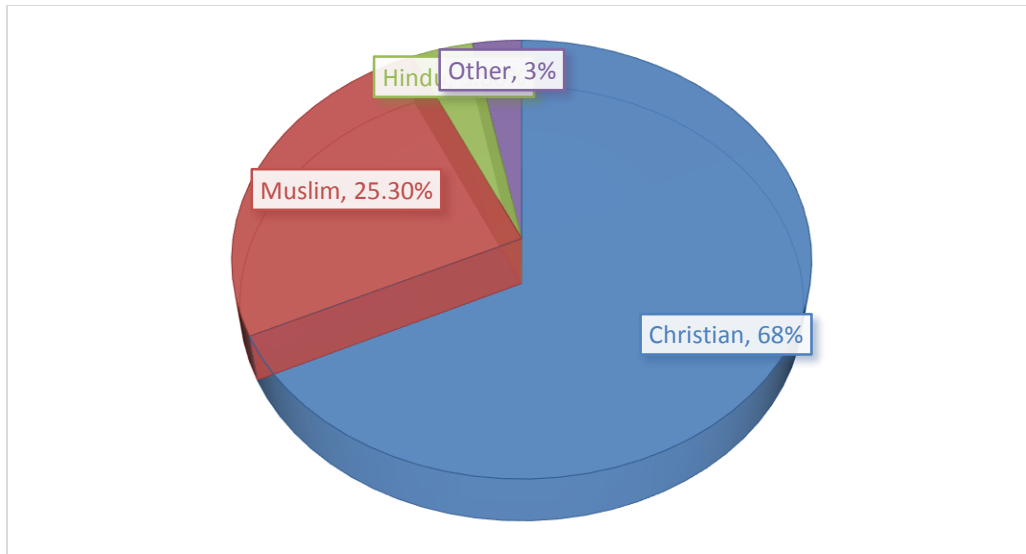


From the findings most (45.2%) of the participants were self-employed, 17.3% had contract-based employment, 16.8% were unemployed, 10.6% had temporary employment, while 10.1% were permanently employed. This depiction suggests that most of the participants had employed themselves. They had set some time for politicking and thus understood electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

4.1.5. Religion of Participants

The participants were asked to indicate the religion and the results are shown in figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5. Participants' Religion

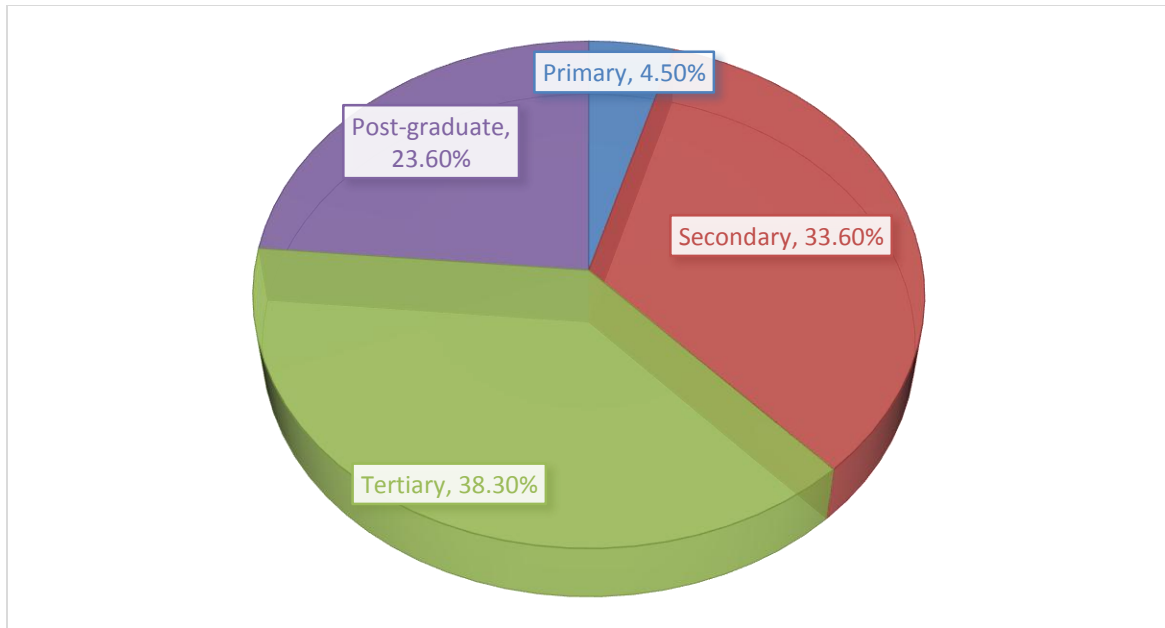


From the findings, the majority of the participants were Christians (68%), though there were other religious faiths such as Muslim (3.8%), Hindu (3%) and others. This suggests that the majority of the participants were Christians and thus were flexible in relation to politics and could easily understand issues to do with electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour.

4.1.6. Education Level of Participants

The participants were requested to indicate their education level. The findings are as shown in figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6. Education Level of Participants



From the findings most (38.3%) of the participants had tertiary level of education, 33.6% had a secondary level, 23.6% had postgraduate level while 4.5% had primary level of education. This depicts that majority of the participants were educated and thus could provide reliable information in relation to electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. It can therefore be assumed that they were well informed and perhaps could have been enlightened on political issues by providing information to them through the media or about voting (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944).

4.1.7. Ethnicity of Participants

The participants were asked to indicate their ethnicity which is as shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Participants' Ethnicity

| Ethnicity | Frequency | Percentage |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Kamba | 176 | 44.0 |
| Kikuyu | 39 | 9.8 |
| Luhya | 28 | 7.0 |
| Luo | 33 | 8.3 |
| Kisii | 23 | 5.8 |
| Kalenjin | 24 | 6.0 |
| Maasai | 26 | 6.5 |
| Meru | 23 | 5.8 |
| Other | 28 | 7.0 |
| Total | 400 | 100.0 |

From the findings, most (44%) of the participants were Kamba, though there were several other ethnic groups including Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kisii, Kalenjin, Maasai, Meru and others. This depicts that most of the participants participating in the study were Kamba and thus could offer reliable information in relation to the voting patterns among the Kamba community who are the native inhabitants of the region.

4.1.8. Participant Income

The participants were requested to indicate their monthly income. The findings are as shown in table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Participants' Monthly Income

| Monthly income | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Below Kshs 10,000 | 87 | 21.75 |
| Kshs 11,000 - 20,000 | 86 | 21.5 |
| Kshs 21,000 - 30,000 | 78 | 19.5 |
| Kshs 31,000 - 40,000 | 57 | 14.25 |
| Kshs 41,000 - 50,000 | 55 | 13.75 |
| Kshs 51,000 - 60,000 | 27 | 6.75 |
| Kshs 61,000 - 70,000 | 8 | 2.0 |
| Over Kshs 71,000 | 2 | 0.5 |
| Total | 400 | 100.0 |

From the finding, one in five persons (21.75%) were earning below KSh 10,000, and thus an overwhelming majority (62.75% were earning up to KSh. 30,000 (estimated \$ 300) which is a clear indication that they may not be able to meet most of their essential needs. In addition, the least number of the participants (2.5%) indicated they were earning over Kshs 60,000 monthly (estimated at 600 \$). This suggests that most of the participants who were poor and lacking basic needs could thus harbour emotions during voting as they sought to vote in leaders who could improve their earnings and overall social-economic wellbeing.

4.2. Electoral Campaign Emotions and Voting Behaviour

This section presents findings on positive and negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour.

4.2.1. Positive Electoral Campaign Emotions

The participants were asked to indicate the extent of agreement with various statements regarding positive electoral campaign emotions. The results are presented in Table 4.4

Table 4.4. Positive Electoral Campaign Emotions

| Statements | Mean | Std. Dev |
|--|-------------|-----------------|
| Electoral campaigns make me feel excited. | 1.41 | 0.790 |
| I am always interested in electoral campaigns and politics. | 1.82 | 0.846 |
| During electoral campaigns, I feel hopeful that the politicians will keep their words. | 1.91 | 0.961 |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel thought of by politicians/candidates. | 1.92 | 1.000 |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel that politicians/candidates are addressing my concerns and interests. | 1.79 | 0.961 |
| Electoral campaigns make me have hope for a better future as a voter. | 1.79 | 1.053 |
| Electoral campaigns convince me that political parties and politicians care about people like me. | 1.73 | 1.045 |

From the findings, the participants agreed that electoral campaigns made them feel thought of by politicians/candidates (mean=1.92), followed by feeling hopeful that the politicians will keep their words (mean=1.91). Others always agreed to feel interested in electoral campaigns and politics (mean=1.82), while others were made to feel that politicians/candidates were addressing their concerns and interests (mean=1.79). For others, electoral campaigns made them have hope for a better future as voters (mean=1.79), while others were convinced that political parties and politicians cared about people like them (mean=1.73). Others were of the view that electoral campaigns made them feel excited (mean=1.41). These statistics suggest that electoral campaigns make people feel thought of by politicians/candidates.

4.2.2. Negative Electoral Campaign Emotions

The participants were asked to indicate the extent of agreement with various statements regarding negative electoral campaign emotions. The results are presented in table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Negative Electoral Campaign Emotions

| Statements | Mean | Std. Dev |
|---|-------------|-----------------|
| During electoral campaigns, I feel that politicians are not concerned with addressing my needs/issues as a voter. | 3.47 | 1.352 |
| I get angry at the issues highlighted by politicians during electoral campaigns. | 3.34 | 1.091 |
| I feel that politicians are not sincere about the things they tell voters during electoral campaigns. | 3.38 | 1.242 |
| Electoral campaigns make me dislike politics/politicians. | 3.52 | 1.232 |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel that politicians/candidates are not trustworthy. | 3.27 | 1.362 |
| The things addressed during electoral campaigns make me lose hope about things changing for the better in this country. | 3.28 | 1.226 |
| When politicians are conducting electoral campaigns, I feel anxious of how things will turn out during elections. | 3.31 | 1.338 |

From the findings, the participants agreed that electoral campaigns made individuals dislike politics/politicians (mean=3.52). For others, electoral campaigns made them feel that politicians were not concerned with addressing their needs/issues as voters (mean=3.47). Others felt that politicians were not sincere about the things they told voters during electoral campaigns (mean=3.38), while others got angry at the issues highlighted by the politicians (mean=3.34). Others felt anxious of how things would turn out during elections (mean=3.31), while for others the things addressed during electoral campaigns made them lose hope about things changing for the better (mean=3.28). For others, electoral campaigns made them feel that politicians/candidates were not trustworthy (mean=3.27).

The last question: “When politicians are conducting electoral campaigns, I feel anxious of how things will turn out during elections”, is particularly significant and critical as it indicates the anxiety associated with campaigns and elections in Kenya following the December 2007 presidential elections and violence in which over 1,200 people died

(Dercon & Gutiérrez-Romero, 2012; Mara, 2009; Wango, 2015). Although Machakos and the greater Eastern part of Kenya were not as affected by the violence and displacement of people as the Rift Valley and Nairobi areas, elections are bound to create much anxiety in Kenya. This suggests that electoral campaigns may make individuals dislike politics/politicians.

4.2.3. Voting Behaviour

The participants were requested to indicate the extent to which they agreed with various statements regarding voting behaviour. The results are presented in table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Voting Behaviour

| Statements | Mean | Std. Dev |
|--|------|----------|
| There are particular issues highlighted by politicians, and that am concerned with that greatly influence who to vote for. | 1.63 | 0.927 |
| During elections, I try to convince people to vote for other candidates. | 1.98 | 0.916 |
| During elections, am persuaded to vote for another candidate. | 1.83 | 0.945 |
| Electoral campaigns make me understand that it is important for me to participate/vote in an election. | 1.89 | 0.974 |
| I vote so as to support my favourite party and/or candidate to win. | 1.99 | 0.994 |
| I vote because I am concerned about issues raised during electoral campaigns. | 1.89 | 0.952 |
| I vote because if I don't vote, I cannot complain if things do not turn out well. | 1.91 | 0.972 |
| I vote because I want to support a particular political agenda that excites me during electoral campaigns. | 1.67 | 0.985 |
| I vote because I trust that the politicians that I vote for will keep their promises on what they talk about during electoral campaigns. | 1.50 | 0.945 |

| | | |
|--|------|-------|
| I vote because over time, I have generally liked/ become very optimistic about politics and campaigns. | 2.02 | 0.990 |
| I vote because I like politicians/ politics/ campaigns. | 2.28 | 1.052 |
| I vote because I am concerned with issues highlighted by politicians during campaigns. | 1.90 | 1.016 |
| I vote because I like stands expressed on particular issues during campaigns. | 1.91 | 0.902 |
| I vote because politicians make me feel that my vote matters a lot and my vote makes a great difference. | 1.81 | 0.968 |
| I vote because I have great experiences with/during campaigns and voting. | 1.75 | 0.987 |
| I vote because most of the issues raised during electoral campaigns affect me directly. | 1.62 | 1.098 |

From the findings, the participants agreed that they voted because they liked politicians/ politics/ campaigns (mean=2.28). Others voted because over time, and they had generally liked/ become very optimistic about politics and campaigns (mean=2.02). Others voted so as to support their favourite party and/or candidate to win (mean=1.99). Others convinced other people to vote for other candidates (mean=1.98). Others voted because if they didn't vote, they couldn't complain if things did not turn out well (mean=1.91). Some voted because they liked the stands expressed on particular issues during campaigns (mean=1.91), and others because they were concerned about issues highlighted by politicians (mean=1.90). Others voted because they were concerned about issues raised during electoral campaigns (mean=1.89), while for others electoral campaigns made them understand it was important for them to participate/vote in an election (mean=1.89). Others convinced other people to vote for other candidates (mean=1.83). Others voted because politicians made them feel their vote mattered a lot and made a great difference (mean=1.81). Some voted because they had great experiences with/during campaigns and voting (mean=1.75), and others because they wanted to support a particular political agenda that excited them during electoral campaigns (mean=1.67). For others, particular issues highlighted by politicians and that they were concerned with greatly influenced who

to vote for (mean=1.63). Others voted because most of the issues raised during electoral campaigns affected them directly (mean=1.62), while still others voted because they trusted that the politicians they voted for would keep their promises on what they talk about during electoral campaigns (mean=1.50).

4.2.4. Strategies to Minimise the Impact of Electoral Campaign Emotions on Voting Behaviour

In this section, qualitative analysis was conducted to find out proposed strategies that can be utilised to minimise the effects of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour. Data was captured from Key Informant Interviews. According to the KIIs, the Kenyan law should criminalise voter bribery to avoid its influence on campaign emotions, the Electoral Commission should increase security personnel deployed during campaigns to reduce inciteful messages from politicians, and that local authorities and the government should device ways of curbing victimisation when one votes against the majority.

The KIIs further suggested that the Electoral Commission should advice voters on the importance of voting objectively as opposed to following emotions created by politicians during campaigns; the government should assure voters of their security to minimise fear which in turn causes low voter turnout during elections; the government should discourage cases of violence by arresting any voters involved in harsh exchange of words or confrontations; voters should reduce the influence of major political parties by selecting candidates with good leadership strategies and qualities; and that voters should courageously vote out leaders who prey on emotions to win votes but fail to deliver on campaign promises.

The KIIs further suggested that the Electoral Commission should update the voters' register to avoid cases of missing names which in turn discourage other registered voters from voting; social groups and politicians should initiate social forums where the effects of campaign emotions are discussed to reduce their effects on voting behaviour; young people should be encouraged to register as voters and objectively take part in elections; and that

voters should be encouraged to focus on future political benefits in, say, development rather than concentrate on the money being dished out by politicians during campaigns.

4.3. Regression Analysis

Multiple regression was utilized in the study. SPSS version 24 was utilized in the study to generate output. The coefficient of determination was utilized to give an explanation as to how a change in the independent variable affect a change in the dependent variable. The dependent variable was voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County while the independent variables were gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income.

4.3.1. Model Summary

Table 4.7 below provides the model summary of the relationship between the predictor variables and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

Table 4.7. Model Summary

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted Square | RStd. Error of the Estimate | F | P-value |
|-------|-------|----------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------|---------|
| 1 | 0.411 | .169 | .152 | .49751 | 9.735 | .001 |

- a. Predictors (Constant): gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income.
- b. Dependent Variable: voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County

From the results in the table $R^2=0.169$, that is a 16.9% disparity in voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County explained by the independent variable in the model. However, the 83.1% unexplained difference in voting behaviour results from other factors which are not explained in the model. Form the findings it can be said the model is good for the purposes of estimation.

4.3.2. ANOVA Results

Table 4.8 below provides the ANOVA results of the relationship between the predictor variables and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

Table 4.8. ANOVA of the Regression

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------|
| 1 | Regression | 19.276 | 8 | 2.410 | 9.735 | .000 ^a |
| | Residual | 94.798 | 391 | .248 | | |
| | Total | 114.074 | 399 | | | |

- a. Predictors: (Constant), gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income.
- b. Dependent Variable: voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County

from the findings it was established that the level of significance was 0.001 which is way below 0.05 and thus the model was fit in predicting how gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income impact voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

4.3.3. Coefficient of Determination

Table 4.9 below provides the coefficient of determination on the relationship between the predictor variables and the voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

Table 4.9. Coefficient of Determination

| Model | Unstandardised | | Standardised | t | Sig. |
|-------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|--------|------|
| | Coefficients | | Coefficients | | |
| | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| (Constant) | 1.453 | .139 | | 10.421 | .000 |
| Gender | .117 | .052 | .109 | 2.237 | .026 |
| Age | -.013 | .014 | -.059 | -.971 | .332 |
| Marital status | .022 | .040 | .032 | .560 | .576 |
| Employment status | -.003 | .024 | -.007 | -.136 | .892 |
| Religion | .054 | .040 | .070 | 1.327 | .185 |
| Education level | .147 | .039 | .231 | 3.796 | .000 |
| Ethnicity | .028 | .011 | .143 | 2.593 | .010 |
| Monthly income | -.116 | .022 | -.350 | -5.304 | .000 |

a. Dependent Variable: voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County

Simple regression analysis was conducted to determine the voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. As per the SPSS generated table below, regression equation

$$(Y = \alpha + \beta_1X_1 + \beta_2X_2 + \beta_3X_3 + \beta_4X_4 + \beta_5X_5 + \beta_6X_6 + \beta_7X_7 + \beta_8X_8 + \epsilon)$$

becomes:

$$(Y = 1.453 + 0.117X_1 - 0.013X_2 + 0.022X_3 - 0.003X_4 + 0.054X_5 + 0.147X_6 + 0.028X_7 - 0.116X_8 + \epsilon)$$

From the regression, taking the independent variable at constant (gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income) constant at zero, the voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County was 1.453. The results examined likewise indicated that taking all other free factors at zero, a unit increment in sex will prompt a 0.11 increase in the voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County, whereas a unit increase in age will lead to a 0.013 decrease. A unit

increase in marital status will lead to a 0.022 increase in the voting behaviour, while a unit increase in religion will lead to a 0.003.

A unit increase in education level will lead to a 0.054 increase, while a unit increase in ethnicity will lead to a 0.028 increase. On the other hand, a unit increase in monthly income will lead to a 0.116 decrease. This infers that education level contributes the most to voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County, followed by gender. At 5% level of significance and 95% level of confidence, gender, age, marital status, employment status, religion, education level, ethnicity, and monthly income were all significant in determining voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

4.4. Correlation Analysis

Correlational analysis was done to determine the relationship between negative and positive electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters. Results of the correlation are presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10. Correlation between Negative and Positive Electoral Campaign Emotions and Voting Behaviour Among Voters

| | | Correlations | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| | | Voting Behaviour Among Voters | Positive Electoral Campaign Emotions | Negative Electoral Campaign Emotions |
| Voting Behaviour Among Voters | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .699** | -.081 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .000 | .107 |
| | N | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| Positive Electoral | Pearson Correlation | .699** | 1 | -.163** |

| | | | | |
|---|---------------------|-------|---------|------|
| Campaign Emotions | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | | .001 |
| | N | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| Negative Electoral Campaign Emotions | Pearson Correlation | -.081 | -.163** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .107 | .001 | |
| | N | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). | | | | |

The results suggest that there is a significant positive relationship between positive electoral emotions and voting behaviour among voters ($r = 0.699$). The findings also reveal that there is a negative relationship between negative electoral emotions and voting behaviour among voters ($r = -0.081^{**}$, p-value greater than 0.05), thus implying that negative electoral emotions have a negative and no significant relationship with voting behaviour among voters.

Thus the study accepts the alternative hypothesis that positive electoral campaign emotions have a significant relationship with voting behaviour among voters and rejects the null hypothesis that positive electoral campaign emotions do not have a significant relationship with voting behaviour. Additionally the study accepts the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between negative electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters.

4.5. Conclusion

Campaigning and voting is part of politics, and in a democratic society, people take part in the voting process. From the results it was established that there is a strong relationship between emotions and the voting behaviour. This thus formed the basis on which the discussion, conclusion and recommendation were made.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents discussions and conclusions from the results obtained in data analysis. Further, the chapter also presents recommendations from the study's findings.

5.1. Summary of Findings

From the study's results, the majority of the participants were male, aged between 30-34 years. Most of them were married, the majority were self-employed, and most were Christians. Most had attained tertiary education, were mostly from the Kamba tribe, and majority earned an income of between KShs 5,000 and KShs 10,000. Additionally, the results revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship between positive emotions and voting behaviour among the voters, where positive emotions were found to significantly predict voting behaviour. Moreover, marital status, education level and monthly income statistically significantly influenced the relationship between positive voting emotions and voting behaviour significantly.

Further, data analysis results showed that there was no statistical significance between negative emotions and voting behaviour among the voters, where negative emotions were found to not predict voting behaviour. Additionally, age, religion, education level, and monthly income statistically significantly influenced the relationship between negative voting emotions and voting behaviour. However, gender, marital status, employment status and ethnicity did not have a significant influence.

Qualitative analysis showed that some of the strategies proposed to reduce effects of campaign emotions on voting behaviour include criminalising voter bribery; increasing security during campaigns; reducing victimisation of voters that oppose the majority political wave; reducing violence by arresting violent voters during elections; encouraging voters to vote by considering the objectives and qualifications of politicians; encouraging

voters to vote out non-performing politicians, updating voter registers frequently, and encouraging young people to take part in elections.

The findings of this and other studies (Bruter & Harrison, 2017) have implications in that there is a need to carefully consider the patterns of decision-making as witnessed in elections. In particular, there is need to study the emotional factors and acts, including the extent to which voters emotions are influenced, and thus interact with the overall voting process.

5.2. Discussion of Findings

The study results established a strong association between positive emotions and voting behaviour among the voters, where positive emotions were found to significantly predict voting behaviour. Anger is evoked when an individual's basic beliefs and the accepted values are breached under various political messages (Steenbergen & Ellis, 2006; Marcus, 2000). It reflects stable conflict with the opposition. Individuals may encounter anger for a wide scope of circumstances, for instance, when offended, unconvinced, frustrated, or harmed in any capacity.

Exemplary anger emerges in light of functions in which the culprit's conduct speaks to an infringement of good guidelines; in such instances the damaged need not be felt among the individuals. An individual may experience anger when he has been ethnically abused by particular factions of individuals in the society (Haidt, 2003). Noble anger has been viewed to serve various morals at different capacities which have the capability to persuade "outsider" spectators to make a move so as to cure watched treacheries (Haidt, 2003). Anger can urge residents to take part in governmental issues, by dissenting, composing letters, and communicating their suppositions (Brader, 2006).

The study found that there was no statistically significant relationship between negative emotions and voting behaviour among voters. Mattes and Redlawsk (2014) did a study whose sole focus was on the anger feelings and established that individuals are less angry towards character as compared to whether a message was based on promoting a certain

issue. The study further found that particular aspects of the individual based issues which were targeting family resulted into fiercer anger than those political advertisements which were regulated and had a strict rule. Russo (2016) established that individual exposure to negative messages from a particular political party will have mixed reactions which may have negative consequences. Negative campaign messages from a particular party based on issues may lead to revolution and less excitement among the community members. The outcomes of the study resulted into a combination of negative feelings among individuals.

Much of politics is emotional with heightened tensions during the campaigns, and as people vote (Bruter & Harrison, 2017). People retort to political matters including political messages emotionally. Consequently, these reactions may positively or negatively impact on people's behaviour and attitudes (Bruter & Harrison, 2017; Chang, 2001; Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013). In that case, political campaigns are, in many instances, filled with emotional pleas and attempt and arouse negative emotions or the positive ones amongst the voters. Brader (2006; 2011) argues that the most of the political slogans, and the advertisements are aimed at eliciting emotions among the voters and some of them have been seen to have a strong impact. Negative activism by the politicians has been seen to bring out very strong reactions among the voters (Chang, 2001; Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013)

Some of the strategies proposed to reduce effects of campaign emotions on voting behaviour have included criminalising voter bribery; increasing security during campaigns; reducing victimisation of voters that oppose the majority political wave; reducing violence by arresting violent voters during elections; encouraging voters to vote by considering the objectives and qualifications of politicians; encouraging voters to vote out non-performing politicians; updating voter registers frequently, and encouraging young people to take part in elections. To minimise the impact of electoral campaigns on voting behaviour, Marcus, Newmann & MacKuen (2000) proposed the hypothesis of full of feeling knowledge, a utilization of mental examination on feeling in legislative issues.

They contended that two emotional frameworks establish a framework for objective conduct by controlling residents between dependence on propensity and more smart cycles,

as per the requests of the world of politics (Roseman, Abelson, & Ewing, 1986; Kinder 2004). Utilizing the National Election Studies (NES), they exhibited that restless residents are bound to be mindful and settle on contemplated decisions, while eager residents will in general depend on party inclinations. The researchers additionally recommended that the hypothesis of Affective Intelligence may reveal insight into how campaign correspondence functions.

Brader (2006; 2011), for instance, argues that political campaigns motivate and persuade electorates by alluring to their emotions. Negative rallying arouses more emotional retorts than positive campaigning and varying emotional retorts, including more adverse feelings. In that case, campaign messages are designed to the emotions of the prospect electorate. In general, voters respond most favourably to emotional appeals aligned with their emotional states prior introduction to the campaign message. Nevertheless, there are exceptions as certain voters may also experience fear and anxiety arising out of the political sentiments. However, there are limited studies linking emotional vulnerabilities of voters to the choices they make during voting, particularly in Kenya. This research, therefore, pursued to fill this gap by checking whether there exists a relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour, in a bid to establish whether influence in emotions leads to changes in the voting behaviour of voters.

According to Redlawsk et al., (2016), negative campaign elicits mixed reactions among voters that makes them become angry as well as anxious leading to them dismissing an opponent against their candidate. These findings need to be incorporated to future studies that aim at establishing the emotional reactions among voters who are subjected to different campaigns. In various levelled social orders, contempt towards that underneath oneself is a sort of cool impassion, an explanation that the other isn't even deserving of solid sentiments, for example, outrage. In more populist social orders, nonetheless, contempt is all the more regularly evoked by the discernment that someone else doesn't have the goods (Redlawsk et al., 2016). Negative rallying arouses more emotional retorts than positive campaigning and varying emotional retorts, including more adverse feelings. In that case, campaign messages are designed to the emotions of the prospect electorate. In general,

voters respond most favourably to emotional appeals aligned with their emotional states prior introduction to the campaign message (Redlawsk et al., 2016). Bruter and Harrison (2017:3) highlight the need for enhanced understanding of these positive and negative reactions and their effect in the voting process:

Understanding how those positive and negative reactions are triggered is crucial because they could have serious consequences for democracy. On the one hand, feeling closer to one's community and a sense of responsibility for its future may lead to greater legitimization of the system, acceptance of its outputs, and civically respectful behaviour. On the other hand, emotional dislike towards another electoral camp, whilst seemingly very rare in the past, seems to have become the name of the game in an increasing number of cases — not least after the 2016 UK referendum and US presidential election.

Psychology of elections argues that emotions can and do lead to polarisation (Bruter & Harrison, 2017) and this has implications for electoral behaviour and can lead to violence as witnessed in the 2007 presidential elections in Kenya. Negative campaign messages from a particular party based on issues may lead to revolution and less excitement among the community members. The outcomes of the study resulted into a combination of negative feelings among individuals.

5.3. Conclusions

The study concluded that the majority of registered voters in Machakos County are males aged between 25 and 34 years, they are married and are self-employed. Further, it is concluded that registered voters in Machakos County are mostly Christians with tertiary level education, they are mainly Kamba, and mostly earned an income of up to 30,000.

Additionally, the study concluded that there was a statistically significant relationship between positive emotions and voting behaviour among the voters, where positive emotions were found to significantly predict voting behaviour. Further, it was concluded that age, religion, education level, and monthly income statistically significantly influenced

the relationship between positive voting emotions and voting behaviour. However, gender, marital status, employment status and ethnicity did not have a significant influence.

Lastly, it is concluded that there are strategies that can be crucial in reducing the effects of electoral campaign emotions on voting behaviour among registered voters in Machakos County. They include criminalising voter bribery, increasing security during campaigns, reducing victimisation of voters that oppose the majority political wave, reducing violence by arresting violent voters during elections, encouraging voters to vote by considering objectives and qualifications of politicians, encouraging voters to vote out non-performing politicians, updating voter registers frequently, and encouraging young people to take part in elections.

5.4. Recommendations

1. Strong social sensitisation should be carried out by community organisations and electoral commissions to encourage female voters and young people to take part in elections.
2. Well-structured and highly informative campaigns should be carried out by electoral commissions and interested organisations, to sensitise voters on the influence of electoral campaigns on their voting behaviour. This will be useful in encouraging voters to vote objectively.
3. The government, electoral commission and social sensitisation groups should continually engage voters in order to come up with effective strategies of minimising the effect of campaign emotions on voting behaviour.
4. For further research, similar studies should be carried out in more counties in Kenya, in order to compare and generalise results on the effects of campaign emotions on voting behaviours.

5.5. Areas of Further Study

This study only examined a specific study on electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County. Notwithstanding, there are different factors that are area explicit which likewise add to the discretionary mission feelings and casting

a ballot conduct among electors. Subsequently it is prescribed that further exploration be done to recognize and inspect electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters not only in Machakos County but in other areas in Kenya for comparison purposes. This includes concepts identified by various scholars (Diagnault, Soroka, & Giasson, 2013; Finn, & Glaser, 2010; Roberts, 2011) such as race and use of modern information technology. Also, future studies could focus on emotions and democracy (Groenendyk, 2011).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

Mwanza Lawrence Maingi

Reg No:C50/82888/2015

17 October, 2019

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

I am a student of the University of Nairobi pursuing a Master's Degree in Community Psychology. I am conducting a study on the relationship between electoral campaign emotions and voting behaviour among voters in Machakos County.

I kindly request for your participation in this research by responding to the questions in the questionnaires and/or interviews voluntarily, and as honestly as possible.

All the information obtained in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will be used solely for the purpose of academic research.

Thank you in advance for your participation and feedback.

Yours faithfully,

Mwanza Lawrence Maingi

d) Post Graduate []

7. Ethnicity (Tick (√))

Kamba [] Kikuyu [] Luhya []

Luo [] Kisii [] Kalenjin []

Maasai [] Meru []

Other _____

8. Monthly Income (Tick (√))

a) Below Kshs 10,000 []

b) Kshs 11,000 - 20,000 []

c) Kshs 21,000 - 30,000 []

d) Kshs 31,000 - 40,000 []

e) Kshs 41,000 - 50,000 []

f) Kshs 51,000 - 60,000 []

g) Kshs 61,000 - 70,000 []

h) Over Kshs 71,000 []

SECTION 2: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN EMOTIONS

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN EMOTIONS

| The following statements are on Positive electoral campaign emotions . Kindly indicate how much you agree with the statements by ticking (√) in the given boxes. | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel excited | | | | | |
| I am always interested in electoral campaigns and politics | | | | | |

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| During electoral campaigns, I feel hopeful that the politicians will keep their words | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel thought of by politicians/candidates | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel that politicians/candidates are addressing my concerns and interests | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make me have hope for a better future as a voter | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns convince me that political parties and politicians care about people like me | | | | | |
| The following statements are on negative electoral campaign emotions . Kindly indicate how much you agree with the statements by ticking (√) in the given boxes. | | | | | |
| During electoral campaigns, I feel that politicians are not concerned with addressing my needs/issues as a voter | | | | | |
| I get angry at the issues highlighted by politicians during electoral campaigns | | | | | |
| I feel that politicians are not sincere about the things they tell voters during electoral campaigns | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make dislike politics/politicians | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make me feel that politicians/candidates are not trustworthy | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| The things addressed during electoral campaigns make me lose hope about things changing for the better in this country | | | | | |
| When politicians are conducting electoral campaigns, I feel anxious of how things will turn out during elections | | | | | |
| The following statements are on voting behaviour . Kindly indicate how much you agree with the statements by ticking (✓) in the given boxes. | | | | | |
| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| There are particular issues highlighted by politicians and that am concerned with that greatly influence who to vote for | | | | | |
| During elections, I talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate | | | | | |
| During elections, other people talk to me to persuade me to vote for a particular party or candidate | | | | | |
| Electoral campaigns make me understand that it is important for me to participate/vote in an election | | | | | |
| I vote so as to support my favourite party and/or candidate to win | | | | | |
| I vote because I am concerned about issues raised during electoral campaigns | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| I vote because if I don't vote, I cannot complain if things do not turn out well | | | | | |
| I vote because I want to support a particular political agenda that excites me during electoral campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because I trust that the politicians that I vote for will keep their promises on what they talk about during electoral campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because overtime, I have generally liked/ become very optimistic about politics and campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because I like politicians/ politics/ campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because I am concerned with issues highlighted by politicians during campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because I like stands expressed on particular issues during campaigns | | | | | |
| I vote because politicians make me feel that my vote matters a lot and my vote makes a great difference | | | | | |
| I vote because I have great experiences with/during campaigns and voting | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| I vote because most of the issues raised during electoral campaigns affect me directly | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Any Other Comment _____

Thank you for taking part in this study

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Please tell me about your views regarding voters’ reactions in regard to the electoral campaigns that you conduct (ed) in this area.
2. What is your view on whether the emotions experienced by voters in this region during your electoral campaigns have a connection with their voting trends?
3. What were some of the experiences/incidences witnessed during the last electoral campaigns that you can say translated to voting trends among voters in this region?
4. What are some of the experiences you witness during your electoral campaigns?
5. How do the experiences you witness translate to voting trends among voters in this area?
6. What would say is the common determinant of voting trends/ behaviours among voters in this region?
7. What is the voters behaviour in this region in the last general election?

Any Other Comment _____

Thank you for taking part in this study

**APPENDIX IV: LIST OF ELECTORAL WARDS AND REGISTERED
VOTERS IN MAVOKO SUB-COUNTY, MACHAKOS COUNTY**

| No | Wards Names | Registered voters |
|----|--|-------------------|
| 1. | Athi River Ward | 40,132 |
| 2. | Kinanie Ward | 12,663 |
| 3. | Muthwani Ward | 20,020 |
| 4. | Syokimau / Mulolongo Ward | 45,365 |
| | Total Registered Voters in Mavoko | 118,180 |

Source: *Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission of Kenya (2017)*

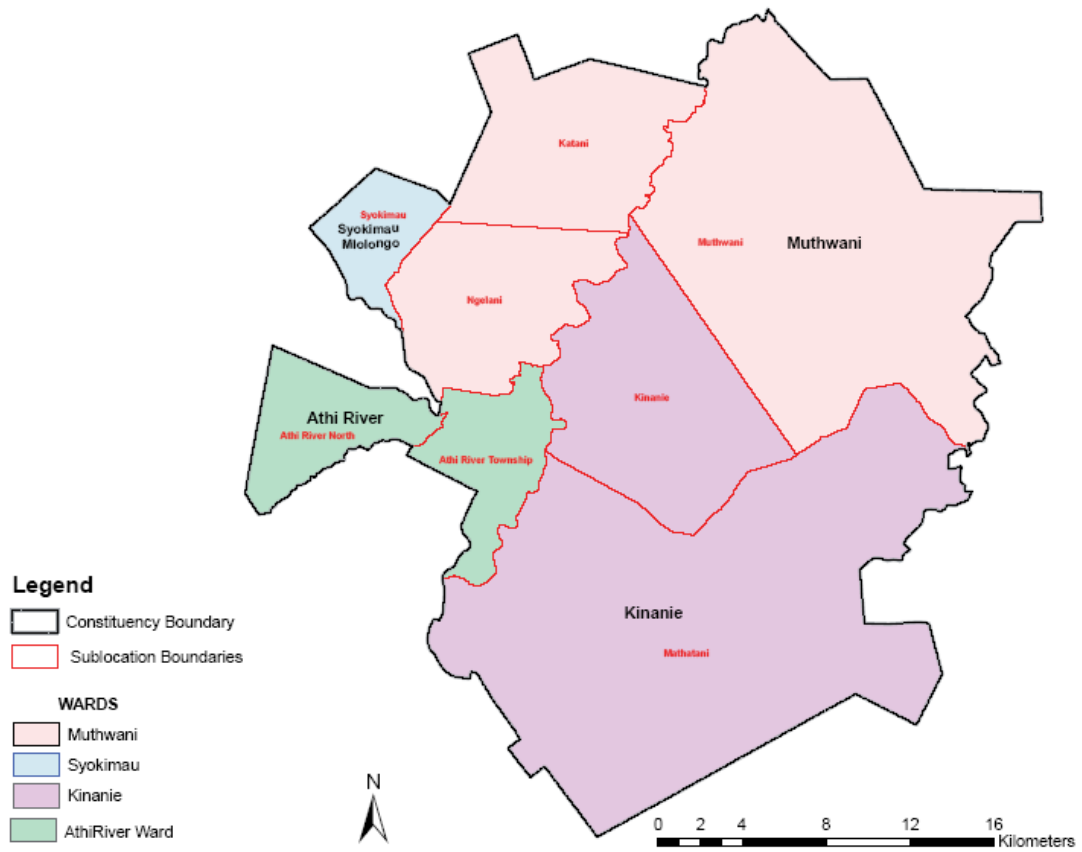
APPENDIX V: MAP OF MACHAKOS COUNTY

Machakos County



APPENDIX VI: MAP OF MAVOKO SUB-COUNTY

IEBC REVISED MAVOKO CONSTITUENCY COUNTY ASSEMBLY WARDS



APPENDIX VII: NACOSTI



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This is to Certify that Mr. LAWRENCE MWANZA of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Machakos on the topic: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN EMOTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR AMONG VOTERS IN MACHAKOS COUNTY, for the period ending : 01/November/2020.

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APPENDIX VIII: TURNITIN REPORT

APPENDIX IX: TURNITIN REPORT

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