

**THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL PARTY MARKETING ON
ELECTORAL OUTCOME IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI
CITY COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for academic credit. No part of this project may be reproduced without prior permission of the author and/or the University of Nairobi.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project: In memory of my mother, Mary Anyango. Without her endless love and encouragement, I would never have been able to get this far. I love you, and I appreciate everything that you did for me.

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Glory be to God.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DP	Democratic Party
EAA	East African Association
FORD-K	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Kenya
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
ITANES	Italian National Election Studies
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Unity
KAU	Kenya African Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KPU	Kenya People's Union
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
TOLS	Two-Stage Least Squares
YKA	Young Kikuyu Association

ABSTRACT

Elections have been the main mechanism through which contemporary representative democracy has operated, and leaders anywhere tend to use the popular vote to accomplish a standard of political legitimacy. But to get this legitimacy, leaders first have to go through a process of intense political mobilization and lobbying with an aim of marketing themselves and their parties. This study sought to establish the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in Nairobi City County with a keen focus on Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies. The study adopted the mobilization theory and used a descriptive research design. The population of the study consisted of voters, party officials, and campaign managers of members of parliament. A questionnaire was employed as a data collection instrument where 96 respondents were interviewed. The data collected was coded and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23.0). The analysis revealed three things, a) voters, especially the young ones, are more inclined to vote for politicians or political parties that carried out extensive political party advertising in the period leading to the general election. b) there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between the political campaign budgets and the electoral outcome. c) political rallies play a big role in swaying voters more so the undecided ones and the more you have these rallies the better. The study concluded that even though the influence of political party marketing is difficult to scientifically quantify, at least one set of regular political rallies, party advertising, and higher campaign budget usually have a measurable effect on electoral outcome. The study recommends that more scientific studies should be done to determine the actual and the longevity of the effect.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Since the 17th Century, elections have been the main mechanism through which contemporary representative democracy has operated, and leaders anywhere tend to use the popular vote to accomplish a standard of political legitimacy. For instance, in the 18th Century, contesting in politics was largely contingent on membership in an aristocracy, and involvement in elections was modulated predominantly by social norms and arrangements. Even though the American and French revolutions proclaimed that all are equal, politicians still used the vote as a tool of political power owned by a few minorities in the upper social strata. Today, there is a belief that If voters' preferences are unchanged for long periods, and if both parties did a brilliant job of competing for their votes, we could anticipate all political parties to be fairly aggressive when hunting for votes in any given election. Election results would, in all probability, be based on the way voters do their cost-benefit analysis of the parties with a huge focus on the most cardinal events of the day rather than on electoral strategy (Edward, C. and James, S. 1989). To win the votes, politicians turn to political party marking. This is the practice of deliberate and purposive communication by the party to win an election by advertising, holding political rallies, and mobilization of campaign funds.

In the contemporary world, factors such as party identification, social identity, state of the national economy, religion, region, ethnicity, and candidate traits have been believed to sway the outcome of an election. In Britain for example, religion, region, and party identification are among factors that play an astronomical role in influencing the electoral outcome. According to British Religion in Numbers, an online religious data resource, the 2017 general election in Britain clearly demonstrated the long-established support of Anglicans for the Conservative Party when they registered 58% of votes compared to 28% for Labour Party. Other religions tended to follow this trend except for of Muslims who voted massively for the Labour Party, with 85% in favor of Jeremy Corbyn's party, and only 11% threw their legitimacy behind the Conservatives.

When it comes to Africa, the effect of ethnicity is more pronounced than other regions as an influence of electoral outcome (Oboh, 2017). In Nigeria for example, General Buhari triumphed

in the 2015 Presidential election as a result of the massive endorsement he got particularly from the Northern geopolitical areas where he comes from. He also received a substantial endorsement from the West zone region by simply nominating a running mate who comes from there. (Oboh, 2017).

Wagner and Yazigi (2014) posit that there is the form and the substance of elections, and there is a need to differentiate between them. There are situations when electoral forms exist but the substance is conspicuously absent. This usually occurs when voters lack alternatives to choose from. Several elections which are held in different countries are just done for formality since in most cases the electoral condition is hugely compromised and they are not competitive. When this happens, major political parties and voters form distinct ethnic blocks reducing elections to nothing but ethnic headcounts.

In Kenya, factors such as ethnicity, clannism, the kind of political parties, idiosyncratic variables of politicians, and occasionally, religion have largely affected the outcomes of elections in the past (Wanyande, 2006). However, there have been serious political party marketing mounted by politicians in the run-up to the 2013, and 2017 general elections. According to Willis (2008), political marketing is used extensively where parties and candidates do advertising on newspapers and billboards across the country and hold major political rallies in major towns. This development of voter persuasion techniques influences electoral outcome. In the 2013 elections, political party marketing in Kenya was taken to another level as a televised presidential debate was hosted by media houses that brought the eight presidential candidates in two major debates on the full glare of studio cameras (O'Hare & Moss, 2014).

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Since time immemorial, the electoral outcome has been an issue that political science and political theory are concerned with. However, utmost attention to its correlation with political party marketing has been spiraling upwards since the end of the Cold War and the advent of the 'third wave' of democratization where scholars have sought to explain the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in different political contexts.

Since gaining independence in 1963, periodic elections have been anchored in the Kenyan constitution where they occur after every five years. These elections are vital since they have provided the electorate with a chance to exercise their democratic right of electing leaders of their

choice. According to Lindberg (2006), having competitive and repetitive elections boost fundamental freedoms by creating democratic citizens, reinforcing civil society, and establishing new roles for state institutions. Repetitive elections not only help with the strengthening of democracy but also the entrenchment of a democratic culture. However, what exactly informs voters' choice to vote the way they do?

Despite our conventional knowledge about what influences electoral outcome in Kenya, the influence of political party marketing is still in the dark corners of the subject matters of the existing literature yet in every electioneering period, we observe intense political party marketing activities. This begs the question of whether the use of political party marketing plays a role in reinforcing voters' behavior in as far as their choices are concerned.

This observed trend was the basis of interest to undertake a study to bridge this gap by looking at how advertising, campaign budget, and political rallies within a broader context of political party marketing can shift the outcome of an election where people tend to vote for parties that are aligned with the ethnic groups to which they belong. It is against this background that this study responded to the following research questions and objectives.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed:

- I. Does party advertising affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies?
- II. Does the frequency of rallies that a party holds affects the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies?
- III. Do campaign budgets of political parties affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

Examining the influence of political marketing on electoral outcomes was the study's overall objective. However, the study specifically addressed the following objectives:

- I. To establish whether party advertising affects the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies.

- II. To establish whether the frequency of rallies that a party holds affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies.
- III. To establish whether campaign budgets of political parties affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The Kenyan political elites have since time immemorial used the ethnic card in their quest to capture power. To this end, their interests will always play an important role in mobilizing ethnic groups to engage in competitions that have similar aims such as the acquisition of power, resources, or territory. However, it would be farfetched to think that ethnicity is the only factor that determines election outcomes in Kenya. Although various well-respected marketing journals have focused on political marketing including the journal of political marketing and the Journal of Public Affairs, not a single one has talked about the influence party advertising, the number of political rallies and campaign budget has during electoral and governmental campaigning on electoral outcome, an area which has remained rather fragmented despite having elections every five years since independence. This study targeted to bridge this gap in our knowledge and revitalize research into this realm.

Of interest to note is the fact that few political parties manage to get their candidates re-elected and those that do, only succeed if they use devices from the toolkit of authoritarian politics, such as controlling the mass media and fiddling with the electoral system. This is a testament that voting behavior is highly volatile to the extent that swings between one election and the next can be significant, even if ruling parties appear to have a decent record (Tim, H. and Kevin, D. 2015). My study is thus justified to the extent that its findings would demonstrate the extent to which political party marketing influences electoral outcomes in a cosmopolitan region like Nairobi City County.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

Findings of this study will contribute to a growing literature on the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcomes to scholars and researchers who would like to further carry out more studies in this area, and given that there exists little research on the political party marketing in Kenya, this study did put together a framework of established theories on political mobilization,

and used this as a starting point for developing an explorative case study. It will also lead in the generation of knowledge to help inform the development of scholarly discourse in this realm.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

The study has significance to a number of stakeholders in Kenya. The value of this research will to greater extent benefit policymakers who will be more likely to develop policy measures and strategic plans that incorporates standard operating procedures in a bid to create a level political playing field. A level playing political field is of huge concern since if the campaigns are left unchecked, we might risk commercializing our democracy where elections are for sale and this means the party or candidate with the highest amount of resources will always carry the day. Thus, the study is justified in the sense that its outcomes would provide the policymakers with an insight on how best to plan and monitor future political marketing events.

The study findings are also expected to be of enormous significance to those occupying leadership positions and those aspiring to occupy those positions in the future since they will be able to appreciate the role that political marketing plays in influencing election outcomes.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study intended to determine the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in Nairobi City County by focusing on party advertising, the number of major political rallies held by parties, and lastly, the amount of money political parties spent campaigning. The rationale for the choice of this site is that Nairobi is a region with a cosmopolitan character hence it is easy to control against respondents' background attributes such ethnicity. The study also focused on the period between 2013 to 2017 since, during this time, Kenya had an opportunity to conduct two general elections under the new constitutional dispensation, having promulgated the Constitution of Kenya 2010 that ushered in a new dawn in the history of Kenyan politics. For example, in Nairobi County, the number of constituencies were increased from eight to seventeen based on population numbers and not ethnic strengths, a phenomenon which forced politicians to revamp their political party marketing strategies to appeal to the voters.

This study proposed to examine a selected group of political party officials and voters within Nairobi County. However, the utmost focus was given to Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies for the following reasons: Firstly, data from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries

Commission (IEBC) website suggests that there have been a cutthroat political parties contest in these two constituencies where unlike other constituencies where certain political parties/coalitions were confident of a win, these two constituencies portrayed a totally different picture. The political party/coalition that captured the seat in 2013 election lost it to the rival party in the 2017 election. For example, in Lang’ata ODM lost to Jubilee, while Jubilee lost to ODM in Makadara.

Table 1. 1 Parliamentary Election Results in Nairobi between 2013 and 2017

Constituency	2013	2017
Dagoretti North	ODM	ODM
Dagoretti South	TNA	JUBILEE
Embakasi Central	TNA	JUBILEE
Embakasi East	ODM	ODM
Embakasi North	ODM	ODM
Embakasi South	ODM	WIPER
Embakasi West	TNA	JUBILEE
Kamukunji	TNA	JUBILEE
Kasarani	TNA	JUBILEE
Kibra	ODM	ODM
Lang’ata	ODM	JUBILEE
Makadara	TNA	ODM
Mathare	ODM	ODM
Roysambu	TNA	JUBILEE
Ruaraka	ODM	ODM
Starehe	TNA	JUBILEE
Westlands	ODM	ODM

Source: IEBC website.

Secondly, both Lang’ata and Makadara are cosmopolitan constituencies making them easy to control against respondents’ background attributes such ethnicity.

A major limitation that this study might encounter is with regards to the huge interest on part of elected leaders and party officials in wanting to know how voters addressed the questions posed to them. However, to address this limitation, the study started by interviewing party officials before proceeding to interview the electorates. But out of an abundance of caution, the study still assured respondents (party officials and voters) of their confidentiality and make it known to them that any information shared would only be used for the purpose of this study.

1.7 Literature Review

In the past two decades, there have been various attempts to measure the effects of campaigns on election outcomes. We have witnessed examination of political lobbying and pressure groups, public relations, and public affairs rising to the apex of the political marketing research agenda (Andrew, 1996; Harris and Lock, 2001; Harris, 2003).

1.7.1 Campaign Spending

Gerber (2014) studied political marketing with a keen focus on how campaign spending affected the senatorial election outcomes in America. He argued that incumbents regularly win reelection in the American congressional elections. What was however profoundly astonishing according to him was the popular belief that challenger spending is influential though there was insufficient proof on the same. The literature was also silent on the role the incumbent campaign spending played on congressional election results. With regards to methodology, Gerber used Ordinary least-squares (OLS) and two-stage least-squares (TSLS) to estimate the Senate election outcomes and found two distinct outcomes. OLS estimation validates the conventional perspective that the current office-bearer spending has a negligible ramification than challenger spending, whilst TSLS estimation reveals the marginal effects of spending by opponent and incumbent to be both statistically identical and substantially vital. However, there are grounds for skepticism concerning this study. First, Gerber did not specifically point out the link between campaign spending and the high success rates among the incumbents as far as the electoral outcome was concerned. Hypothetically, incumbent spending may potentially be a bit more potent than opponent spending. It is also vital to stay alive to the fact that incumbents typically have other advantages for example popularity, state resources, and expertise that make their campaigns more organized leading to a higher success rate, a phenomenon that wasn't captured in this scholarship. Gerber did not also capture the actual behavior of incumbents, more so regarding the performance of the economy at

any given time that can lead to higher chances of re-election if at the point of going for an election the economy is seen to be doing well. Besides, the scholarship yet again failed to uncover the important relationship between the variables since the two regressions undertaken did not establish the robustness of the findings. This notwithstanding though, this study is useful as it tried to measure campaign spending, one aspect of political party marketing that I was of interest to me in as far as electoral outcome in Kenya is concerned. This study evaluated the influence of campaign spending on Parliamentary election results by introducing a new variable called Candidates' wealth. This made my estimation to focus on candidate wealth levels, which acts as an incentive in mobilizing campaign funds, and then tried to demonstrate how that translates to votes.

Andrei (2018) focused on the significance of political marketing as a method and an assumption in Romania to find out whether its application in a social, political, and cultural milieu of mistrust might be possible. For example, how does political marketing work when the widespread feeling within the society is one of the social and political dissatisfaction? According to him, Romanian elections are overloaded with allegations of fraud of different kinds. These allegations include doctoring of election results in polling stations, vote-buying, moving voters from one polling station to another for double or multiple voting, doctoring voters lists and/or identification documents, bribing opponents' agents, involving other public servants in the running of elections, and offering food aids, gifts, or organizing public feasts, which are all done from public coffers. Whereas in an ideal environment political marketing is supposed to nudge voters to automatically begin acting in a marketing manner, he found out that in societies where citizens don't trust the political elite, political marketing functions as a catalyst for less democratic ideas and as a tool that destroys the trust in democratic institutions. However, he didn't say whether or not these undemocratic sentiments are reflected by way of protest votes during the election. Whereas this study was done in Romania, this study studied the behavior of voters within Nairobi City County and established to what extent political party marketing influenced electoral outcome.

1.7.2 Political Lobbying and Advertising

Harris (2012) studied the nexus between political marketing and lobbying where he largely concentrated on lobbying practices, including grassroots lobbying and lobbying coalitions, and suggested how political marketing could offer its research focal point to a vast scope of lobbying practices. According to him, both (political marketing and lobbying) are complementary since they

are essentially persuasive forms of communication. He went further to state how lobbyists could learn how to apply marketing principles to practice. In his writing, he had a twin focus: identifying the nexus between political marketing and lobbying, and explaining what political actors do in terms of putting marketing principles to practice. While this literature is useful as it tries to demonstrate how both political party marketing and lobbying are all forms of political persuasions, it failed to demonstrate how the persuasions lead to votes in the event of an election. Put differently, this literature ignored to demonstrate how it could be developed further into an examination of how it attempts to influence electoral outcomes. This study demonstrated how political party marketing, a form of political persuasion, affects electoral outcomes. This I did by focusing on the political advertisement, campaign rallies, and campaign spending.

Harmes (2016) on the other hand, studied the different kinds of political marketing used in the elections in Iraq with a focus on how post-conflict elections contributed to debates in political marketing theory and how techniques used in political marketing have been replicated beyond the United States. In studying post-Saddam Iraq, he was also of the persuasion that understanding electoral disputes would be vital since elections have acted as a bridge sitting in between peace and civil war. The international community Election also considers elections to be a vital criterion for evaluating how the peace process is institutionalized. Besides, given their security challenges, economic and political underdevelopment, profound internal divisions, Harmes believed that countries like Iraq that have just come out of a protracted civil war offer the theory of political marketing a very fascinating test case since they appear to have the unlikely scenario for where we can anticipate to witness the adoption of a market-aligned approach by parties. He looked at the country's ethnic characteristics of post-Sadam Iraq and noted that there is the common use of more professionalized campaign strategies that have predisposed Iraqi campaigns to a Western-style. These campaigns are marked by the use of flyers and posters, large party rallies, televised candidates' debates, and visiting tribal kingpins and the village elders who are essential in mobilizing voters. In his finding, he argued that despite Iraq being characterized by conflict, the political parties therein have become more and more professionalized at responding to the needs of the voters and, to a lower degree, prepared to replace their product when responding to market research. This scholarship is useful in relation to my study as it shows how political parties in Iraq are 'malleable' with regard to market demands. However, it fails to demonstrate a direct link between this 'political malleability' and electoral outcome in that country. Reflecting on this gap,

the motive of my study was to give preliminary scrutiny on the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in Nairobi City County with a keen eye on the 2013 and 2017 general elections.

1.7.3 Political Image

Casting a vote for a specific candidate can be because of a combination of commonly diverse considerations. However, in political marketing research, the two most crucial attributes of candidates' electoral appeal are their personality and their issue stand (Garramone, 1983).

Garzia (2013) while trying to investigate the impact of image on electoral outcome, analyzed the last three Italian post-election survey data to determine whether how a political candidate's character profile is discerned by voters can make them garner votes and win elections. He used the Italian National Election Studies (ITANES) data focusing on post-election studies conducted between 2001 and 2008 with a keen eye on the main predictors comprising of the leaders' temperaments that were found to include voters' general assessment of politicians: ability, compassion, honesty, and leadership. The methodology adopted by ITANES on this study was to reach respondents through a phone call where they were requested to state if every coalition leader had these characteristics or not. He found out that for a positive result of democratic elections, leaders' character profile does matter. According to him, politicians can get or drop votes based on how their character profiles are being discerned by electorates independent of how their points of view have been affected by electoral marketing. In some cases, the idiosyncratic variables of a leader can contrast victory and defeat. This literature is relevant in this study as it captures how politicians advertise themselves to the electorate to be elected. However, whilst it is interesting to appreciate the idiosyncratic patterns of the voting choice in Italian elections, these findings are silent on the role of the electoral influence of leaders' perceived attributes play in electoral outcomes. Still, In Garzia's own words, voting for a specific candidate may be as a result of a variety of factors yet he only chose to zero in on how the personality component of a leader affects the electoral outcome. The study bridged this gap by looking at the political advertisement in totality without really focusing on one aspect such as the 'personality effect'.

Whereas there is ballooning literature on political party marketing, its influence on the electoral outcome is still an area that has not been accorded the scholarly attention it deserves. To bridge

this gap in the literature, this study expanded its research focus to a broader range of political party marketing with regards to party advertising, campaign rallies, and campaign spending and try to determine the influence they have on the electoral outcome through an illustrative case study of Nairobi City County. For example, looking at the election results announced in 2013 and 2017 by IEBC, the entity that is charged with managing elections in Kenya, could we attribute these results to the ‘Political Party Marketing Effect’?

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Elections and democracy are competitive markets places where voters and citizens are consumers and politics remains a highly dynamic activity anywhere. In the most fundamental illustration of marketing in politics, interest groups, political parties, and governments are not interested in knowing what voters think they should have, but rather are captivated with finding out what voters need and how they would want to be served. Both political communicators and political actors and somewhat the electorate feel that marketing has become a crucial part of political management in many situations. This feeling has now set foot in the mainstream political literature through continuous discourse and examination of the vague notion of ‘spin’ in the media (Harris, 2001).

This study adopted the theory of political mobilization advanced by Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) as the central tool for investigating how in the realm of political party marketing, party advertising, frequency of political rallies, and party campaign budgets are influencing voters to vote for a specific proposition, person, or party. Mobilization, in all its forms, causes people to take part in electoral politics on the presupposition that citizens who are contacted by political parties, exposed to intensely fought electoral campaigns, or inspired by the actions of social movements are more likely to vote, to persuade, to campaign, and to give. While defining mobilization quite broadly to include both campaign appeals, for example, messages from a party or organization urging one to vote in an upcoming election as well as informal conversations with friends and family that might pique interest in politics, Rosenstone and Hansen argue that the nature and frequency of such interactions helps explain why participation rates vary across time and place. Put differently, this theory argues that the volume of campaign activity affects the aggregate rate of turnout and as a result influences electoral outcome.

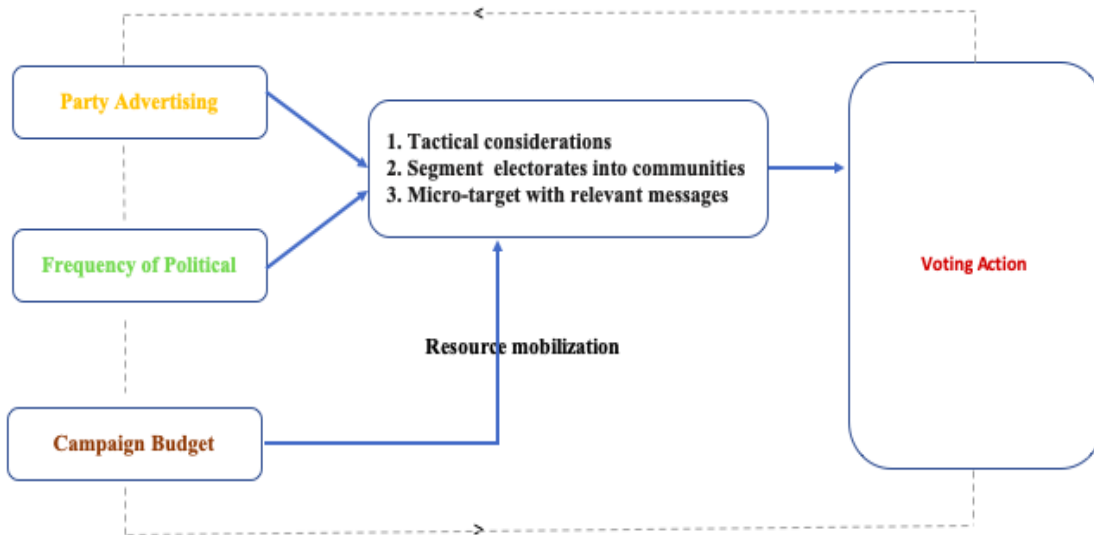
The theory of political mobilization focuses on the interpersonal influences that induce people to act and at the same time talks of how attitudes, preferences, and antipathies are formed, and how

they can be transformed into identifications with concrete political movements and thus be used as a means for political mobilization, hence a successfully mobilizing actor must find a way to link his or her message to these preferences.

This theory assumes that political participation is profoundly affected by mobilization efforts directed by campaigns and mobilizing interactions within social networks. It looks at successful political movements as having skillfully mastered the art of building social and cultural capital which can then be translated into political support at the voting booth. This theory argues that declines in voter turnout over time largely reflect declining mobilization activity on the part of campaigns and informal social networks. The theory also assumes that political agents who want to mobilize support for their ideas need to be able to translate their ideology in a way that it resonates with popular experiences, grievances, and expectations. For groups competing for support, it is highly important to connect their political language and their practices with people's perceptions of the world they live in. Successful political entrepreneurs manage to shape these perceptions and provide people a framework to express and explain their grievances

Below is a diagrammatic representation of how the theory of political mobilization interfaces with the study variables.

Figure 1. 1: The interface between theory of political mobilization and study variables.



In this study, this theory helped us understand the extent to which voters in Nairobi City County concretizes their voting intentions based on the influence political messaging had on them.

The theory of political mobilization is consistent with what we know about voter preferences. However, other theories such as the elite theory of democracy could work just as well. In this theory, Pareto (1935) argues that societies are ruled by the few minorities who possess the quality for political power and that those who get to the top are always the best. He goes further to argue that the antiquity of men is the antiquity of the incessant substitution of certain elites since as one arises another one falls. The political elites thus use political party marketing as a way of avoiding replacement. However, the elite theory is inadequate for this study as it only concentrates on the political elite and ignores how and why voters vote.

Weaknesses of the theory of political mobilization is that, first, it claims that the trends in mobilization activities explain trends in voter turnout. This is not entirely accurate since strategic politicians target their mobilization efforts in ways that are designed to maximize electoral returns. During presidential elections, for example, campaigns saturate closely contested battleground regions in an effort to win electoral votes while largely ignoring other regions whose partisan coloration makes their results a foregone conclusion. At constituency level, strategic calculations cause campaigns to mobilize groups like the youth or Bodaboda riders, whose lopsided partisan proclivities make them bankable votes, and avoid groups whose partisan preferences are less clear cut, since they tend not to produce reliable votes for one party or the other. When targeting individuals, campaigns and politicians have an incentive to focus their efforts on those with extensive social ties, such as civic, religious, or union leaders. The other weakness is that this theory fails to account for the environmental context or the neighborhood in strategists' decisions. With limited resources, organizers may focus on neighborhoods most likely to have the resources and the interest in an issue and activity to respond to a request for action. Conversely, strategists may avoid particular areas due to either historically based belief that residents will not respond to a request for action or to biases or fears about particular neighborhoods, possibly based on the ethnic makeup of the area. Without the addition of neighborhood characteristics and resources, analyses may unduly emphasize the importance of individual characteristics and resources. Ethnicity may matter, but it might be at the larger neighborhood level, rather than at the individual level.

Despite these criticisms, this theory was still sufficient in allowing the study to evaluate and consider others' decisions especially with regards to voting given that political campaigns have become increasingly adept at directing communication to specific voters. This together with the fact that technological innovations combined with the rapidly expanding commercial market for consumer data have made it possible for campaigns to forecast which voters are likely supporters, campaigns have strong incentives to mobilize supporters who would otherwise not vote, and as such political mobilization is all about microtargeting and tailoring of specific messages to potential voters.

1.9 Definition and Operationalization of Key Concepts

Political Party Marketing: Political party marketing is a process of engaging with the media, members of a party, electorate, and probable funding sources (Lock & Harris 1996). However, in the words of Harrop (1996), political party marketing not only covers political broadcasts of the party, speeches, and political advertising but also, the entire strategy of how the party is positioning itself towards an election. Through the lens of Kavanagh (1995), political party marketing is a blueprint to trace and study the opinion of the public. According to him, this exercise should be undertaken before and during an election campaign with an aim of developing campaign briefs and continuously assessing their influence. For purposes of this study, political party marketing referred to the practice of deliberate and purposive communication to win an election by advertising, holding political rallies, and mobilization of campaign funds.

Concept	Variable	Indicator
Political Party Marketing	Amount	Money spent on party advertising
	Frequency	The number of political rallies
	Amount	Party campaign budget

Electoral outcome: According to Benoit (2009), electoral outcome is the line drawn between winners and losers of an election. According to him, political parties usually counter threats of electoral failure by intensifying membership support during campaigns. In this study, electoral outcome referred to winning or losing an election.

Concept	Variable	Indicator
Electoral outcome	Result	Win or lose

1.10 Research Hypothesis

This study was guided by the following hypothesis:

- The more money spent by the party in campaign advertising the more positive the electoral outcome.
- The higher the frequency of political rallies the more positive the electoral outcome.
- The higher the campaign budget for political parties the more positive the electoral outcome.

1.11 Methodology

To address the key research objectives, the study used mixed research design which applies both qualitative and quantitative methods. The rationale for mixed research design is that it would help the researcher to obtain data that compliments each other thus increasing the understanding of the study.

1.111 Research Design

The study employed the use of a cross-sectional research design as it sought to study various political actors namely electorates and party officials at a specific point in time and help make inferences about a possible relationship between political marketing and electoral outcome. The type of cross-sectional research design that was largely relied on was the descriptive research design. Descriptive research presents an accurate characterization of persons, events, or situations. This design allowed me to collect data from a wide range of respondents that helped me to understand the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcomes in Nairobi City County. The study also used both primary and secondary data.

1.112 Sampling Frame and Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the selection of individuals to be studied with an intention of yielding some knowledge about a population of interest, especially for the purposes of statistical inference (Lohr, 1995). The population of interest were registered voters, party officials, and campaign managers. My sampling frame were registered voters in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies party officials, and campaign managers of the current members of parliament in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies. According to Kothari (2004), 30 respondents seems to be an ideal sample size for the most comprehensive view of an issue. However, according to the IEBC website, my two constituencies of focus (Lang'ata and Makadara) had a total of 258,620 registered voters for the 2013 general election hence 30 respondents would not be representative enough. While calculating the sample size using the sample size formula with 95% confidence level, I got 96 as the number of respondents that would be appropriate for this study as shown below:

Sample size = $\frac{[z^2 Xp (1-P)]/e^2}{[1+(z^2xp(1-p)) / e^2N]}$ Where:

N = Population size (258,620)

Z = z-score (1.96)

E = Margin of error (0.05)

P = Standard of deviation (6.95)

This, therefore, mean that a minimum of 45 respondents were interviewed from each constituency (Lang'ata and Makadara).

The study used purposive sampling technique to select this target population and also identified four party officials that managed campaigns from the two parties with the highest number of seats in parliament according to the 2017 electoral results, and two campaign managers for the members of parliament representing the two constituencies under focus. This brought the total number of respondents in this study to 96. Purposive sampling was considered because it helped me to focus on the specific characteristics of a population that were of interest to me such as political party affiliation, employment status, level of education, age, and gender.

1.113 Data Collection Techniques

This is the means by which information is acquired from the sample (Wanan, 2011). The study used mixed methods with a structured questionnaire to conduct interviews based on the study variables with the aim that mixed methods would allow me to get a better grasp of the problem and yield more complete evidence. The use of mixed methods in this study was also justified in the sense that it helped circumvent relying too much on a single method, and also helped record polite views, experiences, and the subjective elements needed to explain compounded social situations.

I informed the respondents that the views collected would only be used for the purposes of this study and that their responses will be kept secret and confidential.

1.114 Data Analysis, Interpretation

Qualitative and quantitative data were coded and analyzed. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23.0) was used to compute descriptive statistics and output graphs. Qualitative data on the other hand was analyzed thematically with a view to establishing trends and patterns in relation to the variables in this study.

1.12 Proposed chapter outline

Chapter One introduced the study and outlined the background to the study, Statement of the Research Problem, Research Questions, Objectives of the Study, Justification of the Study, Scope of the Study, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, and Research Methodology. Chapter Two discussed the Background/Historical Perspectives of the problem under investigation. Chapter Three provided Data Analysis, Presentation, and Discussion, while Chapter Four present Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTY MOBILIZATION IN KENYA

2.1 Introduction

In the continuous attempt to analyze the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome, this chapter presents an account of how political party mobilization has evolved from the colonial period to the present. The chapter proceeds with highlighting the Challenges facing Political party mobilization in Kenya today, while also paying attention to political party mobilization in Nairobi City County which is the study case.

2.2 Political Party Mobilization in the single-party era 1963 - 1991

Pre-colonial African society in Kenya consisted of a large number of relatively small competing ethnic groups feuding over natural resources such as land, water, and pasture all of which were coupled with territorial disputes. The basic units of governance were the extended family and the clan. In a predominantly polygamous society these basic, patriarchal units could be quite large. Superimposed on the family were clans, which were defined by relationship to a common ancestor and usually were loosely governed by a council of elders.

These pre-colonial institutions were disrupted by British colonialism. The British had trouble understanding decentralized societies since they were accustomed to chiefs. They also preferred creating chiefs because they needed single agents whom they could hold responsible for the tasks of local administration. As a result, colonial conquest led to a loss of sovereignty as colonial rulers replaced indigenous leaders. They did this by employing authoritarian force to hold Kenya's diverse communities together. To this end, colonial governance through Chiefs' councils, native tribunals, and local native councils was nothing but a mockery of democracy. Chaired by colonial district officers, these institutions acted as legal and administrative devices that were intended to keep Africans in their subordinate place. The purpose they served included political expedience and the imposition of administrative costs on Africans. Law and order were, therefore, maintained in the interest of British capitalist accumulation (Mamdani, 1996).

From a very early stage of the colonial experience, Kenyans organized themselves in different forms to count their economic and political exclusion and fight for their rights. To begin with, these forms of political mobilization were not political parties. At first, they took traditional forms. Later, trade unions grew up that focused mainly on trying to protect and extend the rights of African wage earners. However, these unions also provided an opportunity for the first generation of anticolonialism leaders to share ideas on wider issues and gain experience of grassroots mobilization.

Interestingly, some groupings at this early time included the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) formed in June 1921 and renamed the East African Association (EAA) in July 1921, the Young Kavirondo Association in Nyanza, and the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) formed in 1924 (Howarth, 1967; Mutiso, 1975). From their inception, these groupings originally took the form of welfare associations with the local demand for reforms within the colonial system. They were regional, ethnic and dealt with local grievances. Later on, they were transformed into political movements agitating for the socio-economic and political rights of Africans.

Kenya African Union (KAU) was formed in October 1944 and seen as the first indigenous organization to reflect a Kenyan national outlook as it brought together people from different ethnic backgrounds to end British colonial rule.

A majority of African countries began independence as multi-party states. Giovanni (1976) and Simba (2011) observe that party pluralism had first emerged in sub-Saharan Africa during the final stages of the colonial period and on the eve of independence, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Kenya attained independence with fully functioning multiparty systems with Kenya African National Unity (KANU), and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) in competition for the government (Widner, 1992; Oyugi, 1994; and Wanjohi, 1997). Although KANU won the independence elections, KADU, remained a formidable opposition force. However, party pluralism soon proved to be poorly rooted on the continent as it was not long before party pluralism was abandoned. In Kenya the ruling party KANU in November 1964 absorbed the opposition party KADU making the country a 'de facto single-party state (Gertzel, 1969).

When KADU members crossed the floor, the KANU backbench was left as the only forum for expressing views critical of the government. However, from 1965 the government launched a vigorous assault on independent opinion in parliament and neutralized critics on the backbench by removing them from all committee positions. As a result, debate fizzled out. What remained of party activity became the initiative of the executive or alignments centered on mavericks such as Oginga Odinga. When Odinga and his followers left the government in 1966 and formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU), there was a brief revival of multiparty politics in the country. KANU responded to the KPU defections by passing a constitutional amendment that forced the rebels to seek re-election. The mass by-elections that followed, known since then as the 'little general elections', were Kenya's last experience of multiparty politics until 1992. However, 'the little general elections' were hardly a reflection of competitive politics. The government systematically hindered KPU from campaigning freely. Legal registration of the party was delayed until nomination day, preventing KPU from organizing and mobilizing effectively. During the campaign, KPU candidates were denied licenses for meetings, KPU supporters were harassed, and the Voice of Kenya, most voters' only source of news, gave the party a blackout.

In 1969, shortly before the next general elections, KPU was proscribed and its leaders detained. KANU's monopoly became complete. From then on, the only opposition was provided by independent-minded members within the party such as Martin Shikuku, JeanMarie Seroney, and J M Kariuki, and a few prominent dissidents outside the party such as Oginga Odinga. In theory, KANU remained open to criticism from within, but in practice, the party's disciplinary provisions were used to stifle internal democracy. With no opposition parties, KANU members who did not toe the line had nowhere to go except the political oblivion.

To entrench its autocratic character further, KANU incorporated the Provincial Administration into its structures. This witnessed a change in the allocation of functions between KANU and the executive. At the direction of the State House, the provincial administration involved itself in the internal affairs of KANU. For instance, provincial commissioners took responsibility for reviewing and clearing party branch meetings and overseeing the selection of speakers in party meetings (Widner, 1992).

In incorporating the Provincial Administration into the structures of KANU, Moi tactically aimed at bringing the civil service under the control of the party. This essentially made the Provincial Administration other organs of government become subordinated to the party. Party officials on the other hand became increasingly powerful. The relationship between KANU and the executive changed markedly as part of this shift. The provincial administration became much more active in helping party branches collect dues and membership fees, eventually assuming full responsibility for generating party revenues. This development resulted in a blurred line of distinction between the party and the government. The party became the state and the state became the party. State functions became party functions and party functions became state functions (Mutua,2009).

Fearing the formation of a rival political party the Moi government in 1982 proposed a constitutional amendment to make Kenya a de jure single-party system. This rendered illegal any attempt to constitute opposition to KANU. The changes passed in the Assembly went into effect in the same year when Section 2 (A) that made Kenya a de jure one-party state was introduced.

According to Widner (1992), the measure that Moi took was to deal with factionalism in the party at the District, Provincial and National levels which posed a serious threat and challenged his position. To deal with the problem of factionalism Moi called for a snap general election in 1983. Thanks to the use of state machinery, Moi was able to rig out of parliament politicians disloyal to him replacing them with those loyal to him. Wanjohi (1997) adds that this effectively marked the beginning of the era of mass rigging of elections in postcolonial Kenya. The political significance of the 1983 snap elections to the Moi Presidency cannot be underestimated. First, they helped Moi consolidate political power by getting rid of politicians he thought posed a threat to his position and elevating those who were loyal to him. Secondly, these elections helped to strengthen the party by ending the factional wars that had threatened unity in KANU.

The party also grew intolerant of its critics by arrogating itself the police functions. Moi empowered KANU to monitor public places, such as bars, hotels, and restaurants, to identify those who opposed the Office of the President. The police were to receive assistance from the party youth wingers in surveillance. The police special branch would infiltrate lecture halls in Universities to monitor seditious statements (Daily Nation, January 2nd, 1989).

2.3 Political Party Mobilization in the Multi-party Kenya 1991 to-date

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s ushered in new trends in World politics in general. In Africa, this period led to the reintroduction of multi-party politics and subsequently the opening up of the political space.

In retrospect, Kenya attained independence on a functioning multi-party platform. However, the dismantling of multi-party structures for one-party systems followed immediately after independence. The newly elected African leaders sought to justify the imposition of one-party rule on grounds that it would enhance unity and nationhood among citizens (Mbai, 2003). There was fear among the ruling elite that multiparty politics would divide the young African nations that were multi-ethnic in composition. The result was the dominance of single-party regimes in the political landscape in most African countries between the 1960s and 1990s. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya presided over the move from multi-party democracy to single-party dominance in 1964 by imploring among members of KADU to dissolve their party and join the ruling party KANU (Widner, 1992). This move made post-colonial governance even more autocratic. The consequence of the above developments was the emergence of an authoritarian single-party state that was intolerant to criticism. The single-party regimes perfected the art of patron-client relations; rewarding loyalists and punishing dissenting voices.

Following the repeal of Section 2A, Kenya reverted to multi-party democracy in 1991 allowing for the formation of several opposition parties. However, in ethnically divided and multi-ethnic societies, political parties tend to form around ethnic allegiances. This is particularly the case in multiethnic states where ethnic groups are not heterogeneously dispersed throughout the country but live in specific geographic regions. This is exactly what happened in Kenya since its party pluralism only resulted in the proliferation of political parties that were ethnic and regional in character. This made it easier for these political parties to mobilize support by appealing to ethnic allegiances rather than issues of class or ideology, aspiring politicians would then have a strong incentive to mobilize support along ethnic lines. Political mobilization was therefore reduced to ethnic mobilization. But with an autocratic presidential system still in place, achieving a level political playing field necessary for proper political mobilization to thrive remained a huge challenge.

Competition between the different ethnic communities was evident in the 1992 general elections. The emergent opposition parties had the highest support in areas that were dominated by people from ethnic communities of their presidential candidates. For instance, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Kenya (FORD-K) had huge support in Luo land. Likewise, FORD Asili and Democratic Party (DP) had huge support in the Central and Eastern provinces. KANU being the ruling party was much better as it managed to get support not only in the Rift-Valley but also in parts of western province, lower Eastern and Coast provinces.

The 2002 elections were very significant to Kenyans as compared to the 1992 and 1997 elections. To begin with, the 2002 election was about succession. Kenyans for the first time had an opportunity to replace a serving president. According to Wanyande (2003), the 2002 elections presented Kenyans with the possibility of a genuine political transition. The possibility of new leaders and a new government coming to power created prospects for major changes in the system of governance. Particularly important in this regard were the prospects of transition from personal rule to a system of governance based on rules and institutions. The constitution barred the incumbent president Moi from seeking re-election having served for a maximum of two terms. The country had to elect a new president whether from KANU or another party. Previously Moi who was the party's leader was always the automatic presidential candidate.

It is during this time that political campaigns were taken a notch higher in the country as presidential candidates went out full throttle to mobilize voters, leaving nothing to chance. They deployed various strategies to persuade voters to cast the ballot in their favor, during the highly competitive political campaigns. The massive use of political advertisement in television, radio, social media, posters, billboards, cars, and aircraft paintings was done to mobilize and inform voters on various contenders for different public offices. Cognizant of the important role of the media in electoral processes, the contest saw presidential contenders deploy massive resources to sell their agenda and manifestos through either news, political talk-shows, or advertisements in mass media (IEBC, 2012).

Since then, the use of mass media has earned its place as a political mobilization medium. Its coverage, diversity, and change with social context have made it a social mobilization tool. Television, radio, newspapers, posters are among the different forms of mass media that are mostly

used in political mobilization during the election period in Kenya (Ngugi, 2014). According to Adiego (2010), politicians have adopted political advertising as a form of wooing their supporters. Political advertisement is done in return for supporting or opposing a candidate for election to the public office.

Another way in which politicians carry out political mobilization today is through gift-giving. These gifts take many forms. Some take the form of pork barrel, the delivery of public sector goods in uneven amounts to specific areas. Others take the forms of public service delivery provided privately by politicians or parties. Others take the form of gifts in kind given to individuals or small groups while others still are delivered as cash. Equally, they take many temporal forms. Some are given between election cycles, well in advance of any vote. Others are given in the immediacy of the campaign, while others still are promised in the future.

The role of religion as an organizational base for political mobilization does color and shape the outcome of elections. Today, not only do candidates choose to make appearances in churches, synagogues, or mosques, but leaders of such religious bodies can and do mobilize their worshippers through various means such as incentivizing them to register and vote, providing members with transportation to the polls, permitting voting guides to be distributed within the religious setting and publicly addressing political issues in the religious setting. Religious physical precincts are also often used as centers of electoral activities.

Kenyan politicians are notorious for the use of biblical imagery and metaphor almost in all aspects of their lives and political songs are often rendered in gospel tones. The belief is that, by identifying themselves with multiple religious groups, they gain spiritual legitimacy and identity.

2.4 Political Party Mobilization in Nairobi City County

The road to any political office in Nairobi City County is long, expensive, and exhausting. Becoming a candidate is only the beginning of the election process. Successful candidates must both persuade voters that they deserve their votes and garner the highest number of votes on the election day. Persuading voters is the essence of a political campaign. Candidates use a variety of techniques to reach voters and deliver their messages. The use of the media and political rallying are two main ways of political mobilizing.

Political actors use media extensively during the campaigning period in Nairobi. They strive to occupy media space through paid advertisements, party press releases, and giving interviews to the media. In addition, political parties increasingly use the Internet and social media to reach citizens and promote their political agenda. Given that social media provides a forum for a free exchange of ideas, unconstrained by imbalances of power and resources, it has been used in Nairobi by politicians as a way of not only connecting with voters but also building a community of advocates for a candidate running for office. Social media allow politicians to run permanent campaigns and to address a more complete range of policy positions than can be conveyed on television or radio. The use of social media has increased significantly as a tool for political mobilizing with almost every candidate vying in Nairobi having an online presence.

Political party rallies are another form of party mobilizing in Nairobi. Just like the majority of places within Kenya, these rallies are more often than not mobilized around ethnic and class lines. Where mobilization is along class lines, politicians will appeal to people by adopting particular policy positions. It is also during these rallies that the use of theme songs, activists, and celebrity endorsements counts as strategies used in mobilizing voters.

2.4 Challenges Facing Political Party Mobilization in Kenya

The ruling structure, which was based on the control by a few, through oppression and the use of force, persisted even after gaining independence. Colonialism left behind a structured centralized government based on ethnicity and neo-patrimonialism. The neo-patrimonial leadership which was an extension of autocratic and tyrant rule initiated by the colonial masters continued to be practiced in Kenya even with the repeal of Section 2(A) since the reintroduction of multi-party politics in Kenya never translated to any substantial change in party politics and governance in general. It only resulted in the proliferation of political parties that were ethnic and regional. Even with the opening up of the democratic space and the conducting of periodic elections KANU and Moi easily retained political power.

Political parties in the multiparty era have continued to be formed along ethnic lines hence intensifying ethnic conflicts during elections. To this end, ethnicity has been the dominant determining factor during the electioneering period at the national level. In conflict-prone

societies, parties that mobilize along ethnic lines sometimes convey messages that exacerbate conflicts thereby threatening peace. Ethnic politics has also hurt democratization. According to Diamond (2001), the electoral logic of the ethnic party is to harden and mobilize its ethnic base with exclusive, often polarizing appeals to ethnic group opportunity and threat. The ethnic party's particularistic, exclusivist, and often polarizing political appeals make its overall contribution to society divisive and even disintegrative. Huntington (1991) on the other hand argues that fractionalized and ethnically or regionally exclusive party systems are extremely damaging for democratic prospects and are, consequently, found widely in the failed democracies of the Third World.

Those that rely on social media as a tool for party mobilizing also experience a host of challenges. The social media reach is only concentrated in towns and cities, and it majorly targets the youth. Lack of electrical connectivity in rural areas, poor phone network connectivity, and technological challenges using some online resources among some people in the countryside limit the use of social media.

While social media gives parties an ever-present platform to mobilize for votes, they can be equally expensive especially when holding meetings through online conferencing. Unscrupulous political leaders also exploit them by using vitriol language hence pushing the locus of political competition towards the extremes (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972). It is therefore important to ensure systematic monitoring of campaigning through the media, both traditional and social, and the sanctioning of those who resort to unlawful campaigning.

2.5 Conclusion

Political mobilization in Kenya is conducted with striking ingenuity. Rhetoric, performance, symbols, gifts, and policies are employed with remarkable skill and considerable craft. This creativity has given life to a variety of mobilizational forms. Politicians stand on platforms ranging from nationalist to ethnic and from populist to technocratic. Some claim to represent the future, while others draw their legitimacy from the past. Between them, politicians have sought to associate themselves with characteristics across numerous spectra: munificence to humility,

modernity to tradition, aggression to reconciliation. Kenyan voters have been wooed with a plethora of messages.

Within this diversity are various bounded commonalities. Politicians frequently give gifts, though the style and content of this gift-giving appear in numerous incarnations. Only in a fraction of cases does gift-giving amount to strict clientelist exchanges. Instead, most politicians give gifts to valorize voters and portray themselves as generous and wealthy. Politicians frequently convince voters of their commitment to and aptitude for public policy, and they do so with reference to a set of commonplace issues. A minority of politicians have woven the messages together into populist discourses or strategies. A larger portion has drawn their messages together into nationalist discourses, but these discourses in turn have taken several forms.

Scholars and policymakers alike have frequently identified the need to build broad-based, aggregative, and multi-ethnic political parties if inter-ethnic violence that usually occurs as a result of ethnic mobilization is to be avoided and the routines of peaceful democratic politics consolidated in fragile multi-ethnic states.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the findings and discussions of the study. The study concentrated on the extent to which political party marketing influences electoral outcomes in Nairobi City County. Data were obtained from two streams; one from political party officials (main respondents) and the second one was obtained from registered voters in Lang’ata and Makadara constituencies for triangulation purposes.

3.2 Demographic information

The study aimed at sampling 4 party officials that managed campaigns from the two parties with the highest number of seats in parliament according to the 2017 electoral results and two campaign managers for the current members of parliament for Lang’ata and Makadara constituencies. These two parties included Jubilee and ODM with 141 and 59 constituency-elected members of parliament respectively. The study also collected data on the demographics of the research respondents. Demographic data on gender, age, level of education, and occupation were collected.

3.2.1 Gender of Respondents

Out of the 96 respondents who took part in the study, 41 were female while 55 were male. The findings are presented in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3. 1 Gender of respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Frequency
Female	41	42.71	42.71
Male	55	57.29	100
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.1 shows a near equal distribution of respondents with 42.7% being female and 57.3% being male.

3.2.2 Age of the Respondents

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of the age of the respondents who participated in the study.

Table 3. 2 Age of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Frequency
18-30	37	38.54	38.54
31-40	34	35.42	73.96
41-50	16	16.67	90.62
51 and above	9	9.38	100
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.2 shows that majority of the respondents fell under the age group of 18-30, representing 38.5%. This was followed by respondents for age groups 31-40, 41-50, and above 51 representing 35.4%, 16.7%, and 9.4% respectively.

3.2.3 Level of Respondents' Education

Of the 96 respondents, 40 indicated they had a primary level of education, 33 had secondary education while 23 said they had tertiary education. The findings are captured in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3. 3 Level of Respondents' Education

Education	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Frequency
Primary School	40	41.67	41.67
Secondary School	33	34.38	76.04
Tertiary Education	23	23.96	100
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.3 above shows that 41.7% of the respondents had at least the basic level of education while those with secondary school and tertiary levels of education were 34.4% and 23.9% respectively. This variable is vital as it would help the study illuminate how respondents with varying levels of education perceive the influence of political party marketing.

3.3.4 Status of Respondents' Occupation

The majority of interviewed respondents (43) indicated that they were unemployed. 28 were employed, 23 self-employed, and 2 retired. The findings are captured in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3. 4 Status of Respondents' Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Frequency
Employed	28	29.17	29.17
Retired	2	2.08	31.25
Self-employed	23	23.96	55.21
Unemployed	43	44.79	100
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.4 above shows that 44.7% of the respondents were not in any gainful employment 29.1% indicated that they were employed. Self-employed and retired respondents were 23.9% and 2% respectively. Also, from the data gathered, 96.88% of the respondents voted in 2017 while 3.12% did not vote.

3.3 Political Party Campaign Advertising

In its first objective, the study sought to establish the influence of political party advertising on electoral outcomes in Nairobi City County. Political party advertising, in one form or another, has been a feature of campaigning ever since groups began competing over public support. Advertising can take various forms such as advocacy and comparative where they provide a forum for offering competing images and the public can decide from these and other appearances who is the best person for the job. It can also take a negative form where the focus is on attacking the opponent, something which has become commonplace in Kenyan politics.

According to Arthur Sanders (2004), political advertisements have the following features; they carry an easy-to-understand message, have a dramatic impact, draw on familiar themes, and focus on people. These factors, if combined correctly and adjusted for the context of the campaign in which they are to be used, should ensure that the advertisement offers the most important quality and credibility. If the advertisement’s message, or the messenger, lacks credibility, then the voter will dismiss it just as mere propaganda.

In the study, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement that political party advertising influences the electoral outcome. The results are shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3. 5 Advertisement Influence

Advertisement Influence	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Frequency
Strongly agree	21	21.88	17.71
Agree	35	36.46	50.00
Strongly disagree	5	5.21	55.21
Disagree	32	33.33	96.88
N/A	3	3.12	100
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

The study data in table 3.5 indicates that 36.46% of the respondents agreed that political party advertising influences electoral outcomes while 33.33% disagreed with the statement. On average, 29.17% of participants agreed to the statement as opposed to 19.27%. This implies that voters believe that political party advertising in some way influences the way they vote.

When this statement was tested against other two demographics of age and gender, the results are as shown in Tables 3.6 and 3.7

Table 3. 6 Advertisement Influences by Age

Advertisement Influence by Age						
Age	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	N/A	Total
18 - 30	17	9	7	3	1	37
	45.95	24.32	18.92	8.11	2.70	100.00
31 - 40	10	13	8	1	2	34
	29.41	38.24	23.53	2.94	5.88	100
41 - 50	4	6	5	1	0	16
	25.00	37.50	31.25	6.25	0.00	100.00
51 and Above	4	4	1	0	0	9
	44.44	44.44	11.11	0.00	0.00	100.00
Total	35	32	21	5	3	N=96
	36.46	33.33	21.88	5.21	3.12	100.00

Source: Field Data, 2021

The degree of agreement on advertisement influence by age is conversely proportional as shown in table 3.6. The youth under the age bracket of 18-30 has higher approval of the advertisement influence as opposed to the elderly who registered higher disapproval levels of advertisement influence on the electoral outcome.

Table 3. 7 Advertisement Influences by Gender

Advertisement Influence by Gender						
Gender	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	N/A	Total
Female	11	20	9	1	0	41
	26.83	48.78	21.95	2.44	0.00	100.00
Male	24	12	12	4	3	55
	43.64	21.82	21.82	7.27	5.45	100.00
Total	35	32	21	5	3	N = 96
	36.46	33.33	21.88	5.21	3.12	100.00

Source: Field Data, 2021

When the study used a gender lens to assess the influence of political party advertisement on electoral outcome, table 3.7 shows that females registered 24.39% agreement on average compared to their male counterparts who had 32.73%. However, a very interesting observation to note was the level of disagreement. The female respondents registered 25.61% which is only 1.22% more than those who agreed. This implies that the female gender is sharply divided on the influence of political advertisements on the electoral outcome. On the other hand, only 14.55% of the male respondents disagreed.

To find out whether political aspirants and their opponents use political advertisement as substitutes or complements to their on-ground presidential campaign, I asked respondents to mention the most used types of party advertising. The result is shown in Table 3.7.

Table 3. 8 Types of Political Advertisements

Types of advertisements	Number of Mentions	Percent	Cum. Frequency
Billboards	4	2.53	2.53
Social media	31	19.62	22.15
Television	25	15.82	37.97
Radio	19	12.03	50.00
Poster	25	15.82	65.82
Print Media	21	13.29	79.11
Rallies	33	20.89	100.00

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.8 presents different types of political advertising. It shows that political rallies topped the list of most used types of party advertising with 20.89% followed by social media at 19.62%, while television and posters came a distant third with each having 15.82%. With these percentages being statistically significant, this implies that political parties should factor in different types of advertisements in their campaign strategies to reach more voters, with the assumption that these voters will throw their legitimacy behind these parties. The findings thus indicate that political party advertising influences the electoral outcome.

In addition to the quantitative data, qualitative data using interview guides were collected from six-party officials where they were asked to give their opinion on their understanding of party advertising and the form that party advertising has taken. There was concurrence on the part of respondents on what political party advertising entails and why it is vital. According to the respondents, political advertising is a strategy in communication used by parties to appeal, directly or indirectly, for votes or other support in any election campaign. The respondents went ahead to posit that based on the changing nature of our world today, parties have been forced to embrace the digital space to reach out to more voters. One party official opined:

“Right now, we cannot entirely rely on one form of political party advertising. The country and the world at large have been engulfed by technology hence leveraging on that makes it easy to conduct a targeted party advertising”.

The respondents were further asked to indicate whether there is a differentiated party advertising that targets different age groups of the population and they responded in the affirmative:

“Given that majority of voters in Nairobi County fall under the category of youth and these two constituencies are no exception, we usually ensure that our party advertisements are tailored to suit the taste of these young people by using the language they understand such as ‘Sheng’. We have different political party advertisements that appeal to the elderly where we tend to convey our stand on different policy issues”.

When asked to state whether political party advertising meets its intended objective, 86.13% agreed while 13.84% thought it does not. One of the respondents who felt that party advertising does not meet its objective had this to say:

“There is a need to scientifically measure the contribution of party advertisement on how it influences the electoral outcome. As it is right now, we can only assume that there is some influence but this is not scientific. We can’t tell by how much party advertisements achieve this”.

On the question of how much they spent on political advertising, campaign managers had the following to say;

We spend a lot of money on political advertising. If I have to put a value on it, I would say it is in the upwards of five million Kenyan shillings. However, we have never tried to find out whether the images and emotions evoked by these campaign advertisements sway voters. What usually happens is that more often than not, we take a reactionary approach to advertising. For example, we always react to the opponent’s advertisement. That when our opponent advertises, we must follow suit and advertise as well. But despite lack of strategy, I would still say I’m a strong defender of campaign

advertising. It might have a small effect, but I believe that it could still make a difference in a close election. So yes, the party or a candidate that put more money in campaign advertising will more likely win elections.

3.4 The frequency of political rallies.

The second objective of the study was to establish the influence of political rallies on the electoral outcome. According to Jansen (2011), one campaign activity that is especially important for many political leaders is holding large rallies. Since electorates do not have direct access to the candidates contesting in elections, several strategies have been employed and one of the most effective strategies used by political parties is political rallying. Political rally involves gathering the public of similar political beliefs to listen to speeches by the candidates and different supporting members of that political party to raise high levels of morals and support from the public.

These rallies help populists appeal to the people for their direct and unmediated support and promote the idea that they are themselves one of the people. Mass and frequent rallies also offer an emotive substitute for substantive political organization and engagement.

In the modern age of campaigning, we find politics becoming highly ‘celebritized’ and a greater focus made of personalities. This promotes the emotionalization of politics, campaigns attempting to promote a candidate’s authenticity and the individual rather than the political and sees popular culture invading the political sphere. According to (Hawkins 2019), this rise of populism in recent decades has raised concerns about the future of liberal democracy.

In this study, respondents were asked to indicate their levels of agreement with the statement that says the more the number of campaign rallies that a party holds, the higher the chance of winning in an election. The result is shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3. 9 Level of agreement on the frequency of political rallies.

Number of Rallies	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Frequency
Strongly Agree	27	28.12	28.12
Agree	57	59.38	87.50
Strongly Disagree	2	2.08	89.58
Disagree	10	10.42	100.00
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.8 indicates that the majority of the study participants agreed that the higher the number of political rallies the better the electoral outcome. On average, 43.75% agree while 6.25 disagree that the frequency of political rallies influences the electoral outcome.

One way in which political rallies might influence the electoral outcome is by making specific issues more salient among the voters. During rallies, candidates often choose to spend more time on policy issues on which they have (or believe they have) a significant advantage over their opponent. This may raise disproportionately the salience of particular policy issues over others.

The study found that rallies appear to influence the electoral outcome and the influence is especially large for male respondents who out of the 55 of them who were interviewed, only four of them (4.17%) disagreed with this statement.

Theoretically, it is not clear how the advertisement intensity by candidates should change around their rallies. If candidates use on-the-ground campaigning as a substitute for campaigning through mass media and any other platform, then advertisements might decrease around rallies by candidates. On the other hand, if candidates complement physical campaigning with campaigning through media, then the amount of advertising might increase around rallies by candidates. Besides, candidates might make independent decisions about physical and media campaigning strategies, in which case there would be no systematic change in advertisements around the rallies.

The study also sought to find out the views of party officials on the influence that political party rallies have on the electoral outcome and one respondent had this to say:

“Political rallies allow the public to know the party manifestos and hence enabling them to decide on whether they are going to support the party or not. Rallies also gives the leadership of the party an opportunity to create a relationship with the public”.

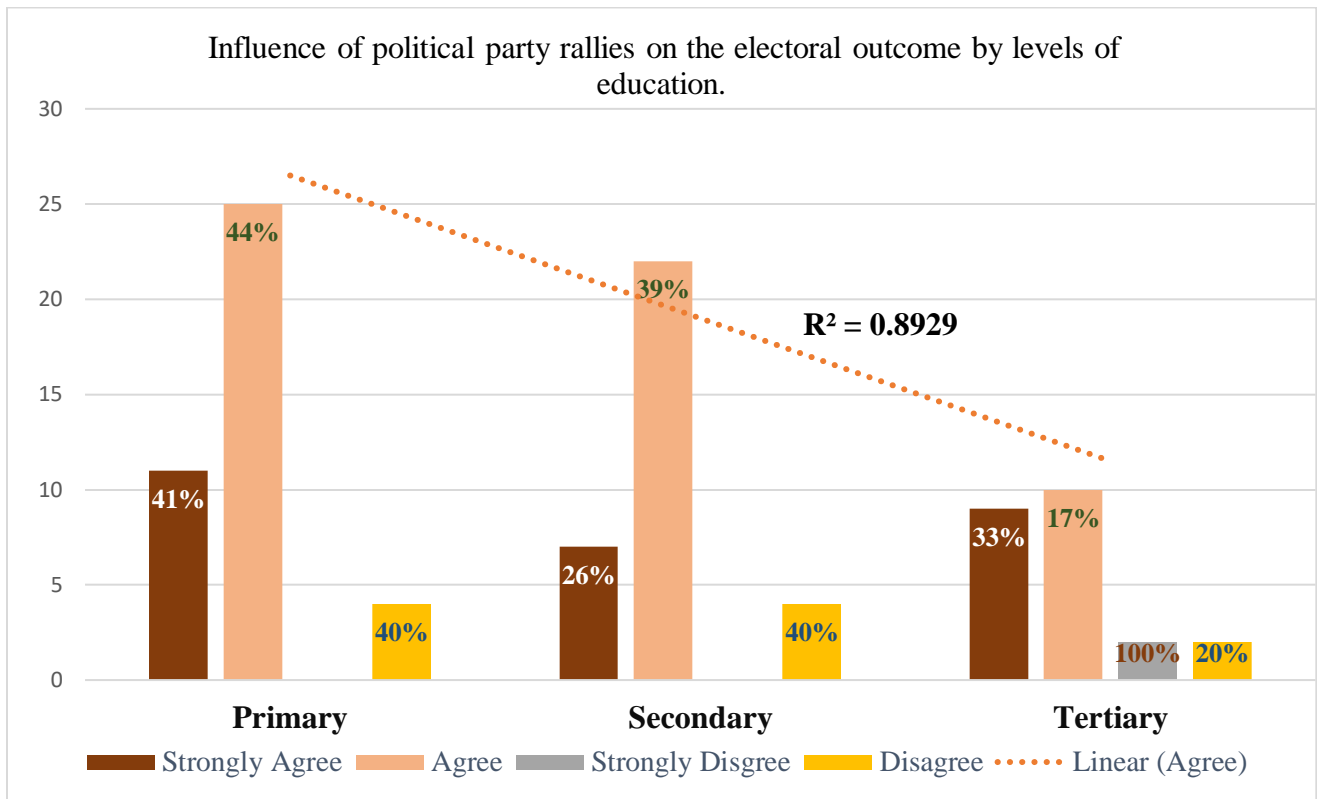
During the interview, it was revealed by one respondent that political rallies have aided public acceptance of different parties. This is shown by the large participation of the youths and male adults during these rallies.

The study findings show that 85% of respondents who participated in the 2017 general elections agree that political rallies influence electoral outcome while 11% disagree. One party official who agreed that political rallies influence electoral outcome said that:

“There has been a bombardment of the use of rallies by political parties before the elections. Since the 2007 elections, political parties and individual politicians have intensified the use of rallies for campaigning as this allows for quicker dissemination of messages, data gathering, and analysis. Here in Lang’ata, it usually gets intense as we approach election day. Politicians can even hold more than four rallies in one day, and this happens every day in that last one week to elections until campaigns officially end”.

The study went further to investigate the influence of the frequency of political party rallies on the electoral outcome by focusing on the study participants’ levels of education. The results are shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3. 1: **Political party rallies & electoral outcome by levels of education.**



Source: Field Data, 2021

Figure 3.1 shows that respondents with a primary level of education tend to agree more with one of the study’s hypotheses that the higher the frequency of political rallies the more positive the electoral outcome. 44% of them agree compared to respondents with Secondary and Tertiary levels of education who registered 39% and 17% respectively. A keener look at the findings reveals that with a bigger R² of 0.8929, the strength and character of the relationship between levels of education and the frequency of political rallies is very strong in determining the electoral outcome.

The study also sought to find out the number of respondents who voted in 2017 as a result of being influenced by the frequency of political party rallies at the time. Out of 93 participants who voted in 2017, 53 said that they believe they voted because of the influence of political party rallies. Respondent 17 said that;

“There were a lot of rallies here in Makadara in the period leading to the 2017 general

elections. Having the opportunity to attend most of them, I was convinced that the current member of parliament meant well for the residents of this constituency, hence I voted for him. So yes, I can confidently say he convinced me through the many rallies he held here. In most of those rallies, he was telling us what his vision was for Makadara and why we should elect him”.

3.5 Campaign budgets of political parties.

The influence of money in elections has become an important ingredient in determining electoral outcomes worldwide. The use of money in political activities has adversely affected the nature of public policy, governance, competition, the rule of law, transparency, equity, and democracy. Although there are laws, policies, and guidelines governing the use of money during elections, there is an insignificant political will to implement them. In Kenya, it is commonplace for media, analysts, and academics to set election agenda around issues of voter mobilization, opinion polls, and election preparedness. However, little if any attention is paid to the role that money plays in influencing electoral outcomes. The third and final objective of the study sought to address this by finding out the influence of campaign budgets on electoral outcomes in Lang’ata and Makadara constituencies.

Ulen (2003) posits that in recent years, staggering amounts are spent by major parties in every election cycle. In this study, the interest is in the aggregate campaign expenditure, how the aggregate campaign expenditures influence electoral outcome. The reason for this macro-level interest is straightforward since it is in the aggregate that expenditures influence the campaign. A single shilling has little influence on the eventual outcome of the election, but millions of shillings in expenditures determine the eventual winner on election day.

Table 3. 10 The effect of campaign budgets on voters’ perception.

Campaign Budget	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Frequency
Strongly Agree	20	20.83	20.83
Agree	56	58.33	79.16
Strongly Disagree	2	2.08	81.24
Disagree	18	18.76	100.00
Total	N=96	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 3.9.0 shows the respondents’ responses on how their perception is affected by campaign budgets. The table shows that the majority of the respondents believe that money matters and that the party with a huge campaign budget will have a favorable electoral outcome.

The study findings also indicate that this is the only variable where study participants displayed a complete convergence of opinions. The study found out that it doesn’t matter whether you are old or young, male or female, educated or not, employed or unemployed. Respondents agreed that money matter in politics and that political aspirants must heavily spend for them to win. The only time when a politician can spend less is when he or she is sponsored by a big political party in an area where that party enjoys a huge following. The was aptly captured by respondent 51 as follows:

“Those who use dominant parties in regions where the party is popular increase their chances of winning and at the same time, reduce the amount of money spent in campaigns in comparison to their counterparts who are sponsored with the less dominant parties. However, the bottom line is that you must just spend. What we believe in here is that there are situations where money may not guarantee you electoral success, but it is rare that it comes to those with limited funds. So, you have to spend regardless.”

In a situation where the political office has become lucrative and sought after, the stakes around political contests have also risen significantly. In some cases, they are so high that the contests

have become a do-or-die affair. The study wanted to know how much money is usually set aside for campaigns, and the following were the responses from the campaign managers: “In Lang’ata, our budget from the 2017 election was approximately 14 million, but we may have gone above that a little”. On what was budgeted for in the Makadara constituency, the campaign manager for the current member of parliament said that their budget was around 16 million Kenyan shillings.

Reflecting on these costs, all campaign managers admitted to having spent more on their 2017 campaigns than they originally anticipated, with one stating: “I prefer not to think about how much I spent on the campaigns. It’s enough to make you give up politics”. These responses tend to agree with the report released by Westminster Foundation of Democracy Limited (WFD) and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy in July of this year stating that each Member of Parliament in Kenya spent Ksh18.1 million on average in 2017 campaigns.

When pressed further on the real drivers of the cost of parliamentary politics in these two constituencies, the party officials opined that our political culture plays a significant role in determining the cost of politics. According to them, the inflated costs of seeking an election in Kenya do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, they are the product of social and political behaviors developed over time. The onset of the political process for any aspiring political candidate is the question of motivation. Why run for political office? In some cases, it might be a burning desire to be of service. On the opposite side of the spectrum, the egocentric need for recognition and social standing that accompanies political office in Kenya may drive aspirants’ bids. There are also those who fall somewhere in between these opposing dimensions, those who seek political office for its proximity to power to be able to further their personal as well as community interests. In any case, once you’ve decided to seek any political office, you’ll do anything to win.

On what candidates spend their money on, the campaign managers and party officials said that formal filing fees are considered a nominal expense, while branded campaign materials and organizing political rallies topped the expense list. Other vital expenditure items that were mentioned included mobilization costs, fuel, logistics, security, roadshows, payment of campaign teams, and making social contributions, especially to individuals in distress and those in need of support. Examples of such included funerals, assisting in medical bills and giving support for weddings. The candidates also needed to remain visible in their constituencies by making

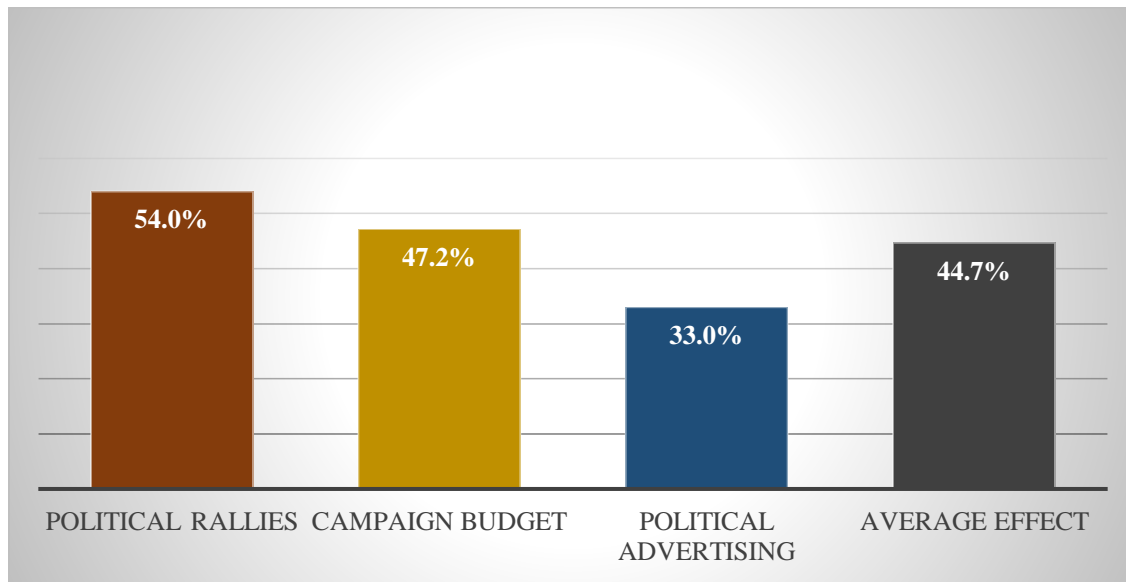
contributions to local groups, schools, religious institutions, and fundraising events. As one respondent explained:

“When you are an aspirant, and you have declared your intention to seek a parliamentary seat, people will tend to call you to various functions like weddings, funerals, Harambee (fundraising) you know these social functions that we have within our society. You are always invited”.

The study found out that the majority of the voters look at a candidate’s wealth and a candidate’s party to accept a political party. The assumption is that the richer you are the more likely you are to spend on the electorates and the electorates will reward you by voting you in. Put differently, the more a candidate spends the greater their chances of winning. The findings from interviews also demonstrated that even with the very best of intentions, under current conditions, it is unlikely that one can seriously compete for elections without a significant financial war-chest especially in an environment where securing a parliamentary seat is the ultimate aspiration and privilege, and where, for that reason, there are individuals who are prepared to go to great lengths to secure the seat. For this reason, the cost of politics is unsurprisingly significant.

Finally, when asked “Overall, do you believe that political party marketing (party advertising, political rallies, and campaign budgets) influence the electoral outcome,” 66 percent of respondents indicated they believe that political party marketing influences electoral outcome. In trying to identify these effects and also knowing which of the variables have more influence on electoral outcome, the study observed a varying level of agreement amongst the study participants on the influence that each variable had. The graph below shows the breakdown of the responses to this question per variable and the overall average influence.

Figure 3. 2: Individual variable influence



Source: Field Data, 2021

Figure 3 shows that out of the three variables, political rallies were considered the most effective in influencing electoral outcome with an approval rate of 54 percent followed by campaign budget and political party advertising at 47.2 percent and 33 percent respectively. On average, the study established that the influence of political party marketing on the electoral outcome is 44.7 percent.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations of the study, and suggestions for further research.

4.2 Summary of the Findings

This study aimed at establishing the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in Nairobi City County with specific reference to Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies. The specific objectives included; (i) to establish whether party advertising affects the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies (ii) to establish whether the frequency of rallies that a party holds affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies (iii) to establish whether campaign budgets of political parties affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies. A descriptive research design was used and the primary data was collected by way of questionnaires. The target population included political party officials, campaign managers of politicians, and registered voters in Langa'ta and Makadara constituencies.

In its first objective of determining whether party advertising affects the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies, the study established that voters believed that political party advertising in some way influences the way they vote. The data collected showed that voters, especially the young ones, were more inclined to vote for politicians or political parties that carried out extensive political party advertising in the period leading to the general election. In addition, the study found out that the female respondents were sharply divided on whether or not political party advertising influences electoral outcome as opposed to their male counterparts who largely agreed that party advertising influences the electoral outcome.

The second objective was to determine the influence of the frequency of political rallies on the electoral outcome. The study findings established that the number of campaign rallies that a party holds is very vital in swaying the voters to vote in their favor. More interestingly, the study

established that political aspirants hold rallies in areas where they expect to gain the most. These areas include but are not limited to areas where there are more undecided voters or where the voters are responsive to their campaign messages. The study also observed that rallies not only expose voters to information about the differences between the candidates and increase the accuracy with which voters perceive the candidates but also play an important role in changing the way voters view issues. This attribute makes political rally a core element of modern political campaigns communication which is used to enable fast dissemination of information to the public and hence helps to create some sort of relationship between the candidates and the electorates.

The third and final objective was to establish whether campaign budgets of political parties affect the electoral outcome in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies. The study found out that money is an important ingredient in winning elections, and voters in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies do not doubt that money matter in elections.

The study data has shown that the more a political candidate spends, the more their chances of electoral victory. The study finds a positive and statistically significant correlation between the political campaign budgets and the electoral outcome. It argues that in most cases, victory in elections follows those with money. However, the study findings also revealed that the choice of a political party is equally important. A dominant party ticket is beneficial when contesting for any political office in the stronghold region of the party. The winning combination of money and a dominant party is the much sought-after formula that politicians go to great lengths to secure.

4.3 Conclusion

This study has been an attempt to bring to the limelight the influence of political party marketing on electoral outcome in Nairobi City County. It argued that for the longest time now, voters in Kenya have not been necessarily making independent electoral choices, rather their decision to vote are influenced by a myriad of factors such as ethnic affiliation, material inducement, the personality of the contestant, party organization, and slogans, and the prevailing economic condition. Scholars have made remarkable strides over the past several decades in testing for the effects of diverse campaign activities on the electoral outcome and this study joined the fray by focusing on political party marketing.

Understanding whether political party marketing influences electoral outcome is, in short, central to evaluating party advertising as a mechanism for elite accountability and mass enlightenment. The study found out that party advertising matters as instruments for popular sovereignty precisely because elites, the media, and citizens seek to influence each other and the outcomes of elections.

The reasons for the high frequency of political rallies or permanent campaigning largely rest with the nature of the modern, or postmodern electorate. Election rallies are no longer purely designed to mobilize a party or candidates' supporters. The dealignment means that it is the floating voter that is the most valuable commodity to electoral hopefuls. However, these voters are not simply convinced by short-term campaigning techniques, or at least large sections are not. Hence the long term has become prioritized among voters, and so parties in government need to sustain the support of the electorate over each policy decision. The study established that campaigning could no longer cease with election victory but that there was a need to court the Kenyan voter throughout. This finding agrees with what the former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair told his newly elected MPs in 1997 that, 'Today is day one of the campaign to win a second term, don't let one of you forget that.'

In essence, political party marketing should be designed to inform the public, about the party, candidates, leaders, and help voters to decide how to vote or whether to offer active support. However, if the focus is purely on money, it is argued that the decisions are founded purely on the ephemeral as opposed to the substance. While the effect is difficult to scientifically quantify, voters in Lang'ata and Makadara constituencies replied to surveys that money is important. The study established that money has always found its way through the political system. The study also took note of the fact that candidates with the ability to mobilize more campaign finances are seen as buying their way to win elections, while those championing a transformative agenda are ignored.

Granting that political party marketing matters, what specific campaign activities and events influence the electoral outcome? The consensus in the study is that at least one set of regular political rallies, party advertising, and campaign budget usually have a measurable effect that is relatively resistant to decay. Whereas, estimating the influence of political party marketing is one of the enduring issues in the study of politics, the study established that with an average effect of 44.7%, the answer to the question guiding this study, 'Does political party marketing influence

electoral outcome' is in the affirmative even if the longevity of that influence is unknown. The study thus concluded that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between political party marketing and positive electoral outcome.

4.4 Recommendations of the Study

This study has established that indeed political party marketing influences electoral outcome to a certain degree. The study, therefore, makes a number of recommendations that will not only broaden the academic discourse on this subject but will also assist policymakers to incorporate political party marketing strategies in the legislation process going forward.

First, the study tested the assumptions in a restricted setup, two constituencies. The study recommends that the assumptions need to be tested in a broader range of cases to establish whether the findings made would be applicable across the country and the continent at large. This will provide a holistic understanding of the political party's marketing role in influencing electoral outcomes as well as add to the repository of knowledge within local academic institutions.

Secondly, while the study findings suggest that political party marketing can influence the electoral outcome, the longevity of that influence is uncertain. The study, therefore, recommends that another study be carried out to determine the longevity of that effect.

Finally, to transform electoral democracy and justice, this study recommends the need for parliament to enact a law limiting the period during which campaign funds can be spent as a way of regulating the role of money in determining electoral outcomes.

4.5 Areas for Further Research

While, the study tells us that political party marketing influences electoral outcome, it does not tell us whether the effects last. Put directly, but very generally, events that happen over the course of the campaign cause voters' preferences to change. However, the problem is empirically identifying these effects and also knowing which of the variables have more effect. This scenario opens up a need for further studies to be carried out to establish empirically the individual effects of political

party marketing variables. This will allow for a generation of conclusive findings that can provide information for both academic and policy development.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTY OFFICIALS

I am **Geoffrey Nelson Omondi**, a student from the University of Nairobi. I am researching on the influence of political marketing on electoral outcome in Kenya, a study required for an award of the degree of Masters of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration. The information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality and it will be used for the purposes of this study only. Your participation in the study will be highly appreciated. Please feel free to follow-up on the findings of the study by reaching me through my email address geoffreynelson254@gmail.com

Consent (Please tick in the box as appropriate)

I agree to participate	<input type="checkbox"/>	I don't agree to participate	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Section A: Personal Information (Tick as appropriate)

1. What's your age bracket?

- 1. 18-30
- 2. 31-40
- 3. 41-50
- 4. 51 and above

2. What's your gender?

- 1. Female
- 2. Male
- 3. Other

Section B: Party advertising

3. What is your understanding of party advertising?

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.....

4. What form has this party advertising taken?

.....
.....
.....

5. Which of these modes of party advertising have proven effective and why?

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.....
.....

6. Who do you target when coming up with party ads?

.....
.....

7. Is there a differentiated party advertising that targets the youth?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

8. Do you think party advertising meet its intended objective?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

9. If No to question 8, please explain why.

.....
.....

10. What is your feeling towards this statement; Party advertising positively influence electoral outcome.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

11. How much on aggregate do you think you spent on party advertising for the position of member of parliament?

.....
.....

12. Suggest ways through which party advertising can be made more effective

.....
.....

Section C: Frequency of political rallies (Campaign exposure)

13. What informs political rallies?

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.....
.....

14. Who are the target audience in political rallies?

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.....
.....

15. How are the rallies comparable to other forms of party advertising?

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.....
.....

16. Who are the party officials who are required to speak in these rallies and why?

.....
.....
.....

17. What is your feeling towards this statement: The more the number of campaign rallies that a party holds, the higher the chance of winning in an election.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

18. Suggest ways through which political rallies can be made more effective.

.....
.....
.....

Section D: Campaign budgets of political parties

19. How do you create campaign budget?

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.....
.....

20. Roughly how much money is usually set aside for campaigns?

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21. What kind of expenses can you anticipate?

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.....
.....

22. What do candidates spend money on during campaigns?

.....
.....

23. What should you know to create a winning political campaign budget?

.....
.....

24. How do you ensure that your campaign budget stays on track?

.....
.....

25. Political parties that spent a lot of money campaigning, be it on party advertisements or rallies are more likely to win elections.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

26. Overall, do you believe that political marketing (party advertising, political rallies, and campaign budgets) influence electoral outcome?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Thank you! You have come to the end of this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOTERS

I am **Geoffrey Nelson Omondi**, a student from the University of Nairobi. I am researching on the influence of political marketing on electoral outcome in Kenya, a study required for an award of the degree of Masters of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration. The information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality and it will be used for the purposes of this study only. Your participation in the study will be highly appreciated. Please feel free to follow-up on the study findings by reaching me through my email address geoffreynelson254@gmail.com

Consent (Please tick in the box as appropriate)

I agree to participate	<input type="checkbox"/>	I don't agree to participate	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Section A: Personal Information (Tick as appropriate)

1. What's your age bracket?

- 1. 18-30
- 2. 31-40
- 3. 41-50
- 4. 51 and above

2. . What's your gender?

- 1. Female
- 2. Male
- 3. Other

3. What is the highest level of education that you have attained?

- 1. Primary School.
- 2. Secondary School
- 3. Tertiary Education/ University

4. How would you describe your employment status?

- 1. Employed.
- 2. Unemployed
- 3. Self Employed
- 4. Retired

Section B: Voter Participation

5. Did you vote in the last general election in 2017?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

6. (IF NO TO QUESTION 5) What was the main reason why you did not vote?

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7. (IF YES TO QUESTION 5) What is your feeling towards this statement; The advertisements that were done by the party influenced the way I voted.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

8. What were some of the most used types of party advertising? (Pay attention to TV, Radio, posters/billboards, rallies, Print, and Social Media)

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9. In your opinion, can you say that political advertising is effective in determining whether a party wins in an election?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

10. What is your feeling towards this statement: The more the number of campaign rallies that a party holds, the higher the chance of winning in an election.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

11. Political parties that spent a lot of money campaigning, be it on party advertisements or rallies are more likely to win elections.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

12. Overall, do you believe that political marketing (party advertising, political rallies, and campaign budgets) influence electoral outcome?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

13. Suggest ways through which political marketing can be made more effective.

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Thank you! You have come to the end of this questionnaire.