

**THE IMPACT OF THE MASS MEDIA ON
YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN THE 2007
KENYA GENERAL ELECTIONS IN
NAKURU DISTRICT**

BY:

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**Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science and Public
Administration at the University of Nairobi**

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. It has been submitted for examination



PETER ORIARE MBEKE



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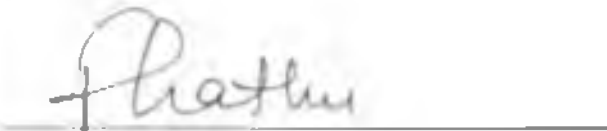
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved wife Dore Deredah Oriare, my two lovely daughters, Sheila and Sheena, and my mother Caren Mwalo, without whose commitment to God, education and discipline, I would not have come this far

Abstract

Scholars have studied the effects of media exposure on political behavior since the 1940s. The results of these studies are mixed and inconclusive. This study examined the gross impact of mass media exposure on various forms of political participation by the youth aged between 18 years and 30 years during the 2007 Kenya general election campaigns in Nakuru District. The major research questions addressed were: What was the impact of mass media exposure on youth participation during the 2007 general election campaigns in Nakuru District? What were the patterns of mass media exposure among the youth during the 2007 general elections in Nakuru District? What were the associations between exposure to various types of mass media and forms of youth political participation during the 2007 general elections in Nakuru District?

The hypotheses were: One, *the higher the exposure of the youth to mass media during the election campaigns the higher the level of political participation during the election campaigns.* Two, *socioeconomic status of youth is a major determinant of mass media exposure during election campaigns.* Three, *there is a significant association between various types of mass media and forms of youth political participation during election campaigns.*

The study used an eclectic approach to develop the conceptual framework because no single theory in literature could explain the relationship between mass media exposure and youth political participation during election campaigns. It involved the synthesis of three theories namely: civic voluntarism, political mobilization and uses and gratifications theories. The civic voluntarism

theory was used to identify and describe the interplay of the various determinants of youth political participation. The uses and gratifications theory elucidated patterns of and motivations for youth exposure to mass media. The political mobilization theory, on the other hand, gave explanation for possible effects of media on youth political participation.

This study utilized cluster and systematic sampling techniques to collect primary data during two surveys. The first survey was conducted during the campaigns, a month before 2007 elections, and the second survey was done two days after elections for 10 days. Using the Nakuru District Survey Sample Register of 1999, trained researchers successfully interviewed 868 youth from 954 households in eight clusters in the district. Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses, using defined indices, were utilized to establish the impact of mass media exposure on youth political participation.

A key finding was that mass media exposure had a significant impact on youth participation during the 2007 Kenya general election campaigns in Nakuru District. A high level exposure to mass media increased the likelihood of youth political participation during the election campaigns. Surveyed youth scoring high on media exposure were nearly 6 times more likely to participate in election campaigns compared to surveyed youths not exposed to mass media during similar period. Television was the most preferred media for obtaining news during the election campaigns (55.6 percent) followed by radio (30.5 percent), newspapers (5.1 percent), mobile phones (1.4 percent) and internet (1.2 percent). Finally, there was a strong association between exposure to types of

media and forms of youth political participation. Exposure to TV was strongly associated with talking politics ($P < 0.01$); attending political rallies ($P < 0.01$), doing general political work and working as security ($P < 0.01$) for politicians and political parties during the 2007 election campaigns

The study makes three conclusions. One, mass media were significant political mobilization agents of the youth during the 2007 election campaigns in Nakuru District. Two, some types of mass media (TV and radio) led to increases in youth political participation in the district. Three, two socioeconomic status variables namely gender and location of residence determined the impact of mass media exposure on youth political participation in Nakuru District

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Abbreviation

ABC1	Demographic representation for ABC1 social class
AICAN	All Candidates
AMWIK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
APA	Association of Practitioners in Advertising
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAPF	Coalition for Accountable Political Financing
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CCK	Communication Commission of Kenya
CRECO	Constitution and Reform Education Consortium
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry Into Post Election Violence
CIRCLE	Center for Information and Research on Civil Learning and Engagement
EAs	Enumeration Areas
EATV	East Africa Television
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
FES	Frederick Ebert Stiftung
FM	Frequency Modulation
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
GoK	Government of Kenya
IIDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IED	Institute for Education and Democracy

IPPG	Inter Party Parliamentary Group
IRI	International Republican Institute
IREC	Independent Review Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KARF	Kenya Advertising Research Foundation
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
KEDOF	Kenya Domestic Elections Forum
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
K24 TV	Kenya 24 Television
KPP	Kenya People s Party
KTN	Kenya Television Network
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MedExp	Mass Media Exposure
MoH	Ministry of Health
MOYA	Ministry of Youth Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC-K	National Rainbow Coalition Kenya
NASSEP	National Sample Survey and Evaluation Programme
NMG	National Media Group
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ODM-K	Orange Democratic Movement Kenya

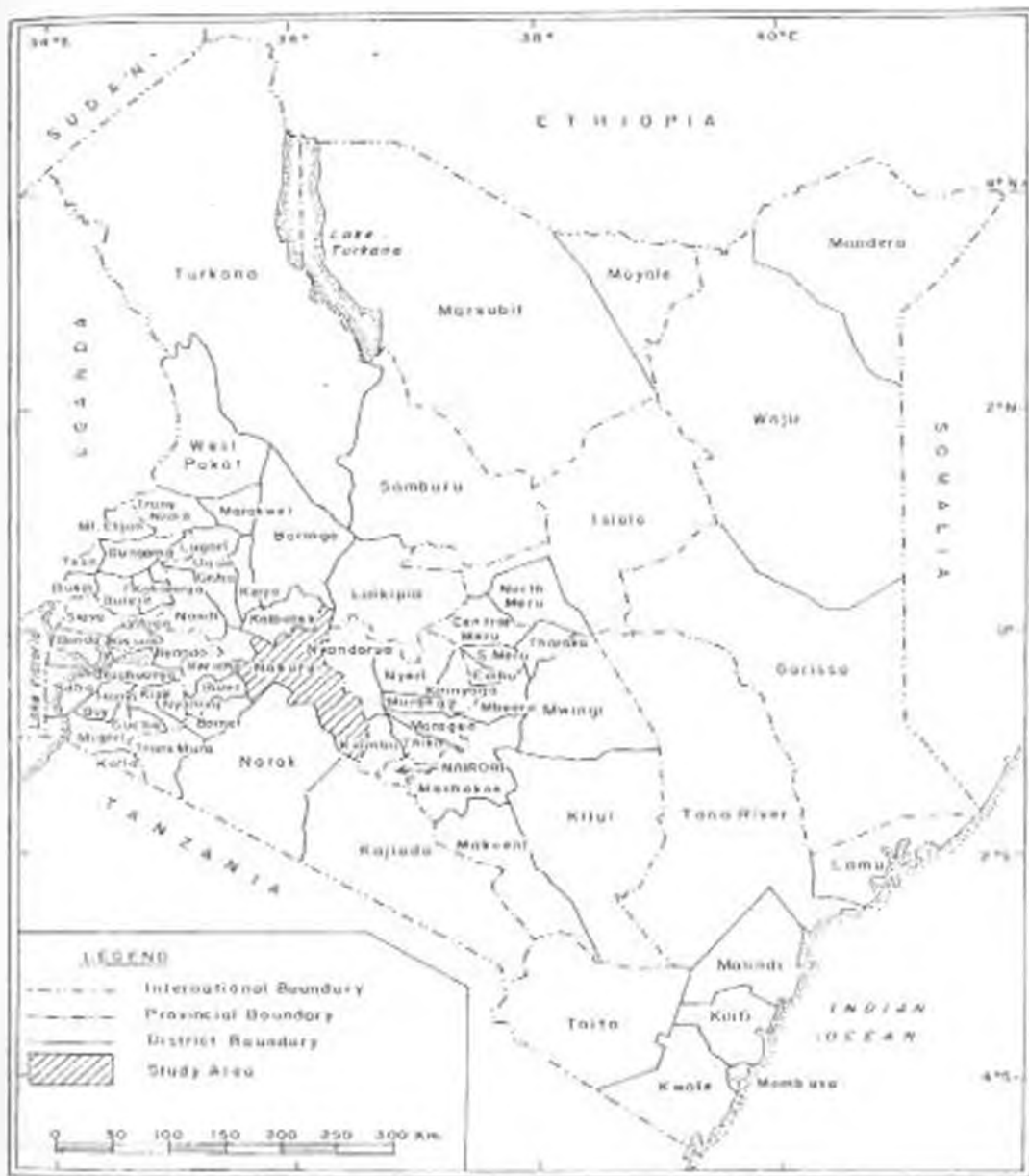
ODTV	Oxygen Digital TV
ORC	ORC Macro International, Calverton, Maryland
POLPAT	Political Participation
POLEFF	Political Efficacy
PNU	Party of National Unity
PPK	People s Patriotic Party of Kenya
PPS	Population Proportionate to size
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SID	Society for International Development
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
STV	Stellavision Television
TRA	Theory of Reasoned Action
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USA	United States of America
WCP	Women Congress Party

Epigraph

"As mass communication technology develops and as the mass media become more pervasive in our daily lives, media influence is no longer limited to changing or reinforcing opinions, attitudes, and behaviors. The mass media have become important socialization agents as well, creating and shaping many of our shared attitudes, values, behaviors, and perceptions of social reality"

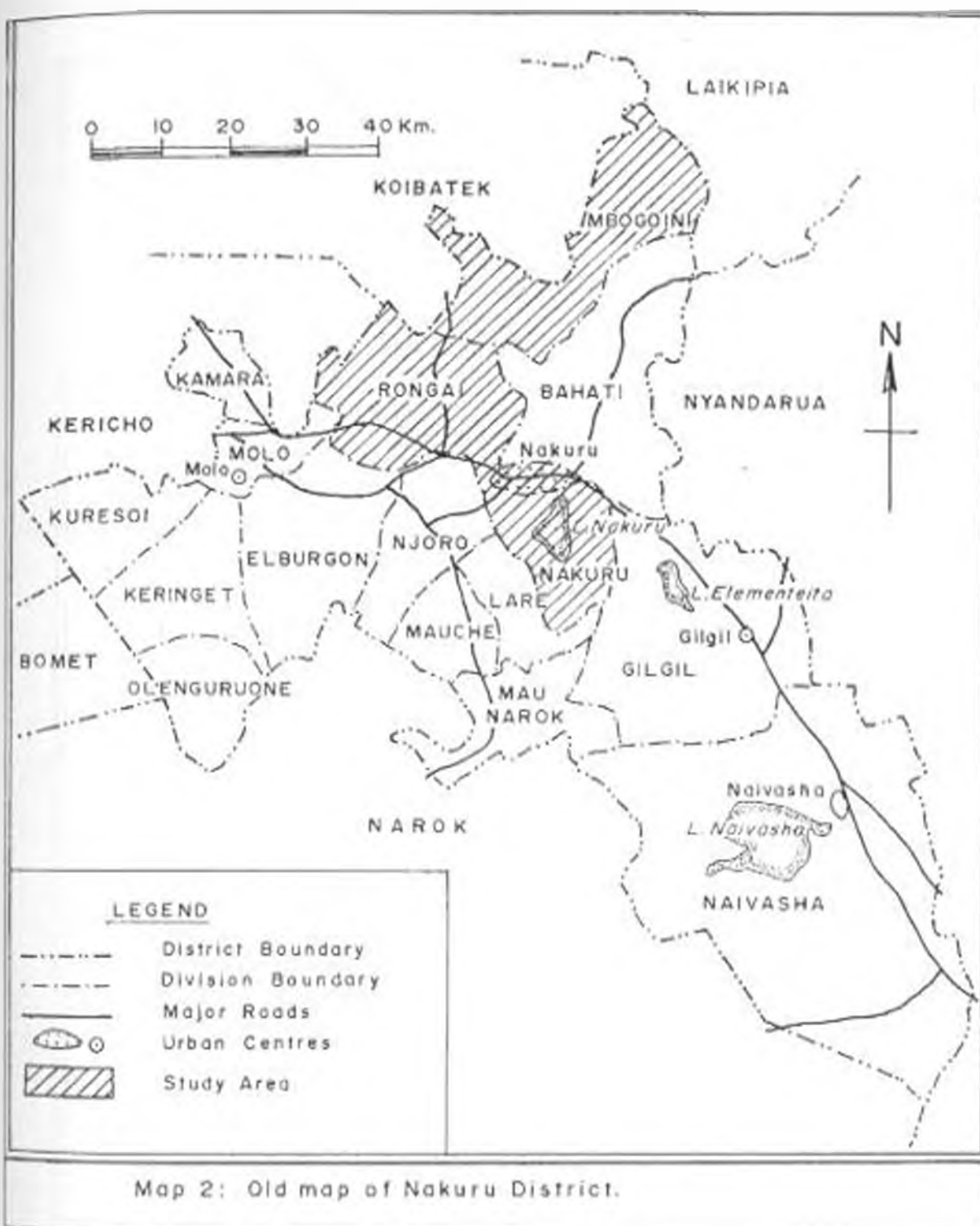
Alexis S. Tan (1985)

Map of Kenya

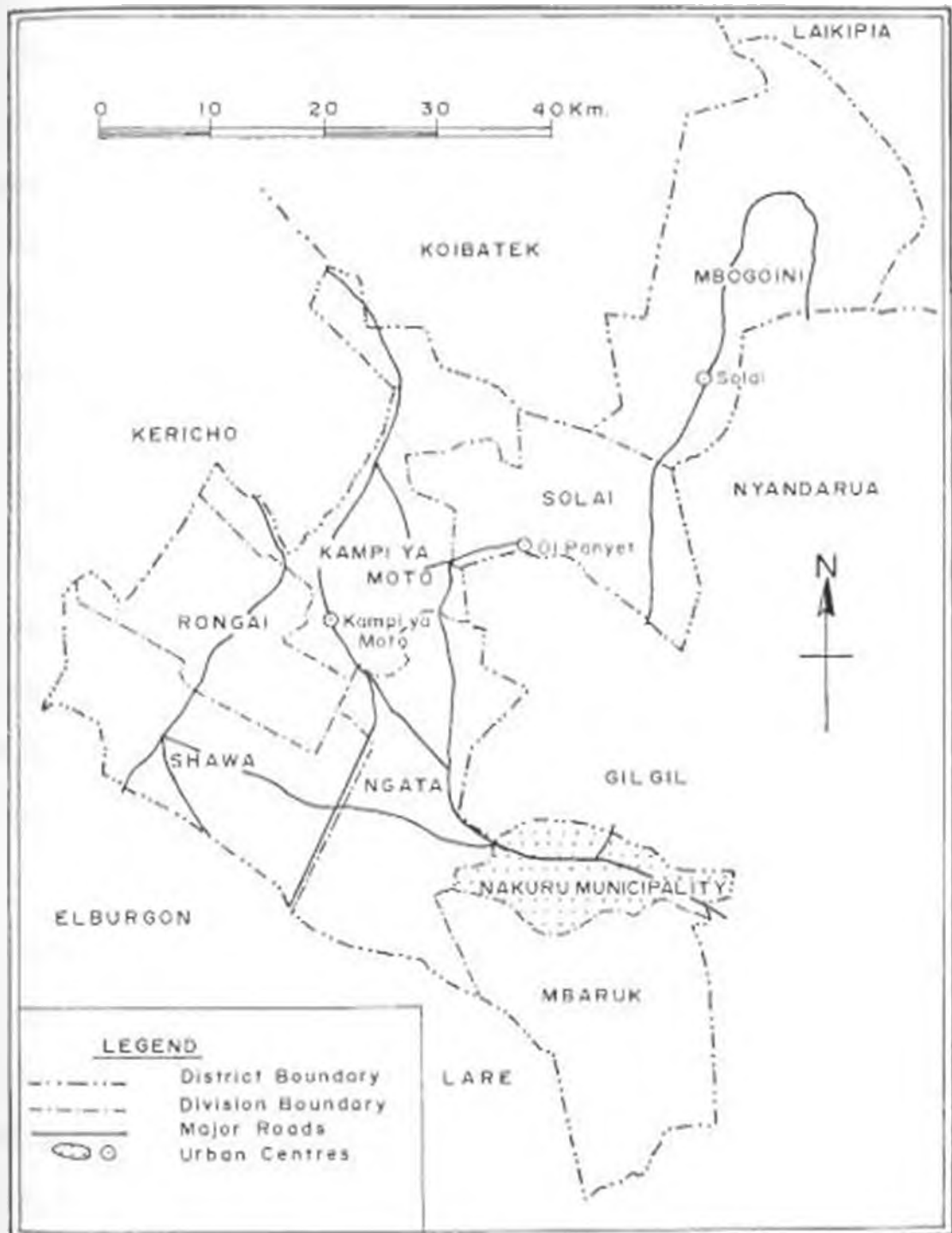


Map 1 Map of Kenya showing the location of old Nairobi District

Map of Old Nakuru District



Current Map of Nakuru District



Map 3: Current map of Nakuru District.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis sought to examine the gross impact of mass media exposure on youth participation in 2007 Kenya general elections in Nakuru District. It was based on the premise that Kenyan youth are increasingly relying on mass media as the major source of political information. Therefore, the Kenyan media have become increasingly influential political mediators among the youth who make up 32 percent of registered voters. This thesis is premised on the fact that mass media affect people's political orientations and as such would similarly structure youth participation in 2007 Kenya general elections in Nakuru District.

This chapter discusses the background to the study with a situational analysis of Nakuru District, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, assumptions, hypothesis, justification, scope and focus of the study. The literature review, conceptual framework and the methodology are also part of the chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

Scholars remain divided over the role the mass media play in youth political participation. Some studies have indicated strong correlation between media and democracy (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31, Macquail 2000, 523-532; Otenyo 2002, 155; Temin and Smith 2002, 585-605, Phar and Kraus 1996, 1-19; Flanagan 1996, 277-308, Forbrig 2005, 7-16; Hoskins 2003, 1-14). They generally observe that media play a critical role in democratic governance by subjecting government and institutions to independent scrutiny (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31; Macquail 2000, 523-

432. Phar and Kraus 1996, 1-19), supplying information that voters base their decisions on and providing platforms for political debate, learning and involvement in political life (Luengo 2006, 59-71; Norris 2000, 3-21; Norris 1996, 474-480; Otieno 2002, 155; Phar and Kraus 1996, 1-19; Tan 1985, 315-331)

Although mass media have been hailed as playing a crucial role in sustenance of democracy, other studies indicate that media may become undemocratic and undermine democratic principles (Forbng 2005, 7-16; Ketter et al 2002, 3-10, Putnam 1996, 31-47; Tan 1985, 315-331). For instance media often support the political status quo and may be biased during elections, entertaining rather than informing, may focus on political news about personalities rather than political ideologies, devote so much attention to propaganda rather than serious debates (Tan 1985, 315-331; Herman and Chomsky 1988, 1-36, Harrigan 1987, 1-537).

The debate over the role of the mass media in political participation is not isolated to western and emerging democracies Kenya also has had her fair share of debate over the role of mass media in politics This debate goes back to the colonial era when the colonial administration and the nationalist movement contested the role of media in politics The colonial government used draconian laws to curtail freedom of nationalist press because of their fear of its ability to structure political and electoral choices by influencing public perceptions about self governances at the time (Makali 2003, 55-98). At the time, the nationalist movement promoted the development of plural nationalist press system that would curb the excesses of the colonial government and champion political liberation for Kenyans (Makali, 2003, 55-98).

Today, the Kenyan media operate in a liberalized and open political and economic environment far different from the authoritarian, closed and monopolistic political systems of the past. Media, whose ownership is largely in the hands of private political and business interests today, are diverse, free and assertive. Despite this, the debate over the role of media in politics persists. Currently, there are two main schools of thought regarding the role of mass media in politics in Kenya. First is the dominant school (Heywood, 2002, 202-203) that views media as a necessary evil that ought to be controlled and manipulated to promote compliance among Kenyans. This school has champions within government and have curtailed media freedom since independence ostensibly to reduce the political influence of mass media (Kagwe 2007, 7-13; Odero and Kamweru 2000, 11-25, Makali, 2003, 55-87).

Second is the pluralist school (Heywood 2002, 202-203) that views media as an ideological marketplace where political views are traded through open discussion and debate. This school enjoys support from civil society actors, opposition politicians, professional bodies, scholars and media. Supporters of the pluralist school argue that the media enhance the quality of democracy by ensuring an informed citizenry and checking government excesses (Jacobsen 2007, 15; Kamweru and Odero 2000, 11-25; Makali 2003, 55-87)

Despite the different perspectives both schools recognize media as politically significant because of their ability to shape political attitudes and values concerning governance and democratic issues. Generally, Kenya's plural media have been promoting popular participation in public affairs by opening up the political space

and advancing political transition towards multiparty democracy (Wanyande and Ochilo 2007, 215-234; Otenyo 2002, 155; Makali 2003, 39-54)

Despite significant contributions to the democratization process in Kenya, the media have had their fair share of criticisms too. Media scholars indicated that the Kenyan media may have undermined democratic gains because of the negative roles they played in the 2005 referendum campaigns and the 2007 general election campaigns that fueled post election violence in the country (BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-3, Howard 2008, 3-8; KNCRH 2008, 96-105)

1.1.1 Profile of Nakuru District

The Nakuru District, which was hived off the original Nakuru District, was the study site. The old Nakuru District, a politically volatile settlement region in the Rift Valley Province, covered 16 administrative divisions comprising Kuresoi, Keringet, Olenguruone, Elbrugon, Njoro Rongai, Mogotio, Mbogoini, Bahati, Naivasha, Gilgil, Mau Narok, Lare, Mauche, Kamara, Molo and Nakuru Municipality (Kanogo 1980, 1-10, 1-10; Kandie 1982, 1-5, 1-5). It bordered Kericho and Bomet to the West, Koibatek and Laikipia to the North and Nyandarua to the East. Narok to the South West and Kajiado and Kiambu to the South (MoPND 2005, 3)

However, the (new) Nakuru District now borders newly created Nakuru North District to the North East, Naivasha District to the South, Molo District to the West and Nyandarua District to the East and Baringo District to the North West. It covers about 1,393km² and is located between longitudes 35.28 degrees and 35.6 degrees East and Latitude 0.13 degrees and 1.10 degrees South. Nakuru District has 8 administrative divisions namely Kampi ya Moto, Solai,

Ngata, Rongai, Mbogoini, Lanet, Baruti and Nakuru Municipality (MoPND 2007, 1-3).

There are two political constituencies in the district namely Rongai (covering Kampi ya Moto, Solai, Ngata, Rongai and Mbogoini divisions) and Nakuru Town that comprise Lanet division, Baruti division and Nakuru Municipality (MoPND 2007, 1-3).

The district has two local authorities namely Nakuru Municipality and Nakuru County Council. The municipality is highly populated and has a population density of 974 persons per km² with a household capacity of 68,436 while Rongai Division has low population density of 115 persons per km² with a household capacity of 17,789 (NBS 2007). Despite covering a small area of 262 km², Nakuru Municipality has a population of 255,715 people compared to the expansive Rongai Division, which has 744 km² with a population of about 85,630 people (NBS 2001).

Several factors account for the high population in the municipality. One, the population of the municipality has been growing by about 3.4 percent per year (MoPND 2005, 7). Two, urban-rural migration led to high inflow of job seekers most of who live in the slum areas of Kaptembwo, Langalanga, Ponda, Mali and Mwanki. Three, it has several factories producing cooking oil, batteries, blankets and agricultural implements that attract job seekers. Four, the hinterland of municipality has arable land with farmers engaged in various agricultural activities such as growing wheat and maize as well as dairy and poultry farming.

Five, it is a major agricultural service centre that benefit farmers both from the district and surrounding districts.

Six, the municipality is an administrative centre that houses the Rift Valley Provincial Headquarters. Thousands of civil servants working in the district as well as those from surrounding administrative posts reside in the municipality because of access to public amenities.

Seven, the municipality is an education centre with both university (Egerton University and Kabarak University) and tertiary institutions of learning that appeal to a lot of young people. Parents prefer living in the municipality because children can easily access primary and secondary schools.

Finally, Lake Nakuru, known for its flamingoes, and Nakuru National Park, are key economic indicators that attract both tourists and service providers to the municipality. The famous Hyrax Hill Museum, a prehistoric site near Lake Nakuru, is located in the municipality.

Nakuru Municipality is more urbanized than Rongai Division. Some of the challenges facing the municipality include high rates of poverty, overcrowding and rapid urban growth and industrial activity. Poor sanitation and environmental hygiene pose serious health threats to the residents. About 68 percent of houses have only one room with an average of 4 household members. In Kwa Rhonda estate, for example, 49 households share one latrine (Lowe 2007, 1-2). The impacts of urban poverty in Nakuru include lack of essential services such as water and sanitation, schools and health facilities (Lowe 2007, 3). The youth are the most affected.

Rongai Division, on the other hand, represents the rural segment of the district. It is characterized by both high and low agricultural areas. The areas to the North West have arable land on which farmers grow cash crops such as wheat, maize and horticultural crops. However, the area to the North and North East is slightly arid and is characterized by livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) and bee keeping and sisal farming. Poverty in the rural areas is about 45 percent (MoPND 2005, 7).

Nakuru District has continued to experience social and economic challenges such as high population growth rate, rural-urban migration, poorly planned urbanization, deforestation, high levels of unemployment, inequitable patterns of land ownership and high prevalence of HIV and AIDS (MoPND 2007, 7-8). The district is supporting a large and growing number of young people because of the high population growth rate. About 54 percent and 74 percent of the population of Nakuru residents are less than 20 years and 30 years respectively (MoPND 2005, 5-6).

Further, the poverty incidence was 45 percent and 41 percent in rural and urban areas respectively (MoPND 2005, 7). Several factors accounted for the high poverty levels in the urban centers of the district namely high unemployment (15 percent), landlessness, lack of water, insecurity and lack of basic services such as health, education and inadequate credit facilities (MoPND 2005, 9-10)

The district has a fair mix of ethnic communities of Kenya. There are more Kikuyus and Kalenjins in the district than other communities such Luos, Kisii,

Luhyas, Kambas, Asians and Whites. While the district is multi-ethnic, there are more Kalenjins in Rongai Division than in the municipality, which has more Kikuyus than the Kalenjins.

Nakuru District was a major hunting ground for votes ahead of the 2007 general elections. Nakuru Town Constituency had about 112,582 registered voters (ECK 2007) while Rongai had 50,862 registered voters. All the major political parties such as Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Orange Democratic Movement of Kenya (ODM-K), Party of National Unity (PNU) and Kenya African National Party (KANU) were represented in the district because of its multi-ethnic composition of voters. President Mwai Kibaki of PNU, Raila Odinga (ODM), Kalonzo Musyoka (ODM-K) and Uhuru Kenyatta of KANU held separate rallies to mobilize voters in the region for their respective parties. However, President Kibaki and Kenyatta held joint rallies following partnership arrangements between PNU and KANU ahead of the 2007 elections.

Apart from addressing meetings in small market centers in the district, various parties held political campaign rallies in Nakuru Stadium to drum up support for their parties and candidates. Conspicuous in these political campaign rallies were youth carrying placards, twigs and chanting campaign slogans of their parties and candidates. A new trend during the campaigns was the youthful *Boda Boda* riders wearing party T-shirts who often escorted the politicians to the venues. The parties and politicians used the *Boda Boda* riders to announce their arrival at venues and mobilize people to attend the rallies. In Nakuru Town Constituency, hundreds of youths wearing T-shirts of candidates would run after the *Boda Boda*

riders from street to street in the various estates to rally people to attend political meetings

The political campaigns in the district were lively because of the large number of contestants for parliamentary seats and the diversity of political parties they represented. Nakuru Town Constituency had 13 candidates while Rongai Constituency had 11 politicians vying for parliamentary seats (ECK 2007). Each of the candidates represented different political parties operating in the two constituencies.

The youth in Nakuru District were at the center of the political campaigns ahead of 2007. Apart from helping to mobilize voters, some youth such as Lee Maiyani Kinyanjui, William Kairuki Mirugi, Luka Kigen Kipkorir and Peter Mbae contested political seats for parliament. The election of two youthful politicians as members of parliament, Lee Maiyani Kinyanjui in Nakuru Town Constituency and Luka Kigen Kipkorir in Rongai Constituency, attested to this (ECK 2007).

The political parties used crucial issues such as constitutional reforms, land, security and ethnicity to mobilize youth to participate in politics. ODM promised fundamental constitutional, legal and institutional changes. ODM framed the issues using federalism as the rallying call that appealed to Kalenjin youth who wanted land reforms and other youths who wanted equity in the distribution of national resources. PNU, on the other hand, called upon the youth to reject federalism as it would compromise security and threaten Kikuyu land ownership rights. The Kikuyus in the Rift Valley, Nakuru included, have been victims of land clashes and election violence (Ruffen and Owuor 2009, 305-324).

1.1.2 Status of Mass Media in Nakuru District

According to the Kenya Audience Research (KARF & APA 2008), Nakuru District has a diversity of mass media comprising radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, mobile phones and internet. The district had over 12 radio stations (Citizen Radio, Inooro FM, Coro FM, Easy FM, Jesus Is Lord FM, Capital FM, Kiss FM, Classic FM, Kameme FM, Metro FM, KBC Channel 1 and KASS FM) targeting various communities in the area. Radio daily reach in the district was 87 percent compared to a national average of 79 percent. It came third after Nairobi and Central Rift region with 92 percent and 90 percent radio reach respectively (KARF & APA 2008, 17).

Radio Citizen was the most popular radio station (70 percent) followed by Inooro FM (53 percent) and Coro FM (49 percent). Radio Citizen broadcasts in Kiswahili while Inooro FM, Kameme FM and Coro FM use Kikuyu language. Capital FM, Classic FM, Kiss FM, Easy FM and Jesus Is Lord FM stations use both Kiswahili and English while KASS FM uses Kalenjin language (KARF & APA 2008, 17).

Capital FM, Classic FM, Kiss FM, Metro FM and Easy FM target the youth while the rest are general audience radio stations.

More men than women prefer Citizen FM while more women than men listened to Inooro FM. Almost equal number of men and women listened to KBC Kiswahili (Intermedia 2009, 3)

More people in rural areas listened to KBC Kiswahili and Inooro FM while more people living in urban areas listened to Citizen Radio, Kiss FM and Easy FM in the district (Intermedia 2009, 3)

More youth aged between 15 and 29 years listened to Kiss FM and Easy FM and Q FM. On the other hand, more adults aged between 45 and 59 years listened to KBC Kiswahili. About 50 percent of the listeners of Citizen are aged between 30 and 44 years (Intermedia 2009, 4)

Most people listen to radio between 5.00 am and 11.00 p.m. The pick hours for listening to radio are between 6.00 am and 9.00 pm.

On the other hand, television daily reach in Nakuru District was 71 percent compared to Nairobi's 79 percent.

According to a study by the Kenya Advertising Research Foundation, the most popular TV station was KBC Channel 1 (71 percent) followed by Citizen TV (62 percent), KTN TV (54 percent), NTV (50 percent) and Family TV (31 percent). The pick hours for watching TV in the district was between 7.00 pm and 11.00 pm. KBC Channel hours broadcasts the 7.00 pm bulletin in Kiswahili and the 9.00 pm news in English (KARF & APA 2008, 88)

According to the AudienceScapes Survey of Kenya 2009, more men than women watch TV. However, more young people aged between 15 and 29 watch TV compared to those aged 30 years and above.

The print dailies available in Nakuru District were Daily Nation, East African Standard, Taifa Leo, The People, Kenya Times, Nairobi Star and the Business Daily. The Daily Nation had a larger circulation than Standard in the District. Magazine readership by title included: Parents, True Love, Drum, Eve, Supa Strikas, Insyder, Reader's Digest, Today Africa, Finance, Oprah, Ebony and Msafiri (KARF & APA 2008, 123-127)

According to the AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya 2009, 58 percent of the people in the Rift Valley own mobile phones. Most of the ownership is concentrated in the urban centers including Nakuru. According to the study, internet use remains low. About 76 percent of youth aged below 30 years in Kenya use internet at least once a week. Out of this, 69 percent of the users are in urban centers such as Nakuru Town, 85 percent are middle income earners and 55 percent have secondary school education. Factors that hinder access to internet include poor connectivity to power sources and inadequate bandwidth and high operation costs.

The media in the district contributed to political mobilization of youth voters in the district. The media gave coverage to efforts to encourage the youth to register as voters ahead of the 2007 elections in the district. The *Vijana Tuguluke* Campaigns in the area, aimed at encouraging youth participation in the 2007 general elections, got a lot of support from the various media operating from district.

Unfortunately, the FM radio stations in the district with strong political affiliations incited ethnic passions ahead of the 2007 elections. Studies by Internews Network and Kenya National Human Rights Commission revealed that FM stations such as KASS, Kameme and Inoro promoted misinformation, propaganda and carelessly reproduced statements by political hate mongers. (KNCHR 2008, 25; BBWST 2008, 2-5). Therefore, while the FM radio stations mobilized ethnic voters in favor of their preferred parties and candidates, they also polarized the people in the district along ethnic lines.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The mass media have been recognized globally as politically important because of their ability to structure political choices and electoral processes by influencing opinions, attitudes and behavior of adults and youth in society. However, there is considerable controversy about the nature of political significance of media's impact on political participation. Some scholars hold the view that exposure to media is not only limited but leads to political malaise while some indicate that media have a positive impact on democracy. Despite useful and considerable research on the impacts of media exposure on political behavior, the results from these studies are rather mixed and inconclusive

Whereas some studies investigate the levels, context and quality of participation, hardly any of these studies explore how exposure to the news media influences various forms of youth participation. A gap also exists in the literature with regard to how information seeking behavior and intensity of exposure to political information influence various forms and levels of youth participation. Additionally, there is hardly conclusive empirical data on gross impact of mass media on various forms and levels of political participation. This study focuses on the interface between media exposure patterns and various forms of youth participation.

Over the past decade, the increasingly plural, assertive, free and influential Kenyan media have been lauded for its historic role in promoting multiparty democracy in the country. Since the return to multi-party democracy in 1991, the media have not only become major sources of political information but also gained the reputation of subjecting government officials to independent scrutiny; acting as watchdogs of public interest against political impunity, and providing platforms for political discourse

However, a contrasting view of media's political impact holds that Kenya's media have undermined the very democratic ideals it champions

The political significance of the influence of media on Kenyans has not been the subject of rigorous scholarly pursuit. Indeed, the impact of mass media exposure on the political behavior of Kenyans, youth in particular, has not been adequately and empirically investigated. Results of initial investigations have been equally mixed (Finkel and Horowitz 2009, iv)

This thesis explores the correlation between media exposure and youth political participation. It examines the impact of exposure to increasingly independent, assertive, and politically influential Kenyan media on participation by the youth aged between 18 and 30, who make up 46.2 percent of the total projected population (2007) and 32.1 percent of registered voters (IREC 2008, 42-45).

1.3 Research Questions

This study examines the correlation between exposure to mass media and political participation and is grounded on an overarching research question. *What was the impact of exposure to the mass media on youth participation in 2007 Kenya general elections in Nakuru District?*

The thesis answers this overall question by addressing two specific research questions that account for the impact of mass media on youth participation

a) What were the mass media exposure patterns of the youth in Nakuru District during the 2007 general election campaigns?

b) *What was the significance of the association between various types of the mass media and forms of youth political participation during the 2007 election campaigns in Nakuru District?*

1.4 Research Objectives

This study had three objectives. To examine the impact of mass media exposure on youth political participation during the 2007 Kenya general election campaign in Nakuru District; to investigate the mass media exposure patterns of the youth during the 2007 election campaigns in the district; and to explore the significance of the association between the various types of mass media and forms of youth political participation during the campaigns in Nakuru District

1.5 The Assumptions of the Study

The first assumption of the study is that the media in Kenya are objective and play their normative roles. Second, the Kenyan media are important sources of political information for the youth. Third, Kenyan youth are deliberate in their choice and use of mass media as sources of political information during political campaigns. Fourth, Kenyan youth engaged in various forms of political activity during campaigns by informed choice and interests.

1.6 Hypotheses of the Study

The study set forth three hypotheses as summarized below:

The alternative hypothesis 1: *"The higher the exposure of the youth to mass media during the election campaign period the higher the level of political participation during the campaign period".*

The null hypothesis 1 *"Exposure to mass media has no effect on political participation by the youth during election campaigns"*

Alternative hypothesis 2 *"Socioeconomic status of the youth is a major determinant of mass media exposure during election campaigns"*

Alternative hypothesis 2 *"Socioeconomic status of the youth is not a determinant of mass media exposure during election campaigns"*.

Alternative hypothesis 3: *"There is a significant association between various types of mass media and forms of youth political participation during election campaigns"*.

Null hypothesis 3: *"There is no association between association between various types of mass media and forms of political participation by youth during election campaigns"*.

1.7 Justification and Significance of Study

The thesis was premised on the wider role the Kenyan media play in promoting democracy. Since the entry of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1992, Kenyan media played a critical role in widening the democratic space by supporting multi-party democracy, promoting good governance and acting as a "public sphere" for political debate

This study was framed within the wider academic research interest on the interface between mass media and political participation. The inconclusiveness of the studies on media exposure and political participation motivated this study. Although some evidence exists, gaps still persist in the literature on how exposure to news media impacts on various forms and levels of political participation by the

youth. Specifically, the literature is scanty on the impact that intensity and patterns of media exposure to political information have on various forms and levels of youth political participation. Additionally, empirical data on gross impact of mass media on various forms and levels of youth political participation remain scanty and inconclusive. A number of studies tend to investigate the effects of specific medium on political participation. This thesis, on the other hand, explored what the gross impact of media exposure has on various forms and levels of youth political participation.

The youth in Kenya are increasingly becoming subjects of scholarly study perhaps because of their numerical strength, vulnerability to social, cultural, economic and political challenges, and their potential as change agents. While some scholars view the youth as victims of circumstances and manipulation by older people in power, others construct youth as saboteurs in the political arena (Francis and Githangui 2005, 1-14; Kagwanja 2005, 51-75; Wanjala 2002, 322-334; Durham 2000, 113-120). Therefore, studying the impact of media on political participation by the youth is important in understanding the contribution of media in structuring youth political behavior in Kenya.

The Kenyan youth aged between 18 and 30 account for 46.2 percent of the population and 32.1 percent of the registered voters (IREC 2008, 45). Kenyan youth under 30 years of age are 75 percent of the total population (KNBS 2007, 10-89). In addition, studying the youth is important because they are agents through which political norms and values are passed on to the next generation thus strengthening democracy (Forbrig 2005, 7-16; Ketter et al 2002, 3-10).

Another justification is based on the growing influence of the media in an environment where political parties are weak and hardly able to play their mobilization roles. Party identification among the Kenyan youth remains weak because the grassroots political resources that ensure political integration of the youth into party structures are either weak or lacking. Therefore, it is correct to assume that Kenyan media would become the primary political mobilization tools through which the youth receive political information. This increases the scope of political influence of media on the youth.

This investigation contributes to understanding of the significance of the influence of media on youth in Kenya during political campaigns.

I am fully aware that research results on the effects of media exposure on political participation are still mixed, and scholars still divided over the nature of media effects on youth political participation. This study provides data to fill the gaps in knowledge arising from the inconclusiveness of results of impacts of media exposure on political participation. Results of this study add to the knowledge of the gross impact of mass media exposure on various forms of political participation.

In addition, it contributes to broadening of the scope of the inquiry of media effects on youth political participation as it focused on a less saturated and less developed country going through democratic transition. A lot of studies on effects of media on participation have mainly focused on media saturated industrial democracies with hardly any serious studies from Africa and Kenya in particular.

This dissertation has important implications for policy makers, scholars, the youth political parties, media owners and managers to ensure high levels of responsibility and accountability in politics.

1.8 Scope and Focus of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of exposure to mass media on youth political participation. The geographic, time and subject scope of the study was delimited by the above objective and the topic *"The impact of mass media on youth participation in 2007 Kenya general elections in Nakuru District"*. Data collection took place only in areas (rural and urban) with potential access to TV, radio, newspapers, mobile phones and internet in Nakuru District in Kenya.

1.9 Literature Review

The aim of the literature review was to introduce the relevant scholarly work on youth participation and media effects that would help put this thesis in context. I reviewed literature on youth political participation and the effects of mass media on political participation. A review of the media scene in Kenya is also provided. At the end of the section is a conceptual framework adopted from the reviewed literature that helps to explain the impact of mass media on youth political participation.

Relevant academic journals, books, reports and various articles formed the secondary materials reviewed. I also reviewed credible documents from government and reputable institutions because they had important information that clarified some of the issues studied.

The key issues given prominence include the determinants of youth political participation at global level and in Kenya, controversies over effects of mass media on political participation and the growing influence of Kenyan media among the youth.

1.9.1 Youth Political Participation

This study reviewed early and recent scholarly literature on political participation and identified various determinants of political participation. The early studies on political participation are preoccupied with the intergenerational socio-economic status (SES) model, the parent civic orientation model, the parental political participation model and the school activities model (Verba 1967, 4-5; McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293; Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676, Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381, Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223)

Early studies on political participation focused on the definition of democratic participation, the importance of participation in a democracy, dimensions of participation, forms and typologies of political participation, problems associated with participation and conditions for effective participation (Verba 1967, 4-5; McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293; Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676). Verba, McAllister and Makkai, Verba and Nie and Milbrath provide a framework for discussion and analysis of democratic participation within multi-ethnic nations such as Kenya. These early scholars argued that political influence (McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293) and SES (Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676) was the primary determining factors of political

participation Verba and Nie argue that SES, age, race, community size, organization membership, policy preference and partisanship explains the differences in political participation across America (1972). In particular, Verba and Nie (1972) strongly argued that political participation increases with SES. Recent studies have either discounted or expanded these arguments

Studies in late 1970s support Verba and Nie's SES model (Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381; Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592). In 1979, Scott and Acock argued that regardless of employment status, people of low socioeconomic status are less committed to voting, less efficacious, less interested in politics and less politically active than those of higher socioeconomic status (Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381). On the other hand, Huckfeldt (1979) emphasized that higher status contexts encouraged higher political participation among higher status individuals but discourage political participation among lower status individuals. Huckfeldt argues that political activity is more highly structured by individual status in higher status contexts than in lower status contexts; and that the effects of social context are more pronounced upon political activities that requires social interaction (Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592)

Beck and Jennings synthesized the socialization models and proposed the combined socialization effects model of political participation in 1982. The model explains how various socialization agents of childhood political socialization structured later political socialization and behavior (Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108). This model demonstrates a linkage between attitude and behavior and also recognizes the impact of SES impact on access to resources. Unfortunately, the

model fails to link SES with media as a political resource that contributes towards structuring pre-adult life.

The early studies of political participation are crucial for providing pathways for understanding the forms and determinants of political participation. According to Verba and Nie, participation increases with SES (1972). However, scholars in mid 1990s challenged the assumption of SES as the key predictor of political participation and propose the civic voluntarism model, the rational choice model and the social-psychological model among others as determinants of political participation (Verba, Schlozman and Brandy 1995, 453-497; Putnam 1995, 65-78)

While early studies on political participation focused on socialization and the resources models, recent research addresses the decline in political participation particularly in developed democracies (International IDEA 1997; Hoskins 2003, 1-14; Stein, Leighley and Owens 2005, 1-20; Forbrig 2005, 7-16, 7-16, 19-25). These studies identify institutional rules, social and demographic traits, mobilization efforts by parties and candidates, cost, convenience and psychological orientations of voters, structural and generational changes as inhibitors of political participation in the US and other developed countries (Stein, Leighley and Owens 2005, 1-20; Ketter et al 2002, 3-10).

The trend in decline in political participation in elections, membership in political parties, volunteerism and other forms of political participation in developed democracies manifests largely among the youth (Forbrig 2005, 7-16, 7-16, 19-25; Hoskins 2003, 1-14; Ketter et al 2002, 3-10; Putnam 2000, 277-

285) Studies have cited the life-cycle and generational models as explanations for the tendency for the low level of participation in voting by the youth. The studies argue that the youth lack political experience and integration and cannot be expected to be active in political life (International IDEA 1999). These studies have shown that youth are not socially and psychologically well orientated to politics and as a result do not attach enough importance to electoral processes, feel alienated and excluded from politics (Feldman 1990, 787-804; Putnam 2000, 277-285; Harrigan 1987, 1-537; International IDEA 1999).

Kettler, Zukin, Andolina and Jenkins blamed structural changes in the family arguing that there is a general failure in passing on commitment to political participation from parent to child (2002). This is consistent with Putnam's assertion that the loss of social capital at the family level leads to decline in political participation (Putnam 2000, 277-285). However, other scholars like Hamgan argue that the youth themselves have failed to internalize a belief in the civic duty to participate in politics (Harrigan 1987, 1-537). Among other reasons, the youth may fail to participate in politics because of limited ideological choices presented by various political parties (Hoskins 2003, 1-14).

1.9.2 Youth Political Participation in Kenya

Participation in politics, including that of the youth, has been in decline until 1992 when Kenya conducted its first multi-party elections following the repeal of section 2A of the Constitution of Kenya (Wanjala 2002, 322-334). During that era, Kenyan youth remained apathetic and at the periphery of electoral politics (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75; Wanjala 2002, 322-334). Before 1992,

Kenya was a one-party dictatorship where elections were rigged in favor of the incumbent president and his trusted cronies (Wanjala 2002, 322-334). While Kenya became a de facto one party state in 1964 when Kenyan African Democratic Union and African People's Party merged with Kenya African National Union (KANU), it became a de jure one party state in 1982 when Moi instigated a constitutional amendment for the same. Political participation by Kenyans including the youth during this era was low owing to the high level of mass disaffection with the KANU regime following increasing violations of fundamental human freedoms (Wanjala 2002, 322-334). The absence of opposition parties robbed the country of effective political competition. The elections of 1969, 1974, 1979, 1983 and 1988 were merely window dressing one party elections aimed at picking the most trusted political allies for the incumbent president (re: Kenyatta and Moi). As a result, political efficacy was very low and Kenyans, including the youth, believed that elections never made any differences to their lives (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75, Wanjala 2002, 322-334).

The illegal queue voting system of 1988 further limited political participation in Kenya (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). The country was under one party dictatorship and only KANU members could participate locking out millions non-KANU members across the country. Under queue voting system those candidates with 70 percent or more at nominations were declared elected without going for the general elections further depriving Kenyans of electing the best of their leaders (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). Over 60 per cent of the MPS went to Parliament under this rule (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). The 1988 election fiasco led to

hue and cry that galvanized massive public disaffection against the Moi regime. Political activity with the support of the youth increased as opposition against the Moi regime gained momentum under the leadership of civil society organizations and individual politicians. Large crowds of youth, never seen before, took part in riots and public demonstrations to press for multi-party politics and a stop to political repression. Over 22 people, mostly youth, died during the Saba Saba riots in July 7th 1990 (KEDOF 2008, 41-56)

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), Democratic Party (DP) and Ford Asili were registered in 1991 following the repeal of Section 2A of the Constitution of Kenya. The registration of other parties expanded the space for making political choices and their participation in 1992 elections stimulated political competition thus enhancing the levels of political participation. About 9 million voters went the poll in 1992 (KEDOF 2008, 41-56)

Politicians across the divide formed youth wings to mobilize voters for them ahead of the 1992 general elections. KANU established Youth for KANU 92 (YK) and Operation Moi Wins while opposition parties formed the operation Moi Out (OMO) and Baghdad Boys to counter the influence of KANU youth wingers. These youth groups negatively impacted on 1992 elections as they altered them from issue-oriented to personality and tribal agendas (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). These youth groups especially those aligned to KANU established the culture of bribing youth to vote, defacing political campaign billboards, disruption of campaigns by opponents, supporting tribal clashes, kidnapping opponents and looting property of opponents (KEDOF 2008, 41-56).

The 1997 Inter-parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) recommendations realized minimum constitutional reforms and slightly leveled the playing field during the 1997 elections. The IPPG reforms encouraged Kenyans to participate in the 1997 elections, which the opposition political parties were committed to boycott unless the changes were made. The IPPG reforms inspired Kenyans including the youth to participate in the 1997 general elections. The reforms gave Kenyans hope that it was possible to vote former President Moi out of power and realize fundamental political changes in the country.

The 2002 elections marked a turning point in political participation in Kenya. The surprise win by former President Moi of the 1997 elections demoralized Kenyans but provided the impetus and innovation to remove him from power in 2002. Under the banner of National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a constellation of opposition parties including DP, Liberal Democratic Party, and National Party of Kenya and KANU rebels among others mobilized 62 percent of Kenyan voters to elect Mwai Kibaki president. This was the highest voter turnout in Kenya's independence history. The role of the youth in 2002 elections is well documented (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). They were politically polarized with some supporting KANU and the rest NARC.

The 2002 elections marked the beginning of the exploitation of inter-generational politics in Kenya (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75). In 2002, KANU, the ruling party at the time, mobilized the youth under the leadership of Uhuru Kenyatta, 42 years old then, with a view to exploit their numerical strength as the largest voting bloc in Kenya to win the general elections. This attempt to exploit generational

differences in politics backfired with Uhuru losing out to Mwai Kibaki (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75 and Anderson 2002, 531-555).

The 2005 constitutional referendum also provided another unique political participation platform for the youth. During the referendum the youth were polarized along the "Yes Side" under President Kibaki and "No Side" under Prime Minister Odinga. The youth largely under Youth Agenda (YA) and Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change (4Cs) mobilized support for the "No Side" that won the referendum. Voter turnout by the youth was significant (CRECO 2008, 5-8; KNCHR 2008, 16).

The 2007 election also influenced youth participation because it was most keenly contested as it pitted long time rivals and friends President Kibaki and Raila Odinga against one another (Rutten and Owuor 2009, 305-324). Odinga, a Luo and leader of ODM, supported President Kibaki during the 2002 general elections. However, he turned against President Kibaki when the two fell out because of Kibaki's failure to honor pre-election memorandum of understanding between their parties. Odinga and his party successfully mobilized Kenyans to defeat President Kibaki during the 2005 referendum. Odinga turned this voting machinery into the infamous ODM ahead of the 2007. Therefore, the 2007 general election generated a lot of interest because the incumbent President Kibaki faced the threat of electoral defeat at the hand of Odinga.

The 2007 elections also had ethnic and regional undertones as it set the Luos, Luhyas and Kalenjins against the Kikuyus, Merus and Embus (Rutten and Owuor 2009, 305-324). President Kibaki, a member of the Kikuyu community

mainly mobilized people from Central Kenya and ethnic communities around Mount Kenya (Meru, Mbeere and Embu). Odinga, on the other hand, succeeded to mobilize a coalition of voters from his Luo ethnic group and neighboring Luhya and Kalenjin communities.

Huge and expensive political mobilization machines ensured that 82 percent of all eligible voters registered and a higher voter turn-out (72 percent) than previous polls (CRECO 2008, 5-8, KNCHR 2008, 16). PNU spent about KSh2.1 billion while ODM utilized about KSh1.2 billion during the 2007 general elections (CAPF 2008, 23). However, the total party campaign income was KSh4.8 billion compared to total expenditure of KSh 5.6 billion (CAPF 2008, 52).

Additionally, the large number of political contestants at civic, parliamentary and presidential levels influenced youth participation. The presidential candidates included: President Mwai Kibaki (PNU), Raila Odinga (ODM), Kalonzo Musyoka (ODM-K), Nazlin Omar Faraldin (WCP), Pius Muiru (KPP), Kenneth Matiba (Saba Saba Asili), David Waweru Ngethe (CCU), Joseph Ngacha Karani (KPTP) and Nixon Wanyonyi Kikubo (RPK). 2,547 candidates contested the 210 parliamentary seats while nine politicians vied for presidency (Gibson and Long 2009, 1-6). For the local government elections, 15,332 candidates were cleared (KEDOF 2009, 37) to contest in 2,472 civic wards (KEDOF 2008, 31). Significant number of youth contested political seats across the country at both civic and parliamentary levels. Unfortunately, few got party nominations because of resource constraints (Okombo 2008, 69) and electoral malpractices that disenfranchised them (KEDOF 2009, 37).

Both Kibaki and Raila exploited youth voting strength in 2007. The Kibaki government established the Ministry of Youth Affairs, the Youth Enterprise Board, the Youth Enterprise Fund and the National Youth Council with the view to mobilize youth participation towards 2007 elections. Both candidates patronized the formation of various youth groups to mobilize youth voters across the country (CRECO 2008, 5-8, KEDOF 2008, 41-71). *Vijana na Kibaki* (Youth for Kibaki), a pro-Kibaki youth group campaigned for him while Youth Patriots 4 Change mobilized the youth for Raila campaigns (Okombo 2008, 65).

Another factor that influenced youth participation was the framing of issues by the various parties and political candidates. The main campaign issues that defined the 2007 general elections were: economy, infrastructure, corruption, system of government (federalism and devolution), free high school education, universal health care, and position of Muslims within Kenya and the promise of a new constitution. Different parties and politicians framed the issues differently to suit their own constituencies. For instance, PNU talked of economic devolution while ODM promised *Majimbo* (devolution based on federal system of government). While PNU promised a new constitution as soon as possible, ODM promised to deliver one within six months of taking office. The youth were particularly keen on issues such as economic recovery, free secondary school education, free health care and a new constitution.

However, the participation by youth in 2007 elections must be contextualized within the wider problems and experiences of youth in Kenya. According to Francis and Githagui, Kenyan youth are marginalized and excluded

from the economic and political spheres (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14). Francis and Githagui argued that the youth voice is characterized by marginalization and voicelessness at family, community and national levels. About 60 percent of youth under 30 years are not only unemployed but also lack skills for employment. Additionally, only 25 percent of youth enroll for secondary education and third of youth aged between 15 and 30 face the risk of HIV infection. Youth life experience is characterized by high crime and deviant behavior. About 50 percent of convicted prisoners were youth aged 16-25 (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14, KNBS 2007, 1-89, Ministry of Youth Affairs 2002, 7-18). According to the Kenya National Youth Policy, youth malaise was a reflection of low status given to youth by government.

The situation of young women is worse than that of male youth in Kenya. According to Francis and Githagui, 42 percent of females between 15 years and 19 years and 50 percent of females aged between 20 and 29 have experienced violence. Additionally, young women face problems of early marriage, FGM, lower access to education and health facilities (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14). Generally, young women are more marginalized and excluded from economic and political spheres than their male counterparts. This negative situation acts as a disincentive for female youth participation in Kenya.

The Kenyan political landscape is characterized by patronage and cronyism networks that stifle participation by politically inexperienced youth and women (CAPF 2008, 8-9). Criticism of political parties revolved around the fact that they are personal properties of powerful politicians and exhibit arbitrary,

oligarchic and unaccountable tendencies. Apart from being avenues to personal power, many of the parties were platforms for extorting money from people with political ambitions (KEDOF 2008, 41-87). Women and youth leaders rarely have the kind of resources needed to grease the networks of political patronage.

Political parties continued to alienate the youth because of lack of clear party ideologies that are relevant to their needs and desires. The youth were often co-opted through the formation of youth wings and populist campaign platforms that promise employment to the youth. The grand coalition government of President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga established the *Kazi Kwa Vijana* (work for youth) programme in March 2009 to fulfill the election promise.

Another factor that influenced participation by youth was ethnicity (KEDOF 2008, 41-87, Rutten and Owuor 2009, 305-324). The reference point in Kenyan politics is ethnicity, disguised as party politics. Elections rarely reflect party interest but the wishes of ethnic groups (Jonyo 2005, 87-107). In fact, Jonyo argues that Kenyans are captive to politically instigated ethnic agendas (2005). Therefore, ethnicity in political parties makes it difficult for youth to identify with certain parties they wish to join. Social pressure often forces the youth to identify with parties that get their support from their ethnic communities. The dominant parties enjoy ethnic support from various regions. PNU gets support from Kikuyus, Merus and Embus in Mt. Kenya region while ODM gets support from Kalenjins, Luhyas, Luos and Mijikendas in Rift Valley, Western, Nyanza and Coast provinces (CAPF 2008, 8-9). Ethnic identification influenced youth

participation because they were expected to support parties and politicians affiliated to their communities and regions (Rutten and Owuor 2009, 305-324).

Gender discrimination makes it difficult for young women to participate in party politics at local and national levels (AMWIK 2009, 46-66) Only 8 per cent of the 86 major political parties have gender balance in party leadership while 55 per cent have no woman official (KEDOF 2008, 41-56) The culture of violence, mudslinging and character assassination discourages competent young women from fully engaging in politics About 269 cases of violence against female candidates were reported in 2007 elections (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). Despite this Kenya has 15 women in Parliament up from only 8 MPs in the last Parliament (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). The 2007 elections witnessed the highest number of women political aspirants. 261 women were nominated by various parties to run for parliament while 2000 were nominated to run for civic seats and 269 got past the past party nominations (KEDOF 2008, 41-56)

Lack of resources discourage the youth from contesting leadership positions in political parties and during elections The minimum required to run a parliamentary campaign is about KSh3 million (CAPF 2008, 22-25) Political aspirants used over KSh900 million to bribe voters during nominations ODM election budget stood at KSh1.2 billion, PNU has KSh950 million and ODM-K about KSh75 million (CAPF 2008, 22-25).

Youth participation in politics in Kenya has been marked by violence that got institutionalized soon after the introduction of multi-party politics in 1991 (Kagwanja 2006, 51-75). Kagwanja argues that Kenya has witnessed the

growing politicization of violence as a means of obtaining power since 1990s. Politicians in Kenya often hire youth as foot soldiers or mercenaries to offer protection during election campaigns and party mobilization (Kagwanja 2006, 51-75; Wanjala, Akivaga and Kibwana 2002, 322-328). Politicians sponsored ethnic clashes in 1992 in Rift Valley and 1997 in Coast provinces (KEDOF 2008, 41-56). Violence has been used as a weapon to uproot or disorganize communities with the aim of reducing their participation in elections in various parts of the country. Therefore, violence carried out by youth often act as a disincentive to political participation.

Youth participation also took place at a time of increased expansion and development of media in Kenya. This gave young people tremendous opportunity to get their messages out and mobilize voters to support them. Kenya has over 60 radio stations the majority of which are ethnic language radios, over 13 TV stations that reach 39 percent of the populations and mobile phones with the capacity to reach 11 million people (CCK 2008, 1-50). The increased influence of media expanded the platforms upon which young people could mobilize the electorate (CAPF 2008, 23). The media also supported various civic education programs aimed at youth voters.

Voter registration and revision of the voter register also influenced youth participation in 2007 general elections. The defunct ECK held three mass voter registration exercises in October 2006, March 2007 and July 2007. This saw an increase from 8,967,569 voters in 2002 to 14,296,180 by December 2007 (KEDOF 2008, 32). The huge increase in the number of registered voters was

attributed to the review of relevant laws to permit continuous registration and the increase in the number of registration centers from 14,114 to 20,655. The significant gains in voter registration could also be attributed to intensive voter education campaigns carried by *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu* Campaign (Youth Rise Up It is Your Time) and the National Civic Education 2 Programme (URAIA) amongst others (KEDOF 2008, 32).

Despite this, youth were under-registered. Registered voters represented 71 percent of the 19.8 million people over 18 years of age issued with ID cards (IREC 2008, 1-90). Over 28 percent of eligible voters, the majority of who are youth and women were not captured as voters. Youth aged between 18 and 30 years were 46.2 percent of the population (19.5 million) but only 32.1 percent (5 million) were registered as voters (IREC 2008, 4). Similarly, women are also under-registered. Women are 51.4 percent of the population but make only 47.1 percent of the voters register (IREC 2008, 4, KEDOF 2008, 41-56). Therefore, low and biased registration of voters undermines youth participation in politics.

The events surrounding the 2007 campaigns also influenced youth participation. The campaigns were conducted under fairly free and open political climate. The politicians were able to move freely across the country unlike during past elections in Kenya when the KANU government limited freedom of movement of opposition candidates. Despite this, voters were polarized along ethnic, party and regional divides. This contributed to a lot of hostilities in many constituencies across the country (EU 2009, 5). The youth were involved in election violence during campaigns (YA 2008, 10-51).

Party nominations also negatively influenced youth participation ahead of the 2007 elections. According to the Independent Review Electoral Commission (IREC) party nominations were mired with irregularities, chaotic irregularities and interference from party headquarters (IREC 2009, 57). The youth were both victims and villains during the nomination campaigns (YA 2008, 56-57)

Generally, the youth were still at the periphery of politics in Kenya prior to 2007 elections. According to the National Youth Policy, Kenya youth are underrepresented in political and economic spheres mainly because of inhibiting social attitudes, cultural and socioeconomic barriers and lack of proper organization (Ministry of Youth Affairs 2002, 1-14, Ministry of Youth Affairs 2007, 3-4, KNBS 2007, 1-89). Fortunately, several programs were put in place to address youth political participation during the 2007 elections. The most known one such programme was *Vijana Tuguluko ni Time Yetu* Campaign (Young people wake up it is your turn), which was a voter education and awareness campaign targeting youth in Kenya. It aimed at addressing the problem of low youth political participation (IED 2007). Other organizations that run programmes that encouraged youth participation include International Republican Institute, National Democratic Institute, Youth Agenda, Youth Empowerment Consortium, Center of Multiparty Democracy, and the National Youth Council among others. The high voter turnout in 2007 elections was credited to these activities among others (CAPF 2008, 8; KEDOF 2008, 41-56)

These programs were informed by the argument that low youth participation in politics is a threat to democracy. Failure by the youth to

participate in political life or elections undermines the principle of popular sovereignty, equity and legitimacy. Participation of young people in the electoral process is crucial because they ensure high overall turnout, substantive representation of youth, and political socialization of the next generation, exercising their political influence and strengthening democracy (CAPF 2008, 8).

The lack of data on youth political participation in Kenya was the main gap in literature reviewed. There was no reliable data source for the political and socioeconomic and demographic profile of youth aged between 18 years and 30 years. Lack of empirical research on youth political participation in Kenya was another gap in literature review in this section.

1.9.3 The Effects of Mass Media on Political Participation

Media effects studies are founded on the premise that media have significant effects on people. According to Denis McQuail, the media can have either short-term or long-term effects on people and society (Macquail 2005, 456; Kunczik 1992). The media can induce intended or unintended change, reinforce what exists and even prevent change (McQuail 2005, 466).

The nature of mass media effect has been controversial with different scholars supporting different views on media effects on people and society (Tan 1985, 327). There are about three main schools of thought on media effects. The first school champions the all-powerful media effect (Mcquail 2005, 456-500) of the mass media. The all-powerful effects theory or the magic bullet theory asserts that the media have a lot of power in influencing individual opinions, beliefs, attitudes and habits. It originated between 1920s and 1930 and was

premised on the theory of uniform influences developed by French Social Psychologists Gustave Le Bon in 1890s (Lowery and De Fleur 1988, 1-30). He argued that industrialization and urbanization created the mass society which was characterized by selfish and lonely individuals. He further posited that each of these individuals possessed same human nature and were likely to respond to media messages in a similar way. Therefore, the media would have a direct and powerful influence on individual emotions and behavior (Lowery and De Fleur 1988, 1-30). The perception was that the impact of media messages was like the impact of a bullet on a target. It was premised on the assumption that individuals are passive actors in communication process and have no defenses against media messages.

The second school was the limited effects school championed by Paul Lazarsfeld (1944 and 1948) and Carl Hovland (1949). The limited effects theory asserted that mass media had limited power over people's emotions and behavior because individuals are active performers rather than passive actors in the communication process (McQuail 2005, 456-462; Lowery and De Fleur 1988, 1-30). Lazarsfeld and his colleagues in 1944 found that mass media messages do not influence the masses directly but rather through opinion leaders who then mediate the messages to ordinary people with which they come into contact (McQuail 2005, 456-462). Further studies revealed that people are perceptive and engage in selection perception processes (McQuail 2005, 456-462).

The selective influence theories assert that people engage in selective perception, selective exposure, selective attention and selective retention. The

implication is that people have the capacity to discriminate, evaluate and make informed decisions in the communication process. According to the limited effects theory, therefore, the media could not have an all-powerful effect on individual emotions and behavior.

However, studies between late 1950s and 1970s revealed that mass media have powerful effects on society after all. Katz and Lazarsfeld in their book Personal Influence (1955) and Klapper in his book The Effects of Mass Communication (1961) argued that mass media exercised social and political power (McQuail 2005, 456-462). According to McQuail, mass media have communicative power (McQuail 2005, 464). The mass media realize this power through dissemination of information, stimulating people to act, directing people's attention to events, persuasion and framing reality (McQuail 2005, 464).

Another media effects approach is the social constructivist theory, which asserts that mass media influence audiences through the construction of reality (McQuail 2005, 262; Nimmo and Combs 1983, 3-4). The mass media help to structure people's social reality by systematically framing and communicating certain images of what is going on around them. According to the social constructivist theory, the mass media affects the audience's conception of social reality. The assumption is that the media has the capacity to determine audience's perception of norms, values and facts about society. The media does this through selective presentation of facts and emphasizing of certain issues (Tan 1985, 299; Nimmo and Combs 1983, 3-4). According to Nimmo and Combs, the mass media filter and mediate people's perceptions of the world (Nimmo and

Combs 1983, 3-4) These perceptions become what he calls the "mediated political realities" of the world around us.

Although there is agreement that the media plays a significant part in the early socialization of children and the long-term socialization of adults (Mcquail 2005, 460-468; Bandura 1977, 6-7), the nature and direction of effects of media on political participation have been contested. Some scholars argue that media have negative effects on political participation (Putnam 2000, 277-285; Pharr and Putnam 2000, 277-285, 1-3; Heywood 2002, 202-203) while some think otherwise. The media malaise theorists argue that media have a narcotizing effect on individuals making them less participative and less trusting of political institutions and politicians (Pharr and Putnam 2000, 277-285, 1-3, Robinson 1976, 95-103, Paley and Entman 1976, 234-238, Volgy and Schwarz 1984, 757-765; Nimmo and Combs 1983, 1-220).

However, critics of the media malaise school assert that media have a positive effect on political participation (Otenyo 2003, 155-172 2003; Conway et al 1981, 164-178; Norris 1999 & 2000; Luengo 2006, 55-71). Charles Atkins and Gary Heald in 1976 found that TV advertising contributes to voter knowledge and interest (Atkins and Heald 1976, 216-226). Robinson supports Atkins and Heald but asserts that people already involved in political activity are more likely to pay more attention to media (Robinson 1976, 95-103). Pippa Norris recently reiterated the same when he asserted that people who are consistently exposed to news and electoral campaigns tend to be most knowledgeable in political terms, as most trusting of government and the political system, and as the most

participative in electoral terms (Norris 2000, 3-21; Norris 1996, 474-480). Norris rejected Putnam's assertion that TV erodes social capital that in turn undermines democracy (Norris 1996, 474-480).

Recent studies in Kenya also indicated that effects of media exposure on people were mixed (Finkel and Horowitz 2009, 25-30). The study by Finkel and Horowitz that investigated the impact of media exposure on democratic attitudes, values and behavior revealed that there was extensive exposure to URAIA messages prior to 2007 general elections. Finkel and Horowitz concluded that extensive exposure to media could have led to extensive recognition and favorability of URAIA brand during the national civic education program. The duo also found that exposure to media augmented the effects of face-to-face activities by increasing political awareness and knowledge among the audiences. Individuals exposed to URAIA messages were more knowledgeable, more informed about defending their rights and more participatory at the national level than those not exposed to the URAIA messages. Despite this, Finkel and Horowitz concluded that *media* itself (without face-to-face activities) produced little meaningful impact. They stated that there was no significant positive impact registered for media exposure (Finkel and Horowitz 2009, 25-30).

Although the findings by Finkel and Horowitz were consistent with findings of other media mobilization theorists in other parts of the western democracies, they were not conclusive. Finkel and Horowitz's study was pioneering in the sense that few empirical studies have been done in Kenya to investigate the impact of media exposure on audiences. This highlighted the main gap in th

reviewed literature that focused more on the effects of media exposure in western democracies, and not Kenya. The available studies on Kenya mainly focused on content analysis of media coverage of elections since 1992, which have limitations on making inferences on effects of media on political behavior in Kenya.

1.9.4 Mass Media Scene in Kenya

Kenya has a diverse and sophisticated media structure that meets social, economic, cultural and political interests of diverse audiences, including youth, in Kenya. The media range from government media, mainstream media, faith media, community media, and international media to new media comprising of mobile telephones, short text messaging and internet (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14, BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-16).

The Kenyan media are concentrated along the equator across the country where the majority of the people live. The northern part of the country is media scarce because of low population that has not attracted investment in media. Although media have expanded to major towns in the country, most of the media organizations operate out of Nairobi (Mbeke 2010, 8)

Apart from government media (KBC), the media are free, aggressive and competitive owing to continued liberalization of the sector, dynamic multiparty politics and improved economic performance in the country (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14, BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-16). The media earned about KSh 8.4 billion in 2004, KSh 9.3 in 2005 and KSh 13.6 billion in 2006 (Daily Nation, March 19, 2008)

The media, especially radio and TV, expanded rapidly across the country in the past 10 years (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14; Otenyo 2003, 155-172 2003, Makali 2003; Howard 2008; BBC World Service Trust 2008, 2-16). However, it remains small and an urban phenomenon compared to media in developed democracies (Mbeke 2008). Apart from radio that reaches over 90 percent rural populations (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131, 14-131), TV and newspapers mainly reach urban and peri-urban audiences in Kenya that account for only 30 percent of the total population (KNBS 2007, 10-89, CBS, MoH and ORC 2003, 1-59). The country has over 10 newspapers and a growing magazine industry (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14). The main newspapers are Daily Nation, Sunday Nation, The Standard, Standard on Sunday, Taifa Leo, Taifa Juma Pili, The People and Kenya Times.

The broadcasting sub-sector is dynamic and competitive with substantial reach (BBC World Service Trust 2008, 2-16). There were about 14 TV and over 100 radio stations in Kenya (CCK 2009, 4-63; Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14; Steadman Group 2008, 14-131). Some of the leading TV stations include KTN TV, Citizen TV, Nation TV, Kiss TV, KBC TV Channel 1, Family TV, K24 TV, ODTV, Sayare TV, STV and EATV.

Kenya's TV market is set to develop dramatically in the coming years after migration from analogue to digital broadcasting. In 2009 CCK gave nine digital frequencies to broadcasters to kick off digital TV broadcasting in the country. The transition to digital broadcasting will allow Kenyans to enjoy multiple broadcasting services, improved video and audio quality and increased digital dividends due to

greater spectrum efficiency (Mbeke 2010, 11-12) The country will shift from analogue to digital broadcasting in 2015.

CCK registered over 80 FM stations between 1999 and 2009 (CCK 2009, 4.63) Radio is the number one source of information reaching almost 90 percent of the entire population followed by TV reaching about 40 percent and newspapers reaching about 30 percent (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131, 14-131). There were about 7.5 million radio sets (1.9 million in urban and 5.6 in rural areas) and 3.2 million TV sets in Kenya (1.4 million in urban and 1.8 in rural areas) There were about 16.7 radio listeners across the country with 12.4 million in rural and 4.4 million in towns (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131).

The private commercial media in Kenya has played a critical role in widening the democratic space in Kenya by promoting plural politics, exposing bad governance and corruption, defending public interest and providing a platform for public discourse on critical issues (Kadhı and Rutten 2001, 242-274, Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-36, BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-16) About 21 FM radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages have widened the scope of democratic debate to poor and marginalized communities across the country (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14, BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-16).

New technologies like mobile phones with a reach of between 11 million and 18 million users, short text messaging operating from about 600 blogs and internet with a reach of over 3.2 million users also enhanced democracy by increasing access to political information and the level of political debate during

the 2007 election campaigns (Business Week August 2007, Safaricom 2008; Makali 2009, 4-63, Mbeke 2010, 16).

Despite acting as a democratic facilitator in Kenyan politics, the Kenyan media tend to show signs of political partisanship during the period leading to the 2007 elections (Mbeke and Mshindi 2008, 4-14; BBC World Trust 2008; CAPF 2008, 41). Similar trends were observed in 1992, 1997 and 2002 elections (Kadhi and Rutten 2001, 242-274, KEDOF 2003, 1-90). Studies showed that KBC, the public broadcaster, as well as some private media were biased in their coverage of the 2007 elections (CAPF 2008, 41).

The radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages are the most popular and command the largest market share (Mbeke 2010, 13). However, they have been criticized for their role in 2005 referendum, 2007 elections that led to post-election violence. Studies showed that radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages spread dangerous propaganda and hate speech (BBC World Service Trust 2008, 1-16, KNCHR 2008, 25). The ethnic language radio stations gave ordinary Kenyans opportunities through talk shows and live call in programs to air sensitive political opinions. Some ethnic language radio stations engaged in misinformation and carelessly reproduced hate speech by politicians targeting opponents from other communities. This could have whipped ethnic animosity that contributed to break out of post election violence in Kenya (Mbeke 2010, 13).

1.10 Conceptual Framework

An eclectic approach was utilized to construct the conceptual framework, which is a synthesis of the theory of civic voluntarism (Verba, Scholzman and Brady 1995, 296-269), political mobilization theories (Flanagan 1996; Norris 2000, 3-21; Norris 1996, 474-480), and the uses and gratifications theory. The synthesis is crucial because no one theory in literature fully explains the relationship between mass media exposure and youth political participation during election campaigns. The synthesis enhances cross-fertilization of political science and political communication theories.

The theories are important to this study because they help to explain the linkage between mass media exposure and forms of political participation as well as impacts of mass media exposure on political. The civic voluntarism theory, in particular, was used to identify and describes the interplay of various determinants of youth political participation. The uses and gratifications theory elucidated patterns of and motivations for youth exposure to mass media. The political mobilization theory, on the other hand, gave explanation for possible effects of media on youth political participation.

The theory of civic voluntarism, which is a general theory of political participation, asserts that resources, sense of political efficacy and integration into political systems determine political participation (Verba, Scholzman and Brady 1995, 296). Lack of resources (time, money and civic skills), psychological engagement in politics (political efficacy) and the fact that the youth are outside the political networks that bring young people into politics (Verba, Scholzman and

Brady 1995, 296; Whiteley and Seyd 2002, 35-58) is associated with low youth campaign participation. On the other hand, high youth political participation indicates high levels of access to resources, significant psychological engagement in politics and adequate integration into the political and social networks that usher the youth into politics.

This theory also explains the role SES including education, income and occupation play in youth participation during campaigns. The youth in Kenya represent the productive segment of our population that is well educated and have prospects for better careers and income. However, it is also true that the youth form the largest segment of the unemployed and poor population. The assumption is that youth with higher SES are expected to have better access to education and media resources than those from lower SES status. As such they are expected to be more active politically. Prior to the 2007 elections, there were numerous political messages targeting the youth on radio and television (CAPF 2008, 41). The assumption of the theory was that youth that have highly exposed to radio and TV in Kenya during 2007 general elections were more politically active than those who were not exposed because of lack of media resources. The results of this thesis, discussed in chapter eight, vindicate this assumption.

Theoretically, SES is causally prior to media exposure (Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108). Accordingly, SES, sex, age, urbanization, social networks influence youth exposure to media thus indirectly impacting of media exposure on youth political participation. This study envisaged that the mass media would impact differently on youth with different SES, age, sex, urbanization status and

social networks. This thesis indicates in later chapters that the media had different impact on youth with different SES, age, sex, urbanization status and social networks

Further, this study envisaged that youth from urban areas enjoyed better access to media resources and information hence had better understanding of electoral issues and politically more active during campaigns. According to SES model, mass media exposure influences the youth indirectly by directly impacting on political knowledge. As discussed in later chapters, results of this study were consistent with the SES model and indicated that youth with high media exposure were more active than those with less media exposure.

The civic volunteerism theory also asserts that the influence of resources is moderated by civic attitudes such as the sense of political efficacy, psychological engagement in politics and feelings of obligation to participate in politics (Verba and Nie 1972, 269). As such this theory explains the psychological motivations for campaign participation among the youth in Kenya. This study assumed that levels of political efficacy would be high among the youth particularly because the Kibaki government deliberately targeted youth through the creation of the Youth Enterprise Fund, the National Youth Council and *Kazi na Vijana* programmes in recent times. The study also envisaged that that the youth from regions that were sympathetic to the Kibaki government would show high levels of efficacy than those from regions opposed to the government. Theoretically, pro-Kibaki youth would be more active than anti-

Kibaki youth. However, that assumption ignored other SES and psychological factors that would otherwise motivate anti-Kibaki youth to participate in politics.

Although the civic volunteerism theory does not mention media per se, media are part and parcel of resources that determine political participation. According to the political mobilization model individuals participate in response to political opportunities and resources (such as media) available in their environment and stimuli from other people (Flanagan 1996, 277-295, Whiteley and Seyd 2002, 35-58). Therefore, availability of media and political parties and organizations are causally prior to youth media exposure and youth participation during campaigns. Availability of media and political parties influence youth political participation (CIRCLE 2007).

The political mobilization theory explains why there are differences in youth exposure to media and political participation. Unequal access to political resources and opportunities account for these differences. This study envisaged that availability of media and political resources as well as opportunities would determine levels of youth media exposure and youth political participation. Availability of media and political parties as well as political opportunities, of course, depends on socio-economic factors and nature of the political systems of Kenya. Theoretically, communities that enjoy higher SES have better access to media and political resources and opportunities. Therefore, youth from such communities would be expected to enjoy better access to political information and be politically more active than those from communities with less SES. The study envisaged that youth from higher SES parts of Nakuru would enjoy better

Access to political and media resources thus are more active in politics Chapter eight discusses models of impact of mass media on youth participation that is consistent with the SES models

The political mobilization model is also significant because it helps to explain how stimuli from politicians influence youth campaign participation In Kenya, the youth are targets of political machinations and exploitation by politicians who use them as foot soldiers and cheer leaders during election campaigns (Kagwanja 2005, 65-75; Wanjala, Akivaga and Kibwana 2002, 322-328 Berg-Schlosser 1982, 397-415). The assumption was that youth under the close influence of politicians would be more active during the election campaigns than those who are not. As discussed later in chapter eight, political affiliation was a significant determinant of political participation in the 2007 elections in Nakuru District.

The political mobilization theory asserts that the media promotes and maintains democratic participation (CIRCLE 2007, Flanagan 1996, 283-295; Otenyo 2003, 155-172 2003, Conway et al 1981, 164-178, Norris 2000, 3-21; Norris 1996, 474-480; Luengo 2006, 55-71; Atkins and Head 1976, 216-226; Robinson 1976, 95-103) Theoretically, media exposure increases voter knowledge of candidate, candidate issue positions, stimulates interest, positive effect towards the candidate and intensifies polarization of evaluation of a candidate (Conway et al 1981, 164-178, Norris 2000, 3-21; Norris 1996, 474-480; Luengo 2006:55-71; Atkins and Head 1976, 216-226, Robinson 1976, 95-103, CIRCLE 2007, Flanagan 1996). It also asserts that people already involved in

political activity are more likely to pay more attention to media (Flanagan 1996, 283-297). Therefore, media increases political knowledge and youth political activity. Chapter eight of this study confirms this theory.

The political mobilization theory aids in explaining the impact of media exposure on political participation by youth. Based on the work of Scott Flanagan (1996), the theory asserts that media exposure has no direct relationship with participation but has strong indirect relationships (Flanagan 1996, 295). Media exposure acts indirectly on political participation by increasing political knowledge that stimulates psychological involvement (Flanagan 1996, 295). While social networks, socioeconomic status, sex, urbanization and age influence media exposure, the media, on the other hand, directly influence parochial values and political knowledge (Flanagan 1996, 295). This study envisaged that youth media exposure, therefore, would influence youth political participation indirectly by increasing youth political knowledge, which in turn would stimulate greater youth participation during the campaigns. The results indicated that high media exposure was correlated to higher youth participation as discussed in later chapters of this study.

Theoretically, youth exposed to news and electoral campaigns were envisaged to be more knowledgeable, more trusting of the political system and more participative during electoral campaigns. Figure 1 represents the model of combined impact of mass media on political participation during election campaigns.

Figure 1 Model of combined impact of mass media on youth political participation during election campaigns

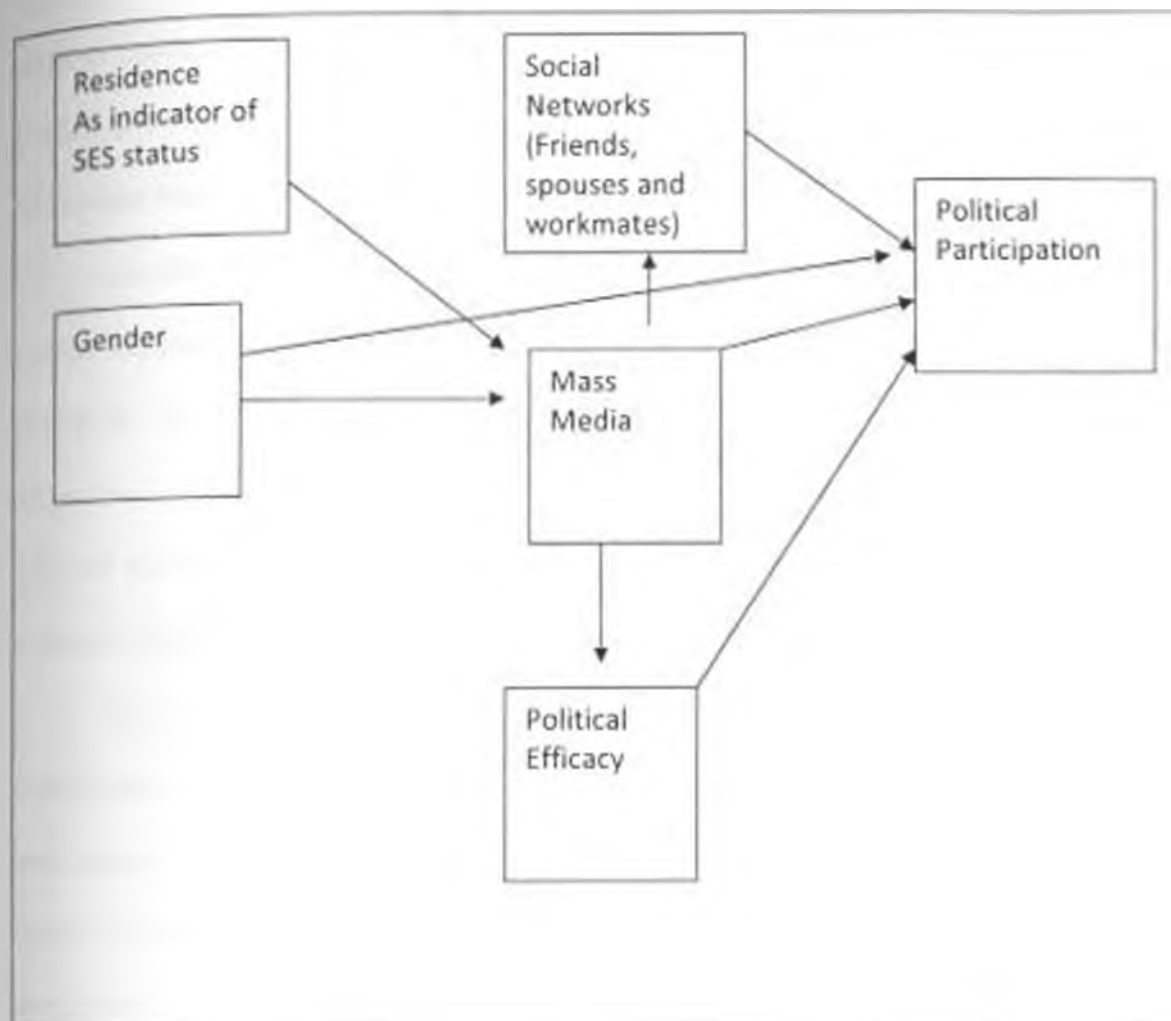


Figure 1 identifies the various environmental factors such as gender, location of residence and social networks that directly influence youth exposure to media that in turn indirectly influence their level of political participation

Accordingly, the youth in Nakuru exposed to various newspapers, TV and radio stations with various political agendas were more knowledgeable about the

political milieu, how the political landscape would affect them and how to respond to unfolding scenarios in the district. Increased political knowledge acquired from mass media and internalized by the youth in Nakuru most likely influenced their level of political efficacy. This in turn shaped the nature and level of their political participation during elections. According to the model, the knowledge acquired influences their level of political efficacy.

Location of residence and gender directly determined level of youth mass media exposure, which in turn influenced political participation either directly or indirectly. Studies by Scott Flanagan (1996, 295) indicated that mass media influence political participation indirectly. In this model, mass media affects political participation of the youth indirectly through their social networks and political affiliation.

According to this model, gender in particular directly affects political participation. Additionally, there is correlation between exposure to mass media and social networks. According to the model youth exposed to mass media are likely to share the information with their friends, spouses and workmates. It is likely that the youth in Nakuru exposed to various competing media messages, perhaps, developed parochial values such as morbid ethnic identification and chauvinism that directly influenced the nature and level of their political participation during elections. The strength of political partisanship would have also contributed to their desire to participate in the general elections. Some Kenyan media particularly FM stations broadcasting in local languages stirred ethnic passions through promotion of hate speech and unsavory language that

mobilized young voters with a view to vote for members of their ethnic communities and parties (CIPEV 2008, 20-35; IREC 2008, 1-90, KNCHR 2008, 13-33) Chapter six of this thesis discusses the various models that explain in detail the impact of media on youth participation during the 2007 general election campaigns in Nakuru District

Finally, the uses and gratifications theory helped to explain youth media behavior during the 2007 general elections. The theory asserts that people expose themselves to media that gratify their social and psychological needs such information, personal identity, social interaction and integration and entertainment (McQuail 2005, 423-424). It is a variant of the functionalist approach to mass media that argues that media are social institutions that exist to service basic human needs. Therefore, the level of surveyed youth's exposure to various types of media depended on satisfaction of their perceived needs and desires.

Martin Fishbein's value-expectancy theory is used to explain the central concept of uses and gratifications theory. According to McQuail, it explains the personal motivations for media exposure and subsequent use (McQuail 2005, 427). The theory asserts that behavior is expectancy and value driven. It argues that people will do things that offer greatest expected success and value.

According to the uses and gratifications theory, surveyed youth exposed themselves only to media that satisfied their expected political beliefs and needs, and met their considered personal evaluations. There was distinct use of media in Kenya prior to 2007 elections with ODM youth tending to use media considered

to me ODM friendly and PNU youth using media perceived to be PNU friendly. However, this was so only in places where people had access to alternative media to use.

1.11 Methodology of the study

The methodology presents the rationale for selection of study area, the target population, research design, sampling design, data collection methods, data processing strategies and research problems and limitations

1.11.1 Rationale for Choice of Nakuru District

Nakuru District was a suitable site for the study because its political, social and economic environment was representative of the country. The availability of media was another reason why I selected the district.

The district is a settlement area where major ethnic communities of Kenya are represented. The ethnic communities of Kenya comprise Kikuyu (22 percent), Luhya (14 percent), Luo (13 percent), Kalenjin (12 percent), Kamba (11 percent) and Kisii and Meru (6 percent each). The other communities account for 15 percent of the population compared to one percent of Asians, Indians and Whites (KNBS 2007)

The district is representative of Kenya because of its ethnic diversity. Although the Kalenjins and Kikuyus are the majority in the district, the other communities such as Luos, Luhyas, Kisiis and Kamba are also well represented. However, the proportions of each ethnic community do not reflect the national averages. For instance, there are more Kikuyus in Nakuru Town Constituency

Kalenjins while there are more Kalenjins in Rongai Constituency than Kikuyus

The nature of political competition in Nakuru District was reminiscent of national politics that pitted PNU against ODM and ODM Kenya. The district has been a hotbed of Kenyan politics since the colonial era when it witnessed stiff political and economic competition over the control of land between the white settlers and Kenyan squatters (Kanogo 1980, 1-10, Kandie 1982, 1-5). Although land continued to influence politics in Nakuru District, ethnic and party identification contributed to the high voltage politics witnessed in the area in the period leading up to the 2007 elections.

Nakuru District is the home of renowned Kenyan politicians such as Kariuki Chotara, Kihika Kimani, Mark Mwithaga, Ochieng Oneko, Wilson Leitch, Kogi Wamwere, Mirugi Kariuki and Alicen Chelaito. Both former presidents Kenyatta (a Kikuyu) and Moi (a Kalenjin) not only spent a lot of time in the district but also patronized the politicians in the region. While Kenyatta, who owned huge hectares of land in the Rift Valley, often stayed in the State House in Nakuru Town, Moi on the other hand built his home at Kabarak, a few kilometers on the outskirts of Nakuru Town. The ethnicity and the personality of the two former presidents influenced politics in the district during their tenure in office (Standard 22.8. 2009).

Although politics in Nakuru has been competitive since independence, the Kikuyus dominated politics in the district with exception of 1963 and 1976 when Ochieng Oneko and Willy Komen were elected MPs respectively. KANU

dominated politics between 1963 and 1988 during the one party system. C.J Oyandi of Ford Asili (a Luyha) won the seat in 1992 after the introduction of multiparty politics. David Manyara (a Kikuyu) of Democratic captured the seat in the 1997 elections while Mirugi Kariuki (a Kikuyu) of NARC won it in 2002. William Kariuki Mirugi (a Kikuyu) of NARC Kenya got elected in 2006 in a by-election following the death of his father in an aviation accident in 2005. Lee Kinyanjui (a kikuyu) of PNU captured the seat a year later.

While the Kikuyus dominated politics in Nakuru Constituency, the Kalenjins did the same in Rongai Constituency. Erick Kibet Bomett (KANU) was the first MP in 1988 followed by William Komen (KANU) in 1992 and Erick Morogo (KANU) in 1997. Alicen Chelate of NARC captured the seat in 2002 while Luka Kigen of ODM won it in 2007. Ethnic identification influenced how the people voted. Kalenjins are the majority in Rongai while the number of Kikuyu voters is higher in Nakuru Constituency than Rongai Constituency.

All the major political parties (PNU, ODM and ODM Kenya) were represented and canvassed for votes in the district ahead of the 2007 general elections. In Nakuru Town Constituency, 13 political contestants competed for the parliamentary seat (Lee M. Kinyanjui, Party of National Unity - Kikuyu; Gichimu Grace Njoki, UMMA; Laloya Derick, Ford People; Mururi Bernard Mburu, Saba Saba Asili; Kariuki Samuel Mburu, People Patriotic Party of Kenya; Mugo David Kingori, Alliance Democratic Party of Kenya; Kinya Peter Francis, United Democratic Party; Mirugi William Kariuki, Safina; Brawan Mike L., Orange Democratic Party; Thiongo Anastasia Wamuyu, Democratic Party of

Kenya; Jackson Kamau Ndegu, Kenya African Democratic Development Union; Kimo Isaac Newton, FORD People; and Gathogo Ben, Chama Cha Mwananchi.

In Rongai Constituency, 11 candidates got party nominations to contest for the parliamentary seat. These were Kigen Luka Kipkorir, Orange Democratic Movement; Kamau Antony Ndegwa, Vipa Progressive Alliance; Kimeanah Jonathan Mbutha, FORD People; Moi Kipruto, Kenya African National Union; Muya Patrick Kivitie, Chama Cha Mwananchi; Mwaura Peter Mwangi, Democratic Party; Foro Waweru Patrick, Kenya National Democratic Alliance; Arap Bii Elijah, Kenya African Democratic Development Union; Waihenya Jackson Wachira, Party of National Unity; Gichamba Peter Muthigu, Safina Party and Peter Mbae, The Independent Party.

The ethnic and regional alignment at the national level also manifested at the district level. The Kikuyus, Merus and Embus united under the PNU while the Kalenjins, Luos, Luhyas, Masais and part of Kisiiis rallied under ODM during the 2007 elections. As a result, Lee Kinyanjui of PNU won in Nakuru Town Constituency parliamentary vote while Kigen Kipkorir took the Rongai parliamentary seat.

The social and economic setting of Nakuru District is typical of the whole country. Kenya has continued to experience social and economic challenges such as high population growth rate, rural-urban migration, poorly planned urbanization, deforestation, high levels of unemployment, inequitable patterns of land ownership and high prevalence of HIV and AIDS. Nakuru District faced similar pressures in 2007.

Both the economy of the country and Nakuru District are supporting a large and growing number of young. Over 50 percent of Kenyans are less than 15 years old (NBS 2007). On the other hand, about 54 percent and 74 percent of the population of Nakuru are less than 20 years and 30 years respectively (MoPND 2005, 5). The high annual population growth rate of 2.6 percent at the national level and 3.4 percent in Nakuru District accounted for this.

Further, poverty at the district level reflected the national poverty levels. According to the Welfare Monitoring Survey, 47 percent of rural and 27 percent of urban dwellers in Kenya are poor (MoPND 2005, 7). In the district, the poverty incidence was 45 percent and 41 percent in rural and urban areas (MoPND 2005, 7). There was a huge disparity in poverty incidence at national level and the district. Several factors accounted for the high poverty levels in the urban centers of Nakuru District namely: high unemployment (15 percent), landlessness, lack of water, insecurity and lack of basic services such as health, education and inadequate credit facilities (MoPND 2005, 7).

I selected Nakuru District because of the diversity of media available to the youth. The region has access to major Kenyan newspapers and magazines and receives broadcast signals from the major TV and radio stations in the country (KARF & APA 2008, 1-131). Additionally, the low ICT penetration in the district was not dissimilar to the national average.

1.11.2 Trend Research Design: Utility and Limitations

I used trend research design, which is a type of longitudinal research design. It involved using the same instrument to ask the same questions to

different samples of the same target population twice at different points in time. Collection of data took place before the beginning of the official election campaigns and immediately after the election campaigns and voting in 2007. The trend design enabled the identification and measure of changes in the youth's responses regarding their exposure to mass media and participation during the 2007 political campaigns. Using comparable sample, it facilitated measurement of variations in responses and levels of change in effects of exposure to mass media on political participation by the youth before and after elections.

Statistical manipulation was applied to control for the intervening variables. This study statistically identified and controlled for other sources of information apart from mass media, intensity of exposure to mass media, political efficacy, political affiliation and other socioeconomic factors.

The research design did not restrict eligibility of youth to only those youth with access to media but left it open to all youth aged between 18 years and 30 years with or without access to media. The data from sampled youth with very little or without access to media resources was statistically manipulated and used as the comparison or control group at analysis level.

The trend design-interviewing two sets of samples at different points in time- enabled the study to avoid the problem of attrition and incidences of test reactivity.

The trend design and the longitudinal research design imposed various limitations on the study. One, the duration of the study was too short. The study covered a period of one month which was inadequate for mapping impacts of

mass media on youth participation. Logistical challenges imposed this limitation on the researcher, who had originally designed the study to take a period of one year. I intended to capture initial data at the beginning of 2007, the second in November 2007 and the final in December 2007, a day or two after the general elections. Administrative problems made it impossible to collect data in January 2007 as envisaged. Therefore, I adopted the trend design that permitted me to conduct two surveys over a period of one month.

Another limitation of the longitudinal or trend research design was difficulties related to follow up of respondents because of absenteeism and relocation. I designed the study with a view to follow up sampled youth in the respective households in the district. I registered the household numbers and names of youth interviewed during the first interviews. I intended to follow them up for the second interview.

I met serious challenges including absenteeism from homes during the interviews. This explained why the second survey took 10 days to complete. I had to make repeat calls to almost a third of the households to ensure that I obtained the right youth to interview. The post-election violence also displaced people from various clusters in the district. People moved from their houses to neighborhoods where they felt safe. The post election affected all communities. In some place like Rhonda, Kikuyus moved because Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis were the majority while non Kikuyus moved from Kikuyu dominated areas such as Section 58. The same trend repeated itself in Rongai Constituency where Kikuyus moved from Kalenjin dominated areas and non-Kikuyus shifted to safer

areas. As a result, I replaced 104 households because of youth absenteeism during the second survey.

The post-election violence also poisoned the minds of people. People were not as enthusiastic to answer the questions after elections compared to the period before elections. This was partly because some youth feared for their own personal security. Additionally, post-election violence also led to poor ethnic and political relations that could have influenced interviewer and interviewee engagements. I used Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo, Luo, Luyha and Kisii interviewers to collect the data. This helped me to reduce language problems in cases where interviewees could not understand and respond in either Kiswahili or English.

Another limitation of the trend or longitudinal design is memory loss or failure. Theoretically, people tend to remember recent events better and forget those activities that took place in the distant past. Some of the questions asked respondents what they did in the past two months during the election campaigns. Memory loss or failure may lead to over reporting or under reporting or rounding off (Singer and Willett 1996, 265-283). This may compromise the reliability of the responses. In this case, the study duration was only a month and they were requested to recall as far back as two months. This minimized the potential for memory loss or failure.

1.11.3 Sampling Design

This section describes the target population, the sampling frame, sample size, sampling technique and rationale for the sampling design.

Target Population

The study target were youth aged between 18 to 30 years of age residing in Nakuru District immediately before the official campaign period and immediately after the 2007 election campaign period

The researcher selected the minimum age of 18 years because this is the legal age when the youth are permitted to get identification cards and participate in politics as voters in Kenya. This is because 18 years old youth are capable of making informed political decisions.

On the other hand, the researcher chose the upper age limit of 30 years because it represents the upper ceiling of the age of the youth according to the definition by the Ministry of Youth Affairs of the Government of Kenya. This study is aware that the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Youth Affairs defined youth as those between ages 15 and 30 (MOYA 2007, 9).

The researcher also chose the youth aged 18 and 30 years because they are heavy users of mass media products and services compared to older youth. According to the AudienceScapes Survey of Kenya 2009, more young people aged between 15 and 29 watch TV and listen to radio compared to those aged 30 years and above (Intermedia 2009).

Additionally, this age group is suitable for the study because they are less integrated into political systems compared to adults over 30 years who are, more often than not, already deeply rooted in political systems (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995, 296; Whiteley and Seyd 2002, 35-58).

Kenyan youth, Nakuru District youth included, were "confused and excited ...without any idea of what really their role in society is. The most

regrettable thing is that the majority are apolitical. They are apathetic towards the ongoing political discourse in this country" (Wanjala, Akivaga and Kibwana 2002, 322-328). Apart from the fact that the Kenyan youth are well educated, the majority is unemployed, abuse drugs and play peripheral roles in politics. Despite the fact that they provide "electioneering support services" the majority remained ignorant of political party manifestos, agenda and policies (YA 2008, 1-20).

The youth from the rural parts of Nakuru District, like other Kenyan youth, suffered from high rate of unemployment and had relatively low access to mass media resources and opportunities compared to those in urban centers that had better access to various media resources and opportunities. Literacy rates were higher in urban centers (about 85 percent) than in rural areas where literacy rates remained at about 53 percent (CBS, 2002). Therefore, the youth in Nakuru District were heterogeneous and their SES reflected the SES within the country.

Sampling Frame

The Nakuru District Sample Survey Register of the National Sample Survey and Evaluation Programme (NASSEP IV) was the sampling frame for this study. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) created the register as part of the NASSEP IV sampling frame in 2002 from the 1999 Kenya Household and population Census. While the national frame has 1800 clusters comprising of 1260 rural and 540 urban clusters, the Nakuru District Sample Survey Register consisted of eight cluster registers.

I got the list of households (CBS, 2002) from the Nakuru District Sample Survey cluster registers for London, Nakuru Press, Section 58, Rhonda 1.

Rhonda 2, Gillanis, Morop and Patel. Each cluster register indicated the respective household numbers and demographic characteristics of household members. The various registers contained the names of heads of households as well as the names of household members and their age at the time of registration. I drew the samples from the cluster registers. With the help of National Bureau of Statistics officers in Nakuru, I used the cluster maps to identify clusters and locate sampled households.

Sample Size

The sample size was determined to give estimates at district level. There were about 129,555 youths aged between 18 years and 30 years out of about 450,000 people in Nakuru District (CBS 1999). The Nakuru District sample survey registers, the clusters had 958 households with a population of 2,976 people (CBS 1999). Owing to the low proportion of youth aged between 18 years and 30 years in the district at the time, 478 households were statistically sampled to yield about similar number (478) of youths aged between 18 years to 30 years. This represented 50 percent of the households within the sampled clusters. The sample size is appropriate for academic purposes as it allows for manageable amount of data amenable to statistical testing of reliability.

Sampling Technique

A combination of sampling strategies comprising cluster and systematic sampling design were utilized. The study used probability proportional to population size to distribute the selected sample.

Cluster Sampling

I included all the clusters in Nakuru District Sample Survey in the study to avoid the pitfall of not raising the required number of youth aged between 18 years and 30 years within the district. The clusters are both in urban and rural areas of the district representing the diverse social and demographic characteristics of the population in the district. The urban clusters cut across the socio-economic divide as well as being representative of the district population profile. The names of the urban clusters are London in Afraha sub-location, Nakuru Press in Baharini sub-location, Section 58 in Lanet sub-location and Rhonda 1, Rhonda 2, and Gillanis in Viwandani sub-location. London and Nakuru Press represented the middle income households while Section 58, Rhonda 1 and 2, and Gillanis were low income low income households. Rhonda 1 and 2 clusters were characterized by slums.

The rural clusters in Nakuru District were Morop in Makutano sub-location and Patel in Lo Molo sub-location (CBS 1999). Morop is agriculturally productive characterized by mixed farming. Patel area, which is media poor, is semi-arid with poor road network. The area is sparsely populated and characterized by sisal estates and livestock keeping. The people in Patel are poorer than those in Morop.

Systematic Sampling

Systematic sampling was utilized to select the households for inclusion in the sample. Owing to the low proportion of the youth aged between 18 years and 30 years in Nakuru District, 50 percent of the households were selected and

included in the sample. The youth aged between 18 years and 30 years were only 28 percent of the total district population. Therefore, I selected every second household in each cluster for inclusion in the sample.

Once in the household, youth aged between 18 years and 30 years in selected households were listed and included in the sample. I interviewed all youth aged between 18 years and 30 years present in a household to avoid the pitfall of not raising significant sample size of the target group within the sampled clusters. I made repeat calls whenever the sampled youth were away from the households. Sampled youth were replaced only after two repeated calls to interview them. In such cases, I followed similar systematic sampling procedure to select the household and youth to be interviewed.

Sample Size Distribution

The sample was distributed according to probability proportional to population size. The aggregate sample was proportionate to the size of total number of households in all the sampled clusters. The sample per cluster was proportionate to the total number of households per cluster. Table 1 summarizes sample distribution per cluster.

Table 1: Survey sample distribution

CLUSTER NAME	CLUSTER NUMBER	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF SAMPLED HOUSEHOLDS
URBAN	1696	228	96	48
LONDON				
NAKURU PRESS	1997	314	108	54
SECTION 55	1695	548	138	68
RHONGAJ	1700	150	70	35
RHONGA 1	1699	481	154	77
GRANIS	1698	293	142	71
RURAL	938	511	133	66
MOROP				
PATEL	939	451	117	58
TOTAL		2976	958	477

The sample size for urban youth is higher than that of rural youth because population of urban centers in the district was higher than that in the rural areas. Nakuru Municipality is more densely populated than Rongai Division, which is the rural part of the district. Therefore, I oversampled the urban population to reflect the reality on the ground. This was consistent with the PPS technique used to distribute the sample. Of course, the oversampling of the urban youth did not reflect the urban rural divide in Kenya where the rural population is higher than the urban population.

Rationale for Sampling Design

All the clusters in Nakuru District were sampled to enable the capture of significant number of youth aged between 18 years and 30 years. A sample of the clusters would not have provided appropriate sample size for this study because the clusters had few number of the youth aged between 18 years and 30 years. It also allowed both the urban and rural clusters to be represented in it. The urban and rural clusters represented the socioeconomic disparities between youth aged between 18 years and 30 years either living in urban and those living in rural areas. It provided youth in urban and rural equal chances of participation and aided comparison between urban and rural clusters.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics who established the clusters, the sampled clusters were representative of the SES of the Nakuru District population. The sampling design was appropriate, in part, due to the fact that no complete list of youths aged 18 – 30 years is available in Nakuru District. The use of probability proportional to population size enabled weighting of

clusters to represent the real proportion of youth aged between 18 years and 30 years within the general population in the district

1.11.4 Data Collection Method

Apart from secondary data from reviewed literature, this study used primary sources of data as a method of data collection. The researcher conducted in-depth face-to-face interviews to collect information from youth from households in sampled clusters namely London, Nakuru Press, Rhonda 1, Rhonda 2, Gillanis, Morop and Patel in Nakuru District

Study Instrument

The study instrument was a structured questionnaire comprising closed-ended questions. The instrument measured levels of knowledge, interest and youth political participation in Nakuru District. Section one of the instrument provided socioeconomic and demographic information of the youth aged between 18 and 30 years in Nakuru District while section two gave information on patterns and intensity of media use by the youth. Section three provided questions on level of political interest among the youth, section four had questions addressing levels of political efficacy; section five dealt with interpersonal communication and family and peer influence; section six had questions on knowledge of election issues and actors; and section seven gave questions on level of political activity

The questions on section seven asked respondents to state what they did during the 2007 election campaigns and not what they did after voting. The question had time limitation stated as "To the best of your knowledge, how often

did you do the following during the past two months?" As such, the question was not irrelevant when youth responded to it immediately after voting day. The question wanted them to state what they did during election campaigns rather than what they did after voting (which was not measured in this survey).

The remaining sections had questions dealing with party identification and support, parental background, school influence and self-esteem.

The instrument used various contemporary scales in use in the social science discipline such as likert scales, forced ranking and frequency scales. The complete questionnaire is in the annex of this thesis.

1.11.5 Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretation

Data processing included a number of important steps to prepare the raw data for analysis. Initially, the completed questionnaires were edited both in the field and in the office prior to data entry to minimize error. Following data entry, the researcher cleaned the SPSS electronic format of the data. This involves 100 percent verification of the SPSS database of the study to remove any discrepancies. A series of consistency checks were ran to remove any unreasonable responses.

This study used bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis to establish the relationship between exposure to mass media exposure and the youth's political participation. Bivariate logistic analysis investigated the effects of exposure to various types of mass media and forms of political participation. Bivariate analysis using developed indices yield final combined results fitted for multivariate logistic analysis. Multiple regressions made it possible to assess the

simultaneous effect of both mass media and other sources of election information on the youth's political participation during campaigns. Multiple regressions allows for evaluation of any causal relationships between exposure to mass media and political participation.

Chapter seven of this study discusses the logistic regression equation used as well as the descriptions of the indicators for the independent and dependent variables. The chapter also describes the indices used to do multiple logistic regressions required for computing the gross impact of media on youth participation.

Finally, comparative analysis of data collected before the campaigns and after campaigns examined for any changes between effects of exposure to mass media and political participation. The study used statistical packages such as statistical package for social sciences (SPSS and excel) to analyze the data.

1.11.6 Research Problems and Limitations

This study addressed problems associated with validity and reliability of data and results. It put in place appropriate strategies to address each challenge. Measures were taken to reduce data collection and sample errors that compromise precision of survey estimates and increase unreliability of measurements respectively. As a result, I interviewed half of the sampled households and interviewed all target youths in the sampled households to raise significant sample size that represented the entire population of the youths aged between 18 years and 30 years in Nakuru District. This enabled the study to

and realization of a small sample size that would not have adequately represented the entire youth aged between 18 years and 30 years in the district.

This thesis recognized the errors that arose due to interviewer mistakes and took appropriate measure to minimize data collection errors. Two measurements using different samples were taken to avoid a tendency where a youth would give different responses to the same question on different days or to different interviewers. I used well trained researchers, working as teams under direct supervision of KNBS supervisors, on a four to one researcher to supervisor ratio, collected the data. I also adopted a 100 percent verification of questionnaires immediately after face-to-face interviews to minimize mistakes in recording the answers. I collected completed questionnaires from supervisors and reviewed them during data collection. This minimized the number of errors and increased accuracy in recording of answers.

Sample and data collection biases arising from faulty sampling and data collection processes were addressed through the use of the Nakuru District Sample Survey Registers (part of the NASSEP IV sampling frame). Sampling of every second household gave all households equal chances of being selected. Replacements of missing sample or unsuccessful interviews adhered to similar sampling principle.

A great limitation in this study was the displacement of large segments of the sampled households during the post-election violence that started immediately after voting on December 29th 2007. Slightly over a third of the members of sampled households were displaced by the post-election conflict in

Nakuru District After repeat calls, I replaced the displaced household using households within the clusters. This meant that members of other communities who would have been part of the sample were excluded. However, the displacements did not affect the reliability of the sample because youth of similar background characteristics were available within the sampled clusters. Even so, the thesis recognizes that the outcome of the presidential elections could have clouded the responses of the surveyed youth.

The study did not have a predetermined control group. I used statistical analysis to determine a comparison group made up of those not exposed to media and those exposed of very little media. It was difficult to construct a control group within the population owing to the pervasive nature of radio in the district and across the country.

Another limitation was the fact that the political campaigns started long before the date set by Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). This meant that the target population was exposed to election campaign issues long before the official campaign date commenced. I used time limitations in the questionnaire to control for this kind of influence. The questions specifically asked the respondents to give opinion and actions during 2007 campaigns. For instance, the questions on campaign participation asked: To the best of your knowledge, how often did you do the following during the past two months? Therefore, the question did not ask people to indicate how they behaved after elections. Data collection took place a week to the commencement of the official election period (November 25th 2007) and a few days after the voting on December 27th 2007.

Although timing of data collection presented problems, the fact that I captured data after elections does not violate the reliability of the questions because the respondents were being asked to state how they behaved in the past two months. Therefore, the time limitation addressed the fears of internal validity in some of the questions.

1.11.7 The Response Rate

This study had a response rate of 90.9 percent from 868 successful interviews from two surveys (434 before and 434 after elections) with youth aged between 18 and 30 years. This study targeted to interview 477 youth before and 477 after the general elections. Table 2 shows the structure of the study sample.

Table 2: Target and actual survey samples

Cluster name	Target sampled households	Actual interviews before elections	Actual interviews after elections
Morop	68	61	67
Petal	58	50	60
Section 58	68	66	69
London	48	34	48
Nakuru Press	54	54	52
Glenis	71	78	75
Rhonda 1	77	70	77
Rhonda 2	35	35	36
Total	477	448	484
Response rate %	100	94	101*

* Oversampling was done to capture the targeted youth following high rate of absenteeism after the breakup of post election violence. However, most of the questionnaires were incomplete and could not be used in the analysis.

During data collection, the researchers replaced 104 households where sampled youth were missing or away even after repeat calls after elections. The replacements do not affect the reliability of the data as this study used the cluster sampling method. This study replaced households of missing youths with others

within the sampled clusters. I replaced the youth owing to absenteeism occasioned by the post-election violence that erupted on December 29th 2007 following the announcement that President Kibaki won elections.

1.11.8 The Profile of Respondents

This section presents the social and demographic characteristics of the youth interviewed in the two surveys in Nakuru District. The first survey took place between November 28th and December 1st 2007 while the second one between December 28th and January 7th 2008 in sampled areas in Nakuru District. The data juxtaposes the characteristics of the youth in the two surveys. The first findings of the first survey are referred to as before elections while those of the second survey are referred to as after elections. This was done merely to distinguish the two surveys.

The profiles of the surveyed are useful in describing and interpreting the findings of the study in the subsequent chapters.

Table 3 shows the various demographic characteristics of the youth investigated include gender, age, education, and monthly income, location of residence, type of roof, parental level of education, parental monthly income, and mass media ownership. It summarizes the percentage scores of the background characteristics of the youth interviewed before and after 2007 election campaigns.

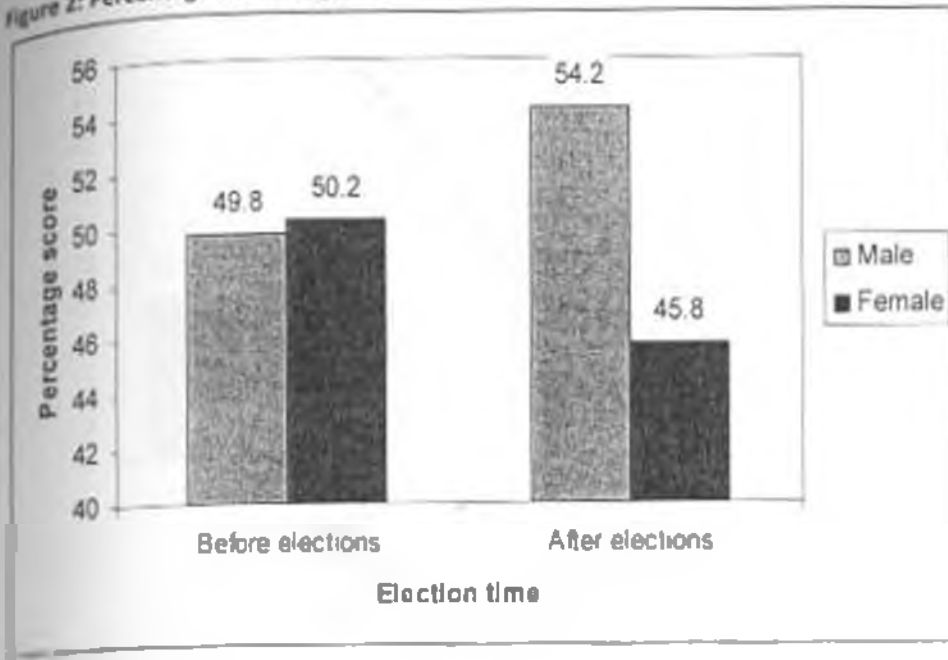
Table 3: Percentage score of youth demographics

Background characteristics	Labels	Before elections (%)	After elections (%)
Gender	Male	49.8	54.2
	Female	50.2	45.8
Age	18-19	21.2	20
	20-24	43.7	47
	25-30	35.1	33
Education	Secondary	51.2	53.5
	Primary	27.2	25.1
	Undergraduate	11.6	15.1
	None	6.0	4.0
	Postgraduate	2.8	2.3
	Tertiary	1.2	0.0
Location	Urban	75.1	74.9
	Rural	24.9	25.1
Type of roof	Corrugated sheets	70.2	61.9
	Tiles	11.6	13.5
	Thatched	5.3	14.2
	Asbestos	12.3	10.5
Monthly income in KSh	Below 5,000	0.4	58.8
	5001-10000	21.6	22.3
	10,001-20,000	3.0	4.2
	20,001-30,000	0.5	4.0
	30,001-40,000	2.8	0.9
	50,001-150,000	0.0	0.5
	40,001-50,000	0.2	0.2
Household media ownership	Radio	56	61.5
	TV	30.2	33.2
	Computers	5.1	2.5
	Fixed phones	1.4	0.5
	Mobile phones	1.2	0.2

Gender

The target of the study were youth both males and females. Figure 2 shows that almost similar number of youth males and females were interviewed before elections. This is reflective of the distribution of males and females in the population where males are 49 percent and females 51 percent (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40, MoPND 2005, 6). However, the number of youth males interviewed increased to 54.2 percent from 49.8 percent while that of youth females dropped from 50.2 percent to 45.8 percent after elections. The implication was that more male youth were at home during the interview than females. This could explain the over sampling of men in this study.

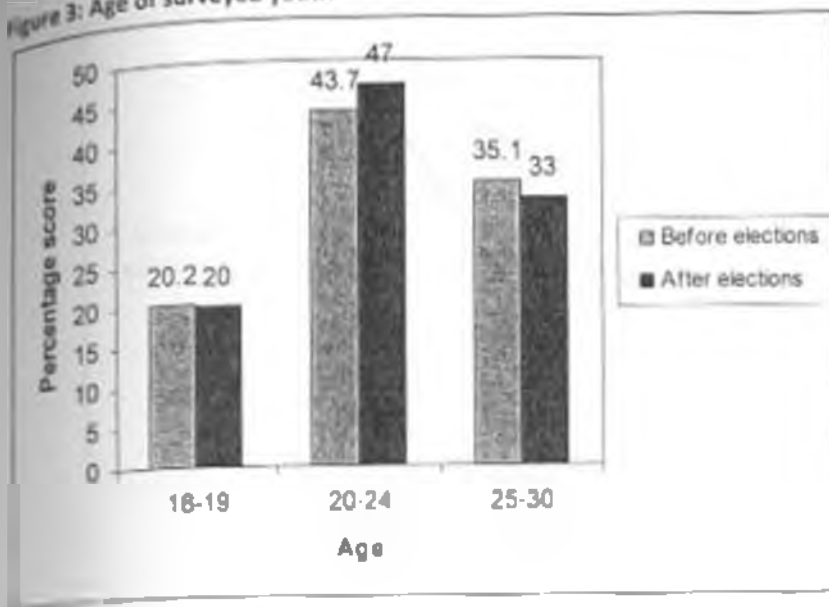
Figure 2: Percentage score for gender



Age of Youth

Youth aged between 18 years and 30 years were the target of the study. They were asked to indicate which age group (18-19; 20-24 and 25-30) they belonged. Figure 3 reveals that there is insignificant variation in the number of youth interviewed before elections and after elections. Youth aged between 20 years and 24 years made up almost half of those (average of 45 percent) interviewed followed by youth aged between 25 and 30 (average of 34 percent), and then youth aged between 18 and 19 (average of 21 percent). This is consistent with the age distribution of the youth in the general population where youth aged 20-24 are more than those aged between 18-19 and 25-30 (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40).

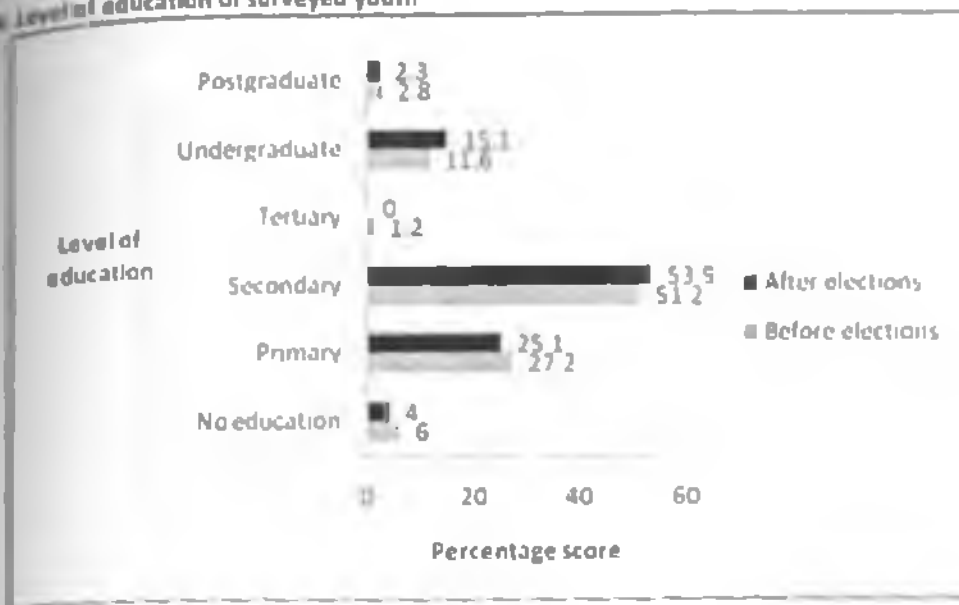
Figure 3: Age of surveyed youth



Level of Education

The youth were asked the level of education attained whether none, primary, secondary, tertiary, undergraduate or postgraduate. Figure 4 shows that the level of education of youth interviewed before and after 2007 elections did not vary much. Table 3 indicates that the majority of youths interviewed are secondary level of education followed by primary, undergraduate, none and postgraduate and tertiary level of education. This is very consistent with the national demographic trend that records those with secondary level education as the majority in the population followed by those with primary, tertiary and undergraduate and postgraduate level of educations (CBS, MoH and ORC 2003, 13-40)

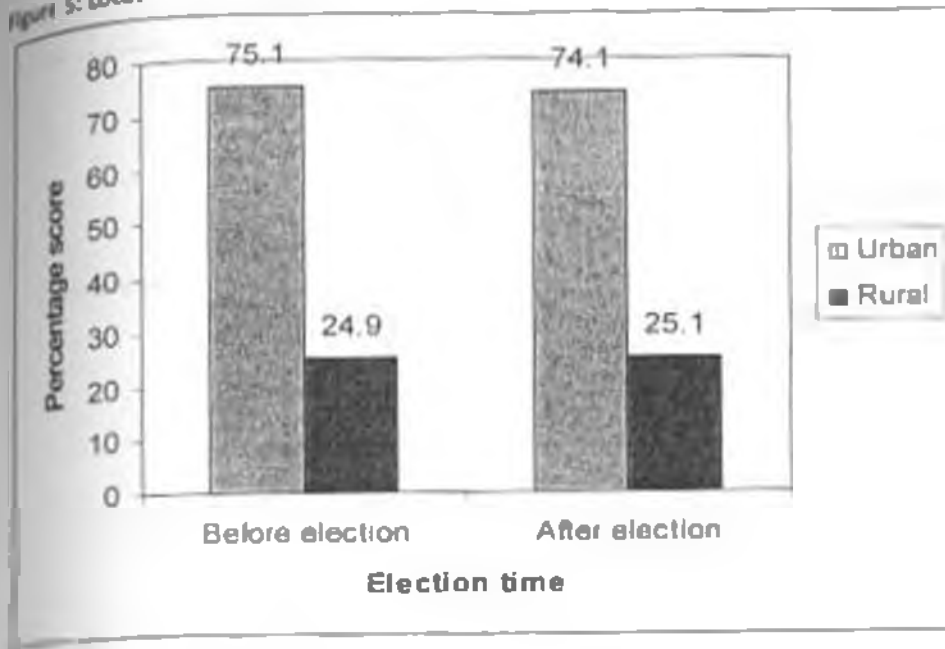
Figure 4: Level of education of surveyed youth



Location of Residence the Youth

This study captured data from youth living in both urban and rural communities in Nakuru District. Figure 5 indicates that three quarters of youth interviewed before and after elections lived in urban areas as opposed to a quarter who lived in rural areas. This is reflective of the population in urban and rural areas in the district where more people reside in urban centers than in rural parts of the district. I over sampled youths in urban areas to reflect their population weight in the district. This was consistent with the PPS technique used to distribute the sample during the investigation. However, the distribution of sample does not reflect that of the general population where urban account for 35 percent and rural 65 percent (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40).

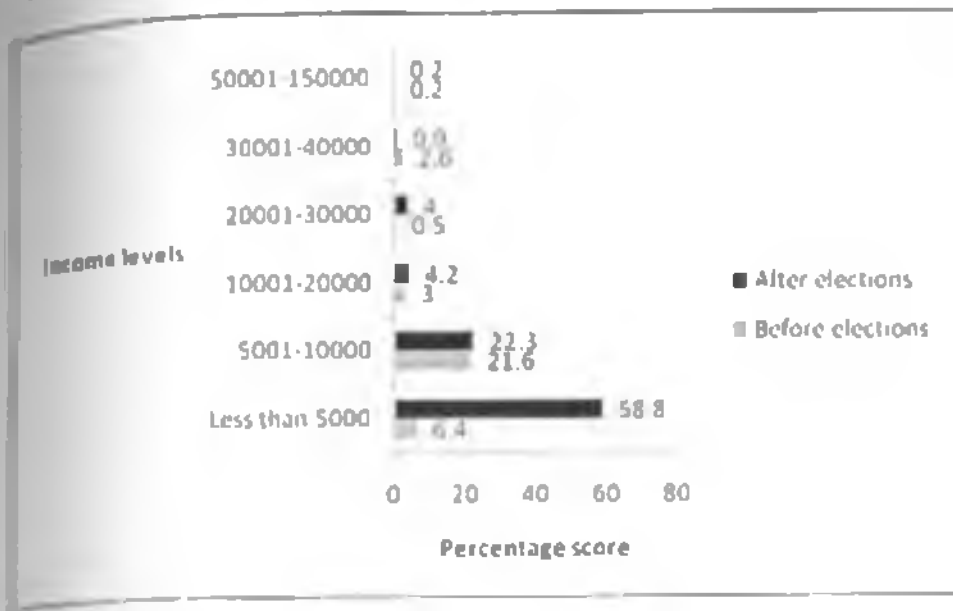
Figure 5: Location of residence



Approximate Monthly Income of the Youth

The surveyed youth were asked their monthly income. The study found that there were no significant changes in the approximated monthly income of the youth before and after 2007 elections. As indicated in Figure 6, the monthly income of 58.3 percent of the youth was less than KSh.5,000 followed by 22.1 percent with a monthly income of between KSh 5001 and KSh.10,000. A meager 9.9 percent of the youth had a monthly income of between KSh 10,001 and KSh.50,000 as in Table 3. These findings are reflective of the economic status of unemployed youth without income. The monthly income distribution reflects the income inequalities in the general Kenya population. Inequality remains one of the key challenges facing Kenya (SID 2006, 1-9)

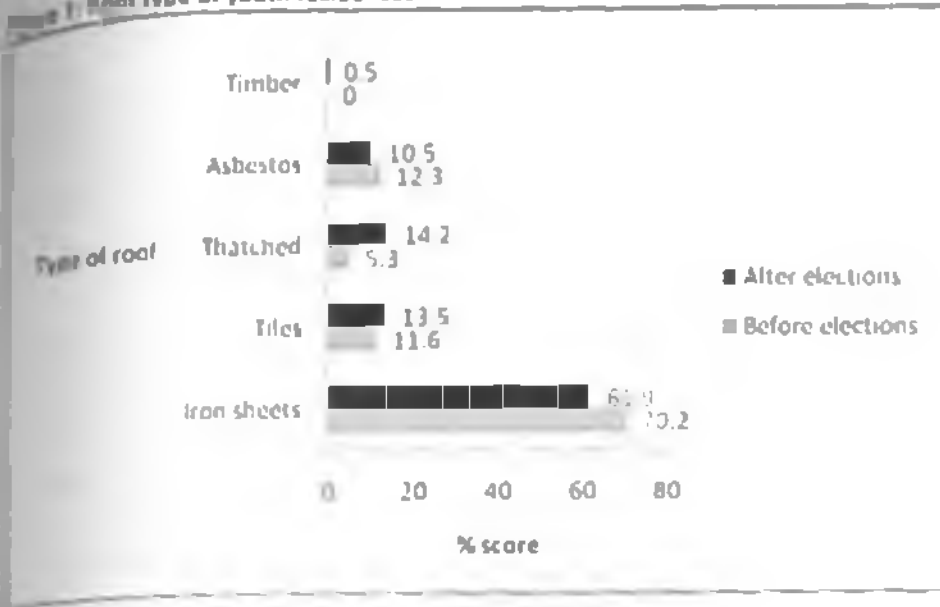
Figure 6: Income distribution of surveyed youth



Type of Roofing for Main House

This study captured the type of roof in which the youth lived at the time of the interview. The roofs comprised of corrugated iron sheets, tiles, thatched, asbestos and timber. Figure 7 shows the majority of youths interviewed before (70.2 percent) and after elections (61.9 percent) lived in corrugated iron sheets compared to 0.5 percent who lived in timber roofed housing before elections. In the general population, households with corrugated iron sheets account for 69 percent, thatched roofs 22 percent, asbestos 1.3 percent and tiles 1.9 percent (CBS MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40)

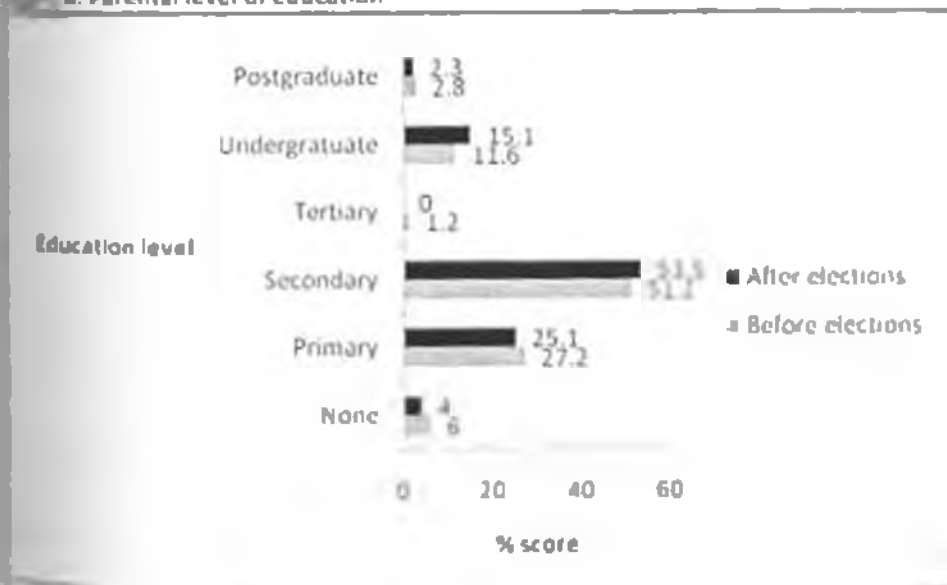
Figure 1: Roof type of youth residences



Level of Education of Parents of Youth

The youths were asked to indicate the level of education of their parents because parental education tends to influence youth socialization. Figure 8 shows that the majority of parents had attained primary and secondary level of education.

Figure 2: Parental level of education

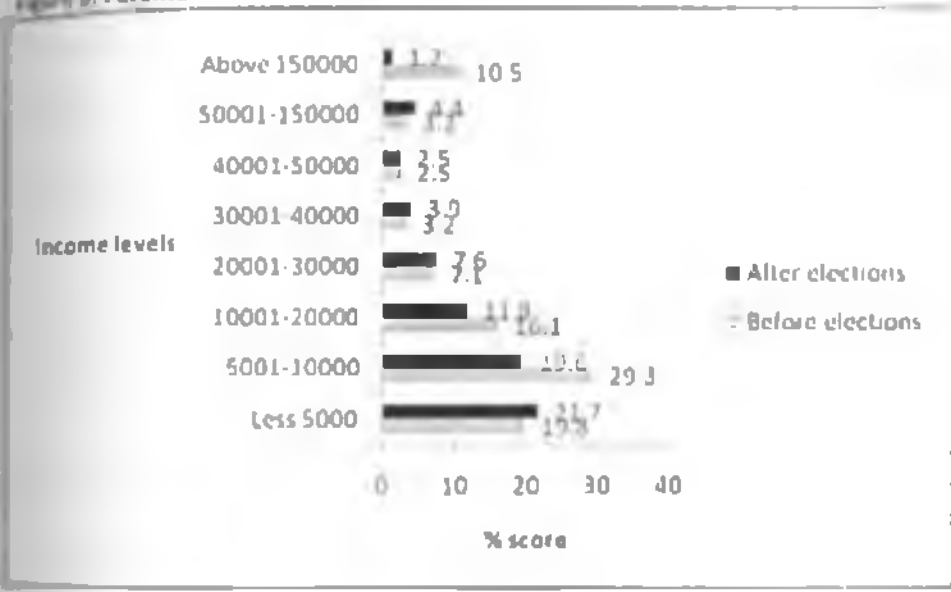


Parental Monthly Income of the Youth

Figure 9 indicate that over 45 percent of the parents of the youth are low income earners with monthly income below KSh.10, 000. Parents with high income between KSh 50, 001 and KSh 150, 000 accounted for only an average of 3.8 percent

The monthly income for parents was almost similar to that of surveyed youth. This finding was consistent with SES theory that states that parental SES determines the SES of the youth (Beck and Jennings, 1982: 94-108)

Figure 9: Parental Income distribution



1.11.9 Conclusion and Discussion

This section discussed the methodological approaches used in this study. I collected data during two surveys targeting youth aged between 18 years and 30 years. I interviewed youth in systematically sampled households in all the 8 clusters specified in the Nakuru District Sample Survey Registers. I employed NBS researchers from Nakuru who were familiar with the maps, registers and clusters. They helped to identify the clusters and systematically sampled the

households, identified the appropriate youth and supervised the interviews. The use of the well trained and experienced KNBS researchers reduced the incidence of making errors in the study. They were very instrumental in helping capture the data after elections just before full scale election violence broke out in Nakuru District. Their knowledge of the area and its politics helped to reduce data collection errors during the post-election violence and ensured that I got representative data from within the clusters at that time.

The majority of youth interviewed were aged between 20 years and 24 years (43-44 percent) with primary (25-27 percent) and secondary level of education (51-53 percent) and enjoyed lower socioeconomic status (earns less than KSh.5, 000 per month).

The social and demographic profiles of the interviewed youth do not vary so much with that of the general population. However, there is a difference in urban – rural dichotomy between the sample and the population. The sample was 75 percent urban and 25 percent rural compared to 35 percent urban and 65 percent rural in the general population (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40). This is because Nakuru district is 75 percent urban and 25 percent rural where the urban centers are densely populated than the sparsely populated rural areas.

The age structure of the sample shows that youth between age 20 and 24 years were the majority. This is consistent with the Kenya population pyramid that indicates the Kenya's population is made up of young and productive age sets. Similarly, the education structure of the sample is in harmony with the national

education structure that shows that those in primary and secondary are the majority

Additionally, the income level shows that youth earning less than KSh 10,000 are the majority which is indicative of the national income structures that reveal that those earning less than the minimum wage (KSh 7,000) are the majority (CBS 2007). The monthly income distribution for surveyed youth and their parents reveal inequality in monthly incomes in the general Kenya population. It is indicative of the fact that issues of inequality remain key challenges to the country (SID 2006, 1-9). The 2006 study by SID indicated high levels of inequality in key sectors such as agriculture, health and education. According to SID, the inequalities reflected, in this study, by monthly income are fueled by skewed government policy, public spending and unequal ownership of productive resources such as land (SID 2006, 11-399).

1.12 Organization of the Study

Chapter one introduces the thesis and discusses the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, assumptions, hypotheses, scope and justification of the study

The literature review, the conceptual framework, the methodological approaches and the profile of respondents are also included in chapter one

The various forms and levels of youth political participation and the types and patterns of exposure to mass media by the youth are presented in chapter two and three respectively

Chapter four discusses the associations between exposure to mass media and forms of political participation while chapter five examines the impact of mass media exposure on political participation by the youth.

While Chapter six explores the various models of impact of mass media exposure on political participation, Chapter seven summarizes the findings, the conclusions, and recommendations.

1.13 Definition of Terms

This section provides definitions and explanations of the various concepts, terms and phrases found in the thesis.

Association: Refers to the results of the cross tabulation of media exposure and forms of political participation in this study. The word is used in this study to describe the statistical relationship between mass media exposure and political participation by youth arising from cross tabulation of variables.

Attitude: The study used Gordon Allport's (Tan 1985, 316-317) definition of attitude as a "mental and neural state of readiness to respond, organized through experience, and exerting a directive influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."

Behavior: Refers to overt act towards the attitude object Ajzen and Fishbein (1980)

Boda Boda: This phrase is used to mean bicycle or motor cycle taxis. The bicycles and motor cycles are often used to carry passengers from place to place especially where there is inadequate public transport. The trend to use *Boda Boda* started in early 2000 in Nyanza and Western provinces because of lack of

commercial vehicles on most of the rural routes. Scrupulous people started using the bicycles to transport people on routes with inadequate commercial vehicles. Today, *Boda Boda*s are used in almost all towns across Kenya. They compete for clients with the commercial vehicles and taxis.

Campaigns: Refers to all those political activities, processes and mechanisms that take place during the officially gazetted period for such activities by political parties before day of elections. Traditionally, the campaign process often starts early but in this study, it started 21 days before December 27th 2007, which was the date of elections (ECK, 2007).

Campaign Participation: Refers to youth involvement in campaign processes and activities (Tan 1985, 316). Campaign participation specifically refers to talking to people (using face to face interaction) to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party; buying tickets, T-shirts and other campaign memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election during campaigns; attending a political meeting, rally, campaign in connection with the 2007 campaigns; doing any work to help a candidate or party during 2007 campaigns.

Cognitive: Refers to information or knowledge that a person has about the attitude object (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980).

Correlation: Refers to statistical correlation derived from logistic regression analysis of variables in this study.

Democracy: It means a form of government based on direct and popular continuous popular participation to rule by the majority and a system of party

competition that operates through regular and popular elections (Heywood 2003, 83)

The word has evolved from simple definition as merely a system of rule by the masses.

Effect: Refers to the consequence or result of a statistical relationship as used in this study. In this study the word is used to refer to consequences or results or outcomes of mass media exposure on youth political participation.

Effect of mass media: This thesis uses the word effect of mass media to refer to refer to statistical outcomes or results of bivariate and multivariate logistic regressions of mass media exposure variables and political participation variables. The terms *effects of mass media* and *impact of mass media* are used interchangeably to refer to statistical consequences, outcomes and results of the relationship between mass media exposure and political participation by youth

Exposure: Exposure means either having access to or coming into contact with the mass media or the content of mass media. Specifically, it refers to watching television, listening to radio, reading newspapers, browsing the internet and using the mobile phones. No exposure (classified as 0) refers to those youth who either had no contact or marginal access to mass media. Low exposure (classified as 1) refers to those with less than average access to mass media while medium exposure (classified as 2) refers to those with average contact with the mass media. High exposure (classified as 3) means those with above average exposure to mass media.

Government: Refers formal and institutional processes that operate at state level to maintain public order and facilitate collective action especially in Kenya (Heywood 2003, 25).

Group Leader: Refers to a youth who participated in 2007 general elections

member of band of youth bands in Kenya and Nakuru District in particular

Impact of mass media: The phrase is used in this study to refer to the

statistical result of bivariate and multivariate logistic regression

Indices: It is the plural of index. The various indices comprise: PolPat

(political participation), PolEff (political efficacy); MassExp (mass media exposure)

and AllCan (All candidates). Each index represents composite scores that sum up

various concepts. Section 6.2.3 discusses the indices.

Investigator: Refers to the researcher of this dissertation.

Mass media: In this study, mass media is used to mean the various

communication channels that are used to disseminate information to large

audiences. Channels of communication will comprise television, radio, internet,

mobile telephones and newspapers. The term media is sometimes used to refer to

mass media in this study. This is merely done to achieve editorial economy.

Media: In this study mass media refers to channels of communication such

as radio, television, newspapers, internet, mobile phones that are used to

disseminate political information to various audiences.

Nakuru District: Refers to the new district hived off the original Nakuru

District in the Rift Valley Province in Kenya (GoK, 2007). It comprises of Nakuru

Municipality, Rongai, Solai, Ngata, Kampi ya Molo, Mbogoini, Lanet, Baruti divisions.

Participation: This study used participation to refer to any kind of input or

contribution or involvement or engagement (canvassing, providing financial support,

attending meetings and doing various work) during the campaign process by youth.

Nakuru District in Kenya. The campaign process often starts early but in this study, it started 21 days before December 27th 2007, which was the date of elections (ECK, 2007).

Politics: Various scholars have defined politics in various ways. David Heywood defines politics as the means the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live (Heywood 2002, 4-6). David Easton in *A Framework for Political Analysis* (1965) defines politics as being concerned with the process of authoritarian allocation of values in a social system (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1990, 2). Harold D. Lasswell (1936) understood politics as efforts dealing with who gets what, when and how (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1990, 3).

Politically Active: This phrase is used to mean youth who engaged in various forms of political activities during the 2007 election campaigns.

Politically Inactive: The phrase refers to youth who did not engage in various forms of political activities during the 2007 election campaigns.

Political Affect: Refers to how we feel about the Kenyan political system and the variables include political support and political efficacy (Tan 1985, 316-318).

Political Behavior: Refers to all forms of political acts or actions by Kenyan youth, for example, actions during the election campaigns (Tan 1985, 316-318).

Political Efficacy: Refers to the feeling by Kenyan youth that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact on the political process, i.e. that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. Or the feeling by Kenya youth that political

and social change is possible and the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about the change (Tan 1985, 316-318).

Political Participation: Refers to youth involvement in the political processes and activities (Tan 1985, 318-320). For the purposes of the study, the definition will be restricted to youth political activities during the political campaigns. The various forms of participation during campaigns include

- a) Talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party during election campaigns
- b) Monetary contributions through donations (giving money) or buying tickets, T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election in 2007.
- c) Attending political meetings, rallies and campaign meetings in connection with the 2007 campaigns
- d) Working in any capacity to help a candidate or party during election campaigns for 2007. Such work will include distributing campaign literature and materials, working as political agents during political campaigns, volunteering as office help, working as a group leader for politician or party during political campaigns; provision of security to parties or politicians during campaigns, working as nomination or election officials; working as researcher for politicians or parties
- e) Offering self for political office (Councilor, Member of Parliament, or local political representative) during campaigns and elections

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- e) Offering self for political office (Councilor, Member of Parliament, or local political representative) during campaigns and elections

Political Parties: Refer to political organizations organized for the purpose of acquiring and exercising power in Kenya. Kenya has over 300 registered political parties (KEDOF, 2008).

Political Socialization: The study used David Easton and Jack Dennis's (Tan 1985: 315) definition of political socialization as the process by which people "acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" as they mature cognitively and affectively over the course of their lives.

Political System: Refers to a "network of relationships through which government generates outputs (policies) in response to inputs (demands or support) from the general public. This definition encompasses the mechanisms of government and the institutions of the state as well as the structures and processes through which they interact with society (Heywood 2002, 26). David Easton (1965) defined a political system as that system of interaction in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1990, 4).

Researcher: Refers to the author of this thesis as the investigator.

Traditional Media: Traditional media are not the focus of the study. However, they refer to channels of communication such as interpersonal communication networks, music, songs, dances, meetings, wailing, and performances among others.

Utilitarianism: According to political scientist Andrew Heywood, utilitarianism refers to a moral philosophy that equates pleasure with good and pain with evil, and aims to achieve the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

number (Heywood 2002, 432). Youth utilitarianism means that youth put a lot of value on material consumption or what they can get out of politicians and political parties during elections. Kenyan youth are known for taking bribes and working as foot soldiers for politicians during political campaigns.

Youth: Refers to young people aged between ages 18 and 30 years. This study targeted youth aged 18-30 years resident in Nakuru District in Kenya. The researcher selected the minimum age of 18 years because this is the legal age when the youth are permitted to get identification cards and participate in politics as voters in Kenya. Chapter 33 of the Laws of Kenya on the Age of the Majority (1974) indicates that "A person shall be of full age and cease to be under any disability by reason of age on attaining the age of eighteen years".

On the other hand, the researcher chose the upper age limit of 30 years because it represents the upper ceiling of the age of the youth according to the definition by the Ministry of Youth Affairs of the Government of Kenya. The Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Youth Affairs defined youth as those between ages 15 and 30. The researcher selected the youth aged 18 and 30 years because they are heavy users of mass media products and services compared to older youth. Additionally, this age group is suitable for the study because they are less integrated into political systems compared to adults over 30 years who are often deeply rooted in political systems.

Youth Idealism: Philosophically, idealism implies that ideas are more real than the material world (Heywood 2002, 424). Youth idealism is used in this thesis to mean that Kenyan youth have a view of politics that often emphasize

the importance of morality and ideals. Ideas such as reforms and democracy have often tended to appeal to marginalized Kenyan youth

Variables: Refers to characteristics of units that vary, taking different values, categories, or attributes for different observations (Singleton, Straits and Smith, 1988, 72) The variables for this study, comprising of the independent and dependent variables, are discussed in chapter 7. The independent variables consist of the demographic and socioeconomic status indicators while the dependent variable comprises the forms of participation.

Chapter 2

Forms and Level of Youth Participation in 2007 Election Campaigns in Nakuru District

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one stated that the majority of surveyed youth were aged between 20 years and 24 years (43-44 percent) with primary (25-27 percent) and secondary level of education (51-53 percent) and of lower socioeconomic status (earnings less than KSh.5, 000 per month). This study used the social and demographic characteristics of the surveyed youth in the logistic regression analysis with a view to establish their impacts on youth political participation.

A key assumption of this study was that the youth participated in various political activities before and after elections. Therefore, this study assessed the forms of political participation that the youth in Nakuru District engaged in during the 2007 election campaigns. It would have been futile examining the impact of exposure to mass media on political participation without capturing the various forms of political participation they engage in.

This chapter presents and discusses the forms and levels of political participation by the surveyed youth in Nakuru before and after 2007 elections.

It also discusses the differentials of youth participation by various background characteristics. It explores the associations between forms of political participation and background characteristics of surveyed youth that is age, gender, education level, type of place of residence, level of income and type

of tool which is a proxy in this study for wealth status of the youths. Chi squares are used to test for the association between the variables while *P*-value is used to show significance of association between the variables. A *P*-value of less than or equal to 0.05 or 5 percent indicates that the association between the study variables is significant

2.2 Forms of Youth Political Participation

The youth were asked the forms of political participation they engaged in 2007 elections. Surveyed youth were engaged in various political activities during the 2007 elections campaign. They canvassed for votes, donated resources, attended campaign rallies and meetings; worked in various positions, and also offered themselves for political office

Several reasons could explain the active youth participation in Nakuru during the 2007 election campaigns. One reason could be as a result of the aggressive mobilization of youth by media, government, political parties and civil society to participate in the 2007 elections (IREC 2008, 1-90). The mobilization platforms such as *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu Campaign* and the URAIA Civic Education Campaigns largely used mass media to disseminate information to the youth during the registration and campaign period (YA 2008, 43-46). The high voter turnout in 2007 elections (KEDOF 2008, 41-56 and 186-187; IREC 2008, 1-90) could have been due to the mobilization of youth voters by parties, politicians and of course, media. Evaluation of URAIA's National Civic Education Programme II revealed that there was extensive exposure to URAIA messages that promoted active political participation during 2007 elections (Finkel and

Horowitz 2009, 29). The evaluation by Finkel and Horowitz found that Kenyans exposed to URAIA messages were more politically knowledgeable, more informed about their rights and more participatory than those who were not exposed to URAIA messages. Similarly, the 2006 Civic and Political Health of the Nation report also revealed that young Americans were increasingly getting involved in many forms of political and civic activity because of the influence of social media (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

4.3 Levels of Political Participation by Youth

This study used a seven point rating scale to capture the responses of the youth (Often, somewhat often, neither often nor rare, somewhat rarely, rarely, not applicable and don't know). The results are summarized in various tables below.

2.3.1 Participation through Talking to People to Support

Candidates or Party

The youths were asked if they talked to people to campaign for candidates or parties before and after elections. Figure 10 indicates that 82.4 percent and 70.4 percent of youth surveyed before and after elections respectively indicated having talked to people to get them to support candidates and parties compared to those who did not. The results also showed that 62.6 percent of youth surveyed before elections indicated having actively talked to people to solicit their votes compared to 45.3 percent of youth surveyed after elections. The fact that the period after voting represents a less intense mobilization period may explain the slight drop in the number of surveyed youth indicating that they talked to others to persuade them to vote for their candidates and parties.

Studies indicate that political parties often use the youth as mobilization agencies during electioneering and counting of ballots (Wanjala 2002, 322-328; Kagwanja 2003, 25-49; Kagwanja 2006, 51-75; CPAF 2008, 58). Prior to the 2007 election, major political parties like ODM, PNU and ODM-K encouraged the formation of various youth lobby groups to mobilize youths to vote (Okombo 2008, 65; IREC 2008, 1-90). These youth lobby groups such as Vijana na Kibaki (pro-Kibaki) and Youth Patriots 4 Change (pro-Raila) organized numerous rallies in various parts of the country to canvass for votes for their respective parties and candidates. Civil society organizations such as IED, YA, FES and IRI also mobilized the youth to participate in the 2007 elections (IREC 2008, 1-90; KEDOF 2008, 41-56).

The aggressive mobilization of the youth to participate, perhaps, encouraged them to canvass for votes for their parties and candidates. Another reason for active youth participation could have been vote buying and bribery. Both the IREC and CIPEV reports indicted political parties and politicians for bribing the youth to cause mayhem and also buy votes during the 2007 election campaigns (Okombo 2008, 67; IREC 2008, 1-90; CAPF 2008, 45-48; CIPEV 2008, 20-35). Okombo argues that the youth were used to sing and dance to popularize parties and political candidates (Okombo 2008, 65).

This particular finding is also consistent with recent studies in America that indicated that young Americans are paying attention and discussing politics (CIRCLE 2008 and Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

Figure 10: Level of participation through talking to persuade

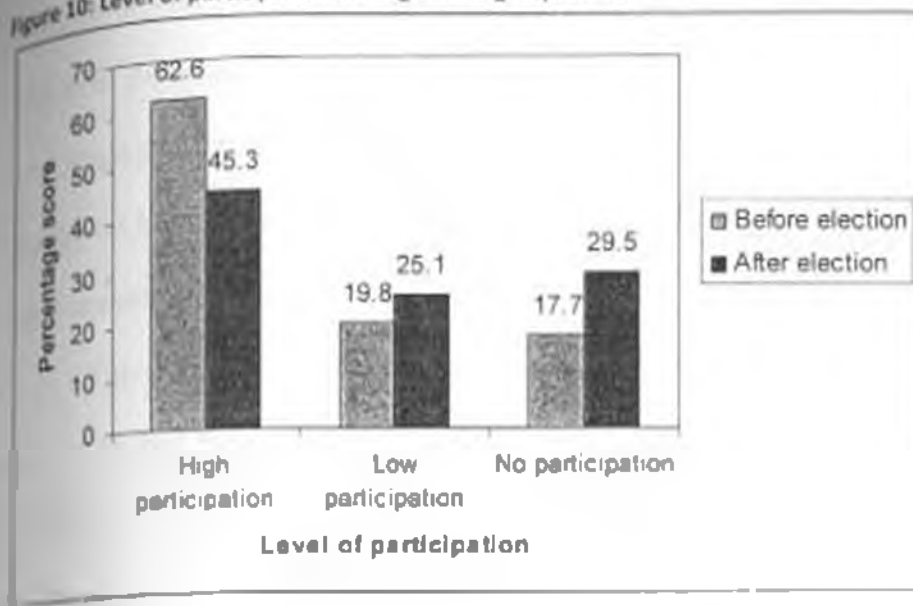


Table 4 shows results of cross tabulation of background characteristics of youth by various levels of political participation. Education ($P=0.008$), residence (P -value of 0.000) and type of roof ($P=0.018$) are significantly associated with political participation through talking to people to get them to support a candidate or a party before 2007 elections. After elections, type of roof ($P<0.01$) and income ($P=0.030$) are associated with talking to people to get them to support a candidate or party in 2007 elections (Table 4)

Table 4 indicates that education is associated with high participation while lack of education was associated with high levels of no participation before elections. Youth surveyed before elections that had postgraduate level of education recorded the highest level of talking politics with others (83.3 percent) compared to surveyed youth with no education. Studies indicate that individuals develop stronger sense of civic duty and greater interest and knowledge of politics as their levels of education rise (Harrigan 1987, 1-537). This is consistent

views that political participation increases with SES (Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108). The association between education and engaging in political talk is not significant after elections. This can be explained by the fact that talking to persuade others to vote is associated with electioneering period rather than the period after voting.

Table 4 indicates that 86.2 percent of surveyed urban youth talked to people to get them to support their candidates and parties compared to 69.4 percent of surveyed rural youth did the same. Location of residence is significantly related to talking to people to convince them to support candidates and parties of choice before elections ($P < 0.01$). This may be because urban youth play more opinion leadership roles being better educated and have improved access to political resources such as media than rural youth. Another reason for better participation by urban youth could have been the aggressive mobilization campaigns done by civil society and political parties that mainly targeted urban centers. This particular finding is in harmony with SES theory that states that higher social context like urban centers encourage higher political participation (Huckfeldt 1979: 579-592; Flanagan 1996, 283)

Type of roof as a wealth indicator is associated with talking to people to get them to support candidates and parties before ($P = 0.018$) and after elections ($P < 0.01$). The level of canvassing tended to increase with rise in social status with surveyed youth living in houses with thatched roofs scoring 56.5 percent in participation compared to those living in asbestos houses (80 percent) and tiled houses (90 percent). Participation by those who lived in thatched houses

dropped from 56.5 percent before elections to 47.5 percent after elections while participation increased from 43.5 percent before to 53.5 percent after elections. In addition, participation by those who lived in houses with asbestos roofing marginally increased from 80 percent before elections to 82.2 percent after elections. This finding supports SES theory that higher social contexts encourage political participation (Huckfeldt 1979: 579-592; Gleason 2001, 105-126).

Income had a significant relationship with talking politics only after voting ($p=0.03$). While participation remained high across all income groups after the voting, there was no participation at all by surveyed youth who earned between KSh.40,001 and KSh.50,000 after elections. Table 3 indicates that surveyed youth with between KSh 40,001 and KSh 50,000 were only 0.2 percent of the total sample size. Theoretically, their higher SES should have been a motivating factor to participate (Huckfeldt 1979: 579-592; Gleason 2001, 105-126; Downs 1957, 135-150).

The study also found that gender and age had no significant association with talking to persuade others to support candidate or party.

Table 4: Demographics of youth who talked to people

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No Participation	High participation	Low Participation	No participation
Gender	34.8	19.2	46.2	29.4	11.8	58.8
Age	59.0	24.8	16.2	48.3	25.9	27.8
Primary	68.4	17.7	15.9	42.2	27.6	30.2
Secondary	60.0	22.0	18.0	59.1	18.2	22.7
University	83.3	8.3	8.3	50.0	20.0	30.0
Profession	100.0	0.0	0.0			
	$\chi^2 = 26.807(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.008	$\chi^2 = 14.748(a)$	df=10	Sig=0.142
Marital status	63.4	17.6	13.6	48.2	23.9	27.9
Employment	44.8	29.0	30.6	38.0	27.5	34.3
	$\chi^2 = 22.278(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 3.440(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.179
Monthly income	60.6	17.3	22.0	41.9	20.6	37.5
Less than 1000	67.0	23.4	9.6	50.0	34.4	15.6
10001-20000	64.3	14.3	21.4	47.4	31.6	21.1
20001-30000	50.0	0.0	50.0	41.2	35.3	23.5
30001-40000	83.6	38.4	0.0	40.0	25.0	25.0
40001-50000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 15.647(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.208	$\chi^2 = 28.144(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.030
Type of school						
Integrated	53.6	19.4	16.8	48.9	26.1	25.0
Other	65.0	30.0	10.0	48.3	10.7	35.0
Unintegrated	39.1	17.4	43.8	18.0	29.5	52.5
Private	67.3	12.7	20.0	80.0	22.2	17.8
	$\chi^2 = 18.512(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.018	$\chi^2 = 30.836(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.2 Participation through Donations and Buying Promotional Materials

The respondents were asked if they gave money, bought T-shirts or party memorabilia to support a candidate or party. Figure 11 shows that the percentage of youths surveyed before elections who indicated that they either gave money, bought tickets, T – shirts or other political memorabilia was 63.8 percent compared to 53 percent of youths surveyed after. Literature on youth participation in Kenya does not indicate youth as financiers of election campaigns. Kenyan youth have a reputation for receiving money from politicians

in return for their support and vote (Kagwanja 2006, 51-73; IREC 2008, 1-90; CAPF 2008, 45-48; CIPEV 2008, 20-35).

However, the finding that surveyed youth gave money and bought campaign promotional materials is in harmony with recent findings in the United States of America since 2002 that indicate that an increasing number of young people under 30 donated money to charities (Ketter et al 2002, 3-10; Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

FIGURE 11: Level of participation through donations

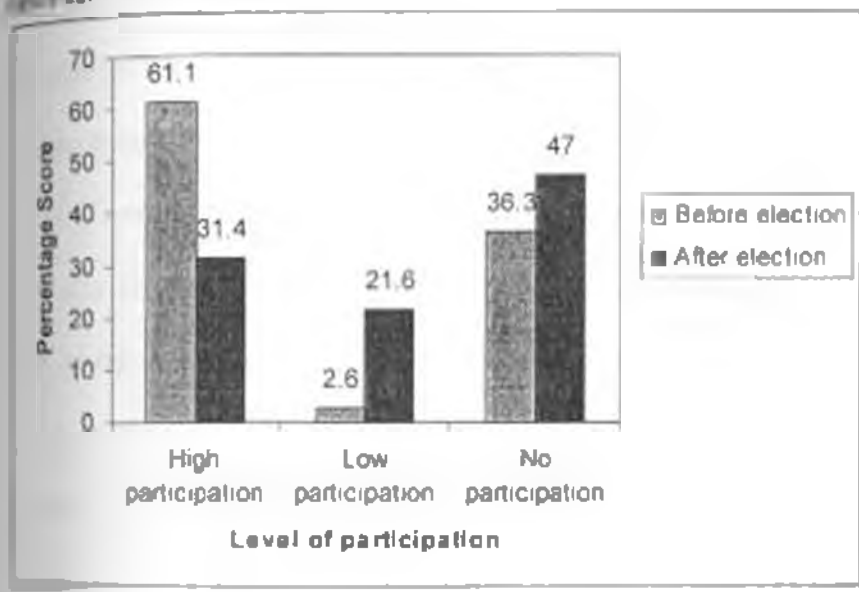


Table 5 shows the results of the cross tabulation of participation through giving donations and background characteristics of youth. It reveals that there is an association between level of education and location of residence of youth and participation through giving money and buying promotional materials before and after elections. While gender has association with giving money and buying promotional materials before elections, income and type of roofs have associations after elections.

Level of education is strongly associated with giving money or buying promotional materials to help a candidate or party ($P < 0.01$) before elections and 0.041 after elections. Seventy three percent and 76.5 percent of youth surveyed before elections, who had no education, did not give money or buy promotional materials to help candidates respectively. On the other hand, 29 percent and 44 percent of youth with secondary education, who were surveyed before and after elections respectively, did not give donations to support candidates and parties. Surveyed youth with no education were 6 percent and 4 percent of the total sample before and after elections while surveyed youth with secondary education made up between 59 and 64 percent of the total sample (Table 3).

There is a link between poverty and education (SID 2006, 11-399). People who are educated are better placed to access good employment opportunities that enhance their SES. Less educated people have less access to good employment opportunities thus reducing their SES. This may explain why the majority of surveyed youth with no education did not donate or buy promotional materials. Theoretically, education is a strong determinant of political participation (Flanagan 1996, 283-290; Gleason 2001, 105-126; Beck and Jannings 1982, 94-108).

Table 5 indicates that location of residence is significantly associated with giving donations and buying promotional materials before and after elections ($P < 0.01$). The number of surveyed youth living in urban centers that donated money or bought promotional materials dropped from 69.3 percent before

contributions to 59.8 percent after elections compared to surveyed rural youth at 46.3 percent before elections and 31.5 percent after elections

Additionally, more than half of surveyed rural youth never gave any donations or bought promotional materials before and after elections. Rural youth made up 25 percent of the sample and urban youth 75 percent (Table 3). This study found that the majority of the youth are poor with monthly income of less than KSh 5,000 (Table 3). In this regard, poverty of surveyed rural youth may have been a disincentive to donating money or buying promotional materials for candidates or parties. Okombo argued that poor youth may not participate in politics because they are cynical, disillusioned and even bitter against society that they perceive as unfair to them (Okombo 2008, 67). This particular finding is consistent with SES theory that states that lower social contexts may inhibit participation (Huckfeldt 1979: 579-592)

Gender is associated with giving money and buying promotional materials to support candidates and party before elections ($P= 0.003$). Seventy one percent of males and 56 percent of females gave money and bought promotional materials before elections. This finding illustrates the impact of gender inequality in Kenya because gender inequality has implications for both sex's access to financial resources. Kenyan women are poor because they suffer from gender discrimination and exclusion from productive sectors of the economy (Chesoni 2006: 195-201). Gender inequality that favor men in Kenya may explain why more surveyed youth tended to donate money than surveyed women. However,

are theoretically less predisposed to participate in politics (Gleason 2001, 126; Naygar 1987, 2207-2216).

Table 5 shows that income of youth is associated with financial support for parties or candidates after elections. Of those who earned less than KSh 5, 000, about 55.2 percent neither gave money nor bought promotional materials to help candidate or party after elections. The youth earning less than KSh.5, 000 per month made up 64 percent of the total sample after elections (Table 3). This finding proves that poverty acts a disincentive to youth participation through financial donations and purchase of promotional materials.

There is an association between roof type and giving of money and buying of promotional materials after elections ($P < 0.01$). Eighty five percent of those residing in homes with thatched roofs, an indicator for poverty or low wealth status in this study, did not give money or buy promotional materials compared to surveyed youth living in tiled roofs (38.3 percent) and corrugated iron sheets (61.7 percent) after election. Youth living in houses with corrugated iron sheets made up 61.9 percent of the sample after elections compared to 14.2 percent living in thatched huts.

Table 5: Demographics of youth who donated

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Age	59.1	1.8	29.0	33.2	23.4	43.4
Gender	53.0	3.2	43.8	29.1	19.1	51.8
	$\chi^2 = 11.922(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.003	$\chi^2 = 3.666(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.213
Ethnicity	26.9	0.0	73.1	11.8	11.8	76.5
Tribe	46.2	3.4	50.4	26.9	21.3	51.9
Language	55.2	2.7	29.1	30.6	25.4	44.0
Occupation	76.9	2.0	22.0	43.9	16.6	45.5
Profession	75.0	0.0	25.0	49.0	20.0	40.0
Income	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 40.678(a)$	12	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 18.974(a)$	10	Sig=0.041
Marital	67.2	2.1	30.7	38.9	19.9	49.2
Sex	42.6	3.7	53.7	5.0	25.9	68.5
	$\chi^2 = 20.624(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 45.642(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000
Household	69.9	2.2	39.4	26.5	18.2	56.3
1000-10000	67.0	3.2	23.8	42.7	24.0	33.3
10000-20000	64.3	0.0	39.7	57.9	21.1	21.1
20000-30000	60.0	0.0	90.0	41.2	35.3	23.5
30000-40000	72.7	9.1	18.2	25.0	25.0	50.0
40000-50000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 7.286(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.937	$\chi^2 = 39.707(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.001
Completed school	61.4	2.0	36.2	29.5	25.7	44.9
No	66.0	2.0	37.0	41.7	26.0	38.3
Trained school	39.4	8.7	60.9	3.3	11.5	65.2
Attended	65.5	3.6	30.9	66.7	11.1	22.2
	$\chi^2 = 12.770(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.120	$\chi^2 = 69.601(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.3 Participation through Attending Political Meetings

The surveyed youth were asked if they attended political meetings before and after 2007 election campaigns. While half of the surveyed youth attended political meetings before elections (Table 12), slightly more youth surveyed after elections (55 percent) indicated they did the same. Figure 12 shows that 50 percent of the youth surveyed before elections and 44 percent of youth surveyed after elections indicated that they did not attend political meeting. This is indicative of the tendency for low political participation by the youth (Wanjala 200, 322-334, Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14). Francis and Githagui argue that the youth do not participate because they are marginalized and voiceless

Figure 12: Level of participation through attending political meetings

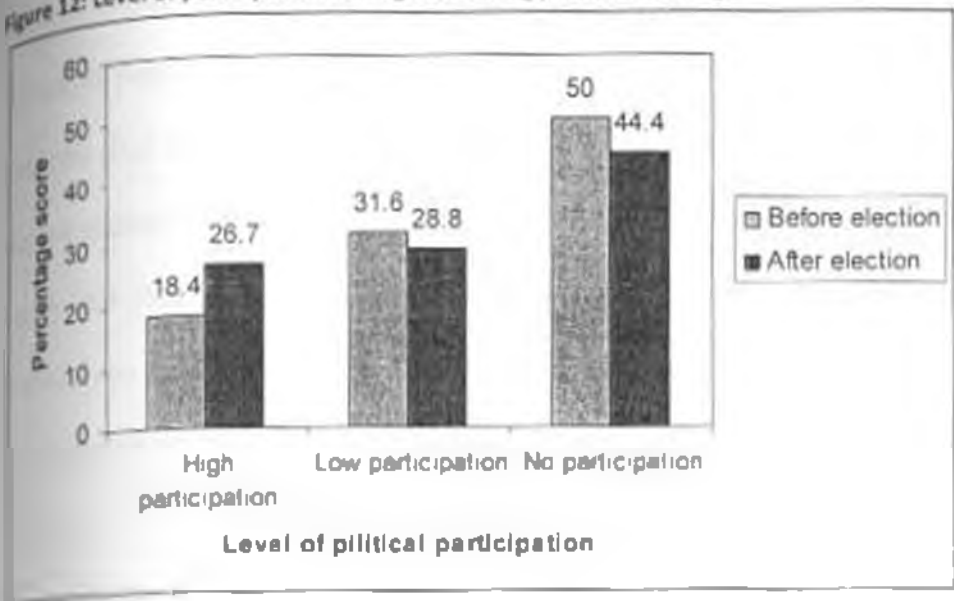


Table 5 sums up the results of cross classification of participation through attending political meetings by background characteristics of youth. It reveals that level of education and type of roof are associated with attending political meetings and rallies before elections while gender, residence, income and type of roof are associated with the same after elections.

Table 6 shows that education is associated with attending political rallies and meetings before elections ($P=0.009$). Fifty one percent of youth surveyed before elections that had primary education and 54 percent with secondary education attended political meetings. Youth surveyed before elections with secondary education accounted for 51 percent of the sample while those surveyed after elections that had primary education accounted for 27.2 percent of the sample. According to Table 6, gender is significantly associated with attending political meetings and rallies ($P<0.01$) after elections. Sixty one percent of male youth and 49 percent female youth surveyed after elections attended

political meetings. Fifty one percent of female youths surveyed after elections indicated that they did not attend political rallies and meetings. There are several reasons that could explain this finding. One, fewer female youth than male youth were exposed to media to get political information. While 33.2 percent of women youth did not watch TV, only 16.1 percent of male youth did not expose themselves to the medium. Further, 59.9 percent of female youth did not read newspapers to get political information compared to 31.3 percent of the male youth.

Two, the patriarchal notion of the public domain may explain this tendency for fewer surveyed female youth to attend political meetings. The Kenyan patriarchal society often limits women participation in social, economic and political spheres to the domestic domain (Chesoni 2006, 195-201). The KHDS 2003 also found that women were marginalized in the political and economic sphere (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 42-44). Three, the perception by majority of women is that attending political meetings is the preserve of men. The patriarchal notion of public domain concept asserts that politics is not for women. However, lack of time because young women often do a lot of domestic work could have limited their participation in political meetings (Kabira, Oduol and Nzomo 1993, 1-46; AMWIK 2009, 45-66; Oduol 2008, 38-39; Chesoni 2006, 195-201).

Table 6 reveals that location of residence is associated with attending political meetings and rallies after elections ($P=0.002$). Half of urban youth surveyed after elections indicated having attended political meetings compared to 69 percent of rural youth surveyed during the same time.

Theoretically, differential access to political resources may explain the findings. Urban youth have better access to mass media resources than rural youth. Therefore, rural youth may be more predisposed than urban youth to attend political meetings as sources of political information. However, this study indicates that both urban and rural youths have access to mass media (Table 15).

Perhaps the concept of youth poverty, utilitarianism and excitability may explain why more rural youth attending political meetings than urban youth (Okombo 2008, 65-67). Rural youth, perhaps, may be more euphoric about meeting political leaders at campaign meetings than urban youth. Rural youth may also be more utilitarian in their political orientations than urban youth. Across the country, rural youth are known to strategically attend political meetings with the object of receiving monetary incentives from politicians. According to Okombo, some youth formed hired crowds for candidates they did not even support merely to receive money (Okombo 2008, 67).

Level of income was associated with attending political meetings after elections with P -value of 0.012 (Table 6). Half of youth earning less than KSh5,000, who make up 58.8 percent of the youth sample after elections (Table 3), did not attend political meetings after elections.

Table 6: Demographics of youth attending meetings

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High Participation	Low participation	No participation
Age	32.8	30.9	46.5	34.9	26.0	39.1
Gender	13.2	32.7	53.5	17.1	31.7	51.3
	$\chi^2 = 6.722(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.057	$\chi^2 = 17.544(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000
Age	11.1	11.5	80.8	23.5	11.8	64.7
Primary	13.7	37.6	48.7	33.3	33.3	33.3
Secondary	24.5	29.5	45.9	25.4	27.6	47.0
University	10.0	42.0	48.0	22.7	28.8	48.5
Postgraduate	10.7	16.7	66.7	10.0	30.0	60.0
Urban	0.0	20.0	80.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 26.642(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.009	$\chi^2 = 14.432(a)$	df=10	Sig=0.154
Urban	19.6	32.8	47.5	23.3	27.3	49.4
Rural	13.9	28.7	57.4	37.0	32.4	30.6
	$\chi^2 = 3.480(a)$	df=2	0.175	$\chi^2 = 12.893(a)$	df=2	0.002
Less than 1,000	14.6	31.4	53.8	22.1	28.1	49.8
1000-10000	29.6	34.0	36.2	38.5	21.9	39.6
10,000-20,000	14.3	26.6	57.1	31.6	42.1	26.3
20,000-30,000	0.0	50.0	50.0	23.5	52.9	23.5
30,000-40,000	35.4	9.1	54.5	0.0	25.0	75.0
40,000-50,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 20.157(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.064	$\chi^2 = 31.368(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.012
Corrugated iron sheets	19.1	32.9	48.0	32.1	26.9	41.0
Tin	10.0	34.0	56.0	18.3	23.3	58.3
Thatched roof	0.0	6.7	91.3	18.0	37.7	44.3
Asbestos	29.1	34.5	36.4	17.8	33.3	48.9
	$\chi^2 = 26.410(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.001	$\chi^2 = 14.001(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.030

2.3.4 Participation through Doing any Political Work

The youths responded to the question whether they did any political work to help a candidate or party during the 2007 election campaigns. Figure 13 indicates that 69.1 percent of youth surveyed before elections indicated having worked for politicians compared to 46.5 percent surveyed after elections. The nature of work done by the youth varied from working as foot soldiers to beat and intimidate opponents, hired crowds for politicians they did not even support and popularizing candidates through singing, dancing and shouting (Okombo 2008, 71).

Figure 23: Participation by doing political work

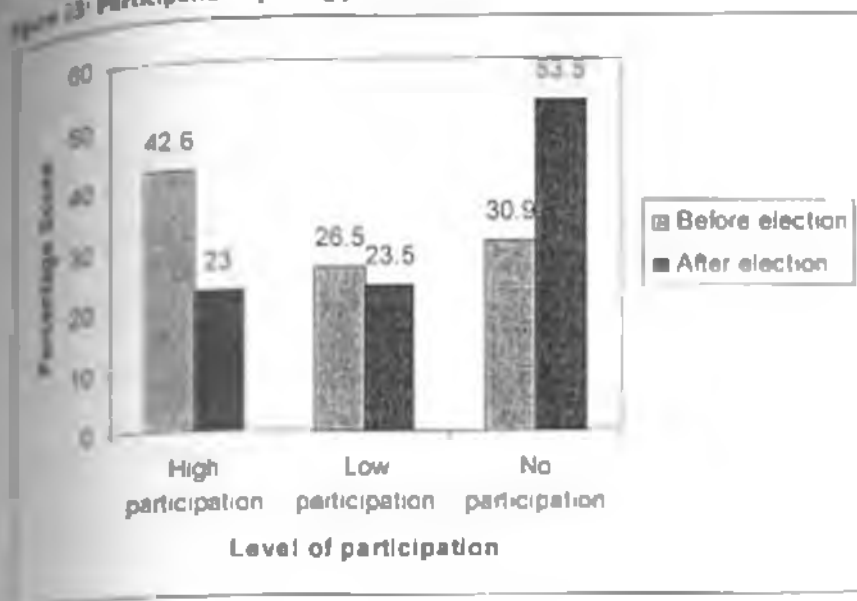


Table 7 indicates that there is a significant association between gender, residence, income and type of roof before ($P=0.003$) and after ($P<0.01$) elections. Seventy five percent of male youth and 63 percent of female youth surveyed before elections indicated having worked for politicians and parties compared to 56.2 percent males and 34.7 percent of females surveyed after elections. Theoretically, more men than women are likely to work for politicians and political parties (Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Gleason 2001). Among urban youth, 74.9 percent and 50.3 percent worked for politicians and parties before elections compared to 50.9 percent and 34.3 percent of rural youth who did the same before and after elections respectively. The association is significant at 0.000 before and 0.003 after elections (Table 7).

Table 7 shows that level of income is associated with working for politicians and parties before (0.032) and after (0.004) elections. Of those earning less than KSh.5, 000, 65.7 percent surveyed before elections indicated

worked for politicians and parties compared to 38.3 percent surveyed before and after elections. Similarly, roof type is also associated to working for politicians and parties before and after elections at P -value of 0.000. Of residents with thatched huts, 82.6 percent and 78.7 percent did not work for politician or party before and after elections respectively compared to 34 percent and 45 percent of residents with corrugated iron roofs before and after elections respectively. According to Huckfeldt (1979) social contexts inhibit political participation.

Table 2 Demographics of youth participation who worked

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Gender	50.2	24.4	25.3	31.5	24.7	43.8
	34.6	28.6	36.9	13.1	21.6	65.3
	$\chi^2 = 11.817(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.003	$\chi^2 = 25.586(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000
Age	19.2	18.4	65.4	11.8	11.8	76.5
	29.9	32.5	37.6	15.7	22.2	62.0
Education	50.0	25.0	25.0	25.4	25.9	48.7
Secondary	50.0	30.0	20.0	30.3	19.7	50.0
Undergraduate	33.3	8.3	58.3	10.0	20.0	70.0
	$\chi^2 = 39.149(a)$	df=12	0.000	$\chi^2 = 18.477(a)$	df=10	0.087
Urban	48.8	26.1	25.2	28.7	23.6	46.7
Rural	23.1	27.8	49.1	12.0	22.2	65.7
	$\chi^2 = 27.576(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 11.516(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.003
Income	40.8	24.9	34.3	19.8	16.6	61.7
5000-10000	51.1	27.7	21.3	32.3	29.2	38.5
10,001-20,000	42.9	21.4	35.7	36.8	26.3	36.8
20,001-30,000	0.0	50.0	50.0	23.5	47.1	29.4
30,001-40,000	72.7	0.0	27.3	0.0	25.0	75.0
40,001-50,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 22.513(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.032	$\chi^2 = 39.290(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.004
Roof type	46.7	25.7	27.6	20.9	25.0	54.1
Corrugated iron sheets	32.0	34.0	34.0	28.3	26.7	45.0
Tiles	13.0	4.3	82.6	6.6	14.8	78.7
Thatched roof	41.8	32.7	25.5	51.1	20.0	28.9
Asbestos	$\chi^2 = 36.481(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 39.705(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.5 Participation as Security for a Candidate or Party

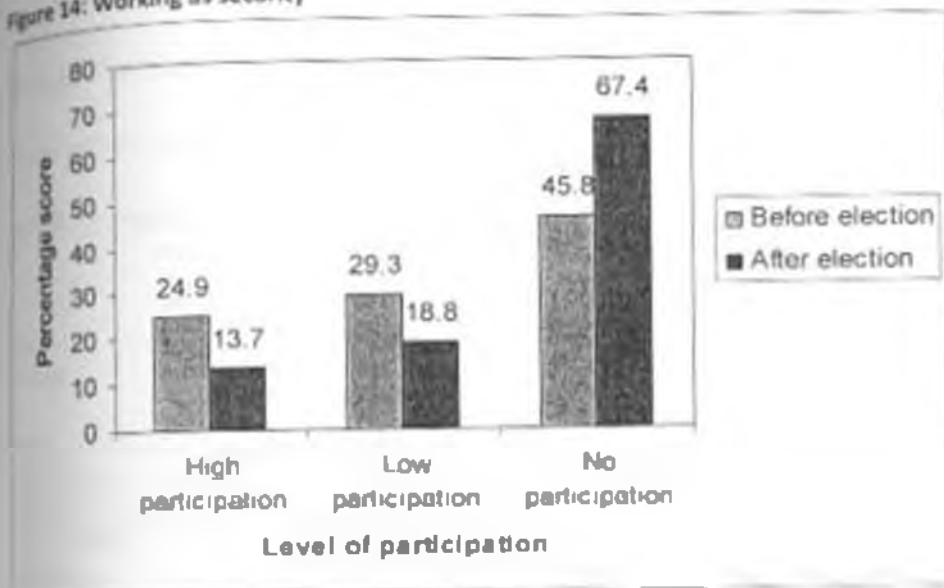
The youth responded to the question whether they worked as part of security detail for political aspirants or parties or not. Figure 14 shows that slightly

more than half of the youth surveyed before elections said they worked as security for candidates or parties compared to 32.6 percent surveyed after

elections. This is consistent with studies that indicate that youth often work as security for politicians in Kenya (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75; Wanjala 2002, 322-

34)

Figure 14: Working as security



The results of the cross classification of participation through working as security by background characteristics of the youth are presented in Table 8. The cross tabulation reveals that income and type of roof is significantly associated with level of income and type of roof before ($P=0.001$) and after ($P<0.01$) elections respectively. Of those earning below KSh.5,000, 73.1 percent surveyed before and 82.4 percent surveyed after elections did not work as security for candidates or party compared to 100 percent of those earning between KSh 40,001 and KSh.50,000 who did not work as security detail for parties and candidates.

Table 8 shows that more surveyed youth from thatched huts than those from tiled houses did not work as security for politicians and parties. According to table 9, location of residence of youths surveyed after elections is also associated with working as security for politicians and parties at P -value 0.000 of the rural youths, 87 percent surveyed after elections did not work as security guards compared to 61.3 percent of the urban youths surveyed during similar period. Traditionally, Kenyan youth work as foot soldiers for politicians, who hire them either to offer protection or defense from opponents (Okombo 2008, 71).

Table 8: Demographics of youth participation as security

	Before election			After election		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Sex	34.1	28.1	37.8	15.3	20.0	64.7
Female	18.1	30.0	53.9	11.6	17.1	71.4
	$\chi^2 = 20.237(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 2.321(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.313
Male	7.7	19.2	73.1	0.0	17.6	82.4
Primary	15.4	35.0	49.6	8.3	16.7	75.0
Secondary	30.5	27.7	41.8	15.9	22.0	62.1
Undergraduate	26.0	36.0	38.0	16.7	13.6	69.7
Postgraduate	41.7	0.0	58.3	20.0	0.0	80.0
Tertiary	40.0	20.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 27.339(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.007	$\chi^2 = 13.796(a)$	df=10	Sig=0.182
Urban	28.8	28.2	42.9	17.2	21.5	61.3
Rural	13.8	31.5	54.6	2.8	10.2	87.0
	$\chi^2 = 9.928(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.007	$\chi^2 = 25.814(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.000
Below 5 000	20.6	28.9	50.5	11.1	13.8	75.1
5000-10000	42.6	29.8	27.7	15.8	24.0	60.4
10 001-20 000	14.3	28.6	57.1	42.1	21.1	36.8
20 001-30 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	29.4	41.2	29.4
30 001-40 000	83.6	0.0	36.4	0.0	25.0	75.0
40 001-60 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 41.783(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 43.342(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.000
Corrugated metal sheets	28.3	29.6	42.1	11.6	19.4	69.0
Tiles	16.0	32.0	52.0	25.0	25.0	50.0
Thatched roof	0.0	8.7	91.3	1.6	6.6	91.8
Other	25.5	32.7	41.8	26.7	22.2	51.1
	$\chi^2 = 25.358(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.001	$\chi^2 = 34.990(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.6 Participation through Distribution of Literature

The youth were asked if they distributed literature or campaign materials prior and after elections. Figure 15 shows that 89.1 percent of surveyed youth did not distribute campaign literature or materials. There is no difference between the percentage of youths who actively distributed campaign literature and materials before and after elections.

Figure 15: Level of participation through distribution of literature

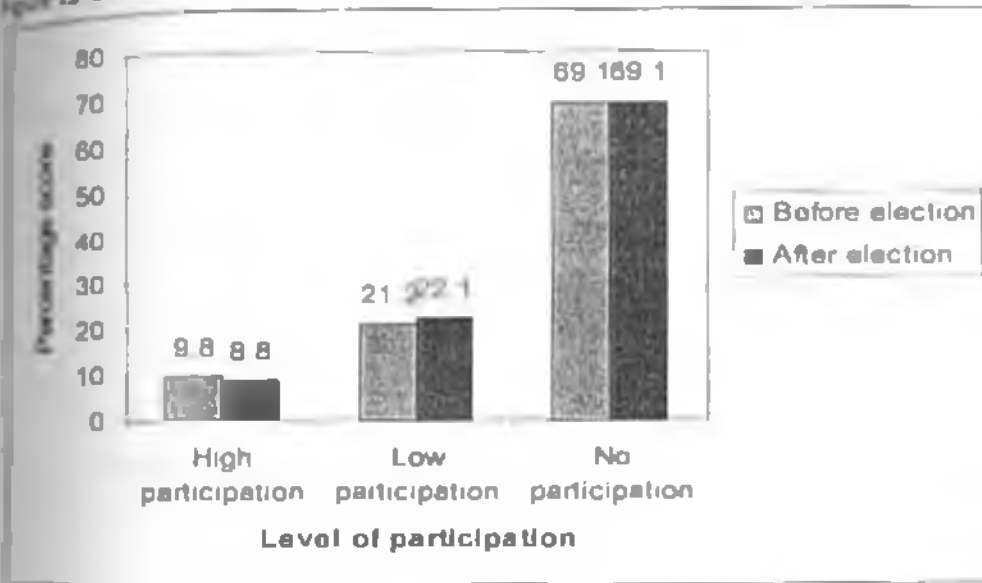


Table 9 sums up the cross classification of participation through distribution of campaign literature and materials by youth demographics. It indicates that there is a weak association between gender, residence and income and distributing literature for politicians and parties before and after elections. Only type of residence is significantly associated with distribution of literature before and after elections at P -values of 0.022 and 0.000 respectively. Table 9 shows that 95 percent of youth surveyed before and after elections that were from thatched roofed houses did not distribute literature whereas 70 percent of

Youth surveyed before and 65 percent surveyed after elections of those from tiled
 roofed houses did not distribute campaign literature. Distribution of campaign
 literature is not a major campaign mobilization technique in Kenya as it is in
 Western democracies (Gitonga 1991, 67-98). Kenyan politicians prefer to use
 radio, TV and face-to-face interactions to mobilize voters (Gitonga 1991, 67-98).

Politicians often use the youth to popularize their campaigns by singing,
 shouting and dancing along streets and roads (Okombo 2008, 71). Youth are
 also used to pin posters of various candidates in various constituencies. In 1992
 and 1997 campaigns, Youth for KANU lobby group hired youth to paint buildings
 with their YK signs across the country. In the past, youth have also been used to
 deface billboards of opponents. Recently, politicians used *Boda Boda* riders to
 advertise their campaigns and mobilize voters to attend rallies.

Table 9: Demographics of youth who distributed literature

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Male	12.4	22.6	65.0	11.9	21.7	66.4
Female	7.4	19.8	72.8	5.0	22.1	72.9
	$X^2 = 4.172(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.124	$X^2 = 6.903(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.036
Urban	12.0	21.8	66.3	8.9	21.2	69.9
Rural	3.7	19.4	76.9	8.3	24.1	67.6
	$X^2 = 7.116(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.028	$X^2 = 4.07(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.816
Below 5 000	8.7	19.9	71.4	7.5	15.4	77.1
5000-10000	17.0	27.7	55.3	14.8	25.0	60.4
10 001-20 000	7.1	14.3	78.6	10.5	52.6	36.8
20 001-30 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	9.9	58.8	35.3
30 001-40 000	18.2	9.1	72.7	0.0	29.0	75.0
40 001-50 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$X^2 = 17.792(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.122	$X^2 = 41.862(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.000
Employed	10.5	22.4	67.1	11.6	24.3	64.2
Unemployed	2.0	28.0	70.0	1.7	33.3	65.0
Unemployed and registered	0.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	4.9	95.1
Registered	16.2	16.4	67.5	13.3	19.6	71.1
	$X^2 = 17.865(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.022	$X^2 = 32.447(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

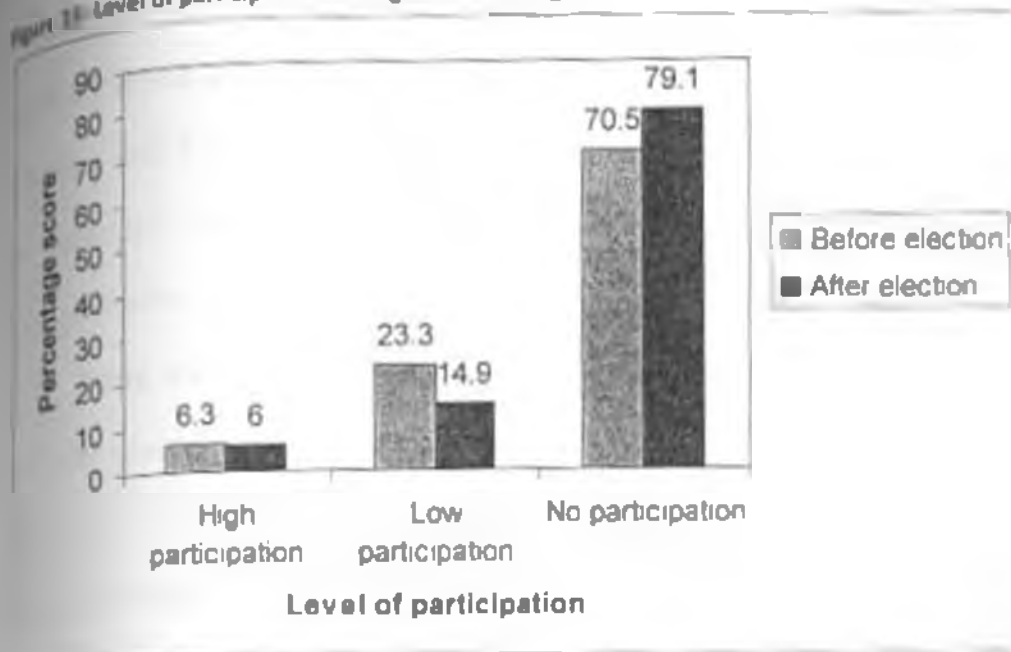
2.3.7 Participation as Volunteers

When asked if they worked as official help or volunteer for candidate or party, 81 percent of youth surveyed before elections and 70 percent of youth surveyed after elections indicated they did not. Figure 16 implies low political volunteerism by the youth. Studies show that Kenyan youth are very utilitarian in their orientation to politics. They tend to offer services for financial rewards rather than volunteer (Kagwanja 2006, 51-75; Wanjala, Akivaga and Kibwana 2002, 322-334, CAPF 2008, 8-9).

Youth poverty may also explain the tendency for youth to seek monetary rewards from politicians rather than engage in volunteer work during election campaigns (Okombo 2008, 67). In any case, the youth know that politicians have a lot of money to spend on potential voters. The Kenyan campaign period is associated with heavy spending on political activities. Monitoring of campaign spending in 2007 elections indicated that ODM and PNU spent over KSh.3.3 billion during campaigns (CAPF 2008, 22-23). Significant amounts were spent on items related to youth services such as security staff, rally personnel, party agents and rallies. PNU spent KSh 300,000 million on *Vijana na Kibaki*, a pro-Kibaki youth lobby group (CAPF 2008, 23).

The above result is in harmony with earlier research findings in the US that showed that the youth were less likely to volunteer in politics and civic organizations (Putnam 1995, 67; Smith 1999, 553-580). However, recent studies indicate that American youth are increasingly willing to volunteer to help candidates and parties (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

Figure 11: Level of participation through volunteering



Further analysis found that there is a significant association between gender, residence, income and type of roof and working as a volunteer for a party or candidate. Table 10 shows that gender is associated with political volunteerism at 0.004 before and 0.048 after elections. According to Table 10, 53.5 percent of male youth surveyed before and 66.8 percent of male youth surveyed after elections did not volunteer to work for politicians and parties compared to 66.8 percent and 74.9 percent of female youth surveyed during similar period. Before elections, 23 percent of the male youths had actively volunteered to work for parties and candidates compared to 12.4 females. The number of males (17.9 percent) and females (7.5 percent) actively volunteering dropped after elections.

Table 10 indicates that more rural youths than urban did not volunteer to work for candidates or parties before and after elections with a significance of 0.000. Before elections, 55 percent urban dwellers and 74.1 percent rural youths

did not volunteer compared to 65.3 of urban dwellers and 85.1 percent of rural youth surveyed after elections. Only 7.4 percent of rural youth surveyed before elections and 2.8 percent surveyed after elections actively volunteered to work for politicians and parties. This was indicative of poverty among rural youth and monthly income.

There was association between income and political volunteerism before and after elections with significance of 0.014 and 0.000 respectively. Additionally, type of roof was significantly associated with political volunteerism before and after at 0.006 and 0.000 as indicated in Table 10.

Table 10: Demographics of youth participation by volunteering

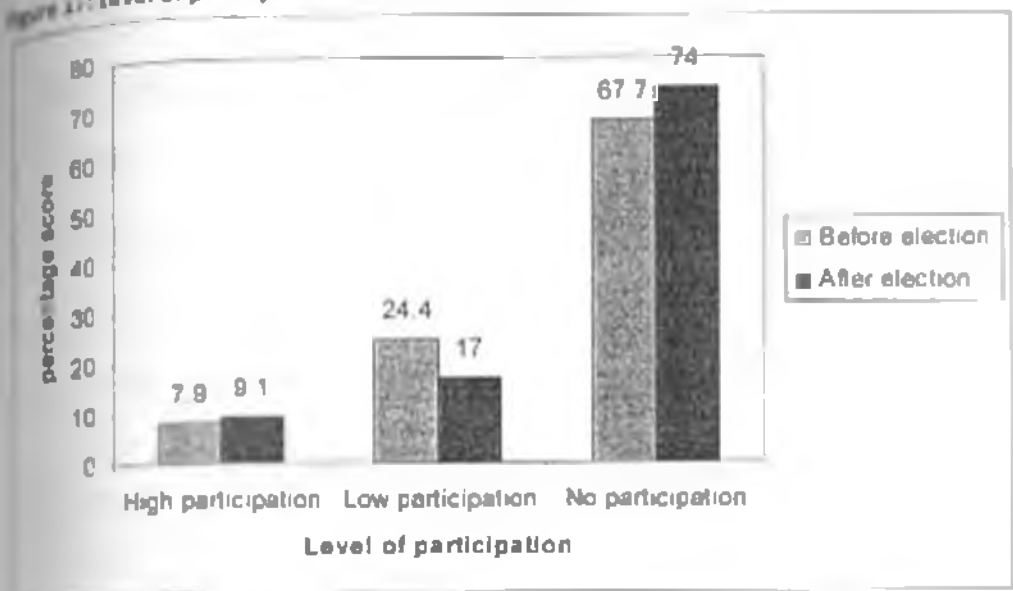
	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Male	23.6	23.0	53.5	14.9	19.3	65.8
Female	12.4	20.7	66.8	7.5	17.6	74.9
	$\chi^2 = 10.870(a)$ df=2		Sig=0.004	$\chi^2 = 8.035(a)$ df=2		Sig=0.043
Urban	21.6	23.0	55.5	14.4	20.2	65.3
Rural	7.4	18.5	74.1	2.8	11.1	86.1
	$\chi^2 = 14.310(a)$ df=2		0.000777	$\chi^2 = 13.271(a)$ df=2		0.000
Less 5 000	16.9	19.9	64.3	10.7	11.9	77.5
5000-10000	23.7	27.7	43.6	17.7	22.9	59.4
10 000-20 000	7.1	14.3	78.6	10.5	47.4	42.1
20 000-30 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	17.6	52.9	29.4
30 000-40 000	33.3	8.1	54.5	0.0	25.0	75.0
40 000-50 000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 25.157(a)$ df=12		Sig=0.014	$\chi^2 = 47.110(a)$ df=18		Sig=0.000
Concrete roof	18.4	23.0	58.6	13.8	18.3	67.9
Tile	0.0	32.0	60.0	10.0	35.0	55.0
Unimproved roof	4.3	4.3	91.3	0.0	3.3	96.7
Other	29.1	14.5	56.4	15.8	13.3	71.1
	$\chi^2 = 21.643(a)$ df=8		Sig=0.006	$\chi^2 = 34.810(a)$ df=8		Sig=0.000

2.3.8 Participation as Nomination or Election Official

When asked if they worked as nomination or election officials, 67 percent surveyed before elections and 74 percent interviewed after elections reported no participation at all. Figure 17 shows that 32.3 percent of youth interviewed before

and 26.1 percent of the youth interviewed after elections worked as party nomination and election officials.

Figure 17: Level of participation as nomination official



Cross tabulation the above responses reveal that there is a weak association between gender, residence, income and type of roof and working as an official during nominations or elections. Table 11 reveals that only gender (0.001) and income (0.059) has associations before elections while only residence (0.000), income (0.000) and type of roof (0.000) had association after elections

Table 11 shows that more female youth surveyed than male youth did not work as nomination and election officials in 2007 election campaigns. According to table 11, responses for no participation are high across all income groups. The trend is recorded across types of roof. The majority of both urban and rural youths surveyed after elections also indicated they did not work as nomination and election officials in 2007.

Traditionally, politicians in Kenya use the youth as party agents during elections. The youth often mobilize voters on behalf of their preferred candidates. The youth often visit homes to get voters out to voting centers. They also give bribes to voters to cast ballots for their preferred candidates. In addition, politicians use the youth working as nomination officials during elections in their favor as well as to prevent similar fraud against them. Such officials are also used to organize and pay off youth working as vigilantes for politicians (Okombo 2008, 67)

Table 11 Demographics of youth participation as nomination official

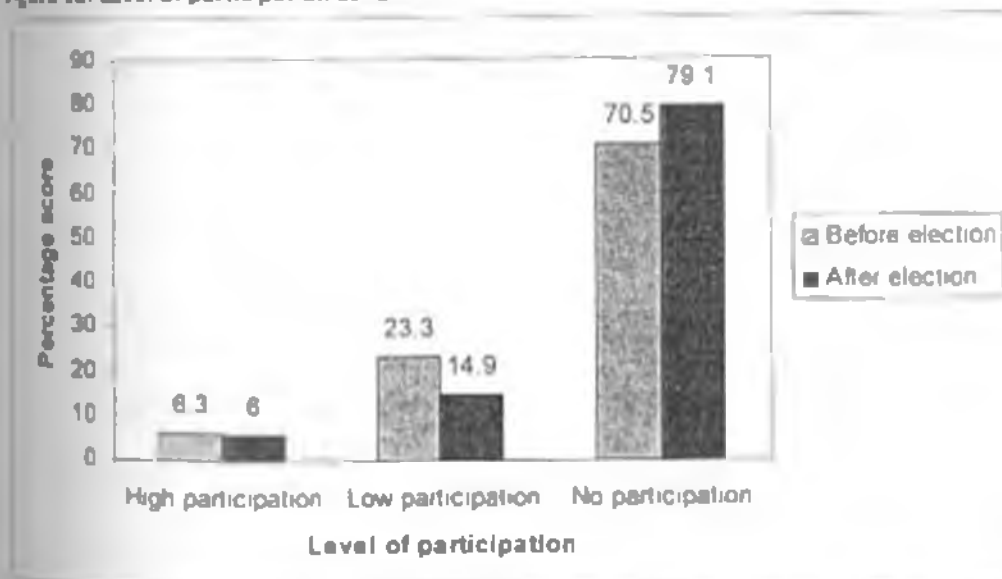
	Before elections			Elections		
	High Participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Male	9.7	31.3	59.0	9.8	16.6	73.6
Female	6.0	18.0	76.0	8.0	17.1	74.9
	$\chi^2 = 14.415(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.001	$\chi^2 = 404(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.817
Below 5,000	5.8	22.7	71.5	7.5	11.1	81.4
5,000-10,000	16.0	33.0	51.1	13.5	19.8	66.7
10,001-20,000	7.1	14.3	78.6	21.1	47.4	31.6
20,001-30,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.6	52.9	35.3
30,001-40,000	0.0	27.3	72.7	0.0	25.0	75.0
40,001-50,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 20.460(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.059	$\chi^2 = 50.471(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.000
Compound						
Not sheets	7.2	26.0	66.8	11.2	17.5	71.3
Tile	12.0	20.0	68.0	3.3	33.3	63.3
Thatched roof	0.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	3.3	96.7
	10.9	30.9	58.2	15.6	8.9	75.6
	$\chi^2 = 13.465(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.096	$\chi^2 = 34.819(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.9 Participation as a Researcher

This study asked youths if they worked as a researcher for a party or candidate in 2007 elections. Figure 18 indicates that an overwhelming majority of 70.5 percent and 79.1 percent of youth surveyed before and after elections respectively did not work as researchers.

Politicians in Kenya often use the youth to do research in their constituencies. Various parties such as ODM and KANU had their own internal research departments that collected information during election campaigns. Political parties also sent out youth to scan campaign venues before rallies. The youth often gather information on the activities of political opponents and the security situation on the ground before rallies. Various opinion polling firms such as Strategic Public Relations and Research Limited and Synovate Group amongst others also employed youth to conduct research during election campaigns. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission and Coalition for Accountable Political Financing also sent out youth to monitor the political campaigns across the country. The youth monitored incidences of violence, hate speech and misuse of state resources by politicians and civil servants during campaigns (CAPF 2008, 13-21).

Figure 18: Level of participation as researcher



Further analysis in Table 12 reveals that there is a weak association between gender, income, and type of roof and working as a researcher for political party or candidate before and after elections respectively. Table 12 shows that before elections, the association between gender and researching was significant at 0.007. After elections, income and type of roof had association with researching at 0.000. The other association with age, education, and location of residence was insignificant.

Table 12: Demographics of youth participation as researcher

	Before elections			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Male	7.6	28.6	63.6	6.4	14.5	79.1
Female	4.6	18.0	77.4	5.5	15.1	79.4
	$X^2 = 9.994(a)$ df=2		Sig=0.007	$X^2 = 156(a)$ df=2		Sig=0.923
Below 5,000	5.8	21.3	72.9	5.1	8.3	86.6
5000-10000	10.6	30.9	58.5	7.3	16.7	76.0
10,001-20,000	7.1	14.3	78.6	15.8	47.4	36.8
20,001-30,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.8	68.8	29.4
30,001-40,000	0.0	18.2	81.8	0.0	25.0	75.0
40,001-50,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$X^2 = 13.201(a)$ df=12		Sig=0.355	$X^2 = 62.655(a)$ df=16		Sig=0.000
Corrugated sheets	5.6	24.3	70.1	7.1	14.2	78.7
Tile	10.0	22.0	68.0	1.7	33.3	65.0
Sheeted roof	0.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	3.3	96.7
Other	9.1	27.3	63.6	13.3	8.9	77.8
	$X^2 = 10.922(a)$ df=8		Sig=0.208	$X^2 = 34.428(a)$ df=6		Sig=0.000

2.3.10 Participation as Group Leader

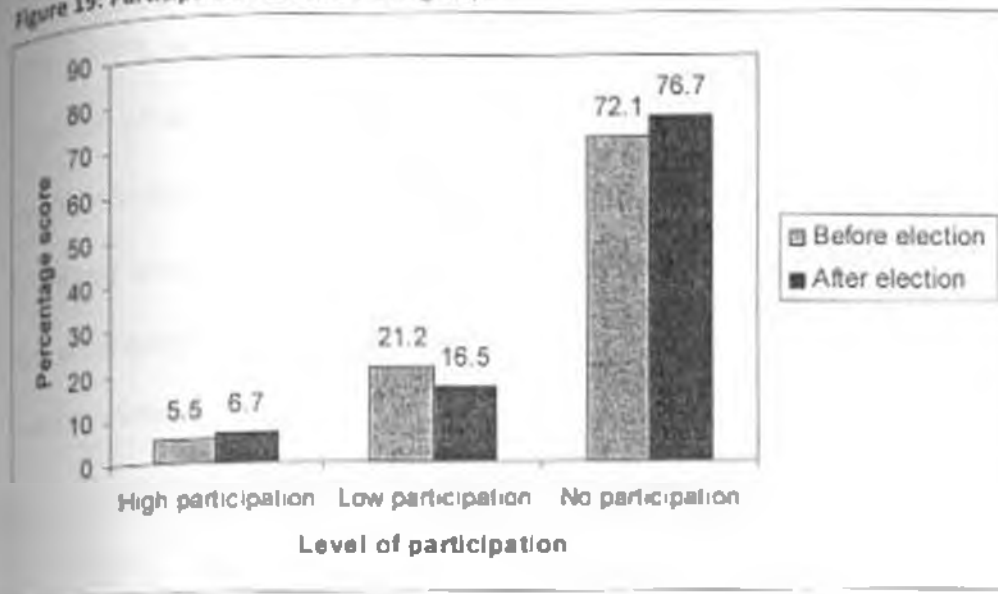
When asked if they participated as leaders of groups supporting a given party or politician, 72.1 percent and 76.7 percent reported they that they did not work as leaders of groups before and after elections respectively. Figure 19 shows that only 5.6 percent of youth surveyed before elections and 6.7 percent

surveyed after elections indicated having actively participated as leaders of groups.

Politicians formed various youth lobby groups ahead of 2007 elections. The two main ones were Vijana na Kibaki, a pro-Kibaki youth group and the Youth Patriots 4 Change, a pro-Raila youth lobby group. The mission of these youth groups was to mobilize youth voters to vote for their preferred presidential candidates (Okombo 2008, 65). According to Okombo (2008), these youth lobby groups played both constructive and negative roles during the 2007 elections. When they were not singing and dancing to popularize candidates, they acted as foot-soldiers used to intimidate and beat political opponents (Okombo 2008, 65-67).

Some of the visible and active youth leaders ahead of 2007 elections included Cyprian Nyamwambu who vied for Bomachoge parliamentary seat, Kepta Ombati of FORD Kenya and former leader of Youth Agenda, John Kiarie of Reddykulas entertainment group that played a key role during the Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu Campaigns; Pauline Onyango Owoko, Treasurer of the Kenya Youth Movement and contestant for Makadara parliamentary seat; C.J Ochieng Kanyaduri, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party Youth League who vied for Ndhiwa parliamentary seat; and Yvonne Khamati, Political Affairs Director for Ford Kenya. Most of these youths learned their leadership skills under the political Leadership Development Programme ran by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES 2006, 3-22).

Figure 19: Participation as leaders of a group



Cross tabulation analysis reveals that the association between gender, income and type of roof and being a leader of a political group is weak. Table 13 reveals that only gender is associated to being a leader of a political group at 0.007. After elections, only income and type of roof were associated to being a leader of a political group.

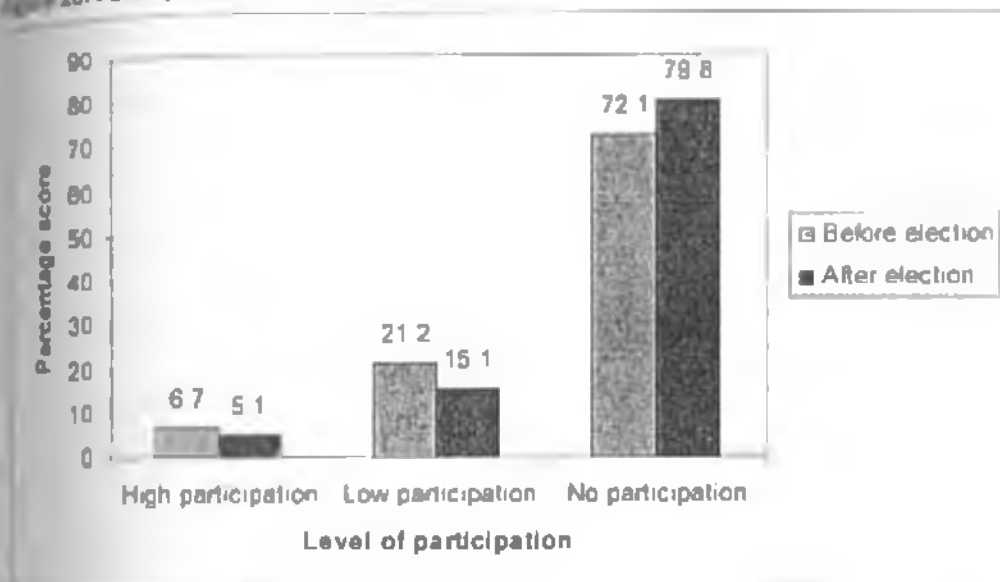
Table 13: Demographics of youth participation as leader of a group

	Before High participation	Low participation	No participation	After High participation	Low Participation	No participation
Male	6.5	25.8	67.7	8.5	17.0	74.5
Female	4.6	16.6	78.8	4.5	15.6	79.9
	$\chi^2 = 6.826(a)$	df=2	0.033	$\chi^2 = 3.115(a)$	df=2	0.211
Below 5,000	4.0	18.6	77.3	4.7	11.5	83.8
5000-10000	11.7	28.7	59.6	10.4	16.7	72.9
10,001-20,000	0.0	21.4	78.6	21.1	42.1	36.8
20,001-30,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	17.6	52.9	29.4
30,001-40,000	9.1	9.1	81.8	0.0	29.0	71.0
40,001-60,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 17.830(a)$	df=12	Sig=0.121	$\chi^2 = 53.682(a)$	df=16	Sig=0.000
Computer not used	5.3	22.7	72.0	9.0	15.7	75.4
Used	6.0	22.0	72.0	1.7	31.7	66.7
Unconnected to internet	0.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	4.9	95.1
Connected	9.1	20.0	70.9	8.9	15.6	75.5
	$\chi^2 = 8.465(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.389	$\chi^2 = 25.834(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000

2.3.11 Participation through Contesting Political Office

The youths were asked if they ran for political office at council or parliamentary level or other local leadership positions in 2007. Figure 20 shows that an overwhelming majority of 72 percent of youth surveyed before and 80 percent surveyed after elections did not contest for political seats for council, parliament and local seats.

Figure 20: Participation by offering self for office



Further analysis indicates that there was a weak association between residence, gender, income and type of roof with contesting for political office. Table 14 shows that location of residence was associated with contesting political office at 0.048 before elections and 0.008 after elections. After elections, gender, income and type of roof were associated with contesting political office at 0.023, 0.000 and 0.000 respectively.

Table 14 revealed that two thirds of youth surveyed after elections did not contest any political seat in 2009. More than half of the surveyed youth were poor with a monthly income of less than KSh.5, 000.

A key challenge inhibiting youth participation in elective politics is lack of financial resources (Wanjala 2002, 322-334, CAPF 2008, 22-25). Poverty arising from the joblessness of the youth accounted for the low participation of youth in 2007 elections (Okombo 2008, 67).

Some of the youthful adults who contested parliamentary seats in Nakuru District include Lee Maiyani Kinyanjui (MP Nakuru Town Constituency), Luka Kigen Kipkorir (Rongai Constituency), Peter Mbae (Rongai Constituency) and William Mirugi Kariuki (immediate former MP for Nakuru Town Constituency). It should be noted that both Kinyanjui and Kariuki come from rich families in Nakuru Town. While Kinyanjui has massive business interests in and around Rift Valley, Kariuki is the son of the former MP and politically influential human rights lawyer Mirugi Kariuki. However, Kinyanjui was better financially endowed than Kariuki.

In Rongai, Luka Kigen Kipkorir and Peter Mbae were also youthful parliamentary contestants. While Kipkorir (MP Rongai Constituency) came from a family of means, the same could not be said of Peter Mbae, a businessman in Nairobi. The above illustration indicated that youth who were financially endowed performed better than those that were less financially stable.

Table 14: Demographics of youth who offered self for leadership

	Before High participation	Low participation	No participation	Active High participation	Low Participation	No participation
Gender	7.8	24.4	67.7	7.7	13.6	78.7
Female	5.6	18.0	76.5	2.0	16.8	81.4
	$\chi^2 = 4.148(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.126	$\chi^2 = 7.515(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.023
Age	8.3	21.8	69.9	6.4	16.9	76.7
Adult	1.9	19.4	78.7	0.9	9.3	89.8
	$\chi^2 = 5.093(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.048	$\chi^2 = 9.756(a)$	df=2	Sig=0.008
Income	6.1	19.9	74.0	4.3	8.7	87.0
0-1,000	10.6	27.7	61.7	7.3	16.7	76.0
10,001-20,000	0.0	14.3	85.7	10.5	36.8	52.6
20,001-30,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.8	64.7	23.5
30,001-40,000	18.2	9.1	72.7	0.0	25.0	75.0
40,001-50,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 14.176(a)$	df=12	0.290	$\chi^2 = 59.840(a)$	df=16	0.000
Education	7.2	22.0	70.7	7.1	13.8	79.1
non sheets	4.0	22.0	74.0	0.0	31.7	68.3
Thick	0.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	3.3	96.7
Education	9.1	23.6	67.3	6.7	15.6	77.8
	$\chi^2 = 8.869(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.353	$\chi^2 = 28.716(a)$	df=8	Sig=0.000

2.4 Conclusion and Discussion

The surveyed youth participated at various levels in various forms of political activities. Generally, youth recorded high participation through engaging in political talk, giving donations and buying promotional materials, and doing working for politicians and parties. Participation through attending political meetings and working as security scored average.

Several reasons may account for the high participation of surveyed youth in 2007 election campaigns. The government, civil society and the media conducted aggressive mobilization campaigns to get the youth to vote. Part of these campaigns especially those done under URAIA and IED included mobilization of youth to get identification cards and voter cards (Finkel and Horowitz 2009, 25-30, IREC 2008, 42-45). The evaluation by Finkel and Horowitz of

URAIA's civic education programme found that there was extensive exposure to URAIA media messages. The study also found that exposure to media led to active participation (Finkel and Horowitz 2009, 28-29). Political parties also formed youth lobby groups and financed them to mobilize youth to vote across the country (Okombo 2008, 65; CAPF 2008, 22-25). PNU formed the Vijana na Kibaki, a pro-Kibaki youth group and ODM established the Youth Patriots 4 Change, a pro-Raila youth group to mobilize young adults to vote for the two presidential contestants in 2007 elections.

Youth idealism could also have played a role in motivating the youth to participate in the 2007 elections. The 2007 election campaigns were premised on the platform for socio-economic and political change, which perhaps appealed to youth the majority of who are unemployed and poor (Okombo 2008, 66).

Despite general active participation by surveyed youth, significant numbers indicated no participation through offering self for political office, providing leadership to local political groups, working as researchers, volunteers, election officials and distributing campaign literature. Studies indicated that lack of financial resources due to poverty and unemployment act as disincentive to youth participation in Kenya (Okombo 2008, 67). Elections are a very expensive affair in Kenya (CAPF 2008, 1-25)

Corrupt political financing also negatively impacted on youth participation. According to studies done by National Democratic Institute in 22 countries, excessive campaign funds limited the independence of candidates and restricted participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups such as youth and women

(Mwangi 2008, 267-285). Rich politicians often either buy out less financially powerful youthful rivals in their constituencies or bribe their potential agents and supporters to win elections.

Other factors that have inhibited youth from active participation in elective politics include legal constraints, lack of democratic political culture in political parties, lack of clear party ideologies and low political efficacy in government institutions (Okombo 2008, 67, KNCHR 2008, 16-33; KEDOF 2008, 41-56; CIPEV 2008, 20-35; CRECO 2008, 5-8).

Although trends on youth political participation were discouraging over the past several decades globally (Putnam 1996, 31-47; International IDEA 1997), recent studies in the US since 2001 show that young people are increasingly becoming politically engaged by discussing politics, persuading people to vote, volunteering and donating money (Ketter et al 2002, 3-10, Lopez et al 2006, 3-31, CIRCLE 2008)

The level of participation by youth dropped after elections. This may be because the campaign period had elapsed and the second survey took place between December 28th and January 7th 2008, a week after balloting in Kenya on December 27th 2007.

Various forms of political participation are significantly associated with various social and demographic characteristics of the youth. There are variations between significance of association between various forms of political participation and youth demographics before and after elections. Education ($P=0.008$), residence (P -value of 0.000) and type of roof ($P=0.018$) are

significantly associated with political participation through talking to people to get them to support a candidate or a party before elections. However, type of roof ($P < 0.01$) and income ($P = 0.030$) are the ones that are associated with talking to people to get them to support a candidate or party in 2007 elections (Table 4). Level of education and location of residence of youth are further associated with participation through giving money and buying promotional materials for politicians and parties before and after elections. While gender has association with giving money and buying promotional materials before elections, income and type of roofs have associations after elections.

Additionally, level of education and type of roof are associated with attending political meetings and rallies before elections while gender, residence, income and type of roof are associated with the same after elections. This is in harmony with theory that states that higher political participation is strongly associated with higher SES (Gleason 2001, 105-126; Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108; CIRCLE, 2008; Harrigan 1987, 1-537).

Working for politicians and parties is significantly associated with gender, residence, income and type of roof before ($P = 0.003$) and after ($P < 0.01$) elections. Seventy five percent of surveyed male youth and 63 percent of female youth indicated having worked for politicians and parties before elections compared to 55.2 percent males and 34.7 percent of females surveyed after elections.

More surveyed youth in urban centers participated in campaigns than youth from rural areas. However, this could be because of the 75 percent urban youth in the total sample. This is consistent with theory that states that people

from high socioeconomic contexts such as urban settings tend to participate more than those from low socioeconomic contexts (Huckfeldt, 1979: 579-592)

Surveyed male youth tended to be more politically active than female youth perhaps because of the nature of Kenya's patriarchal traditional political system that discriminate against women and rarely gives them opportunity in politics (Chesoni 2006, 195-201) Theoretically, women are less likely to participate because majority are less educated, poor and lack time and effort (Gleason 2001, 105-126; Downs 1957, 135-150). Anthony Downs argues that women cannot participate in competitive politics because the cost of political participation is often high for women (Downs 1957, 135-150). Majority of Kenyan women and young women in particular are poor and rarely have sufficient time to participate in competitive politics

Chapter 3

Patterns of Youth Exposure to Mass Media

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (2) indicated that the surveyed youth were politically active and were engaged in various forms of political activities during the 2007 election campaigns. In chapter three, the majority of the surveyed youth actively participated by engaging in political talk, giving donations and buying promotional materials, and doing general political work for candidates and political parties. The findings in chapter three answer one of the assumptions of the study that the youth actively engaged in various forms of political activities during the 2007 election campaigns.

This study also set forth two assumptions relating to mass media and youth use of mass media in Kenya. First, the Kenyan media are important sources of political information for the youth. Second, Kenyan youth are deliberate in their choice and use of mass media as sources of political information during political campaigns. The study investigated the patterns of mass media exposure among the youth in Nakuru District during the 2007 election campaigns to answer the two assumptions.

This section explores the types of and preferred mass media by the youth, the patterns of exposure to media and intensity of media exposure. It provides results of differentials of exposure to mass media by study covariates. It discusses media exposure by different study covariates and explains the

associations between media exposure by background characteristics that is age, gender, education level, type of place of residence, level of income and type of working material, which is a proxy in this study for wealth status of the youths. Descriptive statistics are utilized where the independent variables are cross classified to give the association between the variables. Chi squares are used to test for the association between the variables; a *P*-value is used to show the significance of association between the variables. A *P*-value of less than 0.05 or 5 percent indicates that the association between the study variables is significant.

This chapter presents and discusses results for type of mass media in Nakuru, household media ownership, preferred news media and patterns of exposure to media.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, Nakuru has several FM radio stations, TV stations, daily newspapers, internet, and mobile phones. Nakuru has over 12 radio stations that broadcast in that area namely KBC Kiswahili and English, Citizen Radio, Kameme FM, Kiss FM, Easy FM, KASS FM, Change FM, Jesus is Lord, Classic FM, Coro FM, Inooro FM, Metro FM, Ramogi FM and Fish FM among others.

The government owns the KBC Kiswahili and English radio channels. KBC Kiswahili reaches about 39 percent of listeners in Nakuru District. The station, which broadcasts in Kiswahili language, enjoyed popular listenership before the proliferation of FM stations across the region.

Radio Citizen, owned by businessman S. K. Macharia's Royal Media Group, is the most popular radio station in Nakuru District. The station, which

Radio broadcasts in Kiswahili, gained its popularity because of its focus on grassroots development issues such as agriculture. The listenership of Citizen cuts across ethnic communities and appeals to both youth and adults.

Inooro FM (53 percent) and Coro FM (49 percent) stations follow Citizen in that order (KARF and APA 2008, 40). Royal Media Group owns Inooro FM while KBC owns Coro FM. Both stations target Kikuyu listeners, who make a large segment of the population of Nakuru District and surrounding parts of the Rift Valley. The high listenership of the two stations was a reflection of the growing popularity of radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages.

Kiss FM and Easy FM enjoyed 41 percent and 47 percent of the listenership in the district (KARF and APA 2008, 40). These two stations targeted youth audiences and broadcasted in English. Radio Africa Group owns Kiss FM while Nation Media Group operated Easy FM. Both stations gave a lot of coverage to national and local political issues ahead of 2007 elections.

KASS FM, which broadcasts in Kalenjin, enjoyed low listenership of 22 percent compared to the other stations broadcasting in Kikuyu (KARF and APA 2008, 40). This could be because of the low number of Kalenjins within Nakuru radio coverage area. There are more Kalenjins in Rongai and surrounding regions of the Rift Valley than in Nakuru Town Constituency.

The TV stations broadcasting in Nakuru include NTV, KTN, KBC TV and Citizen TV, Family TV. Digital satellite TV run by Multichoice and Gateway TV also broadcast in Nakuru (GTV has since closed down). Multichoice TV provides

premium services for upper and middle social class in Nakuru and the rest of the country.

KBC Channel 1 is the most popular TV station in Nakuru District (75 percent) followed by Citizen TV (62 percent), KTV TV (54 percent), NTV (50 percent) and Family TV (31 percent). KBC Channel 1 enjoyed high viewership because it is the oldest TV station in the area and reaches both rural and urban areas. All these stations gave coverage to national and local political issues ahead of 2007 (KARF and APA 2008, 14-131).

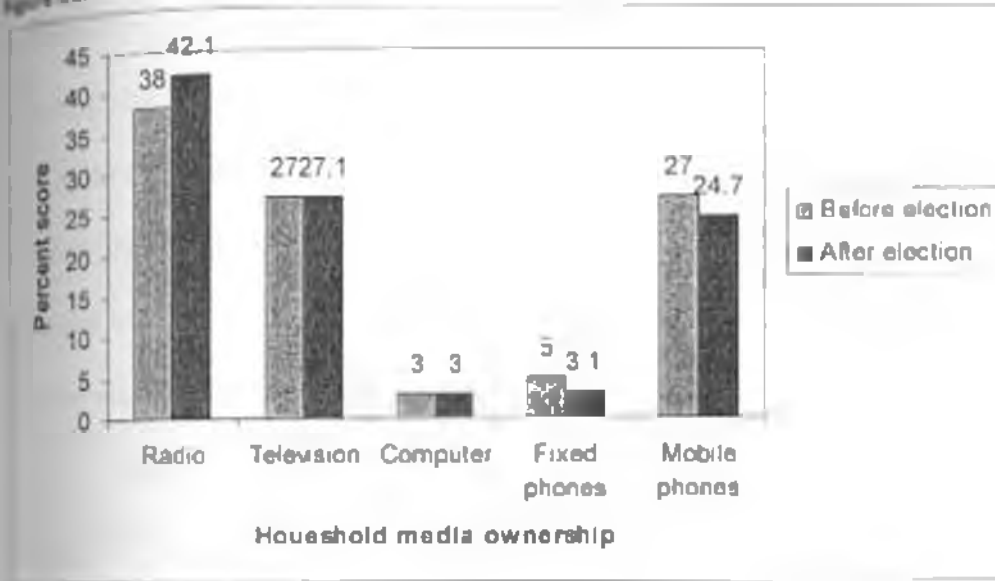
The main newspapers such as the daily Nation, Sunday Nation, Saturday Nation, the Star, the Standard, Standard on Sunday and the East African were available in Nakuru. Additionally, Nakuru residents were under Safaricom, YU and Zein mobile service providers. They also have access to various internet service providers.

The media scene in Nakuru is in harmony with the national media outlook. The media outlets available in Nakuru are the same ones operating out of Nairobi and most other major urban centers across the country (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131, 14-131). Just like in the country, some parts of Nakuru are media rich while others are media poor. Nakuru Municipality (Nakuru Town Constituency) is media rich compared to large sections of Rongai Constituency, which is the rural part of the district. The urban part of the district is media rich because of high population and high social economic status.

3.2 The Household Media ownership

The youths were asked to give information on ownership of media in their households. Figure 21 shows that the majority of youths interviewed had access to radio followed by TV, mobile phones, fixed phones and computers in the households they lived.

Figure 21: Household media ownership



According to Figure 21 most of the youth owned radio followed by TV and mobile phones. Kenya has over 7.5 million households with radio (1.9 million in urban and 5.6 in rural areas) and 3.2 million households with TV sets (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131). There are 14 million mobile users and slightly over 3 million internet users.

Theoretically, mass media ownership is a factor of SES. More surveyed households tended to have more radio sets because they are cheap and affordable. On the other hand, TV sets and mobile phones are relatively expensive and majority of households, perhaps, could not afford. The study

found that the majority of surveyed youth were poor with monthly income of less than KSh.10, 000.

3.3 Preferred Media for obtaining News

To assess the youths preferred media for obtaining information, youths were asked to rank their preferred media of obtaining information before and after elections. Figure 22 shows that TV is the most preferred mass media before and after 2007 election among the youth followed by radio, newspapers, mobile and internet. Preference for TV increased by 5.5 percent and for radio by 3 percent after 2007 elections. The slight upward trend for TV and radio could be because of high interest generated following the delay in announcing the 2007 presidential election results and the resultant post-election violence in Kenya.

Preference for newspapers, mobile and internet decreased after elections. Preference figures are higher than actual household media ownership. This suggests that a significant number of youth exposed themselves to various media outside their own households. The Kenya Advertising Research Foundation survey supports this fact (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131).

Figure 22: Preferred type of media

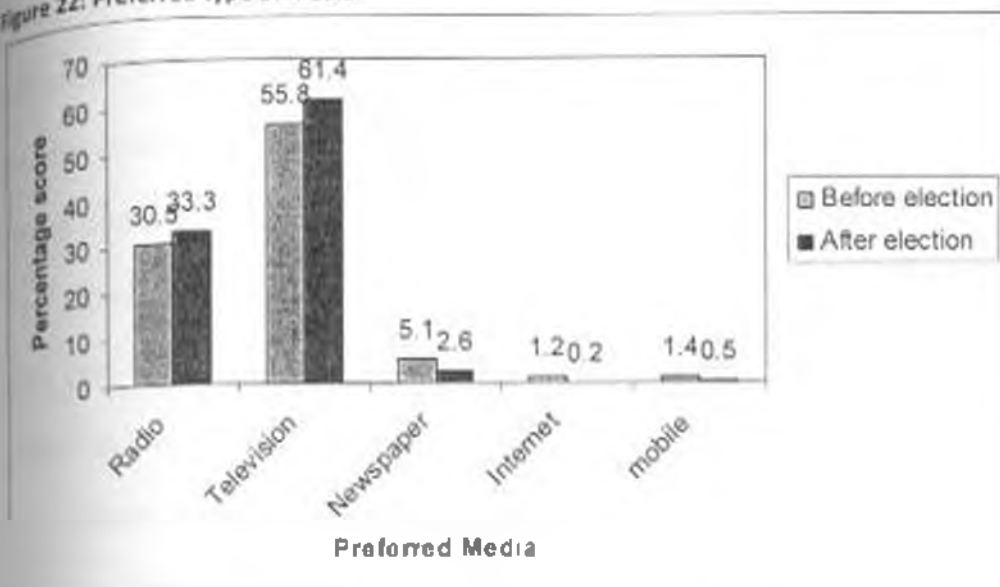


Table 15 shows that sex of the youths is associated with preferred media of obtaining information before elections ($P=0.029$). There are marginal differences in preference of TV, radio and newspapers between male and female youths.

However, type of place of residence is strongly associated with preferred media of obtaining information on election campaigns before and after elections ($P<0.01$). Youths who were resident in urban areas preferred TV as a media for obtaining information on election campaigns at 65.3 percent before elections and increased to 75.5 percent after elections.

Youth in rural areas preferred radio as their source of information on elections campaigns at 54.6 percent before and 85 percent after elections. Urban youth make up 75 percent of the sample compared to 25 percent rural sample (Table 3).

The youth in urban areas could have preferred TV to radio because TV has a visual impact compared to radio which is an oral medium. There are more TV sets in urban areas of Nakuru District than radio sets. This could explain why people preferred TV to radio.

Rural youth preferred radio because of its availability. There are more radio sets in rural Nakuru District than TV sets. The low availability of TV could explain its low preference rating among the youth.

Table 15 reveals that there is a strong association between education and preferred media of obtaining campaign information before and after elections ($P < 0.01$). Youths with high level of education preferred TV for obtaining information on election campaigns compared to those with low or no education level who preferred radio as their source of obtaining information on election campaigns.

Youths from poor households indicated by thatched roof preferred radio at 73.8 percent and 91.8 percent as their main source of obtaining information on election campaigns before elections and after elections respectively compared to those from wealthier households indicated by type of roofing material (tiles) who preferred televisions (88 percent before and 88.3 percent after) as source of information ($P < 0.01$).

Table 15: Preferred media by youth demographics

	Before elections					After elections						
	Radio	Television	Newspapers	Internet	Mobile Phone	None	Radio	Television	Newspapers	Internet	Mobile Phone	None
Gender												
Male	34	60	3	0	0	2	26	59	7	1	2	5
Female	18	63	2	0	1	3	35	53	3	1	0	8
	X ² =12.46 df=5 sig=.028					X ² =2.061 df=5 sig=.721						
Residence												
Urban	22	65.3	4.8	1.2	9	5.5	18.1	5.5	3.4	3	6	2.1
Rural	14.0	27.8	5.6	9	2.0	8.3	8.5	2.1				2
	X ² =42.09 df=5 sig=.000					X ² =35.65 df=5 sig=.000						
Education												
None	80.0	30.8	3.8	0	3.8	11.5	78.5	23.5	0	0	0	0
Primary	90.4	38.8	1.7	1.7	0	9.8	63.8	31.5	9	0	9	2.8
Secondary	23.2	62.7	2.9	3	2.3	5.5	23.3	70.7	3.0	4	4	2.2
Undergraduate	14.0	72.0	12.0	2.0	0	0	8.0	84.8	4.5	0	0	1.9
Postgraduate	4.5	91.7	0	0	0	0	20.0	80.0	0	0	0	0

3.4 Patterns of Exposure to Media for News

To assess exposure to different types of mass media, youths were asked

how often they watch news on TV, listen to news on radio, surf the internet for news, read the news on newspapers and use mobile phones for news. This section explains patterns of exposure as well as the associations between exposure to various types of mass media and the youth's background characteristics that are age, gender, education level, type of place of residence, level of income and type of roofing material, which is a proxy in this study for wealth status of the youths. Table 16 shows exposure to TV by background characteristics.

3.4.1 Patterns of Exposure to TV News

Figure 23 reveals that 82.3 percent of youth surveyed before elections watched TV to get news compared to 79.8 percent of youth surveyed after elections. There was no significant change in the number of youths who exposed themselves to TV to get information on campaigns before and after elections. Over half of the youths had high exposure to TV news before and after elections. A good number of youths (24.7 percent before) and (20.7 percent after) did not watch TV to get information on campaigns.

Figure 23: Trend of TV exposure

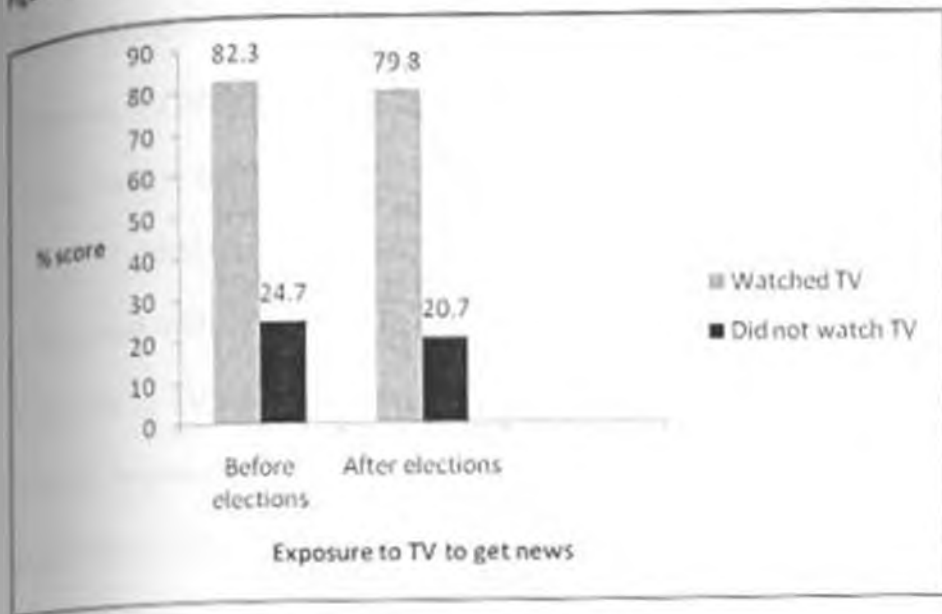


Table 16 summarizes the results of cross tabulation of exposure to TV by background characteristics of youth. There is a strong association between sex of the youth and exposure to TV before the elections relative to after elections ($P < 0.01$). It shows that more females than males did not watch TV during the election campaigns. However, more males (54.8 percent) than females (45.6 percent) surveyed before elections had high exposure to TV. The association between exposure to television and sex after elections was not significant.

Table 16 reveals that location of residence is strongly associated with exposure to TV both before and after elections ($P < 0.01$). It shows that more than half of the rural residents had no exposure to TV. Additionally, results indicate that youths residing in urban areas watched news from TV more often than those residing in rural areas. 62.6 percent of urban youth surveyed before elections and 65.6 percent surveyed after elections indicated they watched TV for news. Lack of access to TV sets could explain the difference in TV exposure between

rural and urban youth. TV broadcasting is still largely an urban phenomenon in Kenya (Mbeke 2009, 4-15). Rural communities have less access to TV services because TV stations often target urban and peri-urban areas to deliver target consumers to advertisers.

In addition, Table 16 indicates that the level of education is strongly associated with exposure to TV at significance level of 0.000. It reveals that exposure to TV increases as level of education rises. In Kenya, TV is still a status symbol enjoyed by those with higher SES. People with higher education often enjoy higher SES in Kenya. This would explain the strong association between education and TV exposure.

Table 16 shows that Type of roofing material which is a proxy for wealth status is strongly associated with exposure to TV at significance level of 0.000. Youths residing in houses roofed with tiles, an indicator for good wealth status, are more exposed to TV relative to those in houses roofed with asbestos, corrugated iron sheets and those in thatched roofed house being the least exposed. Media audience surveys indicate that SES determines media ownership, access and preferences. People from houses with tiled roofs enjoy higher SES than those from thatched huts. The implication is that they can afford to buy TV sets because they have disposable incomes.

Table 16: TV exposure and youth demographics

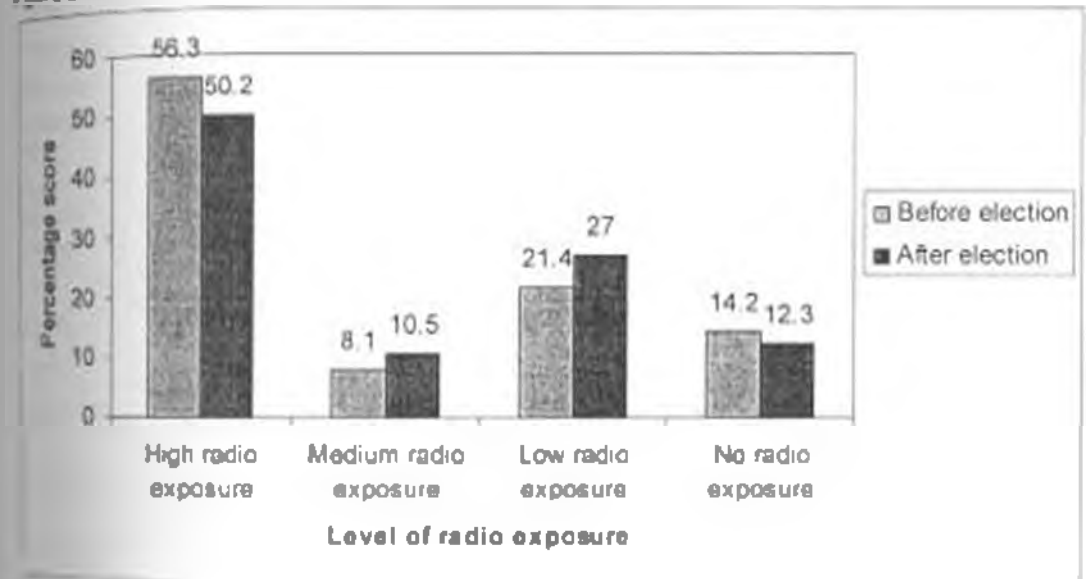
Characteristics	Before elections						After elections					
	No exposure	Low exposure	Med exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Med exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Med exposure	High exposure
Gender	18.1	21.7	7.4	54.8	18.3	24.3	8.9	48.5	33.2	13.8	7.4	45.8
Age												
Education	61.6	23.1	3.8	11.9	70.6	17.6	5.8	5.9	46.2	18.8	2.6	32.6
Primary	15.0	15.6	10.0	56.2	11.6	19.0	8.9	59.5	40.2	15.6	10.0	56.2
Secondary	4.0	16.0	10.0	66.0	4.5	10.6	10.6	74.2	15.0	15.6	10.0	56.2
University	8.3	8.3	8.3	75.0	10.0	20.0	0.0	70.0	4.0	16.0	10.0	66.0
Postgraduate	0.0	20.0	0.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tertiary	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Income	30.3	18.4	7.2	44.0	27.7	21.7	7.6	43.1	10.8	17.0	8.5	63.8
<1000	14.3	14.3	21.4	50.0	0.0	10.5	10.5	78.9	20.3	18.4	7.2	44.0
1000-15000	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	88.2	30.3	17.0	8.5	63.8
15001-20000	8.1	0.0	0.1	81.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	14.3	14.3	21.4	50.0
20001-30000	28.7	18.7	7.2	47.4	12.7	23.1	11.2	53.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
30001-40000	78.3	17.4	0.0	82.0	14.8	0.0	3.3		81.6	23.1	7.4	45.8
Chi-square	$\chi^2=15.0$ df = 12 sig = 0.00						$\chi^2=190.73$ df = 9 sig = 0.00					
Chi-square	$\chi^2=31.8$ df = 18 sig = 0.23						$\chi^2=49.3$ df = 24 sig = 0.01					
Chi-square	$\chi^2=87.7$ df = 18 sig = 0.00						$\chi^2=109.01$ df = 15 sig = 0.00					
Chi-square	$\chi^2=101.78$ df = 3 sig = 0.00						$\chi^2=124.4$ df = 3 sig = 0.00					
Chi-square	$\chi^2=18.3$ df = 3 sig = 0.00						$\chi^2=7.055$ df = 3 sig = 0.701					

3.4.2 Patterns of Exposure to Radio News

The youths were asked to indicate how many days in a typical week they

listened to news on radio. Figure 24 shows that 85.8 percent of youth surveyed before elections and 87.7 percent of those surveyed after elections had very high exposure to TV. According to Figure 21, 38 percent of youth surveyed before elections and 42.1 percent of youth surveyed after elections indicated having radio sets in their households. Additionally, preference for radio was 30.5 percent before and 33.3 percent after elections (Figure 22)

Figure 24: Trend of radio exposure



The results of exposure to radio news were cross classified by age, gender, education level, type of place of residence, level of income and type of living material to establish the associations between exposure to radio news and youth's background characteristics. Table 17 shows that is a strong association between location of residence and listening to news on radio (p<0.01). Youth in urban areas listen to news on radio more than their rural

counterparts at 56.1 percent and 32.4 percent respectively Table 17 also indicates that type of roof also has a strong association with exposure to radio after elections ($P < 0.01$).

Table 17. Radio exposure and youth demographics

	Before elections				After elections			
	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
Location								
Urban	13.2	21.2	8.0	57.7	15.0	21.2	7.7	56.1
Rural	17.6	23.1	9.3	50.0	3.7	43.5	20.4	32.4
	$\chi^2=2.265$ df = 3 sig= 0.519				$\chi^2=44.86$ df = 3 sig= 0.000			
Education								
None	30.8	7.7	7.7	53.8	17.6	52.8	5.9	23.5
Primary	15.4	24.8	10.3	49.6	10.2	33.3	13.0	43.5
Secondary	11.4	19.5	7.7	61.4	12.9	23.3	11.2	52.6
Undergraduate	18.0	20.0	6.0	56.0	13.0	21.2	9.1	56.1
Post-graduate	8.3	58.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	30.0	0.0	70.0
Terrier	0.0	20.0	20.0	60.0				
	$\chi^2=30.017$ df = 18 sig= 0.037				$\chi^2=18.192$ df = 15 sig= 0.25			
Income								
>5000	16.8	23.1	8.3	52.7	12.6	32.8	10.3	44.3
1000-10000	8.5	16.0	9.6	66.0	10.4	20.8	11.5	57.3
10001-20000	21.4	7.1	7.1	64.3	15.8	21.1	5.3	57.9
20001-30000	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.8	11.8	11.8	64.7
30001	9.1	27.3	9.1	54.5	25.0	0.0	0.0	75.0
	$\chi^2=15.99$ df = 18 sig= 0.592				$\chi^2=37.309$ df = 24 sig= 0.040			
Roofing material								
Asphalt	16.0	32.0	10.0	42.0	15.0	13.3	6.7	65.0
Sheds	3.0	23.8	7.3	65.5	24.4	28.9	4.4	42.2
Other	14.8	20.4	8.2	56.6	10.8	20.1	12.7	56.3
Other	26.1	13.0	8.7	52.2	6.6	67.2	11.5	14.8
	$\chi^2=16.71$ df = 12 sig= 0.204				$\chi^2=77.78$ df = 9 sig= 0.000			

3.4.3 Patterns of Exposure to Newspapers

Using a 9-point rating scale, the youths were asked to indicate how many days in a typical week they read newspapers. Figure 25 shows that 54.2 percent of youth surveyed before elections and 60.5 percent of those surveyed after elections read newspapers to get news. Preference for newspapers is 5.1 percent before elections and 2.6 percent after elections (Figure 22).

Figure 25: Level of newspaper exposure

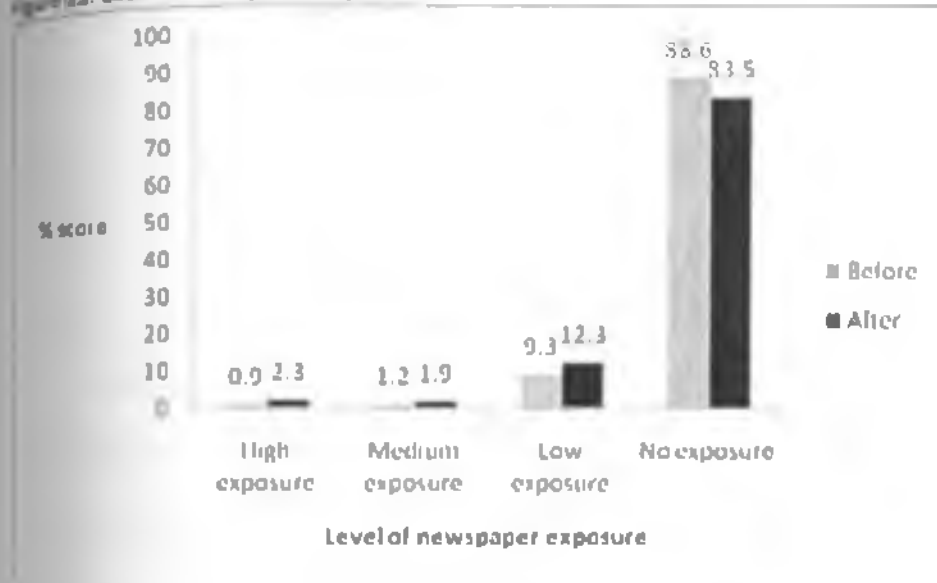


Table 18 summarizes the results of cross tabulation of exposure to newspapers by social and demographic characteristics of the youth. Results indicate that gender had a strong association with exposure to newspapers ($P < 0.01$) with more females 59.9 percent than males 31.3 percent stating to have rarely read newspapers before elections. More male youth than female youth read newspapers before elections.

Table 18 shows an association between exposure to newspapers and the type of residence with more youths from rural areas having a no exposure to newspapers before and after elections at 66.7 percent and 59.3 percent

...sively ($P < 0.01$). This could be attributed to low accessibility. Newspapers reach urban centers with good transport network in Kenya. Rural areas with bad roads and poor transportation networks hardly get newspapers. 25 percent of the surveyed youth lived in rural areas of Nakuru District.

Level of education is also strongly associated to exposure to newspapers with exposure increasing as level of education increases the association (0.000). This could be because of the ability to read which is associated to the level of education. Surveyed youth with high education are likely to read newspapers compared to those with no education that score very low on newspaper exposure. According to Flanagan, newspaper readers are young, urban and well educated (Flanagan 1996, 283).

Table 18 reveals that level of income is strongly associated with exposure to newspapers ($P = 0.023$ before elections) and ($P = 0.001$ after elections). Exposure to newspapers increased with rise in income. Studies indicate that SES determines newspaper readership. Newspapers are expensive and only people having disposable income can afford to buy them regularly (Flanagan 1996, 283, Feldman 1990, 787-804).

Similarly, the type of roofing material which is a proxy for wealth status of youths is strongly associated with exposure to newspapers (Table 18). Youth living in homes with thatched hut had less exposure to newspapers than those from homes with tiled roofs. Type of roof as a wealth status is closely related to urbanization and income levels. SES is associated with newspaper readership (Flanagan 1996, 283, Feldman 1990, 787-804).

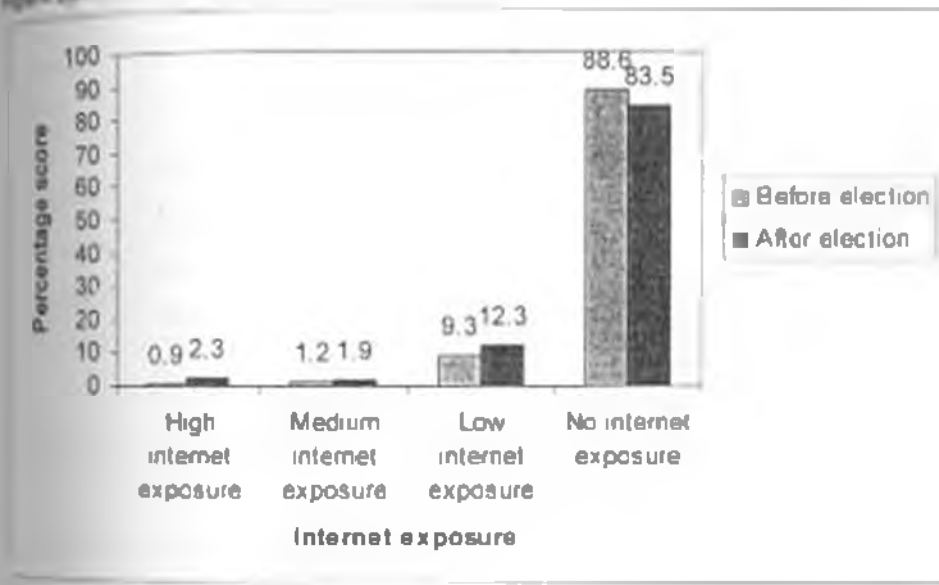
Table 12: Newspaper exposure and youth demographics

	Before elections				After elections			
	No Exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
Sex								
Male	31.3	41.9	7.4	19.4	34.0	37.4	6.0	22.6
Female	59.9	28.6	2.8	8.8	45.7	30.7	6.5	17.1
	$\chi^2=18.1$ df=3 sig=.000				$\chi^2=7.055$ df=3 sig=0.701			
Location								
Urban	38.7	40.7	5.8	15.3	32.8	37.4	8.1	23.8
Rural	66.7	20.4	2.8	10.2	59.3	25.0	6.5	9.3
	$\chi^2=101.78$ df=3 sig=.000				$\chi^2=124.4$ df=3 sig=.000			
Education								
None	76.8	18.2	3.8	0.0	64.1	5.9	0.0	0.0
Primary	70.1	22.2	0.0	7.7	68.7	27.8	0.0	5.6
Secondary	38.2	40.0	6.4	15.5	34.5	35.3	6.5	23.7
University- Grade	18.0	52.0	8.0	24.0	4.5	47.0	18.2	30.3
Grade	18.7	33.3	16.7	33.3	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
Tertiary	20.0	20.0	20.0	40.0				
	$\chi^2=87.7$ df=18 sig=.000				$\chi^2=109.01$ df=15 sig=.000			
Income								
<2500	50.5	33.2	3.2	13.0	49.8	32.4	4.3	13.4
3000- 10000	39.4	33.0	11.7	16.0	26.0	39.8	9.4	29.0
10001-20000								
20001-30000	21.4	57.1	0.0	21.4	10.5	36.8	10.5	42.1
30001-40000	60.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	35.3	5.9	52.9
	18.2	36.4	0.0	45.5	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0
	$\chi^2=31.8$ df=18 sig=.023				$\chi^2=49.3$ df=24 sig=.001			
Use of reading materials								
Books	18.0	40.0	8.0		36.0	33.6	39.2	6.0
Compared on these	34.5	54.5	5.5	5.5	16.7	35.0	11.7	36.7
	50.3	32.2	4.6	12.8	90.2	8.2	1.8	0.0
	73.9	17.4	4.3	4.3	35.6	40.0	8.7	17.8
	$\chi^2=75.0$ df=12 sig=.000				$\chi^2=190.73$ df=9 sig=.000			

3.4.4 Pattern of Exposure to Internet for News

Figure 26 shows that youth access to internet is dismally low with 88.5 percent and 83.5 percent indicating no exposure to internet at all before and after elections respectively. Only between 3 percent of the households visited had access to computers. According to Communication Commission of Kenya 4 million Kenyans have access to computers and internet (CCK 2008). Low exposure to internet could be as a result of low internet penetration and low computer ownership across the country.

Figure 26. Level of internet exposure of youth



In this study youths were asked how often they used the internet to get news. Place of residence, level of income and type of roofing material were associated with exposure to internet ($P=0.01$).

Exposure to internet could be strongly attributed to accessibility and availability of the service. This low exposure to internet is associated to lack of availability of internet services in large parts of the survey area.

Table 19 shows that more rural youth did not have exposure to internet

compared to those in urban centers. The differentials could be due to accessibility to internet services by urban youth compared to rural youth.

Table 19: Internet exposure and youth demographics

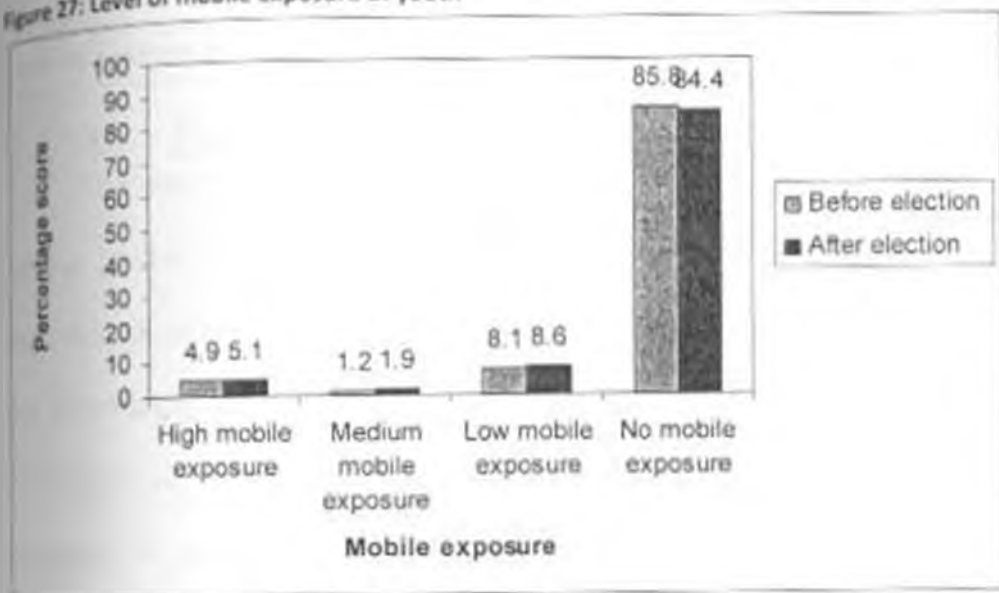
	Before elections				After elections			
	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High Exposure
Residence								
Urban	86.5	10.7	1.5	1.2	81.0	15.0	1.5	2.5
Rural	95.4	4.6	0.0	0.0	91.7	3.7	2.8	1.9
	$\chi^2 = 6.983$ (a) df=3				$\chi^2 = 10.439(a)$ df=3			
Education								
Monthly income >6000	90.3	7.9	1.1	0.7	88.1	10.3	0.4	1.2
1000-10000	81.5	8.5	0.0	0.0	79.2	13.5	5.2	2.1
10001-20000	64.3	7.1	14.3	14.3	63.2	21.1	0.0	15.8
20001-30000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	64.7	29.4	0.0	5.9
30001-40000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	25.0	25.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 0.71697$ (a) df=18				$\chi^2 = 57.350(a)$ df=24			
			2.33E-06				Sig=0.00015	
Type of roof								
Tile	80.0	12.0	4.0	4.0	70.0	21.7	5.0	3.3
Concrete sheets	92.7	5.5	1.8	0.0	75.8	22.2	0.0	2.2
Corrugated iron sheets	88.5	10.2	0.7	0.7	84.3	11.2	1.9	2.6
Thatched roof	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 15.547(a)$ df=12				$\chi^2 = 28.406(a)$ df=9			
			Sig=0.213				Sig=0.002	

3.4.5 Exposure to Mobile Phones for News

Figure 27 show that an overwhelming majority (89.6percent before and 89.5percent after) of youth did not use mobiles to get news. This is despite the fact that 27 percent and 24.7 percent of households have access to mobile phones. Household ownership does not imply youth ownership as mobiles may

by other household members. Preference for mobile phones as a source of news is 1.4 percent before elections (Figure 22). This finding indicated that ICTs were in their early stages of growth not only in Nakuru District but the rest of the country. 80 percent of Kenyan landmass has no cellular signal and penetration was at 25 percent in 2007 (CCK 2008, 8-9).

Figure 27: Level of mobile exposure of youth



Cross tabulation results indicated that few youths used mobile phones to get news. Exposure to mobile phones was not associated with gender and age. Table 20 shows that while the level of education had an association with exposure to mobile phones before elections at 0.000, there was no association between the two variables after elections.

Table 28: Mobile phone exposure and youth demographics

	Before				After			
	High exp	Med Exp	Low Exp	No Exp	High exp	Med Exp	Low Exp	No Exp
Gender	96.2	0.0	0.0	3.8	94.1	5.9	0.0	0.0
Age	91.9	4.3	0.9	3.4	92.6	3.7	0.0	3.7
Marital	88.4	8.2	0.9	4.5	83.2	9.9	2.6	4.3
Employment	74.0	16.0	2.0	8.0	74.2	13.6	3.0	9.1
Postgraduate	86.7	25.0	8.3	0.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	20.0
Turnout	40.0	20.0	0.0	40.0				
	$\chi^2=3$		Sig=		$\chi^2=6$		Sig=	
	8.416(a)	df=18	0.003		20.295(a)	df=15	0.16091	

Note: Exp = exposure Med=medium

3.5 Patterns of Media Exposure for Political Information

The youths were asked how many days in the past one week they used various media including TV, radio, newspapers, internet and mobile phones to get information on campaigns during the 2007 elections. The responses gauge the information seeking behavior of youth with the object of obtaining political information on election campaigns. It is an accurate measure of the level of exposure to political information used in this study to conduct regression analysis.

3.5.1 Patterns of TV Exposure to get Political Information

Figure 28 shows that youth exposure to TV to get political information is high at 71.9 percent before elections and 80.9 percent after elections. The percentage of surveyed youth indicating that they highly watched TV to get political information increased from 41.9 percent to 48.6 percent after elections. This increase could be due to, perhaps, the interest in knowing election results and information regarding the post-election violence that erupted after announcing election results on December 29th 2007. The number of youths who

did not watch TV to get political information reduced significantly from 28.1 percent to 19.1 percent.

Preference for TV was high between 55.8 percent before elections and 57.4 percent after elections (Figure 22). KBC TV Channel 1 reached about 71 percent of people in Nakuru District (KARF and APA 2008, 92).

Figure 22: Trend of TV exposure for political information

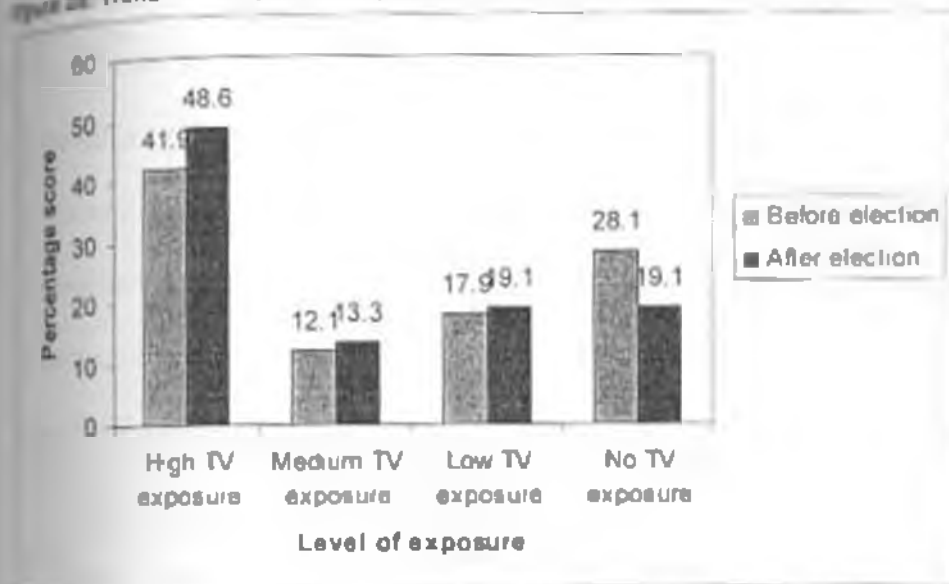


Table 21 shows gender is strongly associated with watching TV to get political information before elections ($P < 0.01$). 46.1 percent of the males highly exposed compared to 37.3 percent of females with high exposure. More females (37.3 percent) than men (18.9 percent) did not watch TV to get political information on election campaigns. However, there is no significant association between gender and watching news for political information on TV after elections.

Level of youth education had a significant association with watching TV to get political information with exposure to TV increasing as level of education rises. Similarly, no exposure to TV increases as level of education decreases.

0.000 before and after elections) Of those with no education 73.1 percent had no exposure to TV compared to only 8.3 percent of those with postgraduate who had no TV exposure. This association was significant at 0.000 before and after elections. After elections exposure increased with increase in level of education with 66.7 percent undergraduate, 59.5 percent secondary, 24.1 percent primary and 5.9 percent with no education (Table 21).

Table 21 reveals that type of place of residence has a strong statistical association with watching TV for political information ($P=0.000$ before and after elections). Eighty two percent of urban youth had exposure to TV for political information before elections compared to 90 percent after elections. However, fewer rural youth watched TV for political information before (41.7 percent) and after (54.6 percent) elections.

Similarly, Table 21 indicates that level of income has a significant association with watching news on TV to get political information before ($P=0.019$) and after ($P<0.01$) elections. Sixty five percent of those earning less than KSh.5, 000 watched TV for political information before elections compared to 73 percent after elections.

Additionally, 100 percent of those earning between KSh 40, 001 and KSh 50, 000 were exposed to TV before and after elections (Table 21)

Table 21: Patterns of youth TV exposure for political information

	Before elections				After elections			
	No Exp	Low Exp	Med exp	High Exp	No Exp	Low Exp	Med Exp	High Exp
Sex	18.9	21.2	13.8	46.1	16.6	21.3	12.8	49.4
Male	37.3	14.7	10.6	37.3	21.6	16.1	14.1	48.2
Female	X ² =				X ²			
	18.947(a)	df=3	Sig=0.000		= 3.137512	df=3	0.370908	
Education	73.1	11.5	3.8	11.5	64.7	23.5	5.9	5.9
None	47.0	22.2	6.8	23.9	38.0	27.8	10.2	24.1
Primary	19.1	17.3	15.0	48.6	10.8	16.4	13.4	59.5
Secondary	6.0	14.0	14.0	64.0	6.1	7.6	19.7	66.7
University graduate	8.3	16.7	25.0	50.0	10.0	50.0	10.0	30.0
Postgraduate	0.0	20.0	0.0	80.0				
Teachers	X ² =				X ²			
	88.417(a)	df=18	<0.000		=109.469(a)	df=15	Sig=0.000	
Residence	18.1	16.9	13.8	51.2	10.1	16.6	13.2	60.1
Urban	58.3	21.3	7.4	13.0	45.4	25.9	13.9	14.8
Rural	X ² =78.801(a)	df=3	0.000		X ²			
					=91.229(a)	df=3	0.000	
Income	35.0	18.8	10.5	35.7	28.9	20.9	12.3	39.9
Below 5,000	11.7	18.1	17.0	53.2	6.3	14.6	15.6	63.5
5000-10000	14.3	21.4	14.3	50.0	0.0	10.5	15.5	73.7
10,001-20,000	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	5.9	5.9	5.9	82.4
20,001-30,000	9.1	0.0	27.3	63.6	0.0	25.0	50.0	25.0
30,001-40,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
40,001-60,000	X ²				X ²			
	= 32.546(a)	df=18	Sig=0.019		= 55.970(a)	df=24	Sig=0.000	
Categorized	28.8	19.1	13.8	38.5				
men	6.0	10.0	6.0	78.0	11.6	20.9	16.4	51.1
women	87.0	8.7	4.3	0.0	3.3	5.0	15.0	76.7
Age	18.2	23.6	12.7	45.5	75.4	21.3	0.0	3.3
18-24	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	22.2	11.1	60.0
25-34	X ²				X ²			
	= 77.681(a)	df=12	0.000		= 176.316(a)	df=9	0.000	

3.5.2 Exposure to Radio to get Political Information

Youths were asked to indicate the number of days in the past week they listened to radio to get political information on the election campaigns before and after elections. Figure 29 shows that there is no significant shift in exposure to radio to get political information before and after election campaigns. According to Figure 32, surveyed youth exposure to radio is very high at 80 percent before elections and 84.2 percent after elections. Figure 21 shows that household radio

listenership is 38 percent before and 42.1 percent after elections while preference for radio is 30.5 percent and 33.3 percent after elections (Figure 22).

The finding was consistent with findings of other audience research in the region. Radio Citizen reached 70 percent of the people in Nakuru District followed by Ingoro FM with 53 percent. Therefore, radio enjoyed high listenership in the region just as it did in the rest of the country.

Figure 29 Trend of radio exposure for political information

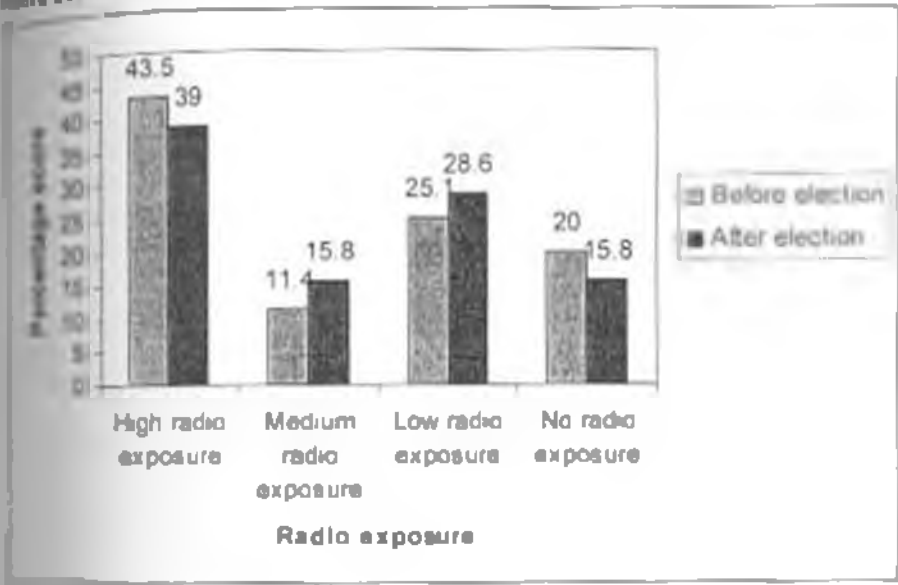


Table 22 shows that there is association between exposure to radio for political information and type of roof before ($P=0.019$) elections and after ($P<0.01$). Generally, exposure to radio for political information is high across all types of roofs except in huts with timber roofs. Seventy percent of youths living in thatched huts (indicator for poor wealth status) listened to radio to get political information compared to 80 percent of those living under tiled roofs (indicator for high wealth status) listened to radio to get political information.

Table 22. Patterns of radio exposure and youth demographics

	Before				After			
	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
Gender	38.5	7.7	23.1	30.8	5.9	70.6	0.0	23.5
Age	23.9	28.2	11.1	36.8	12.0	35.2	12.0	40.7
Primary	16.4	24.5	10.0	49.1	19.0	25.0	17.2	38.8
Secondary	18.0	26.0	12.0	44.0	15.2	16.7	24.2	43.9
Postgraduate	26.0	41.7	8.3	25.0	0.0	40.0	10.0	50.0
Religion	0.0	20.0	20.0	60.0				
	$\chi^2 = 28.080(a)$ $df=18$ $Sig=0.061$				$\chi^2 = 35.963(a)$ $df=15$ $Sig=0.002$			
Marital	20.2	28.4	10.7	42.6	19.9	21.8	15.3	42.9
Parent	19.4	23.1	13.0	44.4	2.8	48.1	19.4	29.6
	$\chi^2 = 0.775(a)$ $df=3$ 0.855				$\chi^2 = 0.39617(a)$ $df=3$ 0.000			
Monthly Income								
Below 5,000	23.5	24.9	10.8	40.8	16.6	33.2	15.8	34.4
5000-10000	11.7	23.4	9.8	56.3	14.6	24.0	20.8	40.6
10,001-20,000	21.4	7.1	21.4	50.0	10.5	26.3	10.5	52.6
20,001-30,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	29.4	5.9	0.0	64.7
30,001-40,000	9.1	36.4	9.1	45.5	25.0	50.0	25.0	0.0
40,001-50,000	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 28.310(a)$ $df=18$ $Sig=0.093$				$\chi^2 = 50.0$ $df=0.0$ $Sig=0.009$			
Roof type								
Corrugated iron sheets	20.1	22.7	11.5	45.7	43.541	24	0.0	
Tiles	20.0	38.0	14.0	30.0	14.6	21.3	19.4	44.8
Thatched roof	30.4	13.0	26.1	30.4	25.0	10.0	16.7	48.3
Other	14.5	38.2	1.8	45.5	4.9	75.4	4.9	14.8
Number of children	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	24.4	31.1	13.3	31.1
	$\chi^2 = 24.235(a)$ $df=12$ $Sig=0.019$				$\chi^2 = 89.858(a)$ $df=9$ $Sig=0.000$			

3.5.3 Exposure to Newspapers to get Political Information

The youths were asked if they read newspapers to get political information in the election campaigns before and after elections. Figure 30 shows that 49.3 percent of youth surveyed before and 60.2 percent surveyed after elections read newspapers. This contrasts with a preference for newspapers of 5.1 percent before and 2.6 percent after elections (Figure 22)

Figure 30: Trend of newspaper exposure for political information

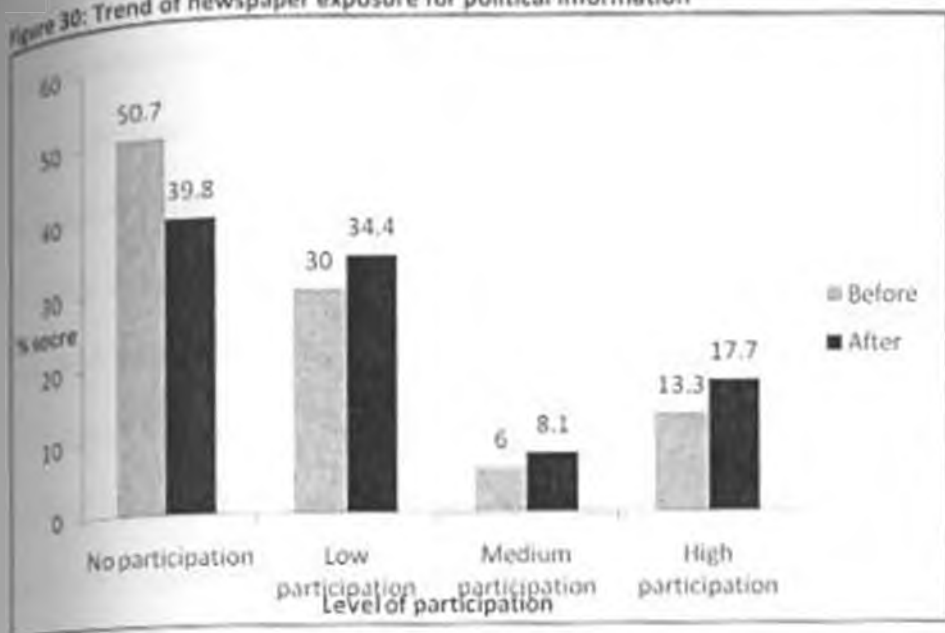


Table 21 reveal that there was significant association between gender, education, residence, income and roof type and exposure to newspapers to get political information before and after elections.

Gender was significantly associated to level of exposure to newspapers at 0.000 before and 0.001 after elections. It discloses that the number of female youth reading the newspapers after elections shot up to 63.6 percent from 35.5 percent before elections. There is no significant shift in male youth exposure to newspapers before and after elections. Additionally, Table 15 indicates that there is no significant difference in preference between male and female youth.

Level of no exposure to newspapers to get political information decreased with an increase in level of education before and after election ($P < 0.01$). Those with no education and primary level education had highest levels of no exposure to newspapers at 80.8 percent and 72.6 percent before election and 88.2 percent

83.9 percent after elections. Preference for newspapers as a source of political information is very low among youth with primary education and those with no education (Table 15).

Location of residence was associated with level of exposure to newspapers with a P -value of 0.000 before and P -value of 0.002 after elections. Seventy three percent of rural residents and 42.9 percent of urban dwellers did not read newspapers to get political information before elections compared to 50.6 percent rural and 54.6 percent urban after elections. This is consistent with preference rating of between 5.1 percent and 2.6 percent before and after elections (Figure 22). Another factor that could explain the low readership is the low preference for newspapers by rural youth at 4.9 percent before and 5.6 percent after elections (Table 15).

Table 23 shows that residents earning less than KSh.5,000 had the highest no exposure to newspapers (55.9 percent) to get political information compared to those earning KSh 40,001 to 50,000 before elections. The percentage of those earning less than KSh.5,000 that did not read newspapers reduced by half and those earning between KSh 40,001 and 50,000 rose by 50 percent after elections with association significance of 0.000. Low preference for newspapers may explain the high no exposure ratings (Table 15). Most of the youth were poor and unemployed. They did not have money to buy newspapers costing KSh 35 per copy.

Type of roof had association with exposure to newspapers at 0.000 before and after elections. Residents living in thatched huts had the highest no exposure

to newspapers at 78.3 percent and 86.9 percent before and after elections compared to 18 percent and 20 percent of residents living in tiled houses that had no exposure to newspapers. Of those with high exposure to newspapers to get political information, 4.3 percent and none was living in thatched huts before and after elections respectively compared to 36 percent and 25 percent that lived in tiled houses.

Table 23 Patterns of newspaper exposure and demographics

	Before elections				After elections			
	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
Male	36.4	36.2	6.0	18.4	34.0	38.7	6.0	21.3
Female	64.5	21.7	6.0	7.8	48.2	29.1	11.6	13.1
	$\chi^2 = 37.211(a)$ $df=3$ $Sig=0.000$				$\chi^2 = 15.03132$ $df=3$ $Sig=0.00178$			
None	60.8	15.4	3.8	0.0	88.2	5.9	0.0	5.9
Primary	72.6	18.7	2.6	5.1	63.9	27.8	1.9	6.5
Secondary	43.6	34.1	6.4	15.9	34.8	37.1	9.1	19.0
Undergraduate	22.0	44.0	12.0	22.0	9.1	42.4	16.7	31.8
Postgraduate	33.3	41.7	8.3	16.7	10.0	40.0	20.0	30.0
Tertiary	20.0	0.0	20.0	60.0	34.7	35.8	9.2	20.2
	$\chi^2 = 73.318(a)$ $Sig=0.000$				$\chi^2 = 94.711(a)$ $Sig=0.000$			
None	42.9	35.0	7.1	15.0	54.6	29.6	6.5	9.3
None	73.1	18.7	2.8	7.4	50.6	32.0	4.7	12.6
	$\chi^2 = 29.668(a)$ $df=3$ $Sig=0.000$				$\chi^2 = 15.383(a)$ $df=3$ $Sig=0.002$			
Below 8,000	55.8	28.9	4.7	10.8	24.0	40.6	14.6	20.8
5000-10000	42.6	30.9	9.6	17.0	10.5	36.8	21.1	31.6
10,001-20,000	21.4	35.7	7.1	35.7	5.9	29.4	11.8	52.9
20,001-30,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	50.0
30,001-40,000	27.3	36.4	0.0	36.4	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
40,001-60,000	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
	$\chi^2 = 40.565(a)$ $df=18$ $Sig=0.002$				$\chi^2 = 66.967(a)$ $df=24$ $Sig=0.000$			
Corrugated iron	55.9	27.6	5.9	10.5	34.3	37.3	8.6	19.8
Tiles	18.0	38.0	8.0	36.0	20.0	35.0	20.0	25.0
None	78.3	17.4	0.0	4.3	86.9	13.1	0.0	0.0
	$\chi^2 = 38.2$ $df=12$ $Sig=0.000$				$\chi^2 = 33.3$ $df=9$ $Sig=0.000$			
	$\chi^2 = 49.106(a)$ $df=12$ $Sig=0.000$				$\chi^2 = 81.333(a)$ $df=9$ $Sig=0.000$			

3.5.4 Exposure to Internet to get Political Information

The youths indicated the number of days in a week they surfed the net to

get political information on the election campaigns before and after elections.

Figure 31 indicates that the use of the internet to get political information was

low before and after elections. The low preference of internet as a source of

news may account for the low score for internet (Figure 22).

Figure 31: Trend of internet exposure for political information

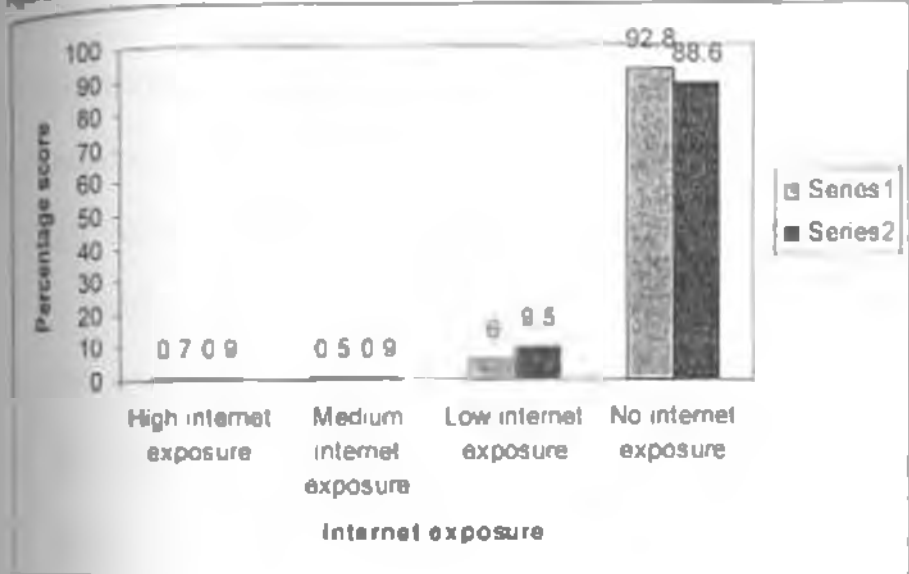


Table 24 indicates that there is significant association between exposure

to internet to get political information and level of education attained and income

before elections at 0.000. The same is true after elections for level of education

($P < 0.01$) income ($P = 0.05$) and type of roof ($P = 0.007$). Those with no education

had 100 percent no exposure to the internet. Tertiary level of education had the

no exposure to internet at 60 percent and high exposure at 20 percent

before elections. 82 percent of undergraduates had no exposure to internet

compared to 2 percent with high exposure to internet before elections compared

77 percent and 1.5 percent that had no exposure before and after respectively. Low preference for internet as a source of information across all categories of education may explain this (Table 15).

Table 24 reveals that level of income was associated with exposure to internet to get political information before and after elections. Absolute 100 percent of those earning between KSh 20, 001 and 50,000 had no exposure to internet to get political information before elections compared to 64.3 percent of those earning between KSh 10, 001 and 20,000 that did not surf to get political information. 14.3 percent and 5.3 percent of those earning KSh 10, 001 and KSh 20, 000 had high exposure to internet to get political information.

Youths residing in tiled houses had the lowest no exposure to internet (76 percent) after elections compared to the rest of roof types, and also had the highest exposure to internet at 3.3 percent after elections compared to the rest of roof types.

Table 24 Patterns of Internet exposure and youth demographics

	Before No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High Exposure	After No Exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
None	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	88.2	11.8	0.0	0.0
Primary	96.6	1.7	1.7	0.0	98.1	0.9	0.0	0.9
Secondary	93.2	6.4	0.0	0.5	88.6	10.3	0.0	0.9
Postgraduate	82.0	16.0	0.0	2.0	77.3	15.2	6.1	1.5
Others	91.7	8.3	0.0	0.0	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0
	80.0	20.0	0.0	20.0				
	X ² = 52.001(a) df=18 Sig.=0.000				X ² = 48.869(a) df=15 Sig.=0.000			
Below 5,000	83.1	6.1	0.7	0.0	92.9	6.3	0.0	0.8
5000-10000	94.7	4.3	0.0	1.1	81.3	14.6	3.1	1.0
10,001-20,000	64.3	21.4	0.0	14.3	73.7	21.1	0.0	5.3
20,001-30,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	82.4	17.6	0.0	0.0
30,001-40,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
40,001-50,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	X ² = 49.253(a) df=18 Sig.=0.000				X ² = 38.429(a) df=24 Sig.=0.050			
Unemployed	92.1	6.6	0.7	0.7	89.6	9.3	0.7	0.4
Non students	88.0	12.0	0.0	2.0	76.7	16.7	3.3	3.3
Free	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed/roof	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	84.4	13.3	0.0	2.2
Students	X ² = 11.345(a) df=12 Sig.=0.500				X ² = 22.670(a) df=9 Sig.=0.007			

3.5.5 Exposure to Mobile to get Political Information

The youths indicated how many days in a week they used a mobile to get

political information. Figure 32 shows that 10.9 percent of youth surveyed before elections used their mobiles to get political information compared to 13.3 percent of youth surveyed after elections that did the same. Conspicuous in this finding is the overwhelming number of youths who indicated that they had not used mobiles to access political information (89.1 percent before elections and 86.7 percent after elections). This contrasts with household ownership of mobile phones at 27 percent of youth surveyed before and 24.7 percent of youth surveyed after elections (Figure 21). However, low preference for mobile phones as sources of political information could explain the discrepancy (Table 15). This

findings that the youth did not use mobile phones as sources of political information despite the fact that they had access to mobile phones

Figure 22: Trend of mobile phone exposure for political information

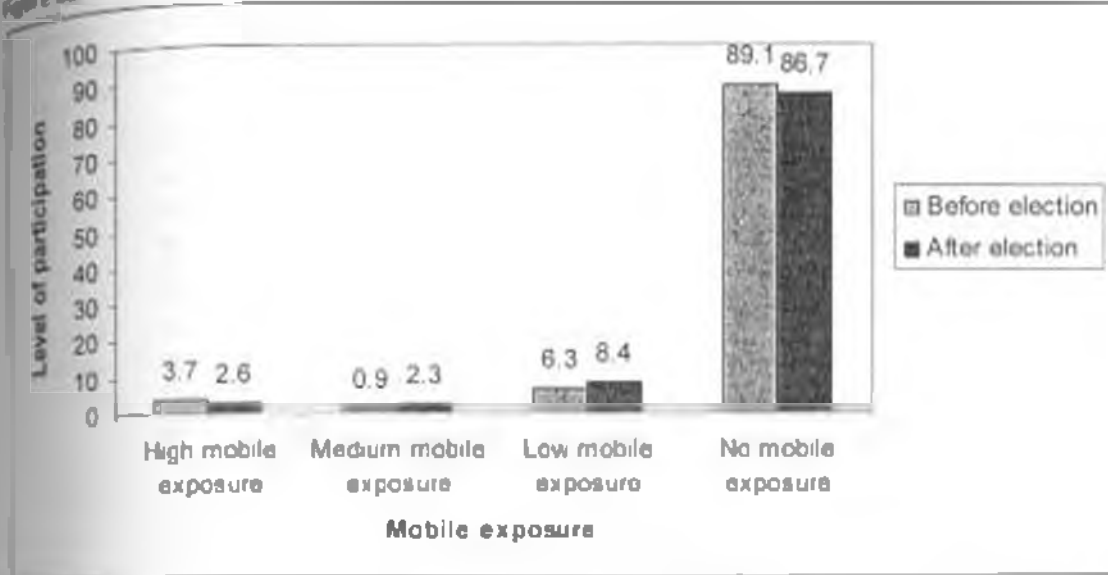


Table 25 reveals that exposure to mobile phones to get political information on campaigns in 2007 was associated to level of education (0.000) and residence (0.05) before elections. After elections, the exposure to mobile phones had association with residence (0.043), income (0.008) and roof type (0.0149)

According to Table 25, education is associated with exposure to mobile phones for political information before elections (0.000). Exposure to mobile phones for political information increased with rise in level of education (primary 51 percent, secondary 91 percent, tertiary 50 percent, undergraduate 26 percent and postgraduate 25 percent). The low preference for mobile phones as sources of political information could explain the low utility score (Table 15 and Figure 22).

Table 23. Patterns of mobile phone exposure and youth demographics

	Before No exposure	Low exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure	After No exposure	Low Exposure	Medium exposure	High exposure
Female	92.3	0.0	0.0	7.7	94.1	5.9	0.0	0.0
Male	94.9	3.4	0.0	1.7	90.7	6.6	0.0	3.7
Primary	90.9	3.6	1.4	4.1	86.4	7.8	2.2	1.7
Secondary	74.0	22.0	0.0	4.0	75.8	13.6	6.1	4.6
Intermediate	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	70.0	20.0	10.0	0.0
Tertiary	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	19.300(a)	15	2.1	3.4
	$X^2 = 68.364(a)$ df=18 Sig=0.000				$X^2 = 84.7$ df=9.8 Sig=0.200			
Urban	87.1	6.7	1.2	4.9	93.9	3.7	2.8	0.0
Rural	99.4	4.6	0.0	0.0	90.9	6.7	0.043	1.6
	$X^2 = 7.831(a)$ df=3 Sig=0.050				$X^2 = 8.170$ (a) df=3 Sig=0.043 0.6			
Below 2,000	92.4	4.3	0.7	2.5	80.2	17.5	3.1	4.2
2000-10000	83.0	8.5	1.1	7.4	68.4	10.5	5.3	15.8
10,001-20,000	71.4	14.3	7.1	7.1	70.6	17.6	0.0	11.8
20,001-30,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
30,001-40,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
40,001-50,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	$X^2 = 28.174(a)$ df=18 Sig=0.098				$X^2 = 43.789(a)$ df=24 Sig=0.008			
Congregated roof sheets	88.8	5.9	1.3	3.9	85.4	9.0	1.9	3.7
Tin	82.0	14.0	0.0	4.0	80.0	13.3	6.7	0.0
Thatched roof	95.7	0.0	0.0	4.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	94.5	3.6	0.0	1.8	86.7	8.9	2.2	2.2
	$X^2 = 10.000(a)$ df=12 Sig=0.611				$X^2 = 19.840(a)$ df=9 Sig=0.019			

3.6 Conclusion and Discussions

This study found that household media ownership in Nakuru District was still low with 40.1 percent of surveyed households having radio, 27.1 percent owning TV, 3 percent having computers, 4.1 percent owning fixed telephones and 27.1 percent having mobile phones. Out of 8.4 million national households, 14.1 percent own a radio and 38.1 percent own TV (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131 14-131). Additionally 43.8 percent of Kenyans own mobile phones and 9.3 percent own computers (CCK 2008). The findings of this study are very low compared to the national average.

Theoretically, wealth and SES determines mass media ownership. Radio sets are cheap and affordable to many surveyed households. On the other hand, TV and mobile phones are expensive and out of reach of many households. This study found that the majority of surveyed youth earned monthly income of less than KSh. 10, 000.

This thesis also found that the surveyed youth preferred TV more than radio followed by newspaper and then mobile phones and internet. Perhaps this was because of the capacity of TV to deliver messages both in visual and audio formats. The other reason could be because visual media has more impact than oral media. According to Albert Mehrabian in Silent Messages argue that visual media has 53 percent impact compared to audio component with 38 percent (Sinner et al 2007, 1-10). As such, TV could be more attractive to surveyed youth than radio. On the other hand, some youth may have preferred TV because it is still a status symbol accessible to average to rich families.

Another reason for preference for TV could have been its availability at music and video entertainment halls, social clubs, bars and restaurants. Additionally, cultural habits could also explain preference for TV by youth. Members of families without TV, especially young people, often visit homes of friends or neighbors to watch TV.

The utility value of mobile phones can explain preference by the surveyed youth. The youth mainly use the mobile phone for social networking. The mobile phones enjoy enormous popularity in Kenya because for a long time majority of people could not easily access fixed telephone lines that were both expensive

and out of reach. According to CCK (2008) 43 percent of Kenyans own mobile phone. Cellular operators cover 65 percent of the population and 20 percent of the landmass. The implication is that 35 percent of the population and 80 percent of the landmass have no mobile phone signal coverage (CCK 2008, 8-9).

The study found that surveyed youth exposed themselves to different types of mass media. The majority of surveyed youth used TV followed by radio, newspapers, mobiles and internet in that order. Surveyed youth could have avoided some types of mass media because they did not like them. In addition, poor reception arising from frequency distortions may force people not to use various types of broadcasting services.

The uses and gratifications theory explains why the surveyed youth exposed themselves to various types of media. The theory asserts that people expose themselves to media that satisfy their social and psychological needs such information, personal identity, social interaction and integration and entertainment (McQuail 2005, 423-424). The media uses and gratifications theory is derived from the functionalist approach to mass media that argues that media are social institutions that exist to service basic human needs. Therefore, surveyed youth's exposure to various types of media depended on satisfaction of their perceived needs and desires.

Martin Fishbein's value-expectancy theory is used to explain the central concept of uses and gratifications theory. According to McQuail, it explains the personal motivations for media use (McQuail 2005, 427). The theory asserts that behavior is expectancy and value driven. It argues that people will do things that

offer the latest expected success and value. Therefore, surveyed youth would expose themselves only to media that satisfy their expected political beliefs and needs and meet their considered personal evaluations. There was distinct use of media in Kenya prior to 2007 elections with ODM members tending to use media considered to be ODM friendly and PNU members using media perceived to be PNU friendly. However, this was so only in places where people had access to alternative media to use.

The study concludes that surveyed female youth were less likely to expose themselves to mass media to get political information than male youth. This is consistent with findings of Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2003 (CBS, MoH and ORS 2003, 1-59, p. 58) that found that women were less likely to have access to mass media than men (Figure 33).

Traditionally in Kenya, fewer women compared to men use media. This could be because media have marginalized women in the public sphere; media continue to disseminate stereotypes of sex roles, media production and content discriminate against women and media reception is also gendered (McQuail 2005, 124).

The patriarchal nature of Kenyan society may also explain the differences between male and female exposure (McQuail 2005, 121-124, Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Gleason 2001, 105-126). According to feminist theory systematic and structured differences in social roles of men and women and typical daily experiences and concerns of men and women account for the way women and men use media (Oduol 2008, 38-39; Chesoni 2006, 195-201).

Similarly, gender may also shape availability and use of time by men and women. Studies have found that power roles within the family may also structure the way women and men use media (McQuail 2005, 123; Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Oduol 2008, 38-39). Additionally, different types of media content appeal to different gender. For instance, studies have shown that news, for a long time, was packaged in such a manner as to appeal to male audiences (McQuail 2005, 122)

Mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, mobiles phones, computers and internet) have been associated with higher SES. Kenyan women are poor and have less access to media resources. Women account for only 30 percent of the total wage employment compared to 70 percent for men (KNBS 2007, 44)

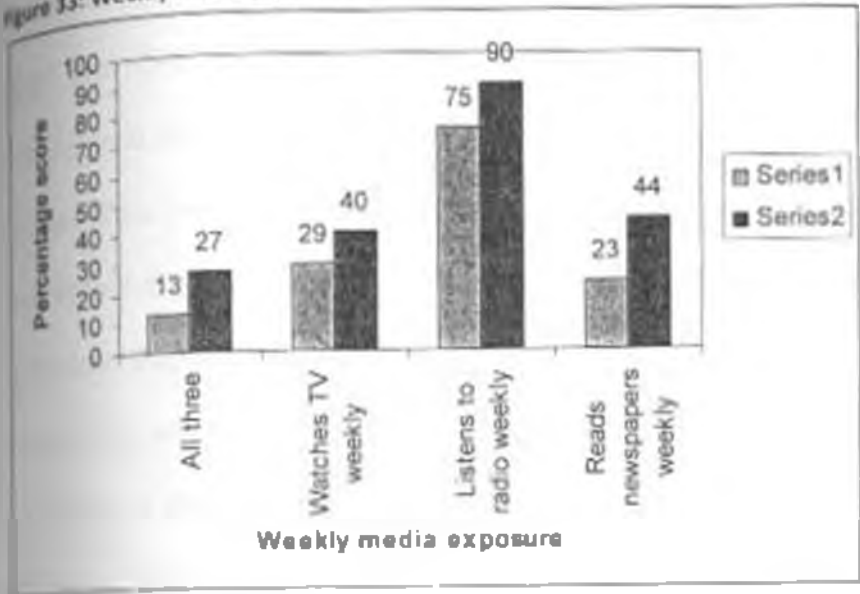
Women also would not use mass media, perhaps, because ownership and control of mass media in households is in the hands of men. Generally, men are owners of productive property and also as the ones more endowed with employment opportunities own and control mass media in households.

Traditionally in Kenya, young women spent a lot of time and energy doing house chores making it difficult to access and consume media services and products (Chesoni 2006, 195-201, Oduol 2008, 38-39, Gleason 2001, 105-126). This could explain why fewer surveyed youth women exposed themselves to media.

Finally, the uses and gratifications theory argue that fewer women do not use media because most of the media do not serve their cognitive, affective and

behavioral needs. Women watch less politics which dominates news coverage during election campaigns (Flanagan 1996, 283; McQuail 2005, 121)

Figure 33: Weekly media exposure



Source: CBS, MoH and ORC 2003

Exposure to TV as a source of political information is very high. The implication is that TV is increasingly becoming an important source of information during political campaigns among youth. Table 22 shows that youth have high preference for TV as a source of information. KDHS 2003 found out that exposure to media is significantly associated with educational attainment (CBS, MoH and ORC 2003, 1-59). The majority of young Kenyans have attained at least primary and secondary level of education.

Exposure to TV as a source of political information is significantly associated with gender, education, residence and income of the youth. Exposure to TV increases with rise in level of education. This is because higher educational attainment is associated with higher SES whereas SES determines TV ownership and access in Kenya.

This study concludes that more men are likely to watch TV than female youth before and after elections. This is consistent with KDHS 2003 findings that 29 of females and 40 of men watch TV at least once a week (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 42-44). Traditionally in Kenya, male youth have more time at their disposal than female youth who are often busy with domestic chores. This finding is not consistent with the differential leisure resources theory which states that women have more leisure time than men and as a result would expose themselves more to media. In Kenya, TV news and current affairs scheduling often come at a time when most female youth are cooking for members of the family in the evening. Therefore, lack of time and access may explain why fewer females exposure to TV in Kenya (Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Oduol 2008, 38-39; Gleason 2001, 105-126; Downs 1957, 135-150).

Urban youth are much more likely to be exposed to TV than rural youth. KDHS 2003 showed that urban residence were more likely to have access to mass media (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 1-59). In Kenya, TV is still largely an urban phenomenon (Mbeke 2009, 4-15). This is because TV stations target urban residents with higher SES that meet the requirements of advertisers who sponsor most media activities. Kenyan rural communities are poor and fall outside the target audiences of many TV stations (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 7-10). The commercialization of mass media or market management theory supports this finding. It states that mass media business is competitive and tends to pursue large audiences required by advertisers (McQuail 2005, 125). Advertisers use media that deliver to them in commercially viable numbers the

right specific target audiences. In Kenya, this kind of audience is found in urban settings.

The SES theory asserts that higher social contexts enhance access to mass media (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 296; Scott and Acock, 1979: 361-381; (Huckfeldt, 1979: 579-592). In Kenya, urbanization determines access to TV. This may explain why youth from urban centers had high exposure to TV. High income youth are likely to be exposed to TV than poor youth. This finding is consistent with KDHS 2003 findings in Kenya. It may help explain why youth from urban centers tended to have better exposure to TV than rural youth. This is because urban youth enjoy higher SES than rural youth (CBS 2003, 1-164).

Theoretically, wealth and higher SES determines exposure to mass media. According to Flanagan, higher SES is related to media consumption (1996: 283). High income youth tend to have money income to buy TV, have money to access places with TV or come from families with TV (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 296, Scott and Acock, 1979: 361-381; (Huckfeldt, 1979: 579-592). Theoretically, parental SES structures youth exposure to political resources such as mass media (Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108).

Exposure to radio as a source of political information is very high. This is because of the high ownership and pervasive nature of radio in Kenya. About 7.5 million homes have radio sets (1.9 million in urban and 5.6 in rural areas) in the country (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131). The radio landscape has grown exponentially in the past 10 years with CCK registering over 80 FM stations (CCK 2009, 4-63). Projections by Steadman Group showed that out of 8.4 million

households, 71 percent own a radio (Steadman Group 2008, 14-131). According to Steadman Group about 16.7 million of Kenyans listen to radio (12.4 in rural and 4.4 percent in urban). Radio reaches over 90 percent of the Kenyans (Mbeke and Mshindi 2009, 4-14). Additionally, KDHS 2003 found that 70 percent females and 90 percent men listened to radio.

Media institutional history may explain the pervasive nature of radio in Kenya. The colonial government established radio in 1927 compared to TV broadcasting that started in 1962 (Makali 2003, 55-98). Since then radio proliferation has been rapid following the liberalization of the airwaves in 1997. CCK registered over 80 FM stations since 1999 (CCK 2009, 4-63).

This study found that exposure to radio is significantly associated to type of roof while its association to other demographic characteristics is insignificant. Exposure to radio is high across all income levels. KDHS 2003 found that exposure to TV, radio and newspapers increases as wealth status rises. The implication here is that radio acts as an equalizer as a source of political information during campaigns. Those without access to TV would have listened to radio instead.

This study found that exposure to newspapers as a source of political information is average (50-60 percent). This is perhaps because of the low preference for newspapers as a source of information (Table 15). Similarly, KDHS 2003 found that only 23 percent females and 44 percent males read newspapers at least once a week.

Exposure to newspapers is significantly associated with gender, income and type of roof. According to Flanagan, newspaper consumers are usually younger, male, educated, urban, employed and enjoy higher SES (1996, 283).

This study concludes that females are less likely to read newspapers for local information. However, the number of female youth reading newspapers shot up from 36 percent to 64 percent after elections, perhaps because of the huge interest generated by post-election violence in Kenya. This contrasts with low preference for newspapers as a source of political information by women (Table 15).

Generally, women have less access to newspapers because they are poor, less educated and mainly stay at home (Flanagan 1996, 283-285, Gleason 2001, 105-126, Chesoni 2006, 195-201, Oduol 2008, 38-39). In Kenya, patriarchal notion of public domain and gender discrimination limit younger women's access to newspapers (Chesoni 2006, 195-201, Oduol 2008, 38-39). Most Kenyan women are still house or home makers whereas newspapers are still largely an urban phenomenon. Vendors sell newspapers at various newsstands in urban centers further limiting women's access to newspapers. In this case, most Kenyan women especially young females are unemployed and may not afford the high cost of newspapers and magazines. Women account for only 30 percent of the wage employment compared to men at 70 percent (KNBS 2007, 44)

Exposure to newspapers as a source of political information increased with rise in the level of education. According to media effect studies, newspapers require ability to read or high literacy. Reading of newspapers demands mental energy and capacity to process the information (Flanagan 1996, 283-285). Therefore, lower education reduces the capacity to process printed information. On the other hand, higher education increases information processing capacity of the reader (Tan 1985, 203-204). As a result of this, youth with no education will tend to avoid reading newspapers while those with higher education

According to this study, rural youth are less likely to read newspapers as sources of political information than urban youth. In Kenya, newspaper reach is still largely limited to urban and peri-urban centers. This limits rural youth's access to newspapers. Rural youth are poor and higher unemployment levels compared to urban youth (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14). As such they may not have disposable income to buy newspapers. This is consistent with the finding that low income youth are less likely to read newspapers as opposed to high income groups. Youths living in houses with thatched roofs indicated low exposure to newspapers. Theoretically, SES is related to media consumption (Flanagan 1996, 283-285).

Exposure to mobile phones as sources of political news is dismally low (13-17 percent) despite household ownership of 27 percent (Figure 21). This could be because of the low preference of one percent among the youth for mobile phones as sources of news. According to CCK 43.8 percent of Kenyans own mobile phones and 9.3 own computers (CCK 2008, 1-20). Therefore, the

do not reflect the national mobile ownership average. Part of the reason could be that the majority of the surveyed youth were poor with an income of less than KSh. 10, 000.

Exposure to mobile phones is significantly associated with education, income and type of roof. Exposure to mobile phones for political information increases with levels of education. Mobile phones have been a status symbol owned by people with average to high SES in Kenya. This could explain the strong association with higher levels of education, urbanization and higher wealth status.

Exposure to internet as sources of political information is dismally low, perhaps because of the low ownership and preference of internet as a source of news (Figure 21 and 22). In Kenya, internet is associated with higher SES. The other reason for this low utility of internet as a source of political information could be because internet use is computer based. CCK reported that slightly over 3 million Kenyans use computers. This study found that it is associated with education, income and type of roof. Low levels of education lead to low exposure to internet as a source of political information. Youth from tiled houses scored high exposure to internet as a source of political information. This is because access to internet is closely linked to SES in Kenya.

Chapter 4

Association between Mass Media Exposure and Political Participation

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (3) discussed the mass media exposure patterns of surveyed youth. Chapter five showed that surveyed youth exposed themselves to various types of mass media and that the mass media were increasingly becoming influential sources of political information to the youth. Additionally, chapter three indicated that the majority of surveyed youth regularly exposed themselves to TV and radio than to newspapers, internet and mobile phones to get political information during election campaigns. Another key finding of chapter three was that surveyed female youth were less likely to expose themselves to mass media to get political information than surveyed male youth. These findings answered the research question investigating the mass media exposure patterns of surveyed youth during the election campaigns. The results of the mass media exposure patterns were also used in the logistic regression analysis to examine the impact of mass media exposure on political participation in chapter five.

This chapter explores the association between mass media exposure and political participation at cross tabulation level. The study treated exposure to mass media as the independent variable and political participation as the dependent variable during cross tabulation. The mass media variables used at cross analysis were exposure to news, exposure to political information and

intensity of exposure to mass media. Variables for political participation were (i) asked to people to try get them to vote for or against any political party, (ii) given money or bought tickets-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election, (iii) attended a political meeting, rally, campaign in connection with the 2007 elections, (iv) done any work to help a candidate or party during these campaigns, (v) worked as security for candidate or party, (vi) distributed literature or campaign materials, (vii) worked as official help or volunteer, (viii) worked as party nomination or election official, (ix) worked as a researcher for politician or party; (x) worked as leader of a group supporting a politician or party, (xi) and offered self for political office as councilor, MP, or local Leaders

The study uses Chi squares (X^2) to test for the association between the independent and dependent variables listed above. Additionally, a *P*-value is used to show significance of association between the variables. A *P*-value of less than 0.05 or 5 percent indicates that the association between the study variables is significant. *P* is shown as Sig. in the tables.

4.2 Association between Media Exposure and Talking politics

Table 25 summarizes exposure to mass media and participation through talking to people to persuade them to vote. It shows that exposure to TV news is strongly associated with participation in campaigns through talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party before and after election. The association was significant at *P*-value of 0.000 before elections with 70.2 percent of those with high exposure highly participating in

...ing to get people to vote as compared to 47.7 percent who were not exposed to TV but actively participated. After elections, 35.6 percent of those with high exposure reported having actively canvassed to get people to vote compared to 20.9 percent who had no exposure to TV but highly participated ($P=0.003$).

There was no significant association between participation through canvassing and exposure to newspapers, internet and mobile phones. Although exposure to radio and mobiles did not have an association with canvassing before election, they did after elections at P -value of 0.000 and 0.034 respectively (Table 26).

Table 26: Association between media exposure and political talk

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
No exposure	47.7	23.4	29.0	20.9	31.2	47.9
Low exposure	56.8	24.7	19.5	38.3	24.0	37.7
Medium exposure	75.0	9.4	15.6	40.8	39.3	19.9
High exposure	70.2	17.4	12.4	35.6	36.9	27.5
	$\chi^2 = 22.384(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.001			$\chi^2 = 20.102(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.003		
No exposure	51.6	24.2	24.2	22.2	33.5	44.4
Low exposure	71.3	12.8	18.0	24.2	29.9	45.9
Medium exposure	61.1	23.0	13.9	36.2	34.6	29.2
High exposure	62.0	20.2	17.8	40.9	35.0	24.1
	$\chi^2 = 7.742(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.258			$\chi^2 = 24.074(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.001		
No exposure	58.1	22.2	18.7	23.4	36.9	38.1
Low exposure	64.7	16.3	19.0	41.0	27.3	31.7
Medium exposure	77.3	18.2	4.9	50.1	27.0	22.8
High exposure	62.3	19.7	18.0	36.6	34.4	29.0
	$\chi^2 = 5.150(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.625			$\chi^2 = 17.812(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.007		
No exposure	60.9	20.6	18.5	31.5	34.3	34.1
Low exposure	68.6	17.1	14.3	55.2	24.1	20.5
Medium exposure	60.0	20.0	20.0	27.9	0.0	72.1
High exposure	61.0	4.8	14.3	32.7	42.0	25.3
	$\chi^2 = 4.666(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.585			$\chi^2 = 13.671(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.034		

4.3 Association between Media Exposure and

Financial Support

Table 27 reveals the association between exposure to media and participation through giving financial donations and buying promotional materials by the youth. Exposure to media is strongly associated with participation by giving money or buying T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party before elections. Association was significant for TV, radio and newspapers all at P -value of 0.000.

According to Table 26 high participation increased with rise in exposure to TV and radio with 43.1 for low exposure, 65.6 percent for medium exposure and 77.1 percent for high exposure before elections. A similar trend is found after election associations between giving money, buying T-shirts or memorabilia and exposure to TV. Even so, there was a drastic drop in youth with high exposure to TV who actively participated through financial donations and buying of T-shirts and party memorabilia.

Results indicate further that more of those with high exposure to radio actively participated through giving of donations and buying of party promotional materials compared to those with low exposure to radio before and after elections. Association is significant at P -value of 0.001 and 0.000 before and after elections respectively. 68.6 percent of those with high exposure to radio actively participated compared to 13.6 percent who did not participate (Table 27).

Table 27 shows that after elections exposure to newspaper and mobile phones except for internet were associated with participation of the youths in

campaigns by giving of donations and buying of party promotional materials. The association was significant at P -value of 0.001.

Table 27. Association between media and donating money

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV	36.4	27.1	36.4	18.4	18.6	62.9
No exposure	48.1	27.3	24.7	24.8	43.1	32.1
Low exposure	65.6	21.9	12.5	28.9	42.3	28.8
Medium exposure	77.1	13.3	9.6	42.2	32.9	24.9
High exposure	$\chi^2 = 60.801(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 44.957(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000
Radio	41.9	30.6	27.4	33.7	34.8	31.5
No exposure	55.3	16.0	28.7	25.7	22.5	51.8
Low exposure	58.3	25.0	16.7	8.2	60.3	31.5
Medium exposure	68.6	17.6	13.6	42.5	31.8	25.7
High exposure	$\chi^2 = 22.575(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.001	$\chi^2 = 44.548(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000
Newspapers	47.5	26.3	26.3	29.2	23.9	46.9
No exposure	68.7	17.6	15.7	33.6	37.3	28.8
Low exposure	86.4	0.0	13.6	43.0	28.6	28.6
Medium exposure	82.0	11.5	6.6	36.5	43.7	19.8
High exposure	$\chi^2 = 36.068(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 25.724(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000
Media	59.0	21.2	19.8	29.9	38.6	33.6
No exposure	68.6	14.3	17.1	57.0	13.2	29.8
Low exposure	60.0	40.0	0.0	42.2	20.6	37.3
Medium exposure	85.7	0.0	14.3	51.1	15.0	33.9
High exposure	$\chi^2 = 10.143(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.119	$\chi^2 = 13.511(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.036

4.4 Association between Media Exposure and

Attending Rallies

Table 28 reveals that there is significant association between participation through attending political meetings and rallies and exposure to TV, radio and newspapers before elections at P -value of 0.000, 0.014 and 0.005 respectively

Only exposure to radio had an association with participation through attending meetings and rallies after elections at 0.034

58.9 percent of those with no exposure to TV, 67.7 percent exposure to radio and 53 percent exposure to newspapers did not participate through attending meetings and rallies. Similarly, 48 percent of those with high exposure to TV, 45 percent exposure to radio and 44.3 percent exposure to newspapers did not participate by attending meetings and rallies. This study found that both lack of and high exposure to TV, radio and newspapers gave almost similar results before elections (Table 28).

Table 28: Association between media and attending meetings

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV exposure	2.8	38.3	58.9	21.6	40.5	37.9
Low exposure	22.1	31.2	46.8	40.6	30.1	29.3
Medium exposure	15.8	43.8	40.6	50.0	28.1	21.9
High exposure	24.8	27.1	48.2	32.2	32.7	35.1
	$\chi^2 = 26.830(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 11.696(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.069
Radio exposure	4.8	27.4	67.7	22.1	38.8	41.1
Low exposure	18.0	29.8	54.3	28.1	38.4	33.8
Medium exposure	27.8	30.8	41.7	51.3	29.7	19.0
High exposure	21.1	33.9	45.0	34.5	30.7	34.8
	$\chi^2 = 16.029(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.014	$\chi^2 = 13.600(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.034
Newspapers exposure	13.1	33.8	53.0	28.8	37.1	34.3
Low exposure	16.3	33.3	50.3	38.8	28.7	34.7
Medium exposure	40.9	22.7	36.4	24.4	31.9	43.7
High exposure	31.1	24.8	44.3	38.0	37.5	26.5
	$\chi^2 = 18.481(a)$	df=6	0.005	$\chi^2 = 8.021(a)$	df=6	0.237

4.4 Association between Media Exposure

and Political Work

Table 29 shows that exposure to TV, radio, newspapers and mobiles have significant association with working to help a candidate or party to win elections in 2007 before elections. On the other hand, exposure to TV, newspapers, and internet had association with working to help candidate or party in 2007 election campaigns. Exposure to TV had a strong association with working to help candidates and party before and after elections at 0.000 and 0.001 respectively. Participation increased with rise in exposure to TV and decrease with no exposure to TV as indicated in Table 26 and Table 29

Table 29 shows that radio exposure is significantly associated to political participation. According to Table 29, increase in radio exposure leads to a rise in political participation. Additionally, high radio exposure is associated to high political participation through working for political candidates and parties before elections. The association has a P-value of 0.000.

Newspaper exposure is also strongly associated to working for political parties and candidates (Table 29). Increase in newspaper exposure leads to a rise in political participation. According to Table 29, surveyed youth reading newspapers were associated to high level of working for politicians and political parties.

Table 29 Association between media and working for candidates

	Before election			After elections					
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No Participation			
TV	19.6	32.7	47.7	13.7	31.0	55.4			
Low exposure	37.7	24.7	37.7	34.4	34.0	31.6			
Medium exposure	43.8	37.5	18.8	29.8	33.7	38.5			
High exposure	55.0	22.5	22.5	39.6	33.8	28.7			
χ^2	= 43.464(a)		df=6	Sig=0.000		$\chi^2 = 23.829(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.001	
Radio	27.4	30.6	41.9	30.8	33.2	36.0			
Low exposure	27.7	33.0	39.4	29.7	28.1	42.3			
Medium exposure	33.3	30.6	38.1	19.4	41.7	38.9			
High exposure	53.3	22.3	24.4	38.3	34.2	27.5			
χ^2	= 27.508(a)		6	0.000		$\chi^2 = 11.874(a)$	6	0.070	
Newspapers	30.8	28.8	40.4	26.0	30.3	43.8			
Low exposure	45.1	29.4	25.6	38.1	32.9	31.0			
Medium exposure	63.6	18.2	18.2	35.9	35.5	28.6			
High exposure	65.6	14.8	19.7	40.1	38.2	21.7			
χ^2	= 32.038(a)		df=6	Sig=0.000		$\chi^2 = 16.498(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.011	
Internet	40.3	27.3	32.5	28.4	36.9	35.1			
Low exposure	60.0	22.5	17.6	58.9	15.4	27.7			
Medium exposure	40.0	0.0	60.0	58.5	29.0	12.8			
High exposure	79.0	25.0	0.0	62.0	25.7	22.3			
χ^2	= 11.201(a)		df=6	Sig=0.082		$\chi^2 = 19.908(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.003	
Mobile	40.6	25.5	34.0	30.6	39.7	33.8			
Low exposure	54.3	28.8	17.1	48.8	22.3	29.0			
Medium exposure	40.0	60.0	0.0	63.7	16.8	20.9			
High exposure	97.1	33.3	9.5	41.2	20.4	38.3			
χ^2	= 13.199(a)		df=6	Sig=0.040		$\chi^2 = 8.858(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.182	

4.5 Association between Media Exposure and Security Work

According to Table 30 participation through working as security for candidate or party has significant association with exposure to TV and newspapers. 34.4 percent of youths with high exposure to TV actively worked as security to candidate and party while 43.1 percent of those who had high exposure to TV did not participate as security detail before election. The association was significant at P-value of 0.000. After elections, 37 percent of

those with high exposure to TV actively worked as security while 29 percent with exposure to TV did not work as security detail. It is significant at P -value of 0.007 (Table 30).

42.6 percent of those with high exposure to newspapers did not work as security for candidates or parties before elections with the percentage going down to 20.9 after elections. 53 percent and 46.4 percent of those with no exposure to newspapers did not work as security before and after elections respectively. The association is significant at P -value of 0.000 (Table 30).

Table 30 (next page) shows that exposure to the other media did not have a significant association to working as security.

30 Association between media and working as security

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV exposure	4.7	36.4	56.9	15.5	25.4	59.1
Low exposure	27.3	29.9	42.9	35.2	38.5	28.3
Medium exposure	25.0	48.9	26.1	35.2	30.8	33.9
High exposure	34.4	22.5	43.1	37.0	33.7	29.3
	$\chi^2=40.875(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	17.558(a)	df=6	Sig=0.007
Newspapers exposure	14.6	32.3	53.0	25.9	27.7	46.4
Low exposure	30.7	27.5	41.8	39.0	30.7	30.4
Medium exposure	54.5	27.3	18.2	50.9	18.5	30.6
High exposure	34.4	23.0	42.6	30.1	48.9	20.9
	$\chi^2 = 26.454(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000	$\chi^2 = 25.892(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000
Radio exposure						
Low exposure	23.6	29.4	47.0	26.8	37.5	35.7
Medium exposure	37.6	30.0	32.9	63.9	15.5	20.6
High exposure	20.0	0.0	80.0	53.6	19.5	26.9
	50.0	25.0	25.0	30.0	21.8	48.2
	$\chi^2 = 6.636(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.195	$\chi^2 = 23.879(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.001
Mobile						
Low exposure						
Medium exposure	22.5	29.2	48.3	30.0	35.7	34.3
High exposure	37.1	25.7	37.1	50.6	24.6	24.8
	20.0	80.0	0.0	53.6	19.5	26.9
	52.4	19.0	28.6	46.1	16.8	37.0
	$\chi^2 = 19.327(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.004	$\chi^2 = 6.907(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.322

4.6 Association between Media Exposure and Literature Distribution

Table 31 indicates that exposure to TV and newspapers have significant association with distributing literature or campaign materials. 77.6 percent of those who did not have exposure to TV and 62.8 percent of those who had high

exposure to TV did not distribute literature or campaign materials before elections. The figure came down after elections with 55.2 percent of those with no exposure to TV and 31.7 percent of those with high exposure to TV failing to distribute literature or campaign materials with a significant association of *P*-value of 0.000.

Exposure to newspapers was weakly associated with distribution of literature and campaign materials with significance of *P*-value of 0.018 and 0.045 for before and after elections respectively. Radio, mobile and internet did not have significant association with distribution of literature and campaign materials.

Table 21: Association between media and distributing literature

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV exposure	0.9	21.5	77.6	33.6	11.2	55.2
Low exposure	9.2	19.5	78.3	43.1	28.2	28.7
Medium exposure	15.6	18.8	65.6	34.1	47.7	18.3
High exposure	15.1	22.0	62.8	28.8	39.4	31.7
	$\chi^2 = 20.606(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.002	$\chi^2 = 27.170(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.000
Newspapers exposure	8.6	21.2	72.2	34.4	24.6	41.0
Low exposure	10.6	20.3	69.3	32.5	36.0	31.5
Medium exposure	31.8	18.2	50.0	46.8	28.1	25.1
High exposure	11.5	24.6	63.9	28.3	45.2	26.9
	$\chi^2 = 18.258(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.018	$\chi^2 = 12.873(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.045

4.7 Association between Media Exposure and

Volunteer Work

According to Table 32 exposure to TV and newspapers before elections is significantly associated with working as official help or volunteer. Exposure to TV, newspapers, mobile and internet was associated with working as official help or volunteer after elections.

Table 32: Association between media and working as a volunteer

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV						
No exposure	4.7	20.6	74.8	31.4	11.9	67.1
Low exposure	16.2	15.6	66.2	40.9	28.2	30.9
Medium exposure	28.0	21.9	53.1	32.2	36.2	31.8
High exposure	23.4	24.8	51.8	31.1	40.7	28.2
	$\chi^2 = 24.333(a)$	6	0.000	$\chi^2 = 20.200(a)$	6	0.003
Newspapers						
No exposure	11.6	22.2	66.2	28.2	27.1	44.7
Low exposure	21.0	22.2	56.2	36.7	29.8	33.5
Medium exposure	45.5	18.2	36.4	30.7	39.3	30.1
High exposure	19.7	21.3	59.0	36.1	44.6	19.4
	$\chi^2 = 18.728(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.005	$\chi^2 = 21.206(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.002
Internet						
No exposure	17.7	21.0	61.3	27.2	36.0	36.8
Low exposure	22.5	27.5	50.0	61.9	19.6	18.3
Medium exposure	0.0	40.0	60.0	38.1	24.5	37.4
High exposure	26.0	25.0	50.0	25.6	49.3	25.1
	$\chi^2 = 3.793(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.706	$\chi^2 = 21.930(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.001
Mobile						
No exposure	16.9	22.3	60.9	27.5	36.3	36.2
Low exposure	22.9	17.1	60.0	48.7	27.9	22.4
Medium exposure	40.0	20.0	40.0	57.8	18.6	23.6
High exposure	23.6	23.6	52.4	67.3	12.3	20.4
	$\chi^2 = 3.462(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.749	$\chi^2 = 16.946(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.009

4.8 Association between Media Exposure and

Working as Officials

Table 33 reveals that exposure to TV, newspapers, internet and mobile is significantly associated with working as nomination or election official after elections at p value of 0.024, 0.000, 0.000 and 0.000 respectively.

Table 33: Association between media and working as nomination official

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	low participation	No participation	High participation	low participation	No participation
TV No exposure	18	21.5	76.8	23.8	19.1	67.0
Low exposure	7.8	23.4	68.8	37.1	30.9	32.0
Medium exposure	6.3	28.1	65.6	40.7	27.2	32.1
High exposure	11.0	26.1	62.8	33.2	38.8	28.0
	$X^2 = 10.665(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.099			$X^2 = 14.580(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.024		
Newspapers No exposure	9.6	22.7	71.7	26.5	28.3	45.2
Low exposure	7.8	26.8	65.4	27.2	34.9	37.9
Medium exposure	16.2	27.3	54.5	56.8	21.0	20.2
High exposure	11.5	24.6	63.9	40.3	41.4	18.4
	$X^2 = 7.263(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.295			$X^2 = 27.510(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.000		
Internet No exposure	7.5	24.4	68.1	23.9	37.6	38.5
Low exposure	12.5	27.5	60.0	64.8	17.3	17.9
Medium exposure	0.0	20.0	80.0	63.7	17.0	19.3
High exposure	0.0	25.0	75.0	47.5	38.1	14.4
	$X^2 = 2.545(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.863			$X^2 = 29.959(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.000		
Mobile No exposure	8.4	24.9	68.6	24.3	38.3	37.4
Low exposure	20.0	22.9	57.1	62.3	18.5	19.3
Medium exposure	20.0	20.0	60.0	63.7	17.0	19.3
High exposure	9.5	23.8	66.7	68.5	12.2	19.3
	$X^2 = 9.345(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.155			$X^2 = 28.814(a)$ df=6 Sig=0.000		

4.9 Association between Media Exposure and Research Work

According to Table 34 there is no significant association between working as a researcher for a politician or party and various mass media.

Table 34 Association between media and working as a researcher

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
Radio	0 0	16 1	83 9	50 6	30 5	18 8
No exposure	8 5	14 9	76 6	45 5	22 2	32 3
TV exposure	5 6	25 0	69 4	16 2	33 2	50 6
High exposure	7 0	28 1	64 9	34 1	34 7	31 2
	$\chi^2 = 14.749(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.022	$\chi^2 = 9.225(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.161
Newspapers	4 5	21 7	73 7	28 0	27 8	44 4
No exposure	5 2	22 9	71 9	36 9	30 0	33 2
TV exposure	13 6	36 4	50 0	38 4	31 2	30 5
High exposure	11 5	24 6	63 9	33 9	49 2	20 9
	$\chi^2 = 9.690(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.138	$\chi^2 = 13.835(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.015

4.10 Association between Media Exposure and Group Leadership

According to Table 35 exposure to TV, newspapers and internet has association with working as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party

TV, newspapers and mobile phones are only associated to working as a leader after election and not before elections (Table 35).

Table 35: Association between media and working as a leader

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV exposure	0.9	19.6	79.4	24.2	19.6	56.0
Low exposure	5.2	19.5	75.3	25.0	36.2	36.6
Medium exposure	9.4	25.0	65.6	59.3	20.2	20.6
High exposure	7.3	22.0	70.6	33.0	37.9	29.0
	$\chi^2 = 7.828(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.251$	$\chi^2 = 17.802(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.007$
Newspapers exposure	3.6	19.7	76.8	19.3	31.6	49.0
Low exposure	5.2	20.9	73.9	42.5	24.0	33.5
Medium exposure	13.0	27.3	59.1	47.1	25.6	27.3
High exposure	9.8	24.6	65.6	33.1	40.0	17.9
	$\chi^2 = 8.474(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.205$	$\chi^2 = 31.457(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.000$
Mobile exposure	4.8	21.4	73.7	24.2	37.7	36.1
Low exposure	8.0	25.7	65.7	56.5	23.1	20.4
Medium exposure	0.0	20.0	80.0	0.0	61.1	38.9
High exposure	14.3	9.5	76.2	78.3	9.1	12.6
	$\chi^2 = 6.148(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.407$	$\chi^2 = 31.967(a)$	$df=6$	$Sig=0.000$

4.11 Association between Media Exposure and

Offering Self for Office

Table 36 shows that exposure to TV, radio, newspapers and mobile has association with offering self for political office before elections. After elections, it is only the newspapers and mobile with significant association to offering self for political office.

TV is strongly associated at 0.01, radio at 0.04; newspapers at 0.04 and mobile phones at 0.043 before elections (Table 36).

Table 36: Association between media and offering self for political office

	Before election			After elections		
	High participation	Low participation	No participation	High participation	Low participation	No participation
TV	0.0	21.5	78.5	21.8	22.2	58.0
Low exposure	5.2	15.6	79.2	40.8	29.9	29.3
Medium exposure	12.5	25.0	62.5	36.6	31.0	32.5
High exposure	9.6	22.5	67.9	32.7	37.9	29.4
	$\chi^2 = 15.497(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.017	$\chi^2 = 9.586(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.143
Radio	1.6	18.1	82.3	23.4	47.6	29.0
Low exposure	5.3	18.0	78.7	40.7	23.8	35.7
Medium exposure	6.6	22.2	72.2	18.9	32.0	49.1
High exposure	8.8	24.4	69.0	34.3	34.9	30.8
	$\chi^2 = 12.799(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.046	$\chi^2 = 6.629(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.337
Television	3.0	20.2	76.8	28.0	28.5	43.5
Low exposure	7.8	20.9	71.2	46.3	24.8	28.9
Medium exposure	18.2	22.7	59.1	26.7	36.1	37.2
High exposure	11.5	24.6	63.9	20.1	54.4	25.5
	$\chi^2 = 12.859(a)$	df=6	0.045	$\chi^2 = 18.086(a)$	df=6	0.008
News	5.4	22.0	72.7	28.9	37.1	38.0
Low exposure	11.4	25.7	62.9	55.6	18.8	25.6
Medium exposure	20.0	0.0	80.0	0.0	64.0	36.0
High exposure	19.0	4.8	76.2	70.3	11.9	17.8
	$\chi^2 = 12.990(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.043	$\chi^2 = 13.165(a)$	df=6	Sig=0.040

4.12 Conclusion and Discussions

Exposure to TV was strongly associated with participation in campaigns through talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party before and after election ($P=0.000$ and 0.003); attending political rallies ($P<0.01$); doing general work ($P<0.01$) and working as security officials (0.000), nomination and election officials (0.024) and leader of political groups (0.000). Exposure to TV increases participation through working for political parties and

...ates This is consistent with the fact that TV is the preferred source of
... and information for the youth (Figure 15).

Radio enjoys significant associations with political participation through
...nding rallies (0.014 before and 0.034 after elections), and working for
...dicates and parties before and after elections. Only exposure to radio had an
...association with participation through attending political meetings and rallies after
...lections at 0.034. The implication is that radio is an influential channel for
...minating announcements about political meetings and rallies.

Exposure to newspapers is associated to attending political rallies, doing
...ny work, working as security, nomination official and leaders of a political group.

Mobile phones show an association with doing political work for party or
...andidate as well working as a nomination or election official for parties and
...andidates. Mobile phones provided useful platforms for mobilizing voters ahead
...of 2007 elections. Politicians sent messages to opinion leaders who in turn
...distributed messages to agents and voters at the grassroots. The implication is
...that mobile phones were important links between politicians and the youth.

Exposure to internet is associated to working as nomination or election
...official as well as working as leader of a political group. The implication is that
...youth leaders seemingly preferred internet as a source of information.

According to Pippa Norris, politically active people are the ones who
...consume a lot of media to get political information. He describes the relationship
...between mass media and political participation as a virtuous circle (Norris 2000,
... Norris 1996, 474-480).

Chapter 5

Impact of Mass Media Exposure on Youth Participation

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4, this study indicated that various forms of mass media were significantly associated with various forms of political participation. The results in chapter three showed that TV exposure was strongly associated with participation in campaigns through talking to people to try to persuade them to support candidates and parties; attending political meetings; doing general work and working as security, nomination and election officials and leader of political groups. Likewise, radio exposure was strongly associated with participation through attending rallies, and working for candidates and parties during election campaigns. These findings in chapter four answered objective three of this thesis that sought to establish the association between types of mass media and forms of political participation.

The key objective of this study is to examine the impact of exposure to mass media on youth participation during election campaigns. This chapter explores the impact of exposure to various types of media on various forms of political participation. It discusses the correlation between exposure to various types of media and forms of political participation in Nakuru District, Kenya. Forms of political participation examined in this study include talking to people to try to get them to vote for candidates or parties, giving money or buying promotional materials to help candidates or parties, attending political meeting or

campaign rally, distributing campaign materials for a candidate and or party, doing work to help candidates or parties, working as security for party or candidate, distributing literature or campaign materials, working as volunteer for party or candidate, working as party nomination or election official, working as a researcher for a party or candidate, working as a leader of a group supporting party or candidate and standing as a candidate in a political contest at council, constituency or group level. The study explores exposure to political information from TV, radio, newspapers, internet and mobile phones

This chapter examines the results of the bivariate analyses that are correlated with political participation controlling for other confounding factors. The study used bivariate logistic regression to establish the correlations. Logistic regression provides an efficient way to introduce the necessary controls when the dependent variable is a dichotomous one and the explanatory variables are categorical as in the case of this study. Logistic regression analysis is a statistical technique that allows the examination of the relationship between a dependent variable and a set of independent variables. It allows for the selection of the independent variables that best make prediction possible for the dependent variable and excludes those with no correlation.

Initially, bivariate models were run, to give the gross effect of each explanatory variable (mass media and social and demographic factors) on the dependent variable (political participation) before and after elections. After this, multivariate logistic model was fitted to examine the combined effect of mass media on political participation

The logistic regression equation may be expressed as follows:

$$\text{logit}(p) = \ln \left\{ \frac{p}{1-p} \right\} \\ = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \beta_4 x_4 + \dots + \beta_n x_n + \epsilon_1$$

Where p = the probability that the event will occur

\ln = Natural logarithm

$1-p$ = The probability that event will not occur.

β_0 = A f or the intercept of the model

β_1 to β_n are logistic coefficients

x_1 to x_n are dichotomous or interval explanatory variables (categorical variables are expressed as a series of dichotomized variable) and ϵ is a normally distributed error term.

In this study, significance (Sig.) was assumed if P -value was equal or less than 0.05. B is the estimated logit coefficient, $\text{Exp}(B)$ is the "exponential or odds ratio" of the individual coefficient. Exponential less than 1 implies a negative relation. Similarly, $S.E$ is the standard error of the coefficient, $\text{Wald} = [B/S.E.]^2$ while the Adjusted R^2 measures the goodness of fit of the model. It gives the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable accounted for by the explanatory variables. If R^2 ranges between 0 and 1, 1 it is a perfect fit. It increases with addition of variable to the model

This section starts by describing the dummy variables for the independent, dependent variables, and indices that were fitted for regression analysis. This is followed by presentation of the effects of mass media on political participation. In this, the section also discusses the effects background characteristics of

youths on political participation. The results of the multivariate regression analysis are presented in chapter seven.

5.2 Description of Dummy Variables

This section presents the definitions of the independent and dependent variables used in the logistic regression analyses. It also discusses the indices designed to combine the numerous variables into amenable formulas for analyzing the gross effects of mass media.

5.2.1 Independent Variables

- Q1- Sex of the youth 1 "Male" and 2 "Female" Male is the reference category
- Q2 Age range of the youth 1 "(18-19)", 2 "(20-24)", and "(25-30)" "18-19" is the reference category.
- Q3 - Youths level of education 1 "None", 2 "Primary", 3 "Secondary", 4 "Undergraduate", 5 "Postgraduate", and "Tertiary". No education forms the reference category
- Q4 - Youths location of residence 1 "(urban)" and 2 "(rural)" Urban is the reference category
- Q5 - Monthly income level 1 ">5000", 2 "5000-10000", 3 "10001-20000", 4 "20001-30000", 5 "30001-40000", 6 "40001 - 50,000", 7 "50,001- 150,000", and 8 "150,000 and above" >5000 income level is the reference category
- Q6 - "Type of roofing material" used in this study as a proxy measure of wealth status of the youths was recorded such that 0 "Thatched roof (poor status and reference category)", 2 "corrugated iron sheets (medium status)", 3 "Asbestos (very good status)" and 4 "Tiles(good status)".

Q12R - Exposure to News on political information on TV: Indicates residents who reported watching news on TV (coded 3 "high exposure", 2 "medium" 1 "low exposure" and 0 "no exposure" with no exposure treated as the reference category).

Q13R - Exposure to News on political information on Radio: Indicates residents who reported listening to news on radio (coded 3 "high exposure", 2 "medium" 1 "low exposure" and 0 "no exposure", no exposure is treated as the reference category).

Q14R - Read Newspapers to get news on political information. Indicates residents who reported reading newspapers (coded 3 "high exposure", 2 "medium" 1 "low exposure" and 0 "no exposure", no exposure is treated as the reference category).

Q15R - Exposure to Internet to get news on political information: Indicates residents who reported surfing Internet for news (coded 3 "high exposure", 2 "medium" 1 "low exposure" and 0 "no exposure" with no exposure is treated as the reference category).

Q16R - Exposure to Mobile to get news on political information. Indicates residents who reported using mobile for news (coded 3 "high exposure", 2 "medium" 1 "low exposure" and 0 "no exposure" with no exposure is treated as the reference category). In all the cases, possible answers, as reflected in the questionnaire ranged from 0 ("not exposed at all") on any given day in a week to everyday or 7 days per week.

Q23 - "Other sources apart from mass media of getting campaign information" 1 Political rallies and meeting treated as the reference category. 2 "Chiefs", 3 "Church meetings", 4 "Women groups meetings", 5 "Friends", 6 "Spouse", 7 "Other relatives", and 8 "Work mates".

Q24R - "Attention paid by government on what people say" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q25R - "Attention paid by parliament on what people say" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q26R - "Attention paid by political parties on what people say" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q27R - "Those we elect to parliament lose touch with people pretty quickly" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q28R - "Campaigns help voters make informed choices" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q29R - "How much do you think elections help bring change in Kenya" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

Q30R - "The Kenyan media present accurate and real picture of our politicians during campaigns" recoded as 0 "No efficacy" 1 "Medium efficacy" 2 "High efficacy"

5.2.2 Dependent variables

Q43R - "Talked to People to try to get them to vote for or against any political party or candidate" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation". In the tables Q43R is captured as "Talked politics".

Q44R - "Given money, bought tickets or T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win election" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation". 44R is given as "Gave money" in the tables.

Q45R - "Attended a political meeting or campaign rally in connection to the 2007 elections in Kenya" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation" 44R is illustrated as "Attended meetings" in the tables

Q46R - "Done any work to help a candidate or party during the campaigns" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation" Q46R is given as "worked" in the tables

Q46AI - "Worked as security for candidate or party" coded as 1 "High participation" and 0 "No participation" 46AI is captured as "worked as security" in the tables

Q46AII - "Distributed literature or campaign materials" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation". Q46AII is illustrated as "issued fliers" in the tables

Q46AIII - "Worked as official help or volunteer" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation" 46AIII is captured as worked as helper.

Q46IV - "Worked as party nomination or election official" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation". 46IV is captured as "worked as official"

Q46AV - "Worked as researcher for politician or party" coded as 1 "High participation" and 0 "No participation". 46AV is captured as "did research"

Q46VI - "Worked as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party" coded as coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation". Q46VI is represented as "led groups" in the tables

Q46AVII - "Offered self for political office - councilor, MP or local leader" coded as 1 "Participation" and 0 "No participation" Q46AVII is illustrated as "ran for office". Q46AVII is captured as "ran for office".

5.2.3 Indices

This study explored different concepts using an array of variables. These concepts are exposure to mass media and political participation. Since these concepts are rather broad, it was better to combine these variables into a single composite score (i.e., an index) so as to cover the full range of meanings included in the concepts rather than just using a single one of these variables to measure.

Indices were constructed using a compute statement. Missing variables were dropped from the analysis first before the compute statement was done. The variables were added together and divided by the total number of variables included to create an average score. This final score represents the composite score (i.e., the index score), and was thus coded as follows:

"PolPat" Political participation was measured using 11 different variables (Q1Talked politics to Ran for office) as described above. To get the combined measure of political participation, these variables were used to create an index **"PolPat"**. Pol refers to Political and Pat refers to Participation. It is coded as 0 "No participation" and 1 "Participation".

"PolEff" Political efficacy was measured using 7 different variables (Q24R to Q24R). These variables were combined to form an index **"PolEff"**. Pol refers to

Eff refers to efficacy. It is coded as 1 "No/Low efficacy", 2 "Medium efficacy" and 3 "High efficacy".

MassExp" Mass media exposure to political participation was measured using different variables (Q12R to Q 16R). These variables were used to create an index "MassExp". Mass refers to mass media and Exp refers to Exposure. It is coded 0 "No exposure", 1 "Low exposure", 2 "Medium exposure" and 4 "High exposure".

AllCand" Knowledge of candidates was measured using 3 variables that is knowledge of the three presidential candidates' (Kibaki, Raila and Kalonzo) campaign strategies. To get the knowledge on all candidates, these are the variables that were used to create an index 'AllCand'. All refers to all and Cand refers to candidate. 0 "Not Knowledgeable" 1 "Medium Knowledge" 3 "Highly knowledgeable".

5.3 Effects of Exposure to Mass Media on Political Participation

This section examines the results of the bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses on effects of exposure to mass media on political participation before and after elections. Two sets of bivariate logistic analyses are discussed. The first part discusses the results of the bivariate logistic analyses of the effects of exposure to mass media on political participation followed by presentation of the results of the bivariate analyses of the effects of other independent variable, e.g. socio-demographic factors on political participation. The second part involves presentation and discussion of the results of the separate analyses of result of the effect of all independent variables on political

participation using the defined indices. Finally, the results of the multivariate analyses of the effects of exposure to mass media on political participation are presented and discussed.

§ 3.1 Results of Bivariate Analysis of Impacts of Exposure to Mass Media on Political Participation before Election Campaigns

Table 37 shows the summary of the results of the bivariate analysis before elections that are discussed hereunder. Table 33 presents the bivariate association between exposure to mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, internet and mobile phones) and each of the forms of political participation mentioned above. It indicates the level of significance for each correlation, the estimated coefficients and their exponentials from the logistic regressions.

Effect of TV exposure on political participation before election campaigns

Logistic regression analysis of the effects of exposure to mass media on political participation before elections indicate that TV exposure has a direct relationship with participation in political campaigns. Table 34 shows that increase in TV exposure is associated with a greater likelihood of participating in political campaigns. Those with high exposure to TV were 2.076 times more likely to talk to people to try to get them to vote compared to those with no TV exposure ($P=0.003$).

Table 37 reveals that exposure to TV was associated to giving money or buying promotional materials to help to get a candidate or party to win elections. Youth with high TV exposure were 5.171 times more likely to participate ($P=0.01$), those with medium TV exposure were 3.624 times more likely ($P<0.01$).

those with low TV exposure were 2.738 times more likely ($P=0.001$) to participate through giving money or buying T-shirts or memorabilia.

Exposure to TV also influenced participation through attending political rallies and meetings with youths with high TV exposure being 5.842 times more likely ($P<0.01$), those with medium TV exposure being 7.632 times more likely ($P<0.01$) and those with low TV exposure being 4.989 times more likely ($P=0.001$) to attend political meetings and rallies compared to those with no TV exposure (Table 37).

Working for a candidate or party had a significant relationship with exposure to TV. Youths with high exposure to TV had a 4.360 times likelihood at P -value 0.000 to work for a candidate or party compared to those with no exposure. Those with medium exposure to TV had a 4.134 times more likelihood to participate ($P<0.01$) compared to their counterparts with no TV exposure whereas those with low exposure had a 2.569 times more likely ($P=0.003$) to participate by working for a candidate or party (Table 37).

Moreover, working as security for a candidate or party has a significant association with exposure to TV with those with high exposure being 6.542 times more likely to work as security compared to those with no exposure to TV. Those with medium exposure to TV were 5.929 times more likely and those with low exposure to TV being 4.626 more likely to work as security compared to those with no exposure to TV. These relationships are significant at a P -value of 0.000 (Table 37).

Table 37 further indicates a strong significant relationship between exposure to TV and distributing literature or campaign materials. Youth with high exposure to TV were 18.5 times ($P=0.005$), medium exposure TV 21.5 times ($P=0.004$) and low exposure to TV being 17.8 times more likely to distribute literature and materials ($P=0.01$) compared to those with no TV exposure.

Working as a volunteer of a political party has a significant relationship with exposure to TV with those with high exposure being 4.9 times more likely to work as an official ($P<0.01$), those with medium exposure being 5.339 times more likely to work as official ($P=0.001$) and those with low exposure being 4.240 times more likely to work as official ($P=0.003$) compared to those with no exposure to TV (Table 37).

Working as party nomination or election official has a significant relationship with exposure to TV with those with high exposure being 4.928 times more likely to work as a nomination official ($P=0.011$) compared to those with no exposure (Table 37).

97 Results of bivariate analysis of effects of TV on participation

Outcome	Participation in election campaigns before elections									
	Unaided political	One radio	Attended meetings	Worked	Worked as security	Worked as	Worked as helper	Worked as	Did	Full groups
0.212	1.007	1.807	0.913	1.832	3.878	1.444	1.108	0.888	2.478	2.118
0.408	0.001***	0.001***	0.203***	0.000***	0.007***	0.003***	0.098	0.173	0.022***	0.058
1.738	2.738	4.888	2.888	4.828	17.784	4.240	3.308	2.461	11.800	8.388
0.852	1.287	2.032	1.420	1.780	3.088	1.675	1.418	0.148	0.848	1.567
0.088	0.000***	0.001***	0.000***	0.000***	0.004***	0.001***	0.058	0.088	0.563	0.308
1.818	3.624	7.832	4.136	6.928	21.511	8.328	4.132	1.157	2.327	4.748
0.721	1.642	1.765	1.472	1.878	2.918	1.001	1.405	0.980	1.788	2.785
0.080	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.006***	0.000***	0.011***	0.088	0.021	0.027***
2.078	8.171	8.842	4.380	8.642	18.497	4.984	4.928	1.788	10.934	15.881

*P<0.05, ** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of radio exposure on political participation before election campaigns

Additionally, exposure to radio has a direct and significant relationship before elections with giving money or buying T-shirts to help a candidate or party Table 38 shows that youths with a high exposure to radio were 3.304 times more likely (P<0.01), those with medium exposure were 2.797 times more likely (P=0.006) and those with low exposure were 2.441 times more likely to get money or buy T-shirts (P=0.002) compared to those with no exposure to radio (Table 38)

Table 38 reveals that exposure to radio also has a direct and significant association with attending political meetings, rallies and campaigns by surveyed youth. Surveyed youth with high exposure being 3.330 times (P=0.009), medium exposure with being 4.875 times (P=0.003) and low exposure with 3.528 times more likely to attend campaigns, rallies and meeting (P=0.009) compared to those with no exposure

Radio is pervasive in Kenya with high availability. According to the KDHS 2003, 70 percent to 90 percent of Kenyans listen to radio weekly (CBS, MoH and IRC 2004, 13-40). Radio is a popular channel for announcing political meetings and rallies in the country with a view to reach rural communities.

Table 38: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of radio exposure on participation
Participation in election campaigns before elections

	Talked political	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issued fliers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
High exposure	0.474	0.892	1.261	0.248		0.728	0.699	1.838	0.867	1.194	1.322
Low exposure	0.111	0.002***	0.009***	0.429	0.306	0.126	0.088	0.035**	0.285	0.137	0.097
Exp (B)	1.607	2.441	3.526	0.780	0.391	2.067	2.012	5.152	2.629	3.301	3.750
High exposure	0.517	1.028	1.584	0.705		0.261	0.550	1.019	1.329	-0.122	1.329
Low exposure	0.172	0.008***	0.003***	0.055	0.574	0.671	0.271	0.274	0.133	0.927	0.133
Exp (B)	1.877	2.797	4.875	2.023	0.172	1.299	1.732	2.772	3.778	0.885	3.778
High exposure	0.078	1.195	1.203	0.928	0.563	0.078	0.807	1.447	1.310	1.156	1.235
Low exposure	0.768	0.000***	0.009***	0.001***	0.080	0.871	0.114	0.067	0.097	0.134	0.107
Exp (B)	1.081	3.304	3.330	2.529	1.755	0.925	1.836	4.250	3.708	3.175	3.439

*P<0.01, **P<0.05, *** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effects of newspapers exposure on political participation before election campaigns

According to Table 39 exposure to newspapers has a significant relationship with giving money or, buying T-shirts or other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win elections. This relationship is direct, meaning that increase in exposure to newspapers was associated with a greater likelihood of participation through giving money or buying T-shirts or other memorabilia. Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 3.99 times more likely to talk to people to support candidates or parties (P<0.01) compared to those with no

exposure to newspapers. Youths with medium exposure were 5.863 times more likely to participate ($P=0.002$) compared to those with no exposure to newspapers.

Table 39 reveals that youths with low exposure to newspapers were 2.452 times more likely to participate through giving money, buying T-shirts and other memorabilia to support candidates or parties ($P<0.01$) compared to those with no exposure.

Relationship between exposures to newspapers and attending political meetings, rallies and meeting was direct and significant. Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 2.315 times more likely to attend political meetings, rallies and campaigns at a P -value of 0.000. Those with medium exposure and low exposure were 5.215 times ($P<0.01$) and 1.829 times ($P=0.043$) respectively more likely to attend meetings compared to those with no exposure to newspapers (Table 39).

Doing work to help a candidate or party during campaigns has a direct and significant relationship with exposure to newspapers. Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 3.147 times ($P<0.01$), those with medium exposure were 4.021 times ($P=0.001$) and those with low exposure were 1.943 times more likely to do work for a candidate or party ($P=0.003$) compared to those with low exposure to newspapers (Table 39).

Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 2.659 times more likely to work as a security for candidate or party at P -value of 0.003. Those with medium exposure were 3.607 times more likely ($P=0.003$) and those with low

... were 2.216 times more likely to work as security for candidate or party (0.002) compared to those with no exposure to newspapers (Table 39).

Youths with medium exposure to newspapers were also 4.754 times more likely to distribute literature or campaign materials with a significant *P*-value of 0.004. Those with low exposure to newspapers were 2.664 times more likely to distribute literature (0.010) compared to those with no exposure (Table 39).

According to Table 39 working as official help or volunteer also has a significant association with exposure to newspapers. Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 2.388 times more likely to work as an official help or volunteer (*P*=0.028), those with medium exposure were 3.299 times more likely (*P*=0.016) and those with low exposure were 3.488 times more likely to work as an official help or volunteer (*P*<0.01).

Table 39: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of newspaper exposure on political participation before elections

	Participation in election campaigns before elections										
	Took part in politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked as security	Worked as security	Issue flyers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
High exposure	0.296	0.897	0.804	0.864	0.798	0.980	1.249	0.808	0.835	1.172	1.875
Medium exposure	0.182	0.000*	0.043**	0.003***	0.002***	0.010***	0.000***	0.054	0.270	0.024**	0.003***
Low exposure	1.345	2.452	1.828	1.843	2.218	2.864	3.488	2.243	1.707	3.237	5.078
High exposure	1.345	1.788	1.852	1.381	1.283	1.558	1.184	0.903	1.445	1.865	1.720
Medium exposure	0.018**	0.002***	0.000***	0.001***	0.002***	0.004***	0.018**	0.189	0.024**	0.008***	0.024***
Low exposure	3.637	5.883	5.215	4.021	3.807	4.754	3.298	2.488	4.242	6.455	9.883
High exposure	0.047	1.388	0.840	1.148	0.978	0.421	0.870	0.800	0.808	0.879	1.790
Medium exposure	0.000	0.000***	0.023***	0.000***	0.003***	0.443	0.028**	0.132	0.183	0.348	0.003***
Low exposure	0.858	3.998	2.318	3.147	2.889	1.524	2.388	2.225	2.244	1.872	9.892

* *P*<0.05, ** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of internet exposure on political participation before election campaigns

Additionally, there was a significant relationship between exposure to internet and giving money, buying T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party. According to Table 40 this relationship was significant at a P -value of 0.043, with those with low exposure being 2.794 times more likely to participate compared to those with no internet exposure.

Table 40 shows that the relationship between exposure to internet and working to help a candidate or party was significant at a P -value of 0.006, with those with low exposure being 3.313 times more likely to work for a candidate compared to those with no exposure. Youths with a medium exposure to internet were 17.318 times more likely to work as a researcher for a politician ($P=0.05$) compared to those with no exposure to internet. Similarly, youths with a low exposure to internet were 3.149 times more likely to work as a researcher for a politician at P -value of 0.05 (Table 40).

In addition, the relationship between exposure to internet and working as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party was significant at a P -value of 0.04 with those with medium exposure being 18.1 times more likely to work as a leader compared to those with low exposure (Table 40).

40: Effects internet exposure on participation before elections

Participation in election campaigns before elections

	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue items	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
									1.147		
	0.544	1.028	0.748	1.188	0.498	0.857	0.338	0.483	0.050***	0.418	0.878
	0.180	0.043**	0.097	0.006*	0.244	0.104	0.484	0.452	3.148	0.388	0.294
	0.580	2.794	2.114	3.313	1.848	2.388	1.403	1.877		1.518	1.972
									2.852		
	0.544	-21.810	1.580	0.387	1.135	2.282	1.842	2.820	0.048**	2.801	2.718
	0.701	0.999	0.277	0.785	0.424	0.108	0.277	0.077	17.318	0.043**	0.057
	0.880	0.000	4.757	1.472	3.112	9.892	4.878	12.433		18.180	18.120
									18.381		
	0.148	0.288	19.843	1.080	0.442	-18.911	-18.560	-18.883	0.999	18.302	18.487
	0.803	0.816	0.999	0.378	0.219	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.000	0.999	0.999
	1.181	1.331	0.000	7.945	1.958	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000

01. **P<0.05. * is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of exposure to mobile phones on political participation before elections

Table 41 reveals that there is correlation between exposure to mobile phones and political participation. Youth were directly and significantly associated with working as security for party or candidate with those with low exposure to mobile phones being 2.302 times more likely to work as security (P=0.042), those with high exposure to mobile phones being 3.348 times more likely to work as security (0.019) compared to those with no exposure to mobile phones (Table 41).

Youths with low exposure to mobile phones were also 3.030 and 4.402 times more likely to work as nomination or election official and work as researchers for a party or candidate at P-value of 0.038 and 0.007 respectively as indicated in Table 41

The results indicate that mobile phone ownership is associated with exposure to higher SES. Youth with mobile phones would be those from average

to high SES households. Those without mobile phones would be from lower SES. Surveyed youth from lower SES were more likely to seek work from political parties and candidates. The mobile is a popular means of passing information between politicians and their security handlers

Table 41 Effects of mobile phone on participation before elections
Participation in election campaigns before elections

Mobile phone exposure	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue fiers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
Low	0.225	0.879	0.046	0.605	0.834	0.559	0.046	1.109	1.482	0.941	1.060
Medium	0.594	0.133	0.928	0.131	0.042**	0.327	0.928	0.038**	0.007	0.153	0.070
High	1.252	1.971	1.047	1.831	2.302	1.749	1.047	3.030	*	2.562	2.885
Exp (B)									4.402		
Low	-0.468	0.727	-19.876	0.382	0.110	1.210	19.876	-18.813		1.922	1.710
Medium	0.641	0.530	0.999	0.704	0.925	0.300	0.899	0.999	1.865	0.103	0.146
High	0.626	2.070	0.000	1.485	1.118	3.352	0.000	0.000	0.114	6.833	5.530
Exp (B)									6.456		
Low	0.998	1.095	0.429	0.893	1.208	0.842	0.429	0.844		1.075	0.883
Medium	0.124	0.091	0.469	0.090	0.019**	0.205	0.469	0.410	1.018	0.176	0.273
High	2.713	2.990	1.536	2.442	3.348	2.321	1.536	1.905	0.199	2.929	2.370
Exp (B)									2.767		

*p<0.05, **p<0.05. * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

5.3.2 Results of bivariate analyses of effects of exposure to mass media on political participation after elections

After doing logistic regression for responses obtained before elections,

bivariate analyses were conducted to get the effects of mass media on political participation after elections. Table 42 summarizes the results

Effect of exposure to TV on political participation after elections

Table 42 shows there is an inverse relationship between exposure to TV and talking to people to try and get them to vote, meaning that an increase in exposure to TV was associated with a lesser likelihood of talking to people to try get them to vote. Youths with high exposure to TV were 0.390 times less likely

talk to people to get them to vote. Youths with medium exposure were 0.340 times less whereas those with low exposure were 0.451 times less likely to talk to people to try to get them to vote compared to low exposure. These relationships were significant at P -value of 0.001, 0.003 and 0.018 respectively (Table 42).

TV exposure had a significant direct relationship with giving money or buying tickets-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election (Table 42). This shows that an increase in TV exposure after elections was associated with a greater likelihood of participation ($P < 0.01$).

Those with high TV exposure were 3.861 times more likely to participate through giving money or buying tickets-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election compared to those with no TV exposure (Table 42). This was significant at a P -value of 0.000. Youths with medium TV exposure were 4.4 times more likely to participate through giving money or buying tickets-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election compared to those with no exposure. Youths with low exposure were 4.154 times more likely to participate through giving money or buying T-shirts. These relationships were significant at P -value of 0.001 and 0.000 respectively (Table 42).

According to Table 42 attending political rallies as well as meetings was highly influenced by exposure to TV with those with high TV exposure being 2.482 times more likely, those with medium exposure being 2.905 times more likely and those with low exposure being 3.347 times more likely to attend political meeting compared to those with no TV exposure (42).

Working for a candidate or party had a significant relationship with exposure to TV. Youths with high exposure to TV had a 5.477 times likelihood to work for a candidate compared to those with no exposure (Table 42).

Those with medium had a 2.905 times more likelihood to participate compared to their counterparts with no TV exposure whereas those with low exposure had a 3.820 times more likely to participate by working for a candidate compared to those with no exposure (Table 42)

Similarly, Table 42 shows that working as security for a candidate has a significant association with exposure to TV with those with high exposure being 5.751 times more likely to work as security compared to those with no exposure

Those with low exposure being 4.961 more likely to work as security compared to those with no exposure. This relation was significant at a *P*-value of 0.004 and 0.015 respectively (Table 42)

Results further indicate a significant relationship between exposure to TV and distributing literature or campaign materials, with those with low exposure being 4.08 times more likely to distribute materials compared to those with no TV exposure (*P*=0.036).

According to Table 42, working as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party has a significant relationship with exposure to TV with those with low exposure being 4.932 times more likely to work as official compared to those with no exposure (*P*=0.046).

Table 42: Results of bivariate analysis of effects TV exposure on political participation after elections

Participation in election campaigns after election		Attended meeting	Worked as security	Worked as helper	Issue filers	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office	
Talked politics	Gave money									
-0.795	1.424	1.208								
0.016**	0.000***	0.002***	1.340	1.602	1.408	1.085	1.048	1.596	19.110	
0.451	4.154	3.347	0.007***	0.015**	0.038**	0.902	0.133	0.088	0.048**	0.997
			3.820	4.981	4.080	0.678	2.847	3.247	4.932	1E+08
-1.080	1.482	1.066								
0.003***	0.001***	0.013***	1.087	0.910	0.688	0.054	0.362	-0.772	0.357	17.160
0.340	4.400	2.905	0.044**	0.228	0.394	0.132	0.685	0.508	0.725	0.997
			2.985	2.484	1.951	0.185	1.438	0.462	1.429	2E+07
-0.942	1.351	0.912	1.701	1.748	1.009	2.901	1.259	0.547	1.183	18.389
0.001***	0.000***	0.011***	0.000***	0.004***	0.111	2.464	0.044**	0.407	0.120	0.997
0.390	3.861	2.489	5.477	5.751	2.743	1.988	3.920	1.720	3.285	9E+08

Note: **P<0.05, * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of exposure to radio on political participation after elections

Additionally, exposure to radio had an inverse relationship with talking to people to try getting them to vote. According to Table 43 increase in exposure to radio is associated with a lesser likelihood of participation after elections (P=0.002). Youths with a high exposure to radio are 0.395 times less likely compared to those with no radio exposure.

Table 43 reveals that radio exposure have a significant association with attending political meetings, rallies and campaigns with those with high exposure being 2.726 times and medium exposure with being 2.604 times more likely to attend campaigns, rallies and meeting compared to those with no exposure

Table 43: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of radio exposure on participation

	Participation in election campaigns after election										
	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked for security	Worked as security	Issued flyers	Worked as manager	Worked as official	Did research	Used groups	Ran for office
	0.099	0.418	0.882	0.104	0.706	-0.274	0.218	0.109	1.072	1.072	1.178
	0.785	0.220	0.148	0.778	0.508	0.851	0.172	0.848	0.178	0.175	0.134
	1.101	0.860	1.788	0.801	0.748	0.780	0.919	1.118	2.870	2.920	3.241
	-0.889	0.082	0.887	-0.434	-0.821	0.321	0.823	0.181	-0.044	0.378	0.752
	0.013***	0.867	0.025***	0.323	0.388	0.600	0.728	0.811	0.865	0.688	0.543
	0.418	0.840	2.604	0.644	0.555	1.378	0.229	1.183	0.867	1.456	0.471
	-0.828	0.332	1.003	0.342	0.182	0.448	0.806	0.387	0.908	1.073	0.478
	0.602***	0.278	0.008***	0.211	0.884	0.383	0.842	0.483	0.744	0.183	0.884
	0.395	1.394	2.728	1.408	1.178	1.585	0.595	1.473	2.475	2.824	1.810

***P<0.05, * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of exposure to newspapers on political participation after elections

Results further indicate that exposure to newspapers had an inverse relationship with talking to people during the campaigns (Table 44). This relationship is inverse meaning that increase in exposure was associated with a lesser likelihood of participation by with talking to people to try get them to vote (Table 44). Low exposure and high exposure had significant associations to talking to people ($P=0.007$ and 0.016 respectively). Youths with high exposure to newspapers were 0.508 times less and youth with low exposure to newspapers 1.501 times less likely to talk to people to try giving them to vote compared to youths with no exposure to newspapers (Table 44)

However, exposure to newspapers has a direct relationship to attending political meetings, meaning that increase of exposure is associated with greater likelihood of attending political meetings ($P=0.023$) Youths with low exposure to

newspapers were 1.804 times more likely to attend political meetings, rallies and campaigns compared to those with no exposure (Table 44).

According to Table 44 working to help a candidate or party during campaigns has a direct and significant relationship with exposure to newspapers. This means that increase in exposure to newspapers is associated with greater likelihood of participation. Youths with low and high exposure were respectively 1.904 ($P=0.022$) times and 2.633 ($P=0.003$) times more likely to do work for a candidate compared to those with low exposure (Table 44).

Low exposure to newspapers had a direct correlation with working as security for candidate or party as indicated in Table 44. Youths with low exposure to newspapers were a 2.110 times more likely to work as a security for candidate or party compared to youths without exposure to newspapers. This relationship is significant at P-value of 0.023 (Table 44).

Table 44 indicates that youths with high exposure were a 3.305 times more likely to work as a nomination or election official compared to those with no exposure. This implies that high exposure to newspapers significantly increased the likelihood of youth working as nomination or election officials ($P=0.005$).

At the same time, youths with high exposure to newspapers are 3.255 times more likely to work as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party compared to those with no exposure to newspapers. This relationship was significant at a P-value of 0.035.

Table 44 Results of bivariate analysis of effects of newspaper exposure on participation

-0.081	0.028	0.590	0.844	0.747	0.082	-0.043	0.052	-0.084	0.885	0.528
0.003***	0.814	0.023***	0.022***	0.032***	0.833	0.290	0.909	0.863	0.085	0.287
0.501	1.027	1.804	1.904	2.110	1.085	0.473	1.063	0.919	2.423	1.698
-1.007	0.982	0.371	0.546	0.708	-0.080	0.907	0.573	-0.077	0.892	-0.423
0.007***	0.111	0.372	0.211	0.178	0.904	0.582	0.351	0.923	0.223	0.656
0.365	1.808	1.450	1.726	2.026	0.924	0.239	1.774	0.928	2.441	0.655
-0.877	0.091	0.591	0.968	0.770	-0.109	0.958	1.195	0.328	1.180	0.270
0.018***	0.781	0.057	0.003	0.058	0.829	1.337	0.006***	0.540	0.035**	0.875
0.508	1.085	1.807	2.833	2.160	0.897	1.604	3.205	1.389	3.765	1.310

*P<0.05 is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate. Exp(B) is the odds ratio

Effects of exposure to internet on political participation after elections

There was a significant relationship between exposure to internet and work to help a candidate win (Table 45). Youths with low exposure were 2.744 times more likely to participate in doing work to help a candidate win elections with a P-value of 0.003 compared to those with no exposure (Table 45).

Table 45 shows that the relationship between exposure to internet and working as a security for a candidate had a significant relationship (P<0.01) with youths with low exposure being 4.124 times more likely to help a candidate or party compared to those with no exposure. Likewise, youths with a medium exposure to internet were 4.367 times more likely to work as official helps or volunteers. This relationship was significant at a P-value of 0.000. Additionally, youths with a low exposure to internet were 2.978 times more likely to work as a member of a group supporting a politician or party (P=0.013)

Table 45 Results of bivariate analysis of effects of internet exposure on political participation after elections

Participation in election campaigns after election											
	Talked politica	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue filers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Left groups	Ran for office
	-0.622	0.633	0.377	1.008	1.417	0.427	1.474	1.091	0.628	0.486	-
	0.062	0.056	0.280	0.003	0.000	0.404	0.000	0.013	0.272	0.391	18.350
	0.537	1.884	1.458	2.744	4.124	1.532	4.367	2.976	1.874	1.628	0.998
	-21.480	0.878	20.180	1.354	0.975	8.802	-18.962	1.409	-18.350	-18.490	0.000
	0.999	0.363	0.999	0.179	0.403	0.999	0.999	0.229	0.998	0.999	18.350
	0.000	2.407	0.000	3.873	2.661	0.000	0.000	4.092	0.000	0.000	0.999
	-21.480	1.977	-0.066	1.354	0.975	1.302	-18.962	1.409	1.754	1.612	0.000
	0.999	0.068	0.988	0.179	0.403	0.285	0.999	0.229	0.136	0.170	0.000
	0.000	7.221	0.937	3.873	2.651	3.677	0.000	4.092	5.778	5.014	1.754
											0.136
											5.778

E **P<0.05** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effects of exposure to mobiles phones on political participation after elections

According to Table 46 exposure to mobile phones has an inverse relationship with talking to people to persuade them to vote. This means that increase in exposure was associated with a lesser likelihood of participation through talking to people to try giving them to vote. Youths with low mobile phone exposure were less likely to participate by talking to people to get them to vote compared to those with no exposure to mobile phones (Table 46) This relationship was significant at a P-value of 0.008 (Table 46).

Table 46 shows that giving money or buying T-shirts or other memorabilia had a direct relationship with exposure to mobile phones. Youths with low exposure to newspapers were 3.238 times more likely to participate by giving money or buying T-shirts or other memorabilia with talking to people to try giving them to vote (P=0.001). Relationship between exposure to mobiles was

significant ($P=0.001$) to doing work to help a candidate or party during elections

Youths with low exposure were 3.544 times more likely to do work for a candidate compared to those with no exposure. Youths with high exposure to mobile phones were 8.984 times more likely to work as an official help or volunteer, those with medium mobile phone exposure were 4.621 more likely and those with low exposure were 4.147 times more likely to work as an official help compared to those with no exposure. These relationships are significant at P -value of 0.001, 0.032 and 0.001 respectively.

According to Table 46 youths with high exposure to mobile phones were 2.257 times more likely to work as nomination or election officials compared to those with no exposure to TV

Additionally, those with low exposure to mobile phones were 4.202 times more likely to work as a nomination or election official compared to those with no exposure. These relationships are significant at P -value of 0.000 and 0.002 (Table 44)

Youths with high exposure to mobile phones were 23.933 times and those with low exposure were 3.217 more likely to work as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party compared to those with no exposure to radio. These relationships are significant at a P -value of 0.000 and 0.030 respectively (Table 46)

Table 46: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of mobile phone exposure

Participation in election campaigns after election										
Talked politics	Gave money	Atten- ded meet- ing	Worked as security	Worked as security	Issued Tiers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
-0.976 0.004*** 0.377	1.175 0.001*** 3.238	0.367 0.329 1.443	1.268 0.000*** 3.544	-0.054 0.832 0.948	0.054 0.147 0.042	1.422 0.001*** 4.147	1.438 0.002*** 4.202	1.168 0.030** 3.217	1.168 0.030*** 3.217	0.738 0.733 2.194
-0.283 0.859 0.753	0.548 0.406 1.727	-0.328 0.683 0.722	-0.018 0.990 0.900	0.147 0.881 1.158	0.832 0.801 0.968	1.831 0.032** 4.821	1.302 0.112 3.877	-18.210 0.000 0.000	-18.210 0.000 0.000	-18.018 0.999 0.000
0.843 0.188 0.431	1.811 0.018** 4.933	0.878 0.155 2.405	1.184 0.054 3.300	0.042 0.989 1.042	0.948 1.158 1.042	2.188 0.001*** 8.984	2.508 0.000*** 12.287	3.178 0.000*** 23.933	3.178 0.000*** 23.933	2.824 0.000*** 13.790

***P<0.05, ** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

5.3.3 Result of Bivariate Analyses of impacts of Social and Demographics

Factors on Political Participation before election campaigns

This section discusses the results of the bivariate analysis of the effects of background characteristics of the youth, i.e., gender, age, education, income, location of residence and type of roof, on political participation before and after elections. Table 36 gives the summary results for this section.

Effects of gender on political participation before election campaigns

Bivariate analyses before elections indicate that sex of the youth had an inverse relationship with the different forms of political participation (Table 47). This means that females were associated with a lesser likelihood of political participation.

Table 47 reveals that giving money or buying T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win has a significant relationship with

gender with females being 0.516 less likely to give money or buy T-shirts or memorabilia from parties and political aspirants. The relationship was significant with a P-value of 0.001 (Table 47).

According to Table 47 sex of the youth was a significant determinant of political participation through doing work to help a candidate or party. Females were 0.521 times less likely to do any work to help a candidate or party (P=0.001) compared to male youths. Sex of the youth was also an influencing factor to working as security for candidate or party with females being 0.389 times less likely to participate compared to males.

Similarly, gender affected political participation variable of working as an official help or volunteer with females being 0.494 times less likely to work as officials or volunteers for parties or candidates (Table 47).

Table 47: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of gender on participation

	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue files	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Run for office
Female											
Male											
Exp(B)	0.204	0.001	0.011	0.052	0.004	0.548	0.708	0.530	0.383	0.386	0.576
95% CI	0.307	0.001***	0.017	0.001***	0.000***	0.101	0.007***	0.148	0.328	0.390	0.181
95% CI	0.018	0.018	0.043	0.021	0.389	0.978	0.484	0.588	0.682	0.090	0.582

*P<0.01, **P<0.05, *** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp(B) is the odds ratio

Effects of education on political participation before election campaigns

Table 48 also shows that education had a direct relationship with political participation. It shows that increase in education is associated with a greater likelihood of participation. Participation through talking to people to get them to vote for or against a political party or a candidate was statistically significant with

with postgraduate education being 9.444 times more likely to participate ($P=0.010$) compared to those with no education.

The youth with undergraduate education were 2.833 times more likely to participate ($P=0.040$) compared to those with no education; those with secondary education were 3.727 times more likely to participate by talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political party ($P=0.003$) than those with no education while those with primary school education were 2.715 times more likely to participate in the campaigns ($P=0.03$) compared to those with no education (Table 48)

Table 48 shows education was also an influencing factor to giving money or buying tickets, shirts and other memorabilia with those with postgraduate education being 8.143 times more likely to participate ($P=0.0009$), undergraduate had a 8.595 times more likely ($P<0.01$), secondary had 5.778 ($P<0.01$) compared to those with no education. Education was also an influencing factor to working to help a candidate or party during elections

Those with tertiary education were the most likely to work for a candidate with 16.8 times likelihood ($P=0.02$), those with undergraduate were 4.2 times more likely ($P=0.03$) and secondary had 4.239 times more likely to participate ($P=0.005$) compared to those with no education (Table 48)

Table 48: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of education on participation

	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Voted	Feeling as secure	Issued flyers	Worked as porter	Worked as official	Did research	Joined groups	Ran for office
	0.899	0.860	0.852	0.598	0.790	18.727	-0.324	0.473	18.103	18.103	0.310
	0.027**	0.073	0.405	0.287	0.311	0.998	0.642	0.668	0.998	0.998	0.778
	2.718	2.364	1.920	1.815	2.204	13.5E+09	0.723	1.608	1E+08	1E+08	1.364
	1.318	1.764	1.388	1.44	1.644	18.362	0.846	0.888	18.790	18.818	0.926
	0.003**	0.000***	0.088	0.005***	0.028**	0.998	0.183	0.409	0.998	0.998	0.813
	3.727	5.778	3.827	4.238	8.178	28E+08	2.327	2.378	1E+08	1E+008	1.787
	1.041	2.151	0.287	1.435	1.438	18.029	0.378	1.022	18.008	18.481	0.777
	0.038**	0.000***	0.742	0.012***	0.073	0.998	0.801	0.383	0.998	0.998	0.498
	2.833	8.985	1.333	4.200	4.218	8E+07	1.480	2.778	1E+08	1E+08	2.174
	2.245	2.087	0.875	0.742	2.148	0.000	0.427	0.821	18.805	18.805	0.821
	0.010***	0.008***	0.413	0.347	0.022**	1.000	0.888	0.874	0.998	0.998	0.374
	9.444	8.143	2.400	2.100	8.571	1.000	1.833	2.273	1E+09	1E+08	2.273
	31.818	22.201	18.718	2.821	2.079	-1.214	0.881	1.833	0.000	18.817	1.833
	3E+09	0.999	0.999	0.021**	0.078	0.024**	0.810	0.226	1.000	0.998	0.226
	0.899	4E+08	0.000	18.800	8.000	0.297	1.917	8.250	1.000	4E+08	8.250

**P<0.05. * is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate. Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of location of residence on political participation before elections

Table 49 reveals that location of residence was inversely related to participation meaning that youths resident in rural areas had a lesser probability of participating in political campaigns. Location of residence influenced talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political party or candidate

Youths who were residents in rural areas are 0.375 less likely to participate (P<0.01) compared to their urban counterparts (Table 49). Those resident in rural areas were 0.366 times less likely to get money or buy T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election (P<0.01).

Location of residence also influenced the political participation variable working to help a candidate or party during campaigns with those in rural areas being 0.326 times less likely to work for a candidate or party at a P-value of 0.000 (Table 49). Youths in rural areas were 0.386 times less likely to work as a security for a candidate (P=0.002), 0.297 times less likely to distribute literature

of campaign materials ($P=0.024$), 0.268 times less likely to work as official help or volunteer ($P=0.001$) and 0.213 times less likely to work as a researcher for a politician or party ($P=0.037$).

The finding that youth resident in rural areas had lesser probability of participating in political campaigns was baffling because in Kenya, voting patterns conform to ethnic, clan identity and party allegiances (Bratton and Kenney, 2008, 3) However, these findings relate to other forms of political participation rather than voting behavior They relate to participation by giving money, buying party memorabilia, working as volunteers and distributing campaign literature Rural youth often participate by singing, chanting, shouting and dancing to popularize candidates rather than engaging in activities that involve personal investment of their own resources (Okombo 2008, 65).

Table 49 Results of bivariate analysis of the effects of location on political participation before elections

	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meetings	Worked	Worked as security	Issue fiers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
Rural	-0.980	-1.004	.	-1.120	-0.951	-1.214	-1.317	-	-1.547	-1.328	-
Exp (B)	0.000**	0.000**	0.393	0.000**	0.002**	0.024*	0.001**	0.679	0.037*	0.076	1.00
Urban	.	.	0.207	0.172	.	0.268	4
Exp (B)	0.375	0.368	0.674	0.326	0.368	0.297	0.268	0.507	0.213		0.107
											0.386

**P<0.05, * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of level of income on political participation before elections

According to Table 50 the level of income is a determinant of political participation with those earning between KSh.5, 000 and KSh.10,000 being 4.88 times more likely to attend political meetings ($P=0.001$), 2.297 times more

likely to distribute literature or campaign materials ($P=0.018$), 2.176 times more likely to work as officials help or volunteers ($P=0.007$), 3.141 times more likely to work as party nomination or election official ($P=0.003$) and 3.205 times more likely to work as a leader of a group supporting a politician or party ($P=0.009$)

Table 50. Results of bivariate analysis of effects of income on political participation before elections

	Talked political	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked for security	Issue lists	Worked as volunteer	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
1	0.242	0.387	0.910	0.394	1.075	0.832	0.778	1.143	0.878	1.188	0.676
2	0.338	0.128	0.001**	0.100	0.880	0.018**	0.007**	0.003**	0.110	0.009*	0.110
3	1.274	1.473	2.486	1.488	0.724	2.297	2.178	3.141	1.968	3.205	1.998
4	0.019	0.472	0.037	0.200	-0.323	-0.005	-0.778	0.295	0.295		0.295
5	0.874	0.442	0.887	0.728	0.880	0.828	0.462	0.783	0.783		0.110
6	1.019	1.803	1.033	1.221	0.724	0.908	0.460	1.344	1.344	18.017	1.968
7	-0.481	-0.338	-19.483	-20.84	-18.82	-18.813	-18.484	-18.423	18.423	0.998	18.423
8	0.781	0.811	0.999	1.00	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999
9	0.637	0.713	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000
10	0.108	0.842	1.177	1.338	1.841	0.888	1.148	-18.423	18.423	0.998	18.423
11	1.883	0.351	0.070	0.052	0.003*	0.275	0.058	0.999	1.000	0.000	0.999
12	0.637	1.800	3.247	3.788	8.968	2.425	3.158	0.000	00	0.883	0.000
13	20.752	20.864	-19.485	-20.84	-18.821	-18.813	18.484	-0.823	18.423	0.418	-18.423
14	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.978	0.998	2.418	1.000
15	1E+08	1E+008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.977	000		0.000
										18.017	
										1.000	
										0.000	

* $P < 0.05$, ** $P < 0.005$. 1 is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate. Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of type of roofing materials on political participation before elections

Table 51 indicates that type of roofing material which is a proxy for wealth status had a direct relationship with participation in campaigns through talking to people to get them to vote. This means that the increase in wealth status was associated with a greater likelihood of participation.

Youths whose houses had asbestos proxy for fairly good wealth status and corrugated iron sheets proxy for medium wealth status as a roofing material were 2.754 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those from houses with thatched roof which is proxy for poor wealth status (Table 51). These relationships were both significant at a P-value of 0.022 (Table 51).

However, the wealth status had an inverse relationship with working to help a candidate or party during campaigns. This means that increase in wealth status was associated with a lesser likelihood of working for a political candidate. Those with medium wealth status were 0.530 times less likely to work for a candidate compared to those with poor wealth status (Table 51).

Table 51: Results of bivariate analysis of effects of type of roof on political participation before elections

	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue fiers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
	1.013	0.163	19.768	-0.634	20.282	19.070	1.811	18.659	18.384	-18.318	-18.384
	0.022***	0.612	0.868	0.080**	0.898	0.998	0.119	0.998	0.898	0.998	0.998
	2.754	1.177	3.8E+05	0.530	6.4E+05	1.9E+07	5.008	1E+08	1E+008	1E+008	1E+008
	1.182		20.364	-1.778	18.874	18.618	2.887	18.145	18.941	18.941	18.941
	0.022***		0.998	0.068	0.898	0.998	0.053**	0.998	0.898	0.898	0.998
	2.754		7E+08	0.188	4.7E+07	3E+07	7.887	2E+008	7E+008	2E+008	2E+008
		0.265									
	0.847		19.768	-0.224	18.648	17.311	0.648	18.210	18.008	18.451	19.008
	0.100		0.998	0.458	0.998	0.998	0.572	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.998
	2.333		1.7E+08	0.800	3E+041	3E+03	1.813	2E+008	2E+008	2E+008	2E+008
		1.085									

*P<0.05, ** is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

5.3.4 Results of Bivariate Analyses of Impacts of Social and Demographic Factors after Election Campaigns

This section discusses the effects of social and demographic factors that influence different types of political participation after elections. Table 52 summarizes the results for this section.

Effect of gender on political participation after elections

Sex of the youth had an inverse relationship to political participation after elections (Table 52). This means that females were associated with a lesser likelihood of political participation. Unlike before elections where sex was associated with giving money or buying T-shirts after elections, there was no significant relationship to sex of youth. However, attending political meetings or

campaigns in connection to 2007 elections had a significant relationship with sex of youth after elections compared to before elections where it was insignificant. Females were 0.371 times less likely to attend political meetings, rallies or campaigns compared to their male counterparts. This relationship was significant at a P-value of 0.000. Sex of the youth had a significant relationship with working to help a candidate during elections. The correlation was significant at a P-value of 0.000 with females being 0.312 times less likely to work for a candidate or party (Table 52).

Table 52 indicates that females are also less likely to distribute literature or campaign materials compared to the males. This relationship is significant at a P-value 0.014. There is also a less likelihood of female youth engagement in political campaigns through working as official help or volunteer (Table 52).

Table 52. Effects of gender on participation after elections

Participation in election campaigns after elections

	Talked politics	Used money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issued fliers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
B	0.202	-0.212	0.993	-1.164	-0.224	-0.938	-0.783	-0.214	-0.151	-0.674	-1.396
Exp(B)	0.300	0.312	0.000***	0.000***	0.258	0.014***	0.019***	0.341	0.408	0.103	0.562
95% CI	1.274	0.808	0.371	0.312	0.773	0.392	0.488	0.395	0.137	0.510	0.180

Note: ***P<0.05. B is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate. Exp(B) is the odds ratio.

Effect of age on political participation after elections

According to Table 53 age is inversely related with working as official help or volunteer meaning that as age increased likelihood of working as an official help for politician or candidate reduced. Age is associated with a lesser likelihood of working as official help for a politician or party. Youths aged 20-24 years are 0.045 times less likely to work as an official help to party or politician compared to those aged 18-19 years (Table 53).

Effect of education on political participation after elections

Table 53 shows that primary level of education had an inverse relationship with giving money or buying T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election. They were 0.410 times less likely to get money or buy T-shirts to help a candidate. This shows that increase in level of education is associated with a lesser likelihood of participating through giving money or T-shirts ($P < 0.01$). Similarly, those with tertiary education were 0.133 times less likely to participate compared to those with no education at a P -value of 0.01 (Table 43).

However, there was a direct relationship between political participation and those with undergraduate level of education, who are 6.042 times more likely to give money or buy T-shirts to help a candidate or party compared to those with no education ($P = 0.023$).

Table 53 Effects of education on participation after elections

Participation in election campaigns after elections											
	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security	Issue fliers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
No education	0.727	-0.882	0.488	0.337	18.805	19.454	18.921	18.805	18.370	17.945	18.303
	0.188	0.000***	0.424	0.672	0.998	0.988	0.998	1E+003	1E+003	0.998	1E+005
	0.482	0.410	1.825	1.401	1E+08	2E+08	1E+08	0.000	0.000	1E+003	0.000
Primary	0.580	1.013	0.118	0.951	18.351	18.408	18.098	18.875	18.303	18.467	18.718
	0.308	0.190	0.848	0.218	0.998	0.988	0.998	1E+003	1E+003	0.998	1E+005
	0.871	2.752	1.121	2.988	3E+08	1E+09	1E+08	0.000	0.000	1E+008	0.000
Secondary	-1.217	1.788	0.028	1.204	18.812	18.718	18.817	18.817	18.088	18.008	18.008
	0.038	0.023**	0.888	0.132	0.998	0.988	0.998	1E+003	1E+003	0.998	1E+005
	0.298	8.042	0.875	2.333	3E+08	1E+08	1E+08	0.000	0.000	1E+008	0.000
Tertiary	-0.875	1.809	-0.018	-0.182	18.817	18.008	18.817	0.000	18.008	18.008	18.008
	0.290	0.108	0.388	0.888	0.998	0.988	0.998	1E+004	1E+003	0.998	1E+004
	0.417	5.000	0.381	0.833	4E+08	1E+08	0.000	0.000	0.000	1E+008	0.000
No education	0.875	2.015	-1.178								
	0.100	0.007	0.038								
	2.400	0.133	0.308								

* $P < 0.01$, ** $P < 0.05$, *** is the reference category. B is the parameter estimate. Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of type of residence on political participation

Results of this study show that rural type of residence is associated with a lesser likelihood of participation. Rural youths were 0.133 times less likely to get money or buy T-shirts to help a candidate. However, rural youths had a greater likelihood of attending political meetings, which is inconsistent with results for before elections where rural youth were less likely to attend political meeting, rally and meeting. Like before elections rural residents are 0.376 times less likely to work to help a candidate or party during campaigns. This relationship was significant at *P*-value of 0.002. Rural residents are also 0.136 times less likely to work as security for a candidate or party compared to urban residents. They are also 0.167 less likely to work as official help or volunteer at a *P*-value of 0.003.

Effect of level of income on political participation

According to Table 54 level of income has a significant and direct relationship with giving money or buying T-shirts and other memorabilia. This means that the level of income increased with the likelihood to give money or buy T-shirts or party memorabilia. It was associated with a greater likelihood of giving money or buying T-shirts or memorabilia. Income levels were also a determining factor for attending a political meeting, rally or campaign. Equally, income was a significant determinant of working to help a candidate as well as working for a candidate as a security. Those with income ranging KSh 5,000 – KSh 10,000 were 2.206 more likely to attend political rallies and meeting, 0.014 times more likely to work to help a candidate or party during the campaigns compared to those with below KSh 5,000 (Table 54). Those with an income ranging KSh.10,

001 to KSh 20, 000 and KSh.20, 001 to KSh 30, 000 were 6 429 times and 3.348 times more likely to work as security for candidate or party compared to those with an income less than KSh.5, 000 (Table 54)

Table 54: Effects of income on participation after elections
Participation in election campaigns after elections

Income	Talked politically	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked as security	Worked as security	Issue Barn	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led group	Ran for office
Less than KSh 5,000	0.337	0.727	0.781	0.661	0.397	0.743	0.588	0.637	0.373	0.848	0.848
5,001-10,000	0.178	0.004***	0.002***	0.814***	0.260	0.047	0.080	0.382	0.485	0.067	0.498
10,001-20,000	0.721	2.068	2.208	1.838	1.488	2.103	1.801	2.069	0.581	2.335	1.207
20,001-30,000	0.030	1.244	0.302	0.708	1.861	0.431	0.045	1.258	1.308	1.747	1.012
30,001-40,000	0.954	0.012***	0.581	0.177	0.000*	0.584	0.954	0.819	0.694	0.004*	0.811
40,001-50,000	1.030	3.470	1.383	2.030	8.428	1.838	1.046	4.184	3.547	5.738	1.556
50,001-60,000	-0.327	0.864	0.078	0.223	1.208	-0.283	0.984	0.498	0.901	1.459	1.078
60,001-70,000	0.748	0.199	0.893	0.708	0.034**	0.808	0.382	0.780	0.809	0.038	0.813
70,001-80,000	0.721	1.943	1.082	1.249	3.348	0.770	1.784	0.384	1.283	4.304	1.780
80,001-90,000	20.878	-0.078	-18.94	-18.80	-18.11	-18.68	-18.078	-18.682	-18.287	-18.203	-18.112
90,001-100,000	1.000	0.847	0.898	0.888	0.888	0.999	0.999	2E+004	2E+004	0.999	20.0096
100,001-110,000	0E+100	0.929	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
110,001-120,000	-0.327	-20.18	-18.94	22.80	-18.11	-18.68	-18.078	18.892	18.287	-18.203	-18.112
120,001-130,000	0.818	1.000	0.888	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2E+004	4E+004	1.000	20.0096
130,001-140,000	0.721	0.808	0.800	2E+009	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
140,001-150,000				1.401	2.084	-18.68	-1.913	18.892	-18.29	18.203	18.112
150,001-160,000				0.329	0.145	0.888	0.143	2E+004	2E+004	1.000	2E+004
160,001-170,000				4.080	8.038	0.000	0.220	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
170,001-180,000				-0.304	-0.834	-0.407		-1.127	-0.722	18.203	18.112
180,001-190,000				0.518	0.288	0.884		1.041	1.052	1.000	2E+004
190,001-200,000				0.738	0.434	0.668		1.172	0.471	0.000	0.000

*P<0.05 is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Effect of type of roofing on political participation

Table 55 shows that wealth status estimated in this study with type of roofing material had an inverse relationship with talking to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party, meaning an increase in wealth status is associated with a lesser likelihood of talking to people to try to

get them to vote. Those from wealthy households were 0.253 times less likely to talk to people compared to those from poor households. This was significant at a value of 0.001. Those from fairly wealthy households were 0.147 times less likely and those from medium were 0.230 times less likely to talk to people to try to get them to vote. Wealth status had a direct relationship with giving money or buying T-shirts to try to get people to vote, attending political meeting, doing work to help a candidate and working as a security for a candidate (Table 55). This means that increase in wealth status was associated with a greater likelihood to participate in political campaigns (Table 55).

Table 55: Effects of roof type on participation after elections

Variables	Participation in election campaigns after elections					Issue Riers	Worked as helper	Worked as official	Did research	Led groups	Ran for office
	Talked politics	Gave money	Attended meeting	Worked	Worked as security						
Unshaded *											
Corrugated											
B	-1.489	5.505	0.758	1.312	2.089	19.177	19.380	19.140	18.638	18.897	18.838
Exp (B)	0.000***	0.001***	0.034**	0.015***	0.044**	0.997	0.997	2E+005	2E+004	0.997	2E+000
Substrate											
B	0.230	12.239	2.135	3.714	7.915	2E+08	2E+08	0.000	0.000	2E+008	0.000
Exp (B)											
B	-1.920	4.078	-0.017	2.701	3.083	19.331	19.511	18.511	19.331	18.878	18.564
Exp (B)	0.000***	0.000***	0.973	0.000***	0.004***	0.997	0.997	2E+005	2E+004	0.997	2E+000
B	0.147	69.000	0.983	14.698	21.818	2E+09	2E+08	0.000	0.000	2E+008	0.000
Exp (B)											
B	-1.378	3.107	0.062	1.778	3.041	17.180	19.043	17.871	17.180	17.180	0.000
Exp (B)	0.001***	0.000***	0.898	0.003***	0.004***	0.997	0.997	2E+004	2E+004	0.997	2E+000
B	0.253	0.034	1.064	5.909	20.930	2E+06	1E+007	0.000	0.000	2E+008	0.000
Exp (B)											

*P<0.05, * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

3.3.5 Results of the Bivariate Analysis using Indices of the Impacts of Mass Media on Political Participation

The study explored various concepts using an array of variables. Therefore, this study uses defined indices (above) to combine the effects of all variables to enable analysis of the effects of mass media on political participation. This section discusses results of bivariate analysis of the effects of

combined variables to assess the influence of mass media on campaign participation. The details of the results are given in Table 56.

Table 56 shows that mass media has a significant relationship with political participation before elections. The relationship is direct; meaning increase in exposure to mass media was associated with a greater likelihood of political participation during campaigns ($P < 0.01$). Before elections those with high mass media exposure were 9.424 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with no exposure ($P < 0.01$). The likelihood ratio increased with rise in exposure to mass media. Youths with medium exposure were 4.207 times whereas those with low exposure were 3.494 times more likely to participate in election campaigns. This relationship was significant at a P -value of 0.000 and 0.000 respectively (Table 56).

However, after elections the odd ratio for exposure to mass media decreased with those with high exposure being 3.972 times less likely to participate compared to those with no exposure (Table 56). This relationship was positive and significant at a P -value of 0.001. Youths with medium exposure to mass media were 2.6 times more likely to participate in campaign information compared to those with no exposure, whereas those with low exposure being 2.341 times more likely to participate compared to those with no exposure. These relationships were significant at a P -value of 0.005 and 0.012 respectively (Table 56).

Figure 34 shows that likelihood of participation is very high before elections compared to after elections.

Figure 34: Effects of media exposure on participation

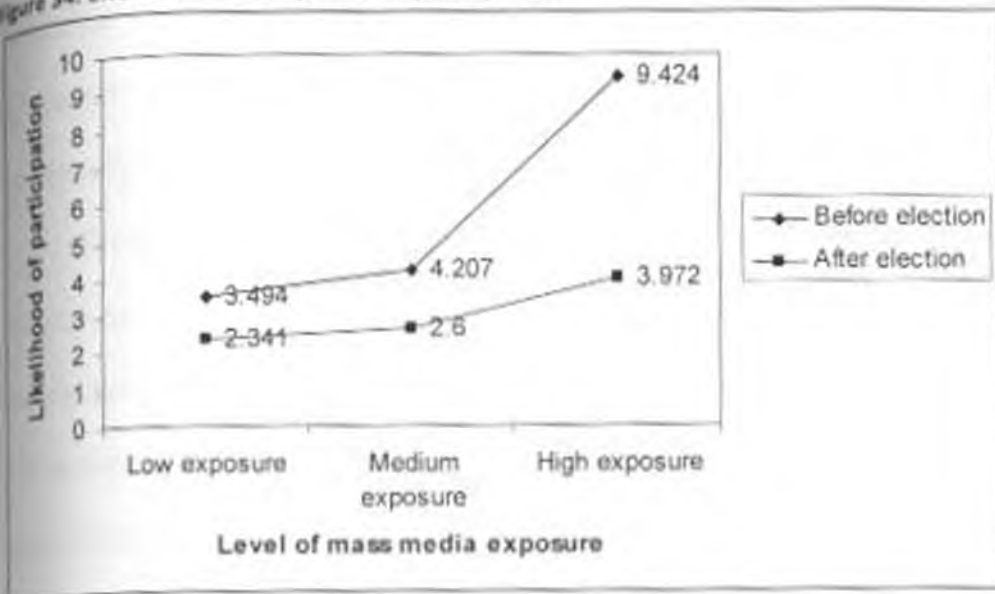


Table 56 indicates that sex has an inverted but significant relationship with political participation during campaigns before ($P=0.005$) and after ($P<0.01$) elections. Female youth were 0.549 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to male counterparts before elections. After elections, the odds ratio reduced with females being 0.434 times less likely to participate in campaigns.

Results further indicate that level of education, i.e., secondary, tertiary and undergraduate and campaign participation had a significant relationship before elections. This relationship was positive meaning that increase in level of education was associated with an increase in participation before elections. Table 38 shows that those with tertiary education are 45.999 times more likely to participate in campaigns ($P=0.004$) compared to those with no education. Additionally, those with undergraduate education are 6.325 times more likely to participate ($P=0.026$) compared to those with no education. Those with

secondary education are 8.227 times more likely ($P=0.005$) than those with no education to participate in campaigns. Table 38 also shows that the effect of education disappears after elections because the relationships are not statistically significant.

Table 56 reveals that type of residence is a significant determinant of political participation with those in rural areas being 0.325 times less likely to participate ($P<0.01$) compared to their counterparts residing in urban areas before elections. The likelihood of rural dwellers not participating increases to P -value 0.003 after elections.

According to Table 38, before elections level of income, i.e., KSh 5,001 to KSh 10,000 and KSh 30,001 to KSh 40,000, had a significant relationship with participation during elections ($P=0.11$ and $P=0.03$ respectively). It shows that those with income range between KSh 30,001 – KSh 40,001 are 3.979 times more likely to participate compared to those with an income levels below KSh 5,000. Those with an income range of KSh 5,001 to KSh 10,000 are 1.873 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with an income range below KSh 5,000. After elections those with an income range of KSh 5,000 to KSh 10,000 were 1.983 times more likely to participate compared to those with an income level of below 5,000.

In addition, Table 38 shows that wealth status measured in this study with type of roofing material had a positive relation with participation before elections as odds ratio decreases with increase in wealth status before elections. Youths from households with tiles were 4.963 times more likely to participate ($P=0.005$).

compared to those from houses with thatched roof. Youths from households with asbestos as type of roofing were 5.547 times more likely to participate in campaigns ($P=0.01$) compared to those with thatched type of roofing material. Those with corrugated type of roofing material were 5.809 times more likely to participate in campaign ($P=0.02$) compared to those with thatched type of roofing material.

Table 56 shows that the significant relationship between type of roof and participation persisted after elections. Unlike before elections where the odds ratio decreased with increase in wealth status, it increased with rise in wealth status after elections. Those from households with tiles as a type of roofing material were 6.813 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with thatched type of roofing material. Figure 37 shows that youth from households with Asbestos as a type of roofing material were 13.8 times more likely to participate in campaigns followed by youth from tiled houses that were 6.813 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those from households with thatched type of roofing material.

Figure 35 reveals that asbestos as an indicator of medium wealth status has the highest association with political participation before elections.

Figure 35: Effects of roof type on participation

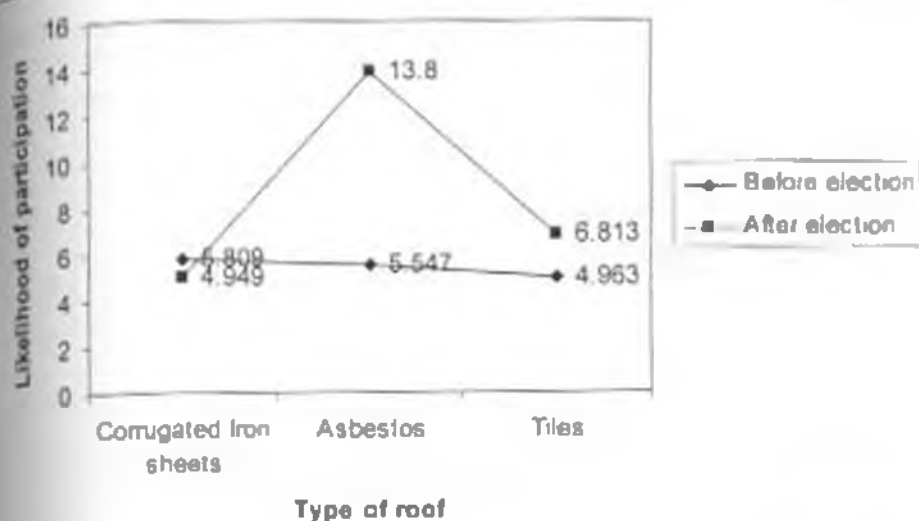
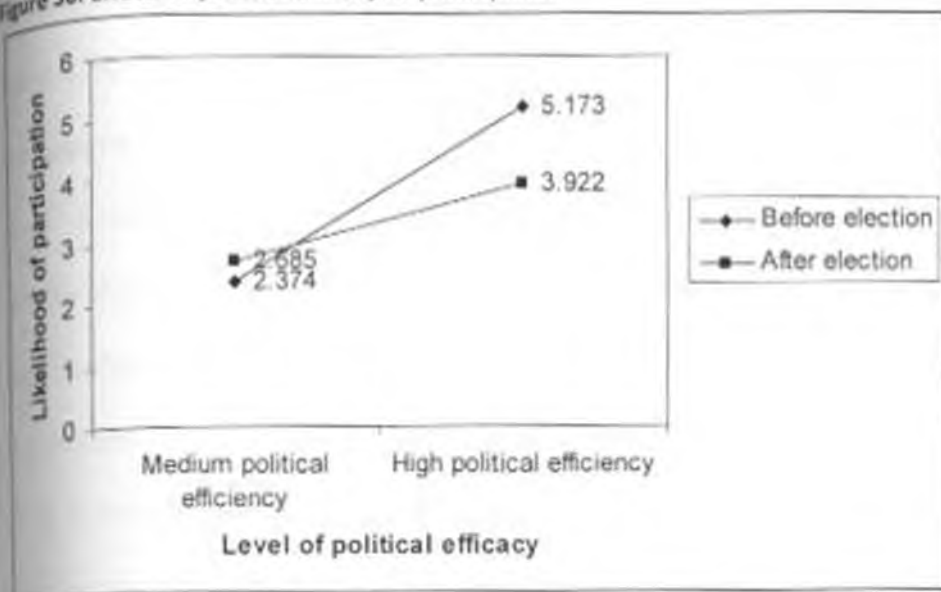


Figure 36 shows a significant relationship between political efficacy and campaign participation before and after elections. Youths with high political efficacy before elections were 5.173 times more likely to participate in campaigns ($P < 0.01$) compared to those with low political efficacy. Those with a medium political efficacy were 2.374 times more likely to participate in elections campaigns ($P = 0.014$) compared to those with low political efficacy. After elections, the odds ratio for political efficacy decreased with those with high efficacy being 3.922 times more likely and those with medium efficacy being 1.685 times more likely to participate in election campaigns compared to those with low efficacy. Generally, high political efficacy is associated with greater likelihood of participation before elections.

Figure 36: Effects of political efficacy on participation



According to Table 56, other sources of information, i.e., friends ($P=0.001$) other relatives ($P=0.008$) and workmates ($P=0.026$), are inversely but significantly related to political participation before elections. It shows that youth who get their information from friends are 0.417 times less likely to participate compared to those who got their information from political rallies and meetings. Youths who got political information from relatives were 0.165 times less likely to participate while those who got their information from workmates were 0.17 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who got their political information from political rallies and meetings. Table 56 shows that after elections the effects of other sources of information on political participation are statistically insignificant.

In addition, political party membership had a significant relationship with campaign participation. Youths who were affiliated to ODM-Kenya were 16.5

...es more likely to participate in campaigns ($P=0.04$) compared to those not
...ted to any party. However, after election youths affiliated to ODM and PNU
... 5.365 times ($P=0.007$) and 5.143 times ($P=0.01$) more likely to participate in
...gns compared to those not affiliated to any political party (Table 56).

Knowledge of candidates and campaign issues had a significant
...ship with participation. High knowledge was associated with high political
...pation before elections. Surveyed youth with high knowledge of candidates
... and issues were 4.036 times ($P=0.004$) more likely to participate before elections
... while surveyed youth had medium knowledge were 2.583 times ($P=0.04$) more
...ely to participate before elections (Table 56).

Low efficacy	0								
Medium efficacy	0.865	0.014***	2.374	0.988	0.002***		2.685		
High efficacy	1.643	0.000***	5.173	1.367	0.000***		3.922		
Other sources									
Political rallies ^a	0.002				0.634				
Chief barazas	0.220	0.761	1.246	0.143	0.896		1.154		
Church meetings	-0.761	0.394	0.467	-1.646	0.127		0.193		
Women group meetings	0.443	0.560	1.558	-0.417	0.563		0.659		
Friends	-0.875	0.001***	0.417	-0.195	0.434		0.823		
Spouse	-2.012	0.065	0.134	-0.773	0.262		0.462		
Other relatives	-1.802	0.006***	0.165	-0.417	0.432		0.659		
Postmas	-1.772	0.026**	0.17	-1.36	0.216		0.257		
Political parties									
None ^a									
ODU	0.313				0.066				
MDU	1.729	0.101	5.634	1.560	0.007***		5.365		
MDU	1.875	0.077	6.518	1.638	0.011***		5.143		
ODU-K	2.803	0.043**	16.499	0.405	0.744		1.5		
Others	7.592	0.575	1982.24	-4.002	0.719		0.018		
Knowledge candidates			3						
of									
Knowledgeable ^a	0.14				466				
Not Knowledgeable ^b	.949	.048***	2.583	.130	.693		1.139		
Knowledge	1.395	.004***	4.036	-.214	.540		.808		

^a $p < 0.01$, ^b $p < 0.05$. * is the reference category, B is the parameter estimate, Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Table 1: Summaries of bivariate analysis

	Campaign participation before elections			Campaign participation after elections		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Male status exposure						
to economy	1.251	0.000***	3.494	0.339	0.017***	2.341
to education	1.417	0.000***	4.207	0.34	0.005***	2.6
to education + economy	2.243	0.000***	8.424	0.411	0.001***	3.972
Age						
18-19	-0.6	0.005*	0.548	-1.836	0.000***	0.434
20-24	0.655	0.873	1.056	-0.212	0.468	0.809
25-29	0.009	0.976	1.009	0.261	0.363	1.308
Education						
none	1.356	0.078	3.879	0.653	0.174	2.347
primary	2.167	0.005***	8.227	0.853	0.194	3.472
secondary	1.644	0.026**	6.323	1.245	0.109	3.472
high school	1.749	0.066	6.75	1.455	0.072	4.283
university	3.829	0.004***	48.99	0.538	0.627	1.113
Income						
less than 10,000	-1.129	0.000***	0.325	-0.858	0.003***	0.424
10,001-20,000	0.627	0.095	1.873	0.674	0.006***	1.963
20,001-30,000	0.011	0.986	1.011	0.888	0.072	2.419
30,001-40,000	-5.378	0.732	0.005	0.27	0.598	1.310
40,001-50,000	1.381	0.031***	3.978	-5.316	0.633	0.075
50,001-60,000	-6.216	0.809	0.005	7.063	0.759	1.911
Type of roof						
tatched roof	1.729	0.133	5.808	1.598	0.001*	4.848
concrete iron sheets	1.713	0.031**	5.547	2.625	0.000*	13.8
bam	1.602	0.049**	4.963	1.919	0.000*	6.813
Electric						

5.4 Conclusions and Discussions

Exposure to mass media has a significant and direct relationship with

political participation before elections. The implication is that an increase in exposure to mass media is associated with a greater likelihood of political participation during campaigns. Youth highly exposed to mass media are more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with no exposure. However, the likelihood to participate in elections decreases after elections.

Sex has an inverted but significant relationship with political participation during campaigns before elections. Female youth are less likely to participate before and after elections than male youth. This finding is consistent with theories of political participation (Downs 1957, 135-150, Chesoni 2006, 195-201, Odulol 2008, 38-39).

Education has a significant and direct relationship with participation before elections. This implies that an increase in level of education is associated with an increase in participation during elections. According to political mobilization theory, knowledge stimulates participation.

Type of residence, an indicator for wealth status, is a significant determinant of political participation. Rural youth are less likely to participate compared to urban youth before elections. This is a controversial finding because it is contrary to known facts that ethnic and clan identity influence political participation in Kenya (Bratton and Kimenyi 2008, 18). However, the finding is consistent with political mobilization theory that states that rural setting act as a disincentive to participation (Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592).

Political efficacy is a significant determinant of political participation before and after elections. However, the likelihood slightly decreases after elections. Implication is that political efficacy is an enduring factor in political participation. This is consistent with political mobilization theory that states that high political efficacy enhances political participation (Harrigan 1987, 1-537)

Other sources of information are inversely related to political participation. Youth who get political information from relatives, friends and workmates are less likely to participate in elections. This finding is contrary to traditional thought in Kenya where voting patterns conform to ethnic and clan identity, and party affiliation. However, the findings relate to other forms of participation rather than voting. Additional explanation could be because of the growing influence of mass media as a mobilizing agency during election campaigns.

Party affiliation is a significant determinant of political participation. Those who were affiliated to ODM were more likely to participate than PNU youth in the district. This is consistent with theory that states that people are motivated to participate to vote in candidates from parties they support. The youth were polarized along party lines ahead of the 2007 general elections. ODM formed the Youth Patriots 4 Change (pro- Raila youth group) while PNU formed the Kijana wa Kibaki (pro-Kibaki youth lobby group). The parties used the youth lobby groups to mobilize the youth to vote for their respective parties and candidates in Nairobi District and elsewhere across the country.

Chapter 6

Models of Impact of Mass Media on Youth Participation

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (5) discussed the results of bivariate logistic regression used to assess effects of mass media on political participation. Chapter five indicated that mass media was significantly and directly correlated to political participation. It showed that surveyed youth exposed to mass media were more likely to participate during election campaigns. However, it also indicated that social and demographic characteristics, other sources of information, political efficacy and political affiliation were also significant determinants of political participation by the surveyed youth.

While chapter five presented the results of bivariate analysis, this chapter discusses results of multivariate logistic regression with regard to mass media exposure and control variables using the indices defined in chapter seven. The indices were created from the different variables that form political participation, political efficacy and mass media exposure concepts. The study ran 11 models to establish the impact of mass media exposure, social economic, demographic, political efficacy, other sources of political information, party of affiliation and knowledge variables on political participation.

This chapter presents and discusses the various multivariate models. Model 1 gives the effect of exposure to mass media on campaign participation

are not confounding for any other factors. In model 2 sex of youth is added to the effect of the mass media on political participation when confounding for age of the youth. Model 3 includes mass media exposure, sex and age of the youth. Education was added in model 4 to give the effect of exposure to mass media controlling for age, sex and education of the youth. Model 5 included type of place of residence whereas model 6 added income levels of the youth. To confound for wealth status type of roofing material is added to the model 7 which in this study is a proxy measure of wealth status. Political efficacy is added to model 8, while other sources of information apart from mass media are included in model 9. Model 10 confounded for all factors including political party of affiliation which was added in model 10. Knowledge of campaign issues is added to Model 11. The results of the multivariate logistic regression (before elections and after elections) are summarized in tables below.

6.2 Results of Multivariate Analysis of Impacts Mass Media Exposure on Participation Before Election Campaigns

Results indicate that exposure to mass media is a significant determinant of campaign participation before elections. In model 7 when all social economic and demographic variables are added youths with high exposure to mass media are 5.813 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those without exposure. Those with medium exposure are 2.91 times more likely whereas those with low exposure were 2.582 times more likely to participate in campaign. The odds ratio of mass media exposure decreases as social economic, and demographic factors are added into the model 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Model 10 after all social economic, demographic, political efficacy, other

sources of political information and party of affiliation are added into the model, youths with high exposure are 6.423 times more likely, those with medium exposure were 2.742 times and those with low exposure were 2.404 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who have no exposure. However, the odds increase slightly as political efficacy, other sources of information and party of affiliation are added into the model 8, 9, 10 and 11.

After adding social and demographic characteristics, political efficacy, other sources of information, party affiliation and knowledge of campaign issues to the model, youths with low media exposure were 2.547 times more likely, those with medium media exposure were 2.682 times more likely and those with high media exposure were 5.838 times more likely to participate in campaigns.

These findings are in harmony with previous studies that show that mass media have a positive effect on political participation (Atkins and Heald 1976, 216-228; Conway et al 1981, 164-178; Norris 1999 & 2000; Robinson 1976, 95-103; Luengo 2006, 55-71).

In addition, sex is a determinant of campaign participation as indicated in model 7. Female youths were 0.613 times less likely to participate compared to the males. There is a lesser likelihood of participation when one is female. This is in harmony with theory that asserts that women are less likely to participate in politics. (Harrigan 1987, 1-537; Kabira, Oduol and Nzomo 1993, 1-46). The 2003 Kenyan Demographic and Health Survey concluded that women are less likely to have access to mass media and participate in politics because of low decision-making powers (CBS et al 2003) thereby reducing their participation in politics.

However, recent findings of the 2008 US Presidential Polls indicate otherwise. Trend analysis by the Centre for Information and Research in Civic Learning and Engagement reveal that more American women under 30 have been voting in the Presidential election in the US since 1992. In the 2008 presidential polls 55 percent of younger voters elected Obama (CIRCLE 2008)

Level of education was significant determinant of political participation in model 4, with those with secondary education being 5.355 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with no education. The effect of education disappeared when other variables were added to the model. These findings are in harmony with theory that states that formal education enhances political participation (Harrigan, 1996)

Type of residence was a significant determinant of campaign participation as shown in model 10; the odds ratio decreased as other variables were added in the model, youths resident in rural areas were 0.309 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to their counterparts in urban areas. This is in harmony with SES theory that shows that lower socioeconomic contexts such as rural areas lead to low political participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 296; Scott and Acock, 1979: 361-381; (Huckfeldt, 1979: 579-592).

Political efficacy was a significant determinant of campaign participation; youths with high efficacy are 0.309 times likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with low efficacy as shown in Model 10. This finding is consistent with theory that states that low political efficacy leads to low political participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 296; Feldman 1990, 787-804,

CIRCLE, 2006; Stein, 2005; Mwagiru, 2002; Harrigan, 1996, International
DEA, 1999).

Other sources of information are a significant determinant of campaign
participation with those who got their political information from friends being
0.521 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who got
information from political rallies in model 9. The effect of friends as a source
of information disappeared when party of affiliation was added in the model.
Those who got their political information from relatives were 0.166 times less
likely to participate in campaigns whereas those who got their information from
acquaintances were 0.059 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to
those who got their information from political rallies and meeting as shown in
model 10. Studies by CIRCLE show that youth in America are less likely to
discuss current affairs with family and friends but are more likely to say they did
when growing up (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31). The SES theory states that social
networks stimulate media exposure and psychological involvement that
encourage political participation (Flanagan 1996, 283-295, Whiteley and Seyd
2002, 35-58).

In the final model 11 mass media remains significant factor influencing
campaign participation after knowledge of candidate's issues is controlled for.
The effect of mass media slightly decreases when knowledge is confounded for,
respondents with high exposure being 5.838 times more likely to participate
in campaigns with reference to those with no exposure. Additionally those with
medium mass media exposure were 2.682 times more likely to participate in

campaigns compared to those with no education. Those with low exposure were 547 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those with no education.

Table 52: Multivariate models of effects of media exposure on participation before elections

	Campaign participation before elections										
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Weeks media exposure	3.494 (0.328)***	3.255 (0.328)***	3.253 (0.329)***	2.88 (0.36)***	2.43 (0.384)***	2.408 (0.356)***	2.582 (0.361)***	2.628 (0.377)***	2.48 (0.404)**	2.404 (0.407)**	2.547 (.381)**
Medium exposure	4.207 (0.532)***	3.806 (0.535)***	3.801 (0.538)***	3.178 (0.561)***	2.811 (0.588)***	2.803 (0.57)***	2.91 (0.573)***	2.089 (0.58)***	2.928 (0.417)***	2.742 (0.421)**	2.862 (.408)**
Low exposure	0.424 (0.407)***	0.038 (0.41)***	0.518 (0.411)***	0.943 (0.45)***	3.191 (0.458)***	5.218 (0.485)***	5.813 (0.474)***	6.37 (0.494)***	8.017 (0.522)***	8.423 (0.528)***	5.838 (.600)***
Age		0.87 (0.217)**	0.569 (0.217)**	0.645 (0.231)	0.608 (0.236)**	0.826 (0.238)**	0.613 (0.238)**	0.583 (0.261)**	0.57 (0.265)**	0.573 (0.268)	526 (.283)
Age 25-34			1.023 (.294)	1.168 (0.298)	1.228 (0.299)	1.135 (.305)	1.085 (0.308)	0.988 (0.321)	1.158 (0.343)	1.184 (0.348)	1.050 (.341)
Age 35-44			0.898 (0.293)	1.204 (0.314)	1.311 (0.318)	1.235 (0.336)	1.149 (0.34)	1.247 (0.352)	1.299 (0.374)	1.223 (0.383)	1.118 (.370)
Education				3.384 (0.784)	2.861 (0.795)	2.81 (0.8)	2.31 (0.853)	2.488 (0.883)	2.082 (0.911)	1.738 (0.941)	2.035 (.950)
High school				5.355 (0.771)**	4.122 (0.783)	3.558 (0.787)	3.553 (0.84)	3.658 (0.889)	3.218 (0.898)	2.781 (0.901)	3.007 (0.942)
Some college				3.215 (0.887)	2.333 (0.888)	2.237 (0.884)	2.532 (0.907)	2.604 (0.988)	2.385 (0.996)	2.358 (1.00)	3.238 (1.017)
College graduate				3.741 (0.981)	2.427 (0.986)	1.744 (1.018)	2.04 (1.081)	2.457 (1.078)	2.211 (1.108)	1.882 (1.14)	2.183 (1.181)
Income											1.822 (1.578)
Income 0-10K					0.443 (0.31)***	0.465 (0.314)**	0.431 (0.333)***	0.387 (0.346)***	0.328 (0.371)***	0.309 (0.381)***	417 (.388)
Income 10-20K						1.217 (0.282)	1.174 (0.285)	1.137 (0.298)	0.928 (0.218)	0.92 (0.221)	1.015 (.314)
Income 20-30K						0.584 (0.748)	0.58 (0.758)	0.873 (0.782)	0.878 (0.833)	0.878 (0.848)	759 (.778)
Income 30-40K						0.011 (0.413)	0.009 (0.394)	0.006 (0.408)	0.008 (0.405)	0.007 (0.422)	500 (288.38)
Income 40-50K						2.273 (0.722)	2.344 (0.737)	3.428 (0.822)	1.898 (0.828)	1.837 (0.828)	1.934 (.811)
Income 50-60K											000 (40192)
Income 60-70K											874 (.814)
Income 70-80K											000 (.811)
Income 80-90K											000 (.811)
Income 90-100K											000 (.811)
Control variables											1.288 (.989)
Control variables											821 (.821)
Control variables											0.038 (0.038)
Control variables											0.564 (0.564)
Control variables											0.572 (0.572)
Control variables											0.437 (0.437)
Control variables											482 (1.053)
Control variables											0.437 (0.437)
Control variables											482 (1.053)

Table S7 continued...

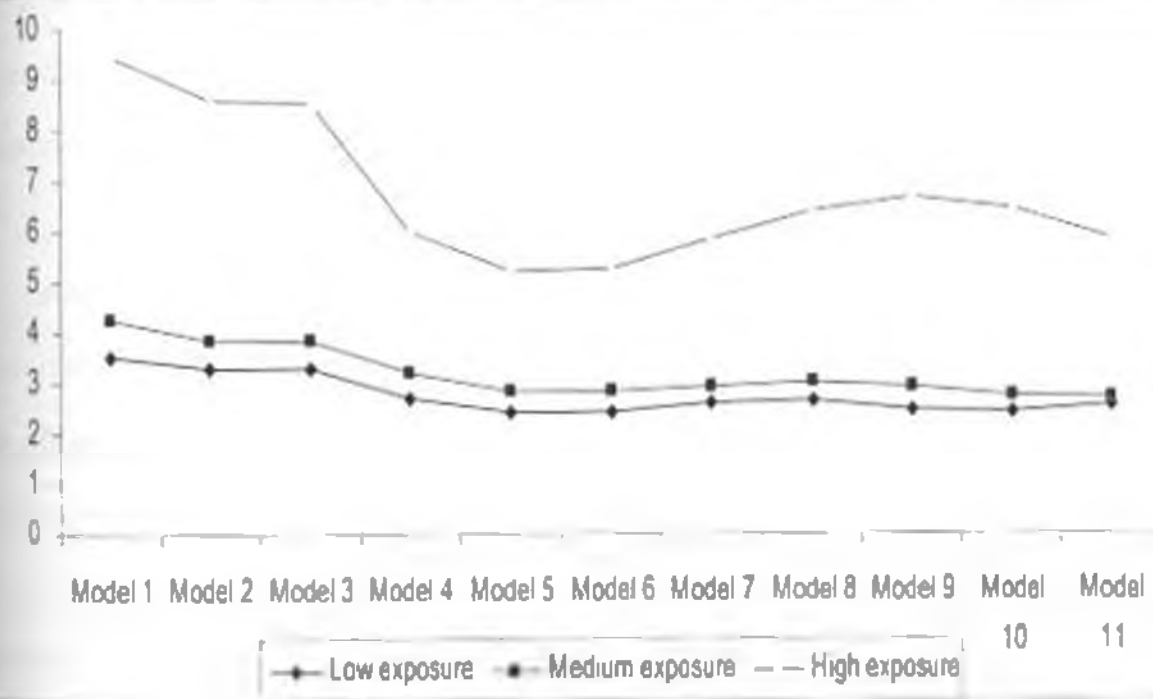
Campaign participation before elections

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Efficacy								1.974	1.643	1.788	1.668
No/Low efficacy R								(0.399)	(0.421)	(0.438)	(.406)
Medium efficacy								5.493	4.807		
								(0.406)*	(0.427)*	8.177	4.334
								**	**	(0.438)**	(.403)**
High efficacy											
Other sources									1.845	1.812	2.208
Political rallies & meetings R								(1.005)	(1.016)	(1.008)	
Chief barazas								0.409	0.385	1.175	
								(0.99)	(1.007)	(.802)	
Church meetings								1.35	1.31	1.287	
Women group meetings								(0.817)	(0.82)	(.808)	
								0.521			
								(0.297)*	0.503	546	
								*	(0.299)	(.292)**	
Friends								0.191	0.243	268	
								(1.165)	(1.088)	(1.185)	
Class								0.181	0.166		
								(0.718)*	(0.724)**	195	
								*	*	(.710)**	
Other relatives								0.126			
								(0.919)*	0.059	108	
								*	(1.2)**	(.983)**	
Community											
City									8.202	3.042	
Urban R								(1.193)	(.916)		
Rural								5.598	2.852		
								(1.197)	(.919)		
FRU								8.22	4.253		
								(1.53)	(1.309)		
CFM-A								20664.0			
								25	18.355		
								(22.31)	(1.808)		
Class											
Knowledge of campaign issues											1.317
No knowledgeable R											(.646)
Medium knowledge											1.908
											(.668)
High knowledge											0.21
	0.158	0.218	0.27	0.052	0.084	0.095	0.093	0.093	0.098	0.021	0.21
Constant	(0.278)	(0.303)	(0.360)	(0.82)	(0.846)	(0.85)	(0.184)	(1.031)	(1.165)	(1.585)	(1.510)
Adjusted R squared	0.118	0.1390	0.139	0.147	0.17	0.183	0.194	0.271	0.316	0.335	0.331

* $P < 0.01$ ** $P < 0.05$ is the reference category, in parentheses are the standard errors and the figure next to it is the odds ratio

Figure 37 shows that the odds ratio drops from model 1 until model 6 then from model 7 to 9 then drops again slightly in model 10. It means that type of media, political efficacy, other sources of information and various social and demographic characteristics of youth positively influence effects of media on political participation.

Figure 37: Trends of odds ratio in multivariate analysis before elections



6.3 Results of Multivariate Regression Analysis of Impacts Mass Media Exposure on Participation by Youth after Elections Campaigns

Table 58 summarizes the multivariate models of mass media exposure on campaign participation confounding for other factors. It shows that the effects of mass media on campaign participation disappear after economic status, efficacy, party of affiliation and other sources of information variables were added into the model

According to Table 58 sex of the youth is a significant determinant of campaign participation after elections with females being 0.297 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to the males as shown in model 10. The effect of sex decreased as other factors were added into the model. The implication is that other variables such as age, education, residence, income, type of roof, political affiliation, and other sources of information mediate the effect of sex on political participation. This is consistent with the SES that shows resources are determinants of political participation (Brady, Verba and Bohlozman 1995, 271-294; Putnam 1995, 65-78; Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108)

Table 58 shows that age of the respondent is not a significant factor of political participation until when all factors are in play. It becomes significant in model 10 with respondents aged between 25-30 years being 2.61 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those aged 18-19 years. This finding is in harmony with theory that states as people grow older they acquire resources that facilitate participation (International IDEA 1999; Harngan 1987, 1-337, CIRCLE 2008). Older youth are more likely to participate than younger ones. The resources comprise greater familiarity with political participants and electoral process, greater integration with community and knowledge and skills; closer attachment to parties and keener internalization of ideologies and issues

Type of place of residence is a significant determinant of campaign participation when age, sex, income, education and mass media are in the model (Table 58). However, the effect disappears when political efficacy and other

resources of information area added to the model. When political parties are added into the model the effect is seen with youths resident in rural areas being 0.392 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to their counterparts in urban areas as seen in model 10. These findings are consistent with the SES theory that state that SES determines political participation (Verba 1967, 4-5; McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293; Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381, Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223)

Table 58 reveals that type of roofing material was a significant determinant of campaign participation after elections. Youths from households with asbestos as a type of roofing material were 6.502 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who were from households with thatched roof as shown in model 10 when all other covariates are present. However the odds ratio for type of roofing material decreased as more variables were added into the models. Type of roof is a wealth status indicator and this finding is consistent with the SES theory that states that resources are determinants of political participation (Verba 1967, 4-5; McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293, Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381, Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223).

According to Table 58 political efficacy is a significant determinant of campaign participation in the presence of social-economic and demographic variables with those with high efficacy being 2.964 times more likely to participate compared to those with no or low efficacy. Youths with medium efficacy were 2.036 times more likely to participate compared to those with no or low efficacy.

however after the variable of other sources of information and party of affiliation were added into the model the effects disappeared. Theory of political participation states that high political efficacy leads to higher political participation. This finding confirms the political participation theory

Table 58 indicates that other sources of information was a significant determinant of campaign participation with those youths who get information from their spouses being 0.205 times less likely to participate compared to those who got their information from political rallies and meetings. The effect of other sources of information on campaign participation after elections decreased after party of affiliation was added into the model 10. Youths who got their information from spouses were 0.157 times less likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who got their information from political rallies and meetings. Recent studies in the US show that young Americans are not likely to discuss public affairs with family and friends but more likely to say they did when growing up (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

In addition, party of affiliation was a significant determinant of campaign participation, youths who were affiliated to ODM party were 5.806 times more likely to participate in campaigns compared to those who were not affiliated to any party as shown in model 10. In model 11, only type of residence is a significant factor influencing campaign participation, with respondents in rural areas being 0.387 less likely to participate in campaigns compared to their counterparts in urban areas

Table 5B: Multivariate models of effects of media exposure on participation after elections

	Campaign participation after election										
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Mass media	2.341	2.423	3.615	3.178	1.837	1.726	1.848	1.357	1.487	1.377	1.430
Mass media	(0.339)***	(0.344)***	(0.348)***	(0.36)***	(0.37)	(0.373)	(0.383)	(0.4)	(0.411)	(0.42)	(0.42)
Television exposure	2.6	2.548	2.658	2.158	1.714	1.544	1.451	1.317	1.463	1.298	1.276
Television exposure	(0.34)***	(0.344)***	(0.347)***	(0.371)***	(0.388)	(0.395)	(0.418)	(0.425)	(0.438)	(0.45)	(0.442)
Radio exposure	3.072	3.884	3.793	2.938	2.527	2.131	1.984	1.787	1.643	1.638	1.668
Radio exposure	(0.411)***	(0.418)***	(0.422)***	(0.482)***	(0.488)***	(0.473)	(0.504)	(0.518)	(0.528)	(0.542)	(0.528)
Age			0.448	0.43	0.418	0.388	0.388	0.388	0.344	0.287	.88
Age			(0.221)***	(0.238)***	(0.238)***	(0.245)***	(0.253)***	(0.258)***	(0.263)***	(0.278)***	(0.288)
Age			0.844	0.824	0.884	0.903	1.102	1.108	1.147	1.48	1.312
Age			(0.306)	(0.308)	(0.312)	(0.318)	(0.332)	(0.338)	(0.341)	(0.353)	(0.338)
Age			1.448	1.377	1.787	1.882	1.782	1.748	2.083	2.81	2.070
Age			(0.314)	(0.322)	(0.328)	(0.344)	(0.385)	(0.37)	(0.383)	(0.398)***	(0.372)
Age				1.887	1.6	1.457	1.28	1.314	1.145	0.901	813
Age				(0.822)	(0.832)	(0.841)	(0.855)	(0.882)	(0.88)	(0.883)	(0.718)
Age				2.841	1.882	1.747	1.33	1.315	1.352	1.88	887
Age				(0.818)	(0.83)	(0.838)	(0.868)	(0.882)	(0.88)	(0.888)	(0.720)
Age				3.189	2.385	2.227	1.88	1.782	1.507	1.882	858
Age				(0.858)	(0.888)	(0.878)	(0.904)	(0.92)	(0.931)	(0.931)	(0.770)
Age					0.837	0.815	0.375	0.272	0.338	0.218	108
Age					(1.154)	(1.21)	(1.287)	(1.278)	(1.283)	(1.308)	(1.282)
Age					0.488	0.488	0.812	0.81	0.528	0.387	387
Age					(0.328)***	(0.331)***	(0.388)	(0.42)	(0.44)	(0.48)***	(0.432)***
Age						1.882	1.823	1.847	1.818	1.88	1.752
Age						(0.282)	(0.288)	(0.282)	(0.301)	(0.31)	(0.310)
Age						2.845	2.118	2.137	1.88	2.838	3.174
Age						(0.543)	(0.555)	(0.583)	(0.571)	(0.603)	(0.606)
Age						---	0.885	1.018	0.88	0.785	882
Age						(0.804)	(0.807)	(0.818)	(0.828)	(0.835)	(0.832)
Age						0.005	0.004	0.005	0.008	0.002	0.008
Age						(0.96)	(1.003)	(1.027)	(1.08)	(1.08)	(1.084)
Age							2.887	1.951	1.82	1.888	1.332
Age							(0.638)	(0.658)	(0.67)	(0.678)	(0.581)
Age							10.718	8.88	8.882	8.502	5.588
Age							(0.733)***	(0.756)***	(0.768)***	(0.776)***	(0.801)
Age							3.882	2.438	2.471	2.8	1.703
Age							(0.74)	(0.784)	(0.782)	(0.783)	(0.714)
Age								2.038	1.918	1.88	2.188
Age								(0.357)***	(0.385)	(0.377)	(0.370)
Age								2.888	2.588	2.834	3.138
Age								(0.381)***	(0.384)	(0.41)	(0.408)

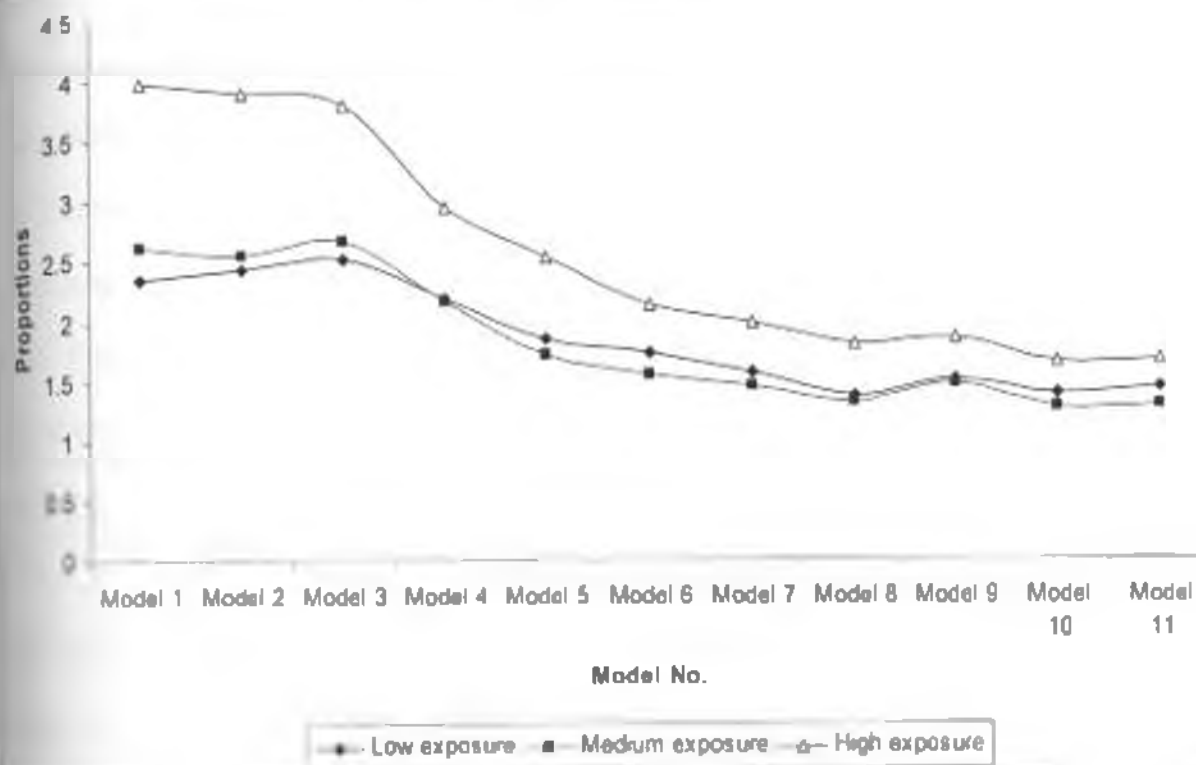
Table 58 continued...:

	Campaign participation after election										
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Other sources											
Political rallies & meetings R									1.22	1.142	1.063
Chief barazas									(0.868)	(0.868)	(.784)
Church meetings									0.181	0.178	403
Women group meetings									(1.18)	(1.193)	(.933)
Friends									0.631	0.568	556
Spouse									(0.827)	(0.842)	(.841)
Other relatives									0.65	0.582	561
Workmates									(0.316)	(0.33)	(.320)
Party									0.205	0.157	154
None R									(0.772)**	(0.798)**	(.801)
CCM									0.899	0.672	741
PNU									(0.8)	(0.609)	(.613)
CCM-K									0.28	0.187	200
Others									(1.189)	(1.202)	(1.210)
Knowledge of campaign issues											
Not knowledgeable R										5.806	5.678
Medium knowledge										(0.725)**	(.728)
High knowledge										3.792	3.992
Constant										(0.743)	(.746)
Intercept R-squared										0.787	567
F-statistic										(1.359)	(1.359)
										0.002	0.000
										(17.76)	(195.24)
	0.231	0.3232	0.282	0.41	0.233	0.256	0.094	0.076	0.121	0.038	094
	(0.286)	(0.301)	(0.373)	(0.834)	(0.872)	(0.879)	(1.03)	(1.078)	(1.095)	(1.28)	(.441)
	0.048	0.093	0.103	0.118	0.136	0.182	0.211	0.237	0.26	0.31	328

**P<0.05, is the reference category, in parentheses are the standard errors and the figure above is the odds ratio

Figure 38 shows that the effect of mass media declines with addition of extra variables

Figure 38: Trends of odds ratio in multivariate models after elections



6.4 Conclusion and Discussions

Figure 38 shows the steady decline of effects of mass media on political participation after elections as other intervening variables are added to the model. The differences in effect between high, medium and low exposures are meager. This implies that the effects of mass media are moderated by other factors, i.e., gender, age, location of residence, type of roof and other sources of information. This finding supports the SES theory that states that resources are important determinants of political participation (Verba 1967, 4-5, McAllister and

Makka 1968-1969, 269-293, Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381; Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223).

The finding on the impact of media on political participation is consistent with the political mobilization theory that shows that mass media are important determinants of political participation (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31, Macquail 2000, 523-532, Otenyo 2002, 155, Temin and Smith 2002, 585-605; Phar and Kraus 1996, 1-19; Flanagan 1996, 277-306). According to Flanagan, mass media have mobilizing effect on citizen interest and participation in politics (Flanagan 1996, 295). Flanagan's path analytical model showed that high exposure to mass media improves knowledge of political issues which stimulates interest in politics leading to active political participation. On the other hand, while supporting the impact of media on political participation, Pippa Norris argues that there is a virtuous circle in the relationship between mass media and political participation (Norris 2000, 3-21, Norris 1996, 474-480). He stresses that it is those who are politically active are also active users of mass media to get political information.

This study found out that gender is a significant determinant of campaign participation. This thesis confirms that there is a lesser likelihood of political participation when one is female. This is in harmony with theories of participation that assert that women are less likely to participate in politics. (Harrigan 1987, 1-30; Kabira, Oduol and Nzomo 1993, 1-46; Flanagan 1996, 283). Oduol and Chesoni argue that men's notion of public sphere continue to limit women's access to the political domain and resources (Chesoni 2006, 195-201, Oduol 2008, 239). According to the economic model of participation, women are less likely

to participate in politics because the majority of women are less educated, poor, lack time and effort to compete in politics (Gleason 2001, 105-126). Anthony Downs argued that women are not likely to participate because politics is an expensive activity for them. He argued that women are relatively poor, less educated and do not have the time to engage in political activities compared to men (Downs 1957, 135-150).

Theories of differential participation can also be used to explain why fewer young women participate in politics. It asserts that fewer women participate in competitive politics because they lack political skills and are not proportionately represented in power structures to spur their active participation in politics (Gleason 2001, 105-126; Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Oduol 2008, 38-39).

This finding is also in harmony with the 2003 Kenyan Demographic and Health Survey that concluded that women were less likely to have access to mass media and participate in politics because of low decision making powers (CBS, MoH and ORC 2004, 13-40) thereby reducing their participation in politics. This study found that high media exposure is good for political participation. Therefore, lower exposure to media would lead to less active participation in politics by women.

This study confirms that being young is associated with less likelihood of political participation. The generational and resources theory asserts that as people grow older they acquire resources that facilitate participation (International IDEA 1999; Harrigan 1987, 1-537). Older youth are more likely to participate than younger ones. According to the generational and resources

theory, these resources comprise greater familiarity with political participants and electoral process, greater integration with community and knowledge and skills; closer attachment to parties and keener internalization of ideologies and issues (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, 271-294, Miller 1996; Brady 1998, Putnam 1995, 655., Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108).

A number of reasons explain why the youth poorly participate in politics in Kenya. Studies indicate that low efficacy among the youth owing to youth's marginalization and exclusion from decision making hinder their participation. The youth voice has been that of marginalization and voicelessness at family, community and national levels (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14). This youth malaise may be a reflection of the general malaise in the wider Kenyan society.

Another reason has been the low priority status given to youth in Kenya by the government (GoK 2002, 7-18). As a result of this, the youth have not been effectively engaged in the development agenda of the country. However, the government has since 2009 established the Youth Ministry, the Youth Development Council and the Youth Enterprise Fund to mainstream youth development in Kenya (GoK 2007).

Location of residence and type of roof are socioeconomic indicators. This study asserts that rural youth and youth living in thatched huts are associated with the likelihood of low political participation. This is consistent with the SES theory that shows that resources are determinants of political participation (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, 271-294; Miller 1996; Brady 1998; Putnam 1995, 655., Beck and Jennings 1982, 94-108). According to Flanagan,

Health and SES determine media consumption and political participation (Flanagan 1996, 283). In this study, rural youth are associated with low political participation because they are poor, less educated and have limited access to political resources (Francis and Githagui 2005, 1-14, GoK 2002, 7-18). According to this study, rural youth also have limited access to mass media resources such as TV, mobile phones and internet access.

Other sources of information (other relatives, friend and workmate) are associated with political participation before elections. Civic volunteerism theory and the diffusion of innovation and information theories state that social networks are important sources of political information (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995, 296-269, Rogers, 1978; Tan, 1955). Additionally, Flanagan also asserts that social networks stimulate media exposure and psychological involvement which in turn enhance political participation. Studies by CIRCLE show that youth in America are less likely to discuss current affairs with family and friends but are more likely to say they did when growing up (Lopez et al 2006, 3-31).

Chapter 7

Summary Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Chapter six presented the results of the multivariate logistic regression. This chapter discusses the summary findings, conclusions and recommendations for further research. This thesis endeavored to study the impact of mass media exposure of youth on political participation during the 2007 election campaigns, to investigate the mass media patterns of exposure of youth during the same period and to assess the associations between the various types of mass media and the forms of political participation these youth engaged in during the similar period.

7.2 Summary Findings

This section summarizes findings in line with the three key research areas delineated by research questions and objectives on the impact of mass media on political participation, patterns of exposure to media and associations between various media channels and forms of political participation.

7.2.1 Impact of Exposure to Mass Media on youth participation before and after Election Campaigns

The main research question that the thesis aimed to answer was

What was the impact of exposure to mass media on youth participation during the 2007 Kenya general election campaigns in Nakuru District?

The key finding of this study is that mass media are significant determinants of youth political participation before elections and not thereafter. Exposure to mass media strongly affects youth participation before elections. The odds ratio increases with exposure to mass media of youth. Put another way, a rise in exposure to mass media increases the likelihood of political participation by the surveyed youth with those having low exposure to media being 2.404 times more likely, those having medium exposure to media being 2.742 times more likely and those with high exposure to media being 6.623 times more likely to participate during election campaigns.

The slightly reduced reliance on media to get information on campaigns after elections could explain why media was not a significant determinant of youth participation after elections. Reliance on media to get political campaigns was higher during campaigns than after the elections. This could have been because the youth had higher interest on campaign information before elections than after elections.

Table 16: Trend of multivariate analysis of impact of media on participation

	Campaign participation before elections			Campaign participation after elections		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
None media exposure						
Low exposure		0.008			0.804	
Medium exposure	0.877	0.031**	2.404	0.320	0.446	1.377
High exposure	1.009	0.018**	2.742	0.230	0.810	1.258
Very high exposure	1.88	0.000***	6.423	0.494	0.363	1.638

P<0.05, * is the reference category. B is the logistic regression coefficient and Exp (B) is the odds ratio.

However, mass media exposure is not the only factor influencing political participation by the youth before and after election campaigns. According to table 59 the impact of mass media reduces as other intervening variables are introduced in the models. The other significant determinants of political participation by youth responsible for this trend are sex, age, location of residence, type of roof as a wealth status indicator, political efficacy, other sources of information and political party affiliation (Table 41).

Sex, gender, education, residence, income and type of roof reduce the likelihood of participation curve while political efficacy, other sources of information and party affiliation increase the likelihood of political participation before elections. However, after elections, income, type of roof, political efficacy, other sources of information and political party affiliation reduce the effects the effects of mass media on political participation (Table 41).

The odds ratio increased with rise in exposure to mass media. The implication is that high exposure to mass media increased the likelihood of political participation before elections. The implication is that mass media had more effect on political participation by surveyed youth before elections than after elections. Timing of exposure to mass media is critical (Table 60, 61, 62).

Sex of youth was a determinant of political participation by surveyed youth before and after elections. Surveyed female youth are less likely to participate in election campaigns before and after elections compared to surveyed male youths who were more likely to participate during election campaigns. Timing of participation is critical to surveyed female youth's participation. The odds ratio

drastically drops from 0.573 to 0.297 after elections though the relationship remains highly significant at *P*-value of 0.000 (Table 41). These findings are consistent with theories of participation and various feminist theories (Cheson 2006, 195-201; Gleason 2001, 105-126; Oduol 2008, 38-39).

Age was a determinant of political participation by the surveyed youth after elections in Model 10. Older youth (25-30) are 2.61 times more likely to participate in politics after elections than surveyed youth between 18 years and 19 years. This may be so because they are more integrated in to the political systems than the younger youth (Table 41). This is consistent with the generational theories that state that adults participate actively in politics than youth because they are well integrated in political systems (Harrigan 1987, 1-537; International IDEA 1999)

Location of residence was also a determinant of political participation by the surveyed youth. The thesis found that surveyed youth living in rural areas were less likely to participate in election campaigns before and after elections compared to surveyed youth dwelling in urban centers that are more likely to participate. The odds ratio increases from 0.309 to 0.392 after elections meaning that the likelihood of surveyed youth in rural areas not participating increases after elections (Table 41). This finding is consistent with the SES and resources theory of political participation (Verba 1967, 4-5, McAllister and Makkar 1968-1969, 269-293, Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381, Wolfelt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223).

The finding that youth in urban areas were more likely to participate than their rural counterparts may be baffling to students of local grassroots politics in Kenya. To the contrary, youth in rural areas are known to be more active in politics than urban youth. This is because they are easy to mobilize using ethnic and clan identification tags. Urban youth are politically, socially and demographically fragmented and not easy to mobilize. While this particular finding requires more study, there was little difference between the voter turnout in urban and that of rural areas. Nakuru Town Constituency, which is mainly urban had a voter turnout of 34 percent compared to Rongai Constituency's 32 percent in 2007 general elections (ECK 2008).

Type of roof is a key determinant of political participation by surveyed youth after election campaigns. Surveyed youth living in houses with asbestos were more associated with greater likelihood of participation after elections compared to those living in thatched houses. Asbestos is an indicator for medium wealth status in this study (Table 60, 61, 62).

Table 60: Trend of multivariate analysis of background characteristics on participation

	Campaign participation before elections			Campaign participation after elections		
	B	Sig	Exp(B)	B	Sig	Exp(B)
Sex						
Male *	-0.598	0.038**	0.573	-1.214	0.000***	0.297
Female						
Age						
18-19 *		0.854			0.044**	
20-24	0.189	0.628	1.184	0.398	0.26	1.49
25-29	0.201	0.599	1.223	0.859	0.016**	2.61
Education						
None *		0.56			0.585	
Primary	0.553	0.556	1.739	-0.105	0.908	0.901
Secondary	1.015	0.275	2.761	0.057	0.949	1.056
University	0.858	0.405	2.359	0.088	0.924	1.092
Household						
Building						
Iron *	-1.173	0.002***	0.309	-0.937	0.042**	0.392
None						
Income (000)						
0-10,000		0.981			0.249	
1000-10,000	-0.084	0.794	0.92	0.484	0.135	1.59
1000-10,000	-0.132	0.876	0.876	1.043	0.084	2.839
>1001-20,000	-1.94	0.746	0.007	-0.242	0.703	0.785
>2001-30,000	0.493	0.552	1.637	6.082	0.712	0.002
Type of roof						
Painted roof *		0.214			0.013**	
Concrete iron sheets	0.031	0.974	0.969	0.522	0.440	1.686
None	-0.612	0.548	0.542	1.872	0.016**	6.502
Yes	-0.827	0.43	0.437	0.956	0.228	2.6

*P<0.01 **P<0.05, is the reference category. B is the logistic regression coefficient and Exp (B) is the odds ratio

High political efficacy is more associated with greater likelihood of political participation by surveyed youth before and after elections. However, the magnitude of the effect drops almost by half after elections. Therefore, surveyed youth with high political efficacy are more likely to participate in elections campaigns (Table 60, 61, 62).

Other sources of information are determinants of political participation by surveyed youth before and after elections. Surveyed youth getting information

from workmates, friends and other relatives were less likely to participate before elections. However, spouses are a determinant of political participation after elections. Receiving information from a spouse is associated with lesser likelihood of political participation by youth after elections (Table 60, 61, 62). This finding is not consistent with facts of political participation in Nakuru District and Kenya. It is a well established fact that participation (voting) conform to ethnic and clan identity. Politicians often mobilize opinion leaders in clans and villages to persuade other kinsmen to vote for them. Therefore, other sources of information contribute significantly to grassroots political participation. As such, the finding of this thesis calls for further investigation.

Table 61: Trend of multivariate analysis of effects of other sources of information on participation

	Campaign participation before elections			Campaign participation after elections		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Other sources of information						
Clubs & meetings *		0.027**			0.244	
Chief barazas	0.594	0.558	1.812	0.133	0.878	1.142
Clutch meetings	-0.954	0.344	0.385	-1.723	0.148	0.178
Women group meetings	0.27	0.742	1.31	-0.569	0.499	0.566
Stands	-0.688	0.027**	0.503	-0.542	0.100	0.582
Spouse	-1.415	0.234	0.243	-1.854	0.020**	0.157
Other relatives	-1.795	0.013**	0.166	-0.397	0.515	0.672
Spouses	-2.828	0.018**	0.059	-1.824	0.177	0.197

**P<0.05 is the reference category B is the logistic regression coefficient and Exp (B) is the odds ratio

Political party affiliation is a determinant of political participation by surveyed youth after elections. The respondent youth affiliated to ODM were more likely to indicate participation after elections than those affiliated to other

parties (Table 41). ODM youth in Nakuru and other areas in the Rift Valley demonstrated immediately after the announcement of 2007 presidential elections that led to post election violence.

Table 62. Effects of political efficacy, affiliation and knowledge on participation

	Campaign participation before elections			Campaign participation after elections		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Political efficacy						
Low efficacy*		0.000			0.061	
Medium efficacy	0.581	0.186	1.788	0.673	0.074	1.96
High efficacy	1.644	0.000***	5.177	0.958	0.018**	2.634
Political party						
None*		0.622			0.046**	
ODM	1.825	0.126	6.202	1.759	0.015**	5.808
PNJ	1.722	0.15	5.596	1.333	0.073	3.792
ODM-A	2.107	0.168	8.22	-0.265	0.645	0.787
Others	9.936	0.656	20664.03	-6.055	0.734	0.002
Knowledge of campaign issues						
Not Knowledgeable*						
Medium Knowledge	275	872	1.317	-0.2765	512	758
Highly Knowledgeable	648	334	1.908	-0.3011	494	740
Constant	-3.843	0.015	0.021	-0.02389	0.44	0.94
R-squared			0.331			0.326

*** $P < 0.01$ ** $P < 0.05$. * is the reference category. B is the logistic regression coefficient and Exp (B) is the odds ratio

7.2.2 Patterns of Exposure to Mass Media Before and After Election Campaigns

The second research question addressed the patterns of exposure to mass media of the surveyed youth

What were the mass media exposure patterns of youth during the 2007 Kenya general election campaigns in Nakuru District?

More than half of the surveyed youth preferred to expose themselves to radio, over a third to TV and the remaining preferred newspapers, internet and

mobile phones in order of priority (Fig. 22). The trend is consistent with household media ownership (Fig. 21).

Between 72 and 81 percent of youth surveyed watched TV to get political information before and after elections respectively. This study found that sex, education, residence and type of roof were significantly associated with exposure to TV by the surveyed youth (Fig. 29). More surveyed men (81.1 percent) watched TV to get political information than females (62.7 percent) before elections. About 91.7 percent of surveyed youth with postgraduate education watched TV during election campaigns compared to only 26.9 percent of surveyed youth with no education during similar period.

Over 80 percent of the surveyed youth listened to radio to get political information before and after elections (Fig. 24). This study found that exposure to radio has a significant association with level of education before elections and level of income, and location of residence and type of roof after the elections.

This study found out that 54.2 percent and 60.5 percent of the surveyed youth did not read newspapers to get political information on campaigns before and after elections respectively. It revealed that exposure to newspapers is significantly associated with gender, education, residence, type of roof and income (Table 17). Additionally, about 60 percent of surveyed females did not read newspapers during election campaigns to get political information ($P < 0.01$).

Surveyed youth who exposed themselves to internet ranged between 7 percent and 11 percent only before and after elections respectively. Exposure to internet is significantly associated with education, income and roof type.

Between 11 percent and 13 percent of the surveyed youth used mobile phones to get political information before and after elections. Use of mobile phones to get political information was strongly associated with education with those with no education recording over 80 percent no use of mobile phones for political information.

Several factors may explain this level of participation by Kenyan youth in Nakuru during the 2007 general elections. Studies by various scholars and organizations indicate that political parties often use the youth as mobilization agencies during electioneering and counting of ballots (Wanjala 2002, 322-328, Kagwanja 2003, 25-49; Kagwanja 2006, 51-75; CPAF 2008, 58). Prior to the 2007 election, major political parties like ODM, PNU and ODM-K encouraged the formation of various youth lobby groups to mobilize youths to vote (IREC 2008, 1-90). These youth lobby groups organized numerous rallies in various parts of the country to canvass for votes for their respective parties and candidates. Civil society organizations such as IED, YA, FES and IRI also mobilized the youth to participate in the 2007 elections (Okombo 2008, 63-71, IREC 2008, 1-90, REDOF 2008). The aggressive mobilization of the youth to participate, perhaps, encouraged them to canvass for votes for their parties and candidates. Another reason for active youth participation could have been vote buying and bribery which the IREC and CIPEV reports indicted political parties and politicians for using the youth to cause mayhem and also buy votes during the 2007 election campaigns (Okombo 2008, 63-71; IREC 2008, 1-90; CAPF 2008, 45-48; CIPEV 2008, 20-35).

This tendency for active youth participation was also witnessed in USA during the 2008 elections. Additionally, recent studies in America indicate that young Americans are paying attention and discussing politics (CIRCLE 2008 and Lopez et al 2006, 3-31)

7.2.3 Forms and Level of Political Participation by Youth

This study also assessed the forms and levels of youth political participation. The study made the assumption that youth participate in various forms of political participation based on their own rational choices. Indeed, this thesis found that the surveyed youth engaged in various forms of political participation during the 2007 election campaigns. They canvassed for votes for various parties and candidates, donated resources for parties and candidates, attended political meetings; worked in various positions for parties and candidates; and also offered themselves for political office (Figure 39)

Generally, youth were politically active with 82.4 percent and 70.4 percent interviewed before and after elections respectively indicating that they persuaded others to support their candidates and parties (Figure 10). This finding is inconsistent with the perception that youth have low political efficacy and are less likely to participate in politics (Okombo 2008, 69-71). However, the aggressive mobilization campaigns by government, political parties, media and civic society may explain the active participation by youth in the 2007 election campaigns (IREC 2008, 1-90).

Youth idealism, utilitarianism, rationality and sentimentalism may be used to explain why surveyed youth actively participated during the 2007 election

campaigns (Okombo 2008, 63-71). Youth idealism theory asserts that the youth are pragmatic and realistic. The Kenyan youth have been marginalized and excluded from economic and political spheres for a long time (Francis and Githagui 2005, 7-18). Their active participation could have been in response to their desire for change in the way government relates to them. Studies show that Kenyan youth are utilitarian in their approach to politics (Okombo 2008, 67-71). Politicians often bribe or pay off youth to get their support. Studies by the Coalition for Accountable Political Financing indicated that financial incentives influenced youth participation in the 2007 elections (CAPF 2008, 45-48).

Youth rational concept asserts that youth are rational and make political decision based on cost benefit analysis. Therefore, the surveyed youth's behavior could have been because of rational calculations to benefit from the 2007 elections. On the other hand, youth participation could, perhaps, have been as a result of sentimental behavior on their part.

Additionally, education ($P=0.008$), residence ($P<0.01$) and type of roof ($P=0.018$) were significantly associated with political participation through canvassing for votes before 2007 elections. After elections, type of roof ($P<0.01$) and income ($P=0.030$) were the significant determinants of high participation through canvassing (Figure 39). The SES and resource theory assert that high education, urbanization and high wealth status enhance political participation (Verba 1967, 4-5; McAllister and Makkai 1968-1969, 269-293; Verba and Nie 1972, 674-676; Scott and Acock 1979, 361-381; Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592 and Hanks 1981, 211-223).

The study found out that 61 percent of the surveyed youth highly participated by donating money and buying promotional materials to support candidates or party before elections compared to 45 percent surveyed after elections who indicated to have done so. There was significant association between participation through giving donations and buying promotional materials and education, gender, residence, income and type of roof before and after elections. This finding is inconsistent with popular practice in Kenya. Youth are not known to finance political campaigns but rather are recipients of finances from rich senior politicians and political parties (Kagwanja 2005, 51-75; Wanjala 2002, 322-334)

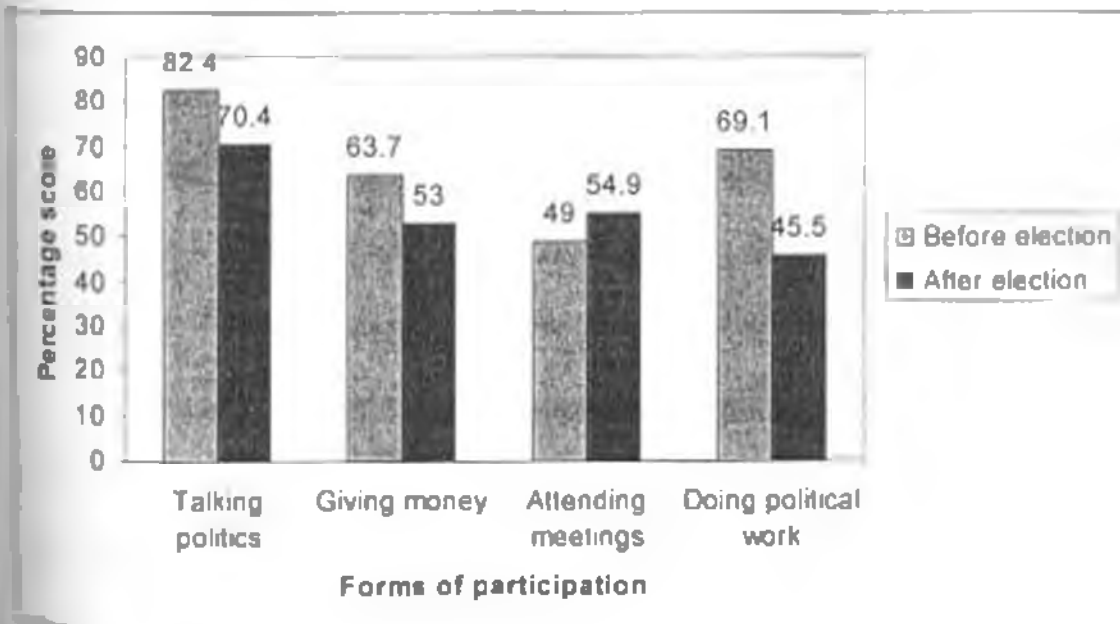
Before elections, half of the youths indicated they attended political meetings. After elections, slightly more (55 percent) did the same with those who highly participated making half of them. Similarly, half of the youth surveyed before elections did not attend political meetings and rallies compared to 44.4 percent surveyed after elections. Education and type of roof were the determinants of participation through attending of political meetings before elections while gender, residence, income and type of roof were after elections (Figure 39). Youth utilitarianism, idealism, rationality and sentimentalism could have, perhaps, driven youth to attend political meetings. Kenyan politicians often pay youth money to mobilize people to attend political meetings (Okombo 2008, 67-71).

A majority of 69 percent of the youth surveyed before elections participated through working in various capacities for candidates and parties

compared to only 23 percent of youth surveyed after elections. Over 53 percent of the youth did not do any work for politicians and parties after elections (Figure 39). There was a significant association between doing political work and gender, residence, income and type of roof before ($P=0.003$) and after ($P<0.01$) elections.

An overwhelming majority (72 percent) of youth surveyed before elections and (80 percent) after elections did not contest for any political seats for council, parliament and local seats. The determinants of participation through offering self for political office were income, type of roof and gender before and after elections (Figure 39). Theoretically, youth, like women, are less likely to participate in competitive politics because they do not have resources (Gleason 2001, 105-126). Kenyan youth are poor, unemployed and underrepresented in power structures in society (Francis and Gathagui 2005, 7-18, GoK 2002, 1-14). As a result, they would be expected to actively participate in competitive politics.

Figure 39: Trend of youth participation



7.2.4 Associations between Exposure to Types of Media and Forms of Political Participation by Youth

The third question in this study addressed the association between

various types of mass media and forms of political participation:

What was the significance of the association between various types of mass media and forms of political activities the youth engaged in during the 2007 election campaigns in Nakuru District?

This thesis found that various types of mass media have varying association with various forms of high political participation. Exposure of youth to TV was strongly associated with participation in campaigns through canvassing before and after election campaigns ($P=0.001$ and $P=0.003$ respectively). High exposure of surveyed youth to TV was strongly associated with high political participation before election campaigns.

Exposure to TV was strongly associated with participation by surveyed youth at political meetings ($P<0.01$) with surveyed youth with no exposure to TV before elections being associated with high absenteeism at political meetings (Table 27). High exposure to TV was also associated with low attendance of political meetings (Table 27). It seems that exposure to TV did not motivate surveyed youth to attend political meetings.

Additionally, exposure to TV was strongly associated with doing general political work ($P<0.01$) for candidates and parties before and after elections (Table 28). High exposure of youth to TV was associated with high participation through working for political parties and candidates.

Similarly, watching TV had a significant association with surveyed youth working as security for party or candidate ($P=0.000$ before and $P=0.007$ after elections) with surveyed youth with no exposure to TV being associated with no participation as security

Exposure to radio has strong association with various forms of political participation by the surveyed youth (Table 26, 27 and 28). Exposure of surveyed youth to radio has a significant association with giving donations and buying promotional materials ($P=0.001$ before and $P=0.000$ after elections); attending meetings ($P=0.014$ before and $P=0.034$ after elections), and working for candidates and parties before elections ($P<0.01$). Therefore, radio is an important source of campaign information particularly for receiving information on political meetings and party donations and promotional materials.

On the other hand, exposure to newspapers is associated to giving donations ($P=0.000$ before and after elections), attending political meetings ($P=0.005$ before elections), doing any political work ($P=0.000$ before and $P=0.011$ after elections), working as security ($P=0.000$ before and after elections), distribution of literature ($P=0.01$ before and $P=0.04$ after elections), and working as volunteer ($P=0.005$ before and $P=0.002$ after elections)

Mobile phones use by surveyed youth showed an association with doing any political work for party or candidate ($P=0.04$ before elections), and working as security ($P=0.004$ before elections)

Exposure of surveyed youth to internet had no association to political participation during elections.

7.3 Conclusions of the Study

The major conclusions are that mass media were significant mobilization agents during campaigns while gender, location of residence, political efficacy and party affiliation were major determinants of youth participation in the 2007 general elections.

Media as mobilization agents

The mass media played an important mobilization role because they stimulated youth political participation in 2007 general elections in Nakuru District. The media effectively informed the youth about the political campaigns.

Exposure to political information led to increases in youth political participation. The implication is that some types of media content especially news and political information enhance youth political activity.

Therefore, the media in the district were significant political actors during the 2007 campaigns because they encouraged youth to be politically active. This study demonstrated that the youth in the district who exposed themselves more to the media were likely to be more politically active during the campaigns. The media mobilized the youth to participate in the general elections by enhancing their level of political efficacy and encouraging debate among other sources of information as illustrated in Figure 40.

Gender and participation

Gender is both a key determinant of youth political participation as well as a mediator of the impacts of mass media on youth participation during elections in Nakuru District. The investigation found that female youth were less likely to participate during election campaigns. On the other hand, male youth were more

likely to participate during election campaigns. While female youth exposed to mass media were less likely to participate, male youth exposed to mass media were more likely to participate in the general elections. Therefore, gender seemed to equalize the impacts of mass media exposure on youth participation.

Location of residence

The location of residence affected youth participation in Nakuru District during the general election campaigns in 2007. The analysis revealed that rural youth were less likely to participate during election campaigns compared to urban youth. This finding is consistent with theory that asserts that youth with access to political and media resources (such as urban areas) are more politically active than youth with less access to political resources (such as rural areas). However, the finding may be somewhat baffling as it is an established fact in Kenya that youth in rural areas tend to be more active than their urban counterparts. This is because participation especially voting in rural areas conforms to ethnic and clan identity compared to urban areas where voters are often fragmented along party, ethnic, social, demographic and ideological lines. This calls for further investigation of the nature of participation between rural and urban youth in Kenya.

Political efficacy and participation

Political efficacy was a strong determinant of youth political participation during the election campaigns. Therefore, beliefs in political system, institutions and leaders are important variables in youth participation. The investigation

showed that high political efficacy leads to greater political participation by the youth

The high youth participation could have been because the youth believed in the agendas of the various parties they supported. The PNU youth trusted Kibaki to continue to deliver greater economic prosperity. At the time, the economy was performing well beyond expectations. The economy recovered from a low growth of 2.9 percent in 2003 to 7 percent in 2007 (GoK 2008, 2-3). On the other hand, ODM youth believed that Raila Odinga and his ODM Team would bring the much needed fundamental constitutional and legal changes in the country.

Youth media habits

This study provided a profile of media exposure and consumption in Nakuru District in 2007. Television and radio were popular sources of political information among the youth during the 2007 election campaigns. This study showed that an average of 86.8 percent of youth listened to radio to get political information compared to 77.3 percent who watched TV and 57.3 percent who read newspapers to get political information on election campaigns.

Location of residence is a key determinant of media exposure and consumption. Youth who lived in urban centres were more likely to expose themselves to TV compared to their counterparts in rural areas who were more likely to listen to radio to get political information.

Gender of the youth determined preference for mass media in Nakuru District in 2007. The investigation proved that male youth were more predisposed

to watch TV to get campaign information than female youth. Results presented in Chapter 5 also concluded that more surveyed male youth (81.1 percent) watched TV to get political information than surveyed females (62.7 percent) before elections

Additionally, the level of education and income also determined preference for mass media among the youth. The higher the level of education the greater the exposure to TV to get election campaign information. A higher level of education was related to higher socioeconomic status while a lower level of education was associated to lower socioeconomic status

The utility of mobile phones and internet as sources of political information remained low in 2007 in Nakuru District. This could have been because of high cost of the facilities and low access and connectivity to mobile phones and internet. Generally, the study confirmed that mobile phones and internet were still at the initial states of popular usage

Youth participation ahead of 2007 elections

This investigation gave a profile of youth participation in Nakuru District and indicated that they were significant political actors in the 2007 election campaigns. This investigation showed that the youth were politically active and engaged in various forms of political activities during election campaigns. An average of 76.4 percent of surveyed youth talked to people to get them to vote for candidates and parties, 58.4 percent supported the campaign through various financial contributions, 52 percent did various jobs for candidates or parties and 51 percent attended political meetings during election campaigns. However, the

youth did not play significant leadership roles ahead of the 2007 elections mainly because of lack of resources and being at the periphery of party leadership in the district.

Political affiliation and youth participation

The investigation found that party affiliation was a determinant of youth participation in 2007 general elections in the district. The youth were polarized along party lines during the campaigns with ODM youth being the most active especially after elections. ODM youth were more likely to participate in politics after elections than other youth affiliated to other parties. This could have been because of mobilization of ODM youth immediately the party made claims of rigging of elections on December 28 and 29th 2007. ODM used media to mobilize its supporters and called on the youth in particular to demonstrate against claims of election rigging.

The two government commissions formed in 2008 (IREC and CIPEV) found that ODM youth reacted negatively to the calls by party headquarters for public demonstrations and harassed, beat and evicted PNU supporters from their neighborhoods in parts of the Rift Valley (including Nakuru District) and Nyanza provinces. After exposure to mass media reports of victimization of PNU supporters in parts of Nyanza and Rift Valley, the PNU youth in parts of Nairobi, Rift Valley and Central provinces retaliated.

Both ODM and PNU youth participated in post-election violence (Okombo 2008, 70-71). They were both villains and victims depending on their location of residence in the district. Apart from evicting rival supporters from their neighborhoods, the youth also formed vigilante groups to protect their families against aggression by opposing ethnic communities

Types media and forms of political participation

Some types of media led to increases in youth political participation. Types of media have varying associations with various forms of political participation by surveyed youth. As outlined in Chapter 6, exposure to TV is significantly associated with canvassing by youth. On the other hand, exposure to radio as a source of information is associated with attendance of political meetings. The implication is that TV can be used to persuade voters while radio is good for awareness creation about political meetings and events.

The use of mobile phones is associated with working for candidates and parties during election campaigns. Exposure to internet has no significant association with various forms of political participation during election campaigns.

7.4 Confirmation or/and Refutation of the Null Hypothesis

This study aimed at accepting or rejecting the research hypotheses

The alternative hypothesis 1. The higher the exposure of the youth to media political information during the election campaign period the higher the level of political participation during the same period

The null hypothesis 1: Exposure to mass media has no impact on political participation by the youth during election campaigns.

Alternative hypothesis 2: "Socioeconomic status is a major determinant of mass media exposure of youth during election campaigns"

Alternative hypothesis 2: "Socioeconomic status is not a determinant of mass media exposure of youth during election campaigns".

Alternative hypothesis 3: "There is a significant association between various types of mass media and forms of political participation by youth during election campaigns".

Null hypothesis 3: "There is no association between various types of mass media and forms of political participation by youth during election campaigns".

This study rejects the null hypothesis 1 that exposure to mass media has no impact on political participation by the youth during election campaigns. However, this study accepts the alternative hypothesis that the higher the exposure of the youth to media political information during the election campaign period the higher the level of political participation during the same period. Multiple logistic regression analysis reveals in Model 1 that the odds ratio for campaign participation increases with rise in exposure to mass media during election campaigns (Table 39). Similarly, Model 10 also shows that the likelihood for participation increases with rise in exposure to mass media. The same trend is revealed in Model 11 where surveyed youth with low, medium and high exposure to media were 2.547, 2.682 and 5.838 times more likely to participate

in politics during election campaigns respectively. The implication is that higher exposure to mass media leads to higher political participation by youth during election campaigns. Therefore, it is not true that exposure of youth to mass media has no impact on political participation

The study also refutes null hypothesis that SES is not a determinant of political participation during election campaigns. Results of bivariate logistic regression analysis found that location of residence, income, and type of roof as a wealth indicator were determinants of political participation by youth during elections. Surveyed youth residing in rural areas were 0.325 times less likely to participate during election campaigns compared to counterparts in urban areas. At the same time, surveyed youth with more monthly income of between KSh.30,000 and KSh.40,000 were 3.979 times more likely to participate during elections and those with monthly income between KSh.5,000 and KSh.10,000 were 1.773 times more likely to participate during elections than surveyed youth earning less than KSh.5,000 per month (Table 40). Additionally, surveyed youth living in houses with tiled roof were 4.963 times more likely to participate, those living in residences with asbestos roofs were 5.547 times more likely to participate and those in residences with corrugated iron sheet roofs were 5.809 times more likely to participate in election campaigns compared to those living in thatched houses.

Multivariate logistic regression analysis confirms that location of residence and types of roof were major determinants of political participation by youth (Table 41). These are indications that SES is a strong determinant of political participation in Nakuru and generally, Kenya.

This thesis also confirms that some types of media have significant associations with various forms of political participation. Whereas exposure to TV is significantly associated with canvassing by youth, exposure to radio as a source of information is associated with attendance of political meetings. The use of mobile phones is associated with working for candidates and parties during election campaigns. These findings refute the hypothesis that those types of mass media have no association with various forms of political participation in Nakuru and Kenya.

7.5 Contribution to Theory and Research

This study proposes the model of combined impact of exposure to mass media on political participation among the youth. The model shows the gross impact of TV, radio, newspapers, internet and mobile phones on various forms of political participation by youth. Previous studies tended to explore impacts of only one mass media type on a specific form of political participation. This study looked at gross effects of exposure to various types of mass media on various forms of political participation such as talking to people to get them to support candidates or parties, donating money or giving in kind support, attending political meetings and doing various work for candidates or parties.

This study suggests the model of combined impact of mass media on political participation during election campaigns. The model of combined impact of mass media on political participation during election campaigns (Fig 42) identifies mass media, location of residence (rural), gender (female), social

networks (other relatives, friends and workmates) and political efficacy as the major determinants of youth political participation in Nakuru District in Kenya

This thesis makes a significant contribution to gaps in literature by identifying the impact of females on political participation. Many bivariate and multivariate analysis of gender often use the females as the reference category thereby giving only impact of male category on political participation. This study made the male the reference category to directly establish the impact of females on political participation. Additionally, this study establishes the impact of female youth on political participation as well as the impact of the exposure of female youth to mass media on political participation.

Theoretically, there is a strong association between gender and political participation (Flanagan 1996, 298, Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Gleason 2001, 105-126). According to the political mobilization theory, gender is a significant determinant of political participation because men are more politically active than women. In his path analytical model of the role of mass media on political involvement, Flanagan (1996) argues that the link between gender and political participation is strong merely because men are more politically knowledgeable than women, more attentive to politics on media than women and are heavily engaged with social networks than women (Flanagan 1996, 289). According to the economic model of participation, fewer women participate because they are poor, less educated and lack time (Gleason 2001, 105-126). The patriarchal nature of Kenyan society, in part, could explain why fewer women participate in

politics (Kabira, Oduol and Nzomo 1993, 1-46; Chesoni 2006, 195-201; Oduol 2008, 38-39).

Similarly, the model of combined mass media impacts indicates that gender is a strong determinant of political participation by youth. However, the model shows that there is an inverse relationship between gender and political participation. The model reveals that surveyed female youth are less likely to participate during election campaigns than surveyed male youth. According to the multivariate model surveyed females were 0.573 times less likely to participate in election campaigns ($P=0.038$).

In model 2 when mass media and gender are confounded, surveyed female youth were 0.57 times less likely to participate in election campaigns. The odd ratio increases in model 3, 5, 6 and 7 when you confound for mass media, sex, age, residence, income and type of roof. However, the odds ratio decreases slightly when you add political efficacy and other sources of information to the model 7.

Bivariate analysis revealed that surveyed female youth were 0.371 times less likely to attend political meetings ($P<0.01$), 0.312 times less likely to work for a candidate or party, 0.392 less likely to distribute campaign literature and 0.466 less likely to work as an election official or volunteer (table 39).

Therefore, surveyed female youth were less politically active than their male counterparts. Cross tabulation results presented in Chapter 3 showed that 56.2 percent of surveyed females donated money and bought promotional materials to support parties and political parties; 46.5 percent attended political

meetings; 63.2 percent worked for candidates and political parties, 46.1 percent provided security services; 33.1 percent worked as volunteers to candidates and parties; 24 percent worked as nomination and election officials; 22.6 percent worked as researchers; and 21.2 percent worked as leaders of political groups

This model adds to contextualized Kenyan knowledge on women participation in politics by providing empirical data on female youth participation as summarized above. Factors hindering women participation in politics in Kenya include patriarchal cultural context that perceive politics as a male preserve, high illiteracy of women, lack of information on political processes and mechanisms, poverty, bad laws and undemocratic political culture in Kenya (AMWIK 2009, 45-66, Oduol 2008, 38-39; Chesoni 2006, 195-201)

The model also contributes towards the understanding of female youth media behavior. There was a strong association between female exposure to media and type of media before elections ($P=0.02$). About 63 percent of surveyed youth preferred to use TV compared to only 33 percent who preferred to use radio to get campaign information (Table 15).

This study also makes contribution to the understanding of the effects of location of residence on political participation. Previous studies in the western democracies have tended to measure the impact of urbanization on political participation. This thesis used urban as the reference group thereby isolating the effects of rural settings on political participation by youth

Theoretically, urbanization enhances political participation through association with higher media exposure (Flanagan 1996, 283-295; Huckfeldt

1979, 579-592). According to the political mobilization theory of mass media, urban settings enhance access to media resources (Huckfeldt 1979, 579-592). Exposure to mass media stimulates political interest and knowledge that enhances political participation in the process. Similarly, this proposed model shows that location of residence is a significant determinant of political participation. It shows that surveyed youth from rural settings are less likely to participate during election campaigns compared to their urban counterparts. Youth were 0.443 times less likely to participate in election campaigns in model 5 when mass media, sex, age, education and residence were confounded. The odds ratio increases slightly when you confound for income in model 6. However, the odds ratio decreases when you confound for type of roof, political efficacy, other sources of information, and political party in models 7, 8 and 9.

Bivariate analysis (Table 36) revealed that surveyed rural youth were 0.375 times less likely to canvass for candidates and political parties ($P < 0.01$), 0.366 times less likely to donate money or buy promotional materials for candidates and parties ($P < 0.01$), 0.326 times less likely to work for a candidate or party ($P < 0.01$), 0.388 times less likely to work as a security for a candidate ($P = 0.002$), 0.297 times less likely to distribute literature or campaign materials ($P = 0.024$), 0.268 times less likely to work as official help or volunteer ($P = 0.001$) and 0.213 times less likely to work as a researcher for a politician or party ($P = 0.037$).

Rural settings have limited access to mass media (Flanagan 1996, 283). In Kenya, rural communities are relatively media poor with low access to newspapers and TV. However, recent liberalization of airwaves and expansion of

radio and TV networks resulted in proliferation of radio and TV stations across the country. This development increased radio and TV coverage to rural areas in Kenya. Newspaper reach is still an urban phenomenon with circulation hindered by bad transport infrastructure.

The model also makes contribution to understanding of the impacts of social networks on political participation. According to the political mobilization theory of mass media, social network involvement enhances political participation by stimulating media exposure and psychological involvement (Flanagan 1996, 295). Similarly, the model shows that social network variables such as other relatives, friends and workmates are significant determinants of political participation. However, social network variables such as other relatives, friends and workmates are inversely related to political participation. As outlined in Table 39 surveyed other youth relatives are 0.166 times less likely, workmates are 0.509 times less likely and friends are 0.503 less likely to participate in election campaigns.

This thesis also furthers understanding of the impacts of political efficacy on political participation in a developing country. It shows that political efficacy is a significant determinant of political participation by the youth. Model 8, 9, 10 and 11 reveal that surveyed youth with high political efficacy were 5.493, 4.807, 5.177 and 4.334 times more likely to participate during election campaigns respectively than those with low political efficacy.

In the model, gender and location of residence do not influence political participation directly. Gender, location of residence, and other sources of

information influence the surveyed youth's exposure to mass media. The media in turn influences political participation both directly and indirectly. The media influences political participation by influencing the youth directly or indirectly through their social networks with friends, other relatives and workmates. The media may also influence political participation by increasing the level of political efficacy of the youth who in turn influence political participation. This is consistent with Flanagan's path analytical model that found that mass media influences political participation indirectly through knowledge, psychological involvement and political efficacy (Flanagan 1996, 295).

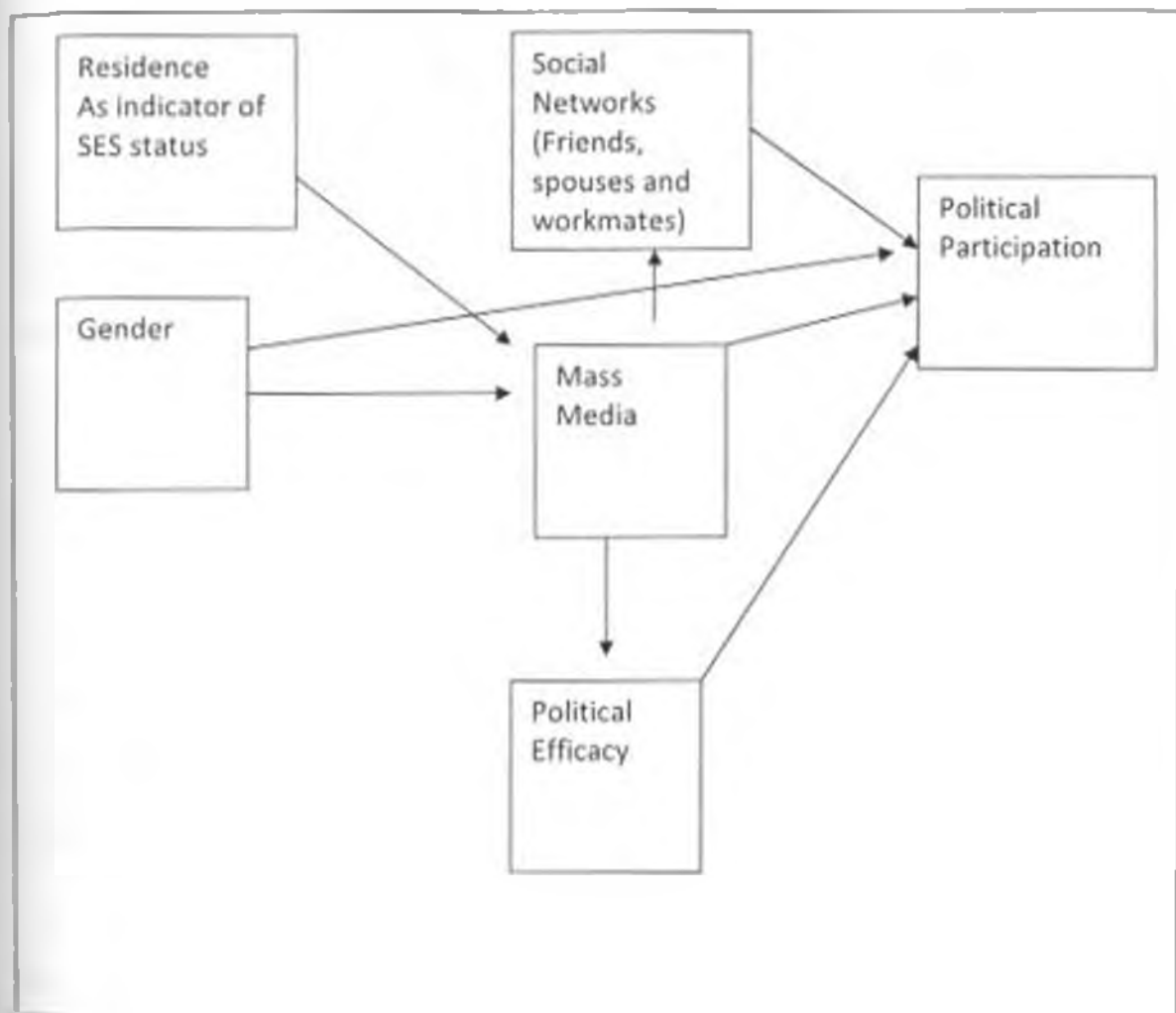
Finally, model indicates that mass media exposure is a significant determinant of campaign participation before elections. This model shows that the mass media have both direct and indirect impact on political participation. This is contrary to previous research that indicate that media has indirect effect on political participation (Flanagan 1996, 295). According to Flanagan, mass media has no direct effect on political participation but it has the strongest indirect effect on political participation (1996, 283-295). However, this model reveals the contrary.

Results from multivariate analysis model 1, outlined in Chapter 7, showed that surveyed youth with low exposure to mass media are 3.494 times likely, medium exposure 4.207 times likely and high exposure 9.424 times likely to participate during election campaigns (Table 39). However, in model 7 when all social economic and demographic variables are added to the model, surveyed youth with high exposure were 5.813 times more likely to participate in

campaigns compared to those without exposure. Those with medium exposure were 2.91 times more likely whereas those with low exposure were 2.582 times more likely to participate in campaign.

In model 11 when all the social and demographic characteristics, political efficacy, other sources of information, political affiliation and knowledge of campaign issues are confounded for, surveyed youth with low, medium and high exposure to mass media were 2.547, 2.682 and 5.838 times more likely to participate during election campaigns (Table 39). As much as this thesis did not do path analysis and is limited in measuring direction of causality, the models suggest that mass media have positive and direct effect on youth political participation.

Figure 40: Model of combined impact of mass media on political participation during election campaigns



The study also gives a glimpse to the effects of new media especially internet and mobile on political participation by the youth in Kenya

Finally, this study is a milestone in Kenya as it is the first serious attempt to quantify the impacts of mass media on youth participation. It has profiled youth participation in election campaigns, patterns of mass media exposure of youth and the associations between types of mass media and forms of political

participation by youth in Nakuru District in Kenya. The study is representative of the behavior of other youth in Kenya

7.6 Recommendations for Educators, Media Practitioners, Policy Makers and Youth

This study has proved that exposure to mass media has impact on political participation by youth. Mass media can play an important role in mobilizing the youth to effectively participate in politics. Policy makers should make laws and policies that promote utility of mass media to encourage responsible citizenship and effective political participation by youth.

The implication of this study is that mass media plays a positive role in encouraging democracy. Therefore, there is need for policy makers to put in place media friendly policies that encourage the use of media to promote wider democratization of Kenyan society. Such policies include the long awaited freedom of information laws.

Lack of media resources is associated with low political participation by the youth. Policy makers should make laws and policies that promote the equitable distribution of mass media resources in both urban and rural communities.

Being a female is associated with low political participation. Policy makers need to make laws and policies that encourage women participation in politics and media. Media as mobilizing agencies can be used to empower female youth to effectively participate in elections. Policy makers should strengthen the

Political Parties Act and ensure its effective implementation to enhance women's participation.

The mass media have political power because they can impact on political participation during elections. Therefore, media owners and journalists need to exercise this power with responsibility. They need to put in place in-house policies that guarantee accuracy, honesty, balance and fairness in reporting election campaigns without prejudice to political competitors.

There is need for training of media practitioners on political participation theories with a view to impart invaluable knowledge on effects of exposure of mass media on political participation and democracy. Similarly, educators need to integrate introduction to mass media and politics in curricular of secondary, tertiary and institutions of higher learning.

Mass media are mobilizing agencies for political participation by youth. Policy makers, educators, civil society and media practitioners need design strategies and programmes to encourage the youth to use mass media and stimulate their interest and knowledge in politics. There is need to improve media literacy of the youth to effectively relate with the mass media.

The mass media as mobilizing agencies can promote the political agenda of the youth. Therefore, the youth need to be media savvy not only to enhance their capacity to effectively relate but also to exploit media potential to attain political goals and objectives.

7.7 Recommendations for further Research

There is need to study how long after elections the effects of exposure to mass media on political participation persist. The study found that the impact of mass media exposure disappeared after elections.

It would be of great research interest to know the effect of exposure to mass media on political participation during a non-election year. Such data would be used as baseline data for studying the impact of mass media exposure on political participation.

Post election violence erupted immediately after the announcement of election results on December 29th 2009. Further studies could be done to understand how exposure to mass media during the campaigns contributed to the post election violence in Kenya.

This study surveyed only Nakuru District, which is only a small section of the Kenyan population. Replication of the study at a national level would test its reliability. Additionally, there is need to study the impact of mass media on the political participation by Kenyans of all age groups. This study focused on youths only.

There is need to further track the respondents in this study with the view to examine long term effects of exposure to mass media on their political behavior. A longitudinal approach to a similar study would help understand not only the long term impacts of mass media but also how the mass media contributes to negative political behavior such as the post election violence of 2007.

This study did not attempt path analysis of the data to determine the cause-effect relationship between independent, dependent and intervening

various. The study conducted bivariate and multivariate logistic regression only. Additional path analysis would establish the direction of causality for various intervening variables between mass media, demographics, socioeconomic characteristics and various forms of political participation

This thesis did not study the impacts of psychological variables. Such a study would strengthen the suggested model of combined media effects on political participation by the youth in Kenya

The study found that rural youth were less likely to participate in election campaigns contrary to established facts on youth political participation in Kenya. There is need to further investigate this finding.

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Appendix

Appendix One: Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire for an academic study on media and politics in Nakuru District. Your consent to answer the questions I will ask you will be highly appreciated. Your answers will be held in utmost confidentiality and used only for the purposes of this study. Eligibility criteria: Only those between 18 years and 30 years.

Date of interview: _____

Location: _____

Sub-location: _____

Cluster number: _____ Household No. _____

SECTION ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Gender (i) Male (ii) Female

2. Age (i) 18-19 (ii) 20-24 (iii) 25-30

3. Level of education attained

(i) None (ii) Primary (iii) Secondary (iv) Undergraduate (v) Postgraduate

4. Location of residence (i) urban (ii) rural

5. What is your approximate monthly income (KShs)?

(i) Below 5,000 (ii) 5,000 – 10,000 (iii) 10,001 – 20,000 (iv) 20,001 – 30,000

(v) 30,001 – 40,000 (vi) 40,001 – 50,000 (vii) 50,001 – 150,000 (viii) 150,001 or above

(ix) Don't know

6. Type of roofing for main house (Tick one):

(i) Corrugated iron sheets (ii) Tiles (iii) Thatched roof (iv) Others _____

SECTION TWO: MEDIA USE PATTERNS AND INTENSITY

How many days in a typical week do you do the following (Tick one in each question):

7. Watch news on television: 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

8. Listen to news on radio 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

9. Read newspapers 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

10. Surf the internet for news: 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

11. Use the mobile for news 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (don't know)

How many days in the past one week did you do the following? (Tick one in each question)

12. Watch news on television to get political information on the election campaigns

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

13. Listen to news on radio to get political information on the election campaigns

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

14 Read newspapers to get political information on the election campaigns:

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

15 Surf the internet to get political information on the election campaigns

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (Don't Know)

16 Use the mobile to get political information on the election campaigns

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 (don't know)

SECTION THREE: LEVEL OF INTEREST IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

On average, approximately how many hours per day did you spend doing the following during the election campaigns? (NOT FOR THOSE MARKED 0 OR 9 ABOVE Tick one in each question).

17 Watch news on television to get political information on the election campaigns

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 More than 7hours 9 (Don't Know)

18 Listen to news on radio to get political information on the election campaigns

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 More than 7hours 9 (Don't Know)

19 Read newspapers to get political information on the election campaigns

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 More than 7hours 9 (Don't Know)

20 Surf the internet to get political information on the election campaigns

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 More than 7hours 9 (Don't Know)

21 Use the mobile to get political information on the election campaigns

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 More than 7hours 9 (Don't Know)

22 Which is your preferred mass media for obtaining information election campaigns? (Tick one)

(i) Radio (ii) Television (iii) Newspapers (iv) Internet (v) Mobile phones

23 Apart from mass media mentioned above what are your other sources of campaign information? (Mark in order of preference eg 1,2,3,4)

(i) Political rallies and meetings (ii) Chais barazas (iii) Church meetings
 (iv) Women group meetings (v) Friends (vi) Spouse
 (vii) Other relatives (viii) Workmates

SECTION FOUR: MEASURING LEVELS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Over the years, how much attention do you feel the following institutions pay to what people want? (Tick one in each question)

	Much attention	some attention	neither much nor no attention at	Not much attention	No attention at all	D/N
24 Government						
25 Parliament						
26 Political Parties						

Do you agree or do not agree with the following statements? (Tick one in each question)

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	DN
27. Generally speaking, those we elect to parliament lose touch with people pretty quickly						
28. Campaigns help voters make informed choices						
29. How much do you think elections help bring change in Kenya?						
30. The Kenyan media present accurate and real picture of our politicians during campaigns						

SECTION FIVE: INTERPERSONAL DISCUSSION ABOUT CAMPAIGNS ISSUES

During the past one week, how often did you discuss the on-going election campaigns with the following people? (Tick one in each question)

	Often	Somewhat often	Neither often nor rare	Somewhat rarely	Rarely	Not applicable	DN
31. Spouse							
32. Parents							
33. Siblings							
34. Colleagues							
35. Community leaders							
36. Government administrators (chiefs, DO, DCs, PCs, other servants)							
37. Politicians							
38. Clergy							
39. Civil society workers							
40. Others specify							

SECTION SIX: KNOWLEDGE OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES AND ACTORS

Below is a list of campaign issues in 2007 elections. Write the number of the campaign issues that correspond closely to the presidential candidates listed below

Issues	Presidential candidate	Number of issue
i. Development (Kazi kendelee)	41 Kibaki	
ii. Free primary and secondary education		
iii. Improved health care for children		
iv. Free maternity clinics for expectant mothers		
v. Economic growth		
vi. A million jua kali sheds	42 Raila	
vii. Zero tolerance on corruption		
viii. New constitution in six months		
ix. Zero tolerance on tribalism		
x. Devolution and equity	43 Kalonzo	
xi. Ugatuzi		
xii. Time for real change		
xiii. Economic federalism		

SECTION SEVEN: CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION

To the best of your knowledge, how often did you do the following during the past two months? (Tick one in each question)

	Often	Somewhat often	Neither often nor rare	Somewhat rarely	Rarely	Not applicable	D/N
44 Talked to people to try to get them to vote for or against any political candidate or party?							
45 Given money or bought tickets, T-shirts and other memorabilia to help a candidate or party win an election?							
46 Attended a political meeting, rally, campaign in connection with the 2007 campaigns?							
47a Done any work to help a candidate or party during these campaigns?							
47b Worked as security for candidate or party							

47c Distributed literature or campaign materials							
47d Worked as official help or volunteer							
47e Worked as party nomination or election official							
47f Worked as researcher for politician or party							
47g Worked as leader of a group supporting a politician or party							
47h Offered self for political office as councillor, MP, or local leader							

SECTION EIGHT: PARTY IDENTIFICATION & SUPPORT

48. Which political party do you belong? (Tick one) (i) ODM (ii) PNU (iii) ODM-K (iv) Others - _____
49. Concerning your party, would you say you strongly support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose my party (Tick one)
 (i) Strongly support (ii) Somewhat support (iii) Neither support nor oppose.
 (iv) Somewhat oppose (v) Strongly oppose my party

SECTION NINE: PARENTAL BACKGROUND

Which of this best describes the highest level of education attained by your parents? (Tick one)

	No education	Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary level	Undergraduate level	Postgraduate level
50 Father						
51 Mother						

52. Which of these income groups represent your parents combined monthly income?

- 1) Below 5,000 (2) 5,000 - 10,000 (3) 10,001 - 20,000 (4) 20,001 - 30,000 (5) 30,001 - 40,000 (6) 40,001 - 50,000 (7) 50,001 - 150,000 (8) 150,001 or above (9) Don't know

In your opinion, would you say that your parents are:

	Very active in politics	Somewhat active	Neither active nor inactive	Somewhat inactive	Very inactive	Don't know	NA
53 Father							
54 Mother							

55 In your home, which of the following items do you possess?
(i) Television (ii) Radio (iii) Computer (iv) Phone (v) Mobile

SECTION TEN ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL INFLUENCE

Please indicate your feelings about the following statements: (Tick one in each question)

56 My schools or colleges or universities encouraged political debates between students

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

57 My schools or colleges or universities encouraged expression of divergent opinions among students and teachers

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

58 My schools or colleges or universities encouraged interaction between politicians and students

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

SECTION ELEVEN: SELF -ESTEEM

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements (Tick one in each question)

59 "I like myself"

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

60 "I feel I am a person of worth, on an equal plane with others"

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

61 "I am able to do things as well as most other people"

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

62 "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself"

I Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

5 4 3 2 1

Appendix Two: Bivariate model before elections

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
No exposure			32.498	3	.000	
Low exposure	1.251	0.328	14.736	1	.000	3.494
Medium exposure	1.437	0.332	18.733	1	.000	4.207
High exposure	2.243	0.407	30.427	1	.000	9.424
Female	-.06	0.215	7.774	1	0.005	0.549
18 - 19			0.054	2	0.873	
20 - 24	0.055	0.277	0.039	1	0.844	1.058
25 - 30	0.009	0.287	0.001	1	0.976	1.009
None			17.967	5	0.003	
Primary	1.358	0.769	3.108	1	0.078	3.879
Secondary	2.107	0.75	7.889	1	0.005	8.227
Undergraduate	1.844	0.827	4.971	1	0.026	6.325
Postgraduate	1.749	0.958	3.331	1	0.068	5.75
Tertiary	3.829	1.339	8.173	1	0.004	45.997
Rural	-1.125	0.288	15.484	1	.000	0.325
Below 5000			10.373	5	0.065	
5,000-10,000	0.627	0.246	6.498	1	0.011	1.873
10,001-20,000	0.011	0.815	.000	1	0.986	1.011
20,001-30,000	-5.378	15.728	0.117	1	0.732	0.005
30,001-40,000	1.381	0.64	4.852	1	0.031	3.979
40,001-50,000	-5.378	22.24	0.058	1	0.809	0.005
50,001-150,000						
150,000 or above						
Thatched roof			5.801	3	0.133	
Corrugated iron sheets	1.759	0.75	5.508	1	0.019	5.809
Asbestos	1.713	0.793	4.869	1	0.031	5.547
Tiles	1.602	0.814	3.877	1	0.049	4.983
No/Low efficacy			24.448	2	.000	
Medium efficacy	0.885	0.353	6.998	1	0.014	2.374
High efficacy	1.643	0.358	21.036	1	.000	5.173
Political rallies & meetings			22.529	7	0.002	
Chief barazas	0.22	0.793	0.077	1	0.781	1.248
Church meetings	-0.781	0.892	0.728	1	0.394	0.467
Women group meetings	0.443	0.76	0.34	1	0.56	1.558
Friends	-0.875	0.258	11.887	1	0.001	0.417
Spouse	-2.012	1.089	3.411	1	0.065	0.134
Other relatives	-1.802	0.881	7.427	1	0.008	0.188

Workmales	-1 772	0.797	4.838	1	0.028	0.17
None			4.76	4	0.313	
ODM	1 729	1.053	2 695	1	0.101	5.634
PNU	1 875	1.06	3 126	1	0.077	6.518
ODM-K	2 803	1.387	4 084	1	0.043	16.499
Others	7 592	13.538	0.314	1	0.575	1982.243

Appendix Three: Bivariate model after elections

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
No exposure			12.34	3	0.008	
Low exposure	0.851	0.339	6.3	1	0.012	2.341
Medium exposure	0.955	0.34	7.912	1	0.005	2.6
High exposure	1.379	0.411	11.245	1	0.001	3.972
Female	-0.836	0.225	13.847	1	0	0.434
18 - 19			3.889	2	0.144	
20 - 24	-0.212	0.292	0.527	1	0.468	0.809
25 - 30	0.281	0.299	0.781	1	0.383	1.298
None			6.352	4	0.174	
Primary	0.853	0.797	1.148	1	0.284	2.347
Secondary	1.245	0.777	2.567	1	0.109	3.472
Undergraduate	1.455	0.807	3.247	1	0.072	4.283
Postgraduate	0.538	1.107	0.236	1	0.627	1.713
Rural	-0.858	0.29	8.745	1	0.003	0.424
Below 5000			9.697	5	0.084	
5,000-10,000	0.874	0.247	7.425	1	0.006	1.963
10,001-20,000	0.883	0.491	3.233	1	0.072	2.419
20,001-30,000	0.277	0.926	0.278	1	0.598	1.319
30,001-40,000	-5.316	11.121	0.229	1	0.633	0.005
40,001-50,000	7.083	22.24	0.101	1	0.75	1191.546
Thatched roof			22.293	3	0	
Corrugated iron sheets	1.599	0.489	10.698	1	0.001	4.949
Asbestos	2.625	0.572	21.079	1	0	13.8
Tiles	1.919	0.546	12.333	1	0	6.813
No/Low efficacy			18.421	2	0	
Medium efficacy	0.988	0.323	9.324	1	0.002	2.685
High efficacy	1.387	0.337	16.41	1	0	3.922
Political rallies & meetings			5.215	7	0.634	
Chief barazas	0.143	0.791	0.033	1	0.858	1.154
Church meetings	-1.648	1.078	2.328	1	0.127	0.193
Women group meetings	-0.417	0.72	0.335	1	0.563	0.659
Friends	-0.195	0.249	0.612	1	0.434	0.823
Spouse	-0.773	0.68	1.257	1	0.262	0.462
Other relatives	-0.417	0.53	0.619	1	0.432	0.659
Workmates	-1.36	1.099	1.531	1	0.216	0.257
None					0.066	
QDM		1.68			0.007	5.385

PNU	1.638	0.011	5.143
ODM-K	0.405	0.744	1.5
Others	-4.002	0.719	0.018

Appendix Four: Multivariate model before elections

	B	S.E	Wald	df	Sig	Exp(B)	
Multivariate model							
1			14.515	3	0.002		
	No exposure						
	Low exposure	0.949	0.361	6.904	1	0.009	2.582
	Medium exposure	1.068	0.373	8.194	1	0.004	2.91
	High exposure	1.76	0.474	13.798	1	0	5.813
	Female	-0.489	0.239	4.188	1	0.041	0.613
	18 - 19			0.166	2	0.92	
	20 - 24	0.082	0.308	0.071	1	0.791	1.085
	25 - 30	0.138	0.34	0.166	1	0.684	1.149
	None			4.536	4	0.338	
	Primary	0.837	0.851	0.968	1	0.325	2.31
	Secondary	1.268	0.84	2.279	1	0.131	3.553
	Undergraduate	0.929	0.937	0.982	1	0.322	2.532
	Postgraduate	0.713	1.061	0.451	1	0.502	2.04
	Rural	-0.841	0.333	6.303	1	0.012	0.431
	Thatched roof			2.474	4	0.649	
	Corrugated iron sheets	0.18	0.285	0.316	1	0.574	1.174
	Asbestos	-0.545	0.758	0.516	1	0.473	0.58
	Tiles	4.723	9.394	0.253	1	0.615	0.009
	Below 5000	0.852	0.737	1.336	1	0.248	2.344
	5,000-10,000			4.199	3	0.241	
	10,001-20,000	0.201	0.868	0.053	1	0.817	1.222
	20,001-30,000	-0.202	0.836	0.046	1	0.829	0.817
	30,001-40,000	0.573	0.968	0.351	1	0.554	0.564
	Constant	-2.377	1.031	5.321	1	0.021	0.093
Multivariate model							
2			14.546	3	0.002		
	No exposure						
	Low exposure	0.966	0.377	6.554	1	0.01	2.628
	Medium exposure	1.095	0.39	7.876	1	0.005	2.989
	High exposure	1.852	0.494	14.044	1	0	6.37
	Female	-0.574	0.251	5.245	1	0.022	0.563
	18 - 19			0.691	2	0.708	
	20 - 24	-0.012	0.321	0.001	1	0.97	0.988
	25 - 30	0.22	0.352	0.392	1	0.531	1.247
	None			4.589	4	0.332	
	Primary	0.911	0.883	1.063	1	0.302	2.488
	Secondary	1.35	0.869	2.411	1	0.12	3.856
	Undergraduate	0.957	0.965	0.983	1	0.322	2.804

Multivariate model
3

Postgraduate	0.899	1.079	0.894	1	0.405	2.457
Rural	-0.949	0.346	7.521	1	0.006	0.387
Thatched roof			1.755	4	0.781	
Corrugated iron sheets	0.129	0.295	0.189	1	0.663	1.137
Asbestos	-0.395	0.782	0.256	1	0.613	0.873
Tiles	-5.127	15.686	0.107	1	0.744	0.006
Below 5000	0.891	0.822	1.177	1	0.278	2.439
5,000-10,000			6.131	3	0.162	
10,001-20,000	0.205	0.881	0.054	1	0.816	1.227
20,001-30,000	-0.321	0.953	0.113	1	0.736	0.725
30,001-40,000	-0.651	0.987	0.435	1	0.51	0.522
No/Low efficacy			23.863	2	0	
Medium efficacy	0.68	0.399	2.897	1	0.089	1.974
High efficacy	1.703	0.406	17.566	1	0	5.493
Constant	-3.381	1.103	9.278	1	0.002	0.035
No exposure			13.349	3	0.004	
Low exposure	0.9	0.404	4.96	1	0.026	2.46
Medium exposure	1.074	0.417	6.655	1	0.01	2.928
High exposure	1.89	0.522	13.089	1	0	6.617
Female	-0.561	0.265	4.493	1	0.034	0.57
18 - 19			0.488	2	0.783	
20 - 24	0.148	0.343	0.185	1	0.667	1.159
25 - 30	0.281	0.374	0.488	1	0.485	1.299
None			3.462	4	0.484	
Primary	0.723	0.911	0.631	1	0.427	2.062
Secondary	1.168	0.898	1.702	1	0.192	3.218
Undergraduate	0.869	0.995	0.764	1	0.382	2.385
Postgraduate	0.793	1.105	0.515	1	0.473	2.211
Rural	-1.12	0.371	9.105	1	0.003	0.328
Thatched roof			0.665	4	0.956	
Corrugated iron sheets	-0.077	0.316	0.059	1	0.808	0.926
Asbestos	0.133	0.835	0.025	1	0.873	0.876
Tiles	-4.881	15.185	0.104	1	0.748	0.008
Below 5000	0.528	0.828	0.409	1	0.522	1.696
5,000-10,000			4.709	3	0.194	
10,001-20,000	0.034	0.912	0.001	1	0.97	1.035
20,001-30,000	-0.564	0.991	0.324	1	0.569	0.569
30,001-40,000	-0.76	1.019	0.556	1	0.456	0.468
No/Low efficacy			20.989	2	0	
Medium efficacy	0.497	0.421	1.389	1	0.239	1.643

High efficacy	1.57	0.427	13 533	1	0	4.807
Political rallies & meetings			14.861	7	0.038	
Chief barazas	0.613	1.005	0.371	1	0.542	1.645
Church meetings	-0.895	0.999	0.802	1	0.37	0.409
Women group meetings	0.3	0.817	0.135	1	0.713	1.35
Friends	-0.651	0.297	4.812	1	0.028	0.521
Spouse	-1.656	1.185	2.023	1	0.155	0.191
Other relatives	-1.71	0.718	5.67	1	0.017	0.181
Workmates	-2.073	0.919	5.093	1	0.024	0.126
Constant	-2.32	1.165	3.967	1	0.046	0.098
No exposure			12 537	3	0.008	
Low exposure	0.877	0.407	4.657	1	0.031	2.404
Medium exposure	1.009	0.421	5.751	1	0.018	2.742
High exposure	1.86	0.528	12.403	1	0	6.423
Female	-0.556	0.268	4.295	1	0.038	0.573
18 - 19			0.315	2	0.654	
20 - 24	0.169	0.349	0.235	1	0.628	1.184
25 - 30	0.201	0.383	0.276	1	0.599	1.223
None			2.99	4	0.56	
Primary	0.553	0.941	0.346	1	0.556	1.739
Secondary	1.015	0.931	1.19	1	0.275	2.781
Undergraduate	0.858	1.03	0.696	1	0.405	2.359
Postgraduate	0.633	1.14	0.308	1	0.579	1.882
Rural	-1.173	0.381	9.457	1	0.002	0.309
Thatched roof			0.618	4	0.961	
Corrugated iron sheets	-0.084	0.321	0.088	1	0.794	0.92
Asbestos	-0.132	0.845	0.024	1	0.876	0.876
Tiles	-4.94	15.222	0.105	1	0.748	0.007
Below 5000	0.493	0.828	0.354	1	0.552	1.637
5,000-10,000			4.478	3	0.214	
10,001-20,000	0.031	0.941	0.001	1	0.974	0.969
20,001-30,000	-0.612	1.018	0.361	1	0.548	0.542
30,001-40,000	-0.827	1.048	0.622	1	0.43	0.437
No/Low efficacy			20 916	2	0	
Medium efficacy	0.581	0.439	1.749	1	0.186	1.788
High efficacy	1.644	0.438	14.115	1	0	5.177
Political rallies & meetings			15.774	7	0.027	
Chief baraza	0.694	1.018	0.342	1	0.558	1.812

Multivariate model
4

Church meetings	-0.964	1.007	0.897	1	0.344	0.385
Women group meetings	0.27	0.82	0.109	1	0.742	1.31
Friends	-0.688	0.299	5.275	1	0.022	0.503
Spouse	-1.415	1.188	1.419	1	0.234	0.243
Other relatives	-1.795	0.724	8.152	1	0.013	0.166
Workmates	-2.828	1.2	5.554	1	0.018	0.059
None			2.629	4	0.622	
ODM	1.625	1.193	2.339	1	0.126	8.202
PNU	1.722	1.197	2.069	1	0.15	5.596
ODM-K	2.107	1.53	1.897	1	0.168	8.22
Others	9.936	22.305	0.198	1	0.656	20664.03
Constant	-3.87	1.585	5.981	1	0.015	0.021

Appendix Five: Multivariate models after elections

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	
Multivariate model 1	No exposure		2.058	3	0.561		
	Low exposure	0.45	0.393	1.308	1	0.253	1.568
	Medium exposure	0.372	0.416	0.798	1	0.372	1.451
	High exposure	0.885	0.504	1.846	1	0.174	1.984
	Female	-1.006	0.253	15.848	1	0	0.366
	18 - 19			3.89	2	0.158	
	20 - 24	0.097	0.332	0.086	1	0.769	1.102
	25 - 30	0.583	0.365	2.557	1	0.11	1.792
	None			2.614	4	0.624	
	Primary	0.255	0.865	0.087	1	0.768	1.29
	Secondary	0.286	0.866	0.109	1	0.742	1.33
	Undergraduate	0.507	0.904	0.314	1	0.575	1.66
	Postgraduate	-0.98	1.257	0.608	1	0.438	0.375
	Rural	0.208	0.398	0.273	1	0.601	0.812
	Thatched roof			4.737	4	0.315	
	Corrugated iron sheets	0.484	0.289	2.805	1	0.094	1.623
	Asbestos	0.75	0.555	1.83	1	0.176	2.118
	Tiles	-0.122	0.607	0.04	1	0.841	0.885
	Below 5000	-5.579	10.303	0.293	1	0.588	0.004
	5,000-10,000			15.306	3	0.002	
	10,001-20,000	0.977	0.638	2.348	1	0.125	2.657
	20,001-30,000	2.372	0.733	10.464	1	0.001	10.719
	30,001-40,000	1.358	0.74	3.381	1	0.067	3.882
Constant	-2.382	1.03	5.258	1	0.022	0.094	
Multivariate model 2	No exposure		1.345	3	0.718		
	Low exposure	0.305	0.4	0.58	1	0.448	1.357
	Medium exposure	0.275	0.425	0.419	1	0.517	1.317
	High exposure	0.586	0.516	1.29	1	0.258	1.797
	Female	-1.034	0.258	16.375	1	0	0.358
	18 - 19			3.158	2	0.208	
	20 - 24	0.104	0.338	0.095	1	0.758	1.109
	25 - 30	0.558	0.37	2.267	1	0.132	1.748
	None			4.029	4	0.402	
	Primary	0.273	0.882	0.096	1	0.758	1.314
	Secondary	0.274	0.882	0.096	1	0.758	1.315
	Undergraduate	0.578	0.92	0.394	1	0.53	1.782

Multivariate
model 3

Postgraduate	-1.302	1.278	1.038	1	0.308	0.272
Rural	-0.494	0.42	1.383	1	0.24	0.61
Thatched roof			3.887	4	0.424	
Corrugated iron sheets	0.436	0.292	2.23	1	0.135	1.547
Asbestos	0.76	0.563	1.821	1	0.177	2.137
Tiles	0.018	0.616	0.001	1	0.979	1.016
Below 5000	-5.368	10.277	0.273	1	0.601	0.005
5,000-10,000			10.518	3	0.015	
10,001-20,000	0.668	0.655	1.041	1	0.307	1.951
20,001-30,000	1.899	0.756	6.315	1	0.012	6.68
30,001-40,000	0.892	0.764	1.362	1	0.243	2.438
No/Low efficacy			8.05	2	0.018	
Medium efficacy	0.711	0.357	3.961	1	0.047	2.036
High efficacy	1.086	0.383	8.042	1	0.005	2.964
Constant	-2.577	1.078	5.713	1	0.017	0.078
No exposure			1.43	3	0.696	
Low exposure	0.397	0.411	0.93	1	0.335	1.487
Medium exposure	0.381	0.438	0.756	1	0.385	1.463
High exposure	0.611	0.528	1.342	1	0.247	1.843
Female	-1.066	0.263	16.383	1	0	0.344
18 - 19			4.827	2	0.089	
20 - 24	0.137	0.341	0.162	1	0.687	1.147
25 - 30	0.718	0.383	3.538	1	0.08	2.053
None			2.441	4	0.655	
Primary	0.138	0.69	0.023	1	0.879	1.146
Secondary	0.224	0.69	0.064	1	0.801	1.252
Undergraduate	0.41	0.931	0.194	1	0.659	1.507
Postgraduate	-1.084	1.293	0.703	1	0.402	0.338
Rural	-0.64	0.44	2.113	1	0.146	0.528
Thatched roof			3.596	4	0.463	
Corrugated iron sheets	0.418	0.301	1.927	1	0.165	1.519
Asbestos	0.671	0.571	1.382	1	0.24	1.956
Tiles	-0.151	0.629	0.058	1	0.81	0.86
Below 5000	-5.311	10.089	0.277	1	0.599	0.005
5,000-10,000			10.629	3	0.014	
10,001-20,000	0.652	0.67	0.948	1	0.33	1.92
20,001-30,000	1.925	0.768	6.281	1	0.012	6.652
30,001-40,000	0.904	0.782	1.339	1	0.247	2.471
No/Low efficacy			5.807	2	0.055	
Medium efficacy	0.661	0.365	3.188	1	0.074	1.918

Multivariate
model 4

High efficacy	0.95	0.394	5.804	1	0.016	2.588
Political rallies & meetings			7.296	7	0.399	
Chief barazas	0.199	0.868	0.052	1	0.819	1.22
Church meetings	-1.709	1.18	2.089	1	0.147	0.181
Women group meetings	-0.46	0.827	0.309	1	0.578	0.631
Friends	-0.431	0.316	1.855	1	0.173	0.65
Spouse	-1.585	0.772	4.219	1	0.04	0.205
Other relatives	-0.357	0.6	0.355	1	0.551	0.699
Workmates	-1.274	1.189	1.148	1	0.284	0.28
Constant	-2.115	1.095	3.73	1	0.053	0.121
No exposure			0.98	3	0.804	
Low exposure	0.32	0.42	0.582	1	0.446	1.377
Medium exposure	0.23	0.45	0.261	1	0.61	1.258
High exposure	0.494	0.542	0.828	1	0.363	1.638
Female	-1.214	0.278	18.342	1	0	0.287
18 - 19			6.226	2	0.044	
20 - 24	0.398	0.353	1.271	1	0.26	1.49
25 - 30	0.959	0.399	5.779	1	0.018	2.61
None			2.84	4	0.585	
Primary	0.105	0.883	0.014	1	0.906	0.901
Secondary	0.057	0.889	0.004	1	0.949	1.058
Undergraduate	0.088	0.931	0.009	1	0.924	1.092
Postgraduate	-1.522	1.305	1.36	1	0.244	0.216
Rural	-0.937	0.46	4.148	1	0.042	0.392
Thatched roof			5.399	4	0.249	
Corrugated iron sheets	0.484	0.31	2.237	1	0.135	1.59
Asbestos	1.043	0.603	2.994	1	0.084	2.839
Tiles	-0.242	0.635	0.145	1	0.703	0.785
Below 5000	-8.082	16.496	0.136	1	0.712	0.002
5,000-10,000			10.765	3	0.013	
10,001-20,000	0.622	0.678	0.598	1	0.44	1.688
20,001-30,000	1.872	0.776	5.82	1	0.016	6.502
30,001-40,000	0.958	0.793	1.451	1	0.228	2.6
No/Low efficacy			5.599	2	0.061	
Medium efficacy	0.873	0.377	3.183	1	0.074	1.96
High efficacy	0.968	0.41	5.589	1	0.018	2.634
Political rallies & meetings			9.122	7	0.244	
Chief barazas	0.133	0.868	0.023	1	0.878	1.142

Church meetings	-1.723	1.193	2.087	1	0.149	0.178
Women group meetings	-0.589	0.842	0.457	1	0.499	0.568
Friends	-0.642	0.33	2.698	1	0.1	0.582
Spouse	-1.854	0.798	5.403	1	0.02	0.157
Other relatives	-0.397	0.609	0.425	1	0.515	0.672
Workmates	-1.624	1.202	1.825	1	0.177	0.197
None			9.675	4	0.046	
ODM	1.759	0.725	5.888	1	0.015	5.808
PNU	1.333	0.743	3.217	1	0.073	3.792
ODM-K	-0.265	1.359	0.038	1	0.845	0.787
Others	6.055	17.792	0.116	1	0.734	0.002
Constant	-3.28	1.28	6.567	1	0.01	0.038