

**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE 2013 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGNS IN KENYA**

By

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

First, I thank the Almighty God for giving me the strength while undertaking my studies. This paper is dedicated to my family which encouraged and supported me to pursue higher education. The encouragement I received from my brother Eng. Daniel Webo and Sister Joan Nasenya will always remain invaluable.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examined the role of social media in the 2013 presidential election campaigns. The study was guided by three main objectives: (i) To investigate the integration of social media into the 2013 presidential campaigns (ii) To explore how social media users utilize SNS for political purposes (iii) To explore the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process.

A descriptive survey design was used. This involved administering questionnaires, oral interviews and focus group discussions as tools for data collection. Political pages on social media were also examined.

Purposive sampling was used to select the Nairobi County and specifically the University of Nairobi as the location of study. The target population of this study was the urban youth who are most likely to be found in universities. Stratified sampling was used to select a sample of 216 undergraduate students who were issued with questionnaires, and with some participating in focus group discussions. This sampling technique was used because the university students' population exists in subgroups based on the criterion of departments/faculties in the university. One social media campaign strategist was interviewed. All of the sampled respondents accepted to participate and responded to the questions. A total of 216 questionnaires were distributed and 198 were returned. This represented 91.667% response rate. The data was analyzed by the using a computer software called SPSS.

According to the findings of the study, the 2013 presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaigns. This platform was majorly used for sharing information on campaign activities, debate on issues, sharing photos, videos and links, updating of their followers, soliciting for funds, countering propaganda and updating their followers. The findings further revealed that although presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaign they are yet to exploit its full potential. However, social media by itself could not guarantee a candidate victory in the elections. Therefore, presidential candidates need to strike a balance between their campaigns on social media with the ground campaigns to ensure that they reach most of the electorate.

Facebook and Twitter are the most common SNS amongst the urban youth in Kenya. A gender analysis on the respondent's use of SNS revealed that Facebook had more female users while

Twitter had a majority of male users. However, male users appear to use and spend more time on SNS than the female users. Findings on the political use of SNS by social media users indicated that they used the platform to seek political information, keeping up with trending topics, share political videos, photos and links, discuss political issues, and to get campaign updates. Thus the urban youth were actively involved in politics when they were on SNS.

An analysis of the trends in media usage and reliance revealed that Television and Radio were the most popular source of political information on the presidential campaigns for the respondents. SNS, specifically Facebook and Twitter were the second most popular source of political information. These findings show that although more people are getting online for political news and information, they heavily rely on traditional media for the same news.

Social media had a significant impact on the campaign process. The platform provided a cheaper means of campaigning for less known presidential candidates. It facilitated the recruitment of volunteers and soliciting of funds which was normally done through party offices and luncheons respectively. The findings of this study shows that the urban youth developed interest in politics, became more knowledgeable, relied on social media for election updates and were able to learn more about the presidential candidates. Majority of the respondents said they did not withdraw their support for a candidate after reading something about them on social media. Therefore, the political information that the respondents came across on social media to a larger extent reinforced their belief on their candidate choice.

The lack of equitable access to the internet across the country and hate speech on SNS emerged as the main challenges in the use of social media for presidential candidates and social media users. Therefore, the government needs to step up its efforts to ensure that all parts of country enjoy universal access to communication technologies such as the internet. Also, the relevant regulatory bodies must ensure that messages shared on SNS are monitored to curb the spread of hate speech, defamation, propaganda and cyber bullying. There is need for development of new policies to ensure that such unlawful acts can be prosecuted in a court of law.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

BDP-Botswana Democratic Party
BMD-Botswana Movement for Democracy
BCP- Botswana Congress Party
CCK-Communication Commission of Kenya
ICC-International Criminal Court
IEA-Institute of Economic Affairs
IT-Information Technology
KNC-Kenya National Congress
ODM-Orange Democratic Movement
SNS-Social Networking Sites
CMC-Computer Mediated Communications
UGC-User generated content
FGD-Focus group discussion

GLOSSARY

Social Networking Sites - internet-based applications that allow users to develop a public profile within a closed system, have a list of users whom they have a relation with, and are able to view their own friends list and that of others within the system

Computer Mediated Technology-The use of the internet for communication purposes

User Generated Content-Information or material posted on SNS by social media users

Hate speech-Incitement to violence based in ethnicity and political inclinations

Internet- as a master medium, a revolutionary hybrid of the traditional medium that offers an opportunity of two way communication feedback loop

Mass Media-Means of public communication which includes radio, TV and newspapers

Social Media- Are social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube

Campaign-A series of communication activities performed with an aim of influencing voters

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the background of social media campaigning, statement of the problem, general and specific objectives, and justification of the study, scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background

There is an emerging consensus among scholars that campaigns matter in elections based on evidence that the public reacts to campaign events (Holbrook 1996; Hillygus 2005). The aggregate results in elections are influenced by the intensity of the campaigns (Shaw 1999a; Holbrook and McClurg 2005). Campaigns are strategic in the sense that opposing candidates channel their resources towards the same location with the aim of targeting a subset of the voting population (Gerber and Green, 2004). Studies show that campaigns influence voters by delivering messages that reinforce party identification and remind voters of present issues concerning presidential performance (McClurg and Holbrook, 2009). Therefore, fundamentals of vote choice play a stronger role in countries where there are intense presidential campaigns than in countries which the level of campaign activity is relatively minimal. Presidential campaigns create a unique electoral context that affects voter behavior especially in terms of their vote choice.

Political elites who have already established themselves use internet technologies such as social media to gather intelligence on the voters, organize volunteers, raise funds and research on their opposition (Howard, 2005). Increasingly, internet technologies are being used to provide political information in the public sphere and unlike the traditional media, they possess interactive tools for both production and consumption of political content. Today, political victories are determined by the quantity and quality of information that campaigns can access with regards to their political rivals and constituents (McClurg and Holbrook, 2009). Digital communication technologies cannot be viewed simply as means of delivering news content just like the radio, television and newspapers since they allow for interaction with the public sphere and generation of political content. This is not possible with broadcast media technologies. Scholars expect that the internet would become a mass communication technology despite the difference that exists between networked systems and traditional media (McClurg and Holbrook, 2009).

Castells (2000) predicted that political processes and social movements would be transformed by the growth in the network society that would ultimately spread across all social structures. As he forecasted, politics is now increasingly being played on the social media space and leadership has become personalized through the use of web 2.0. Therefore, political actors who fail to adopt the medium in their campaigns will lag behind. Tim O'Reilly defines the Web 2.0 as a set of principles and practices that tie together a wide array of sites that have user-generated content and make emphasis on social connections (O'Reilly 2005). This core 'set of principles and practices' is applied to common threads and tendencies observed across many different technologies, and it is heavily defined by online presence (Madden and Fox 2006). Other authors argue that Web 2.0 has reshaped the way we work and have even referred to it as social e-revolution (Fraser and Dutta 2009).

The internet is still the preferred tool for the delivery of political information though television still stands out as the single dominant medium for election news (McClurg and Holbrook 2009). Internet users argue that the medium provides convenient access to information, sufficient news that is not available elsewhere and online news sources reflect their personal interests. Citizens augment their understanding of current events, research on the background of political candidates or deepen their understanding on issues by visiting websites of news organizations or that of candidates (McClurg and Holbrook, 2009).

However, critics of digital politics argue that citizens consume political content that reinforce their ideologies and do not expose themselves to challenging ideas (Sunstein, 2001). The debate on selective exposure persists today. Kinder (2003) argues that research evidence on selective exposure reveals that people seek mass communications that reinforces their political predispositions. On the contrary, Jonas et al. (2005) contend that when people are searching for new information they are biased in favor of the beliefs they hold and desired conclusion. Though TV and radio remain a constant source of political information, people's news media patterns are changing. Specifically, people are moving away from newspapers as a source of political information and towards the Internet (Rainie and Horrigan, 2007).

1.2 Concept of social media

Social Networking Sites (SNS) are the main form of communication for social media. Therefore, since social media occurs on the social network platform, then defining social networking sites

will provide a working definition for social media. Boyd & Ellison (2007) define social media networking sites as internet-based applications that allow users to develop a public profile within a closed system, have a list of users whom they have a relation with, and are able to view their own friends list and that of others within the system. This is generally the model that social media follow. They include Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, blogs, and YouTube.

This study will use this definition of social media with the sole focus on Facebook and Twitter. Social media can also be referred to as “new media”; an umbrella term that is used to refer to emerging communication technologies that run over the internet and are constantly evolving (Peters, 2009). What distinguishes social media from other technologies is its reliance on social networking sites as its main form of communication.

1.3 Social media and politics

Individuals are able to share their ideas, opinions and experiences with each other through social media. In terms of politics, social media has facilitated participation of citizens in various democratic processes in various countries. Political actors have successfully used social media platforms such as weblogs and social networking sites to disseminate information to the electorate and also engage them in political discussions. Recently, more than 900 million people worldwide are members of the Facebook network (Facebook 2012) while Twitter counts more than 500 million users in total (Forbes 2012). With this tremendous growth, these platforms allow both citizens and politicians to participate in political discussions or to share political content publicly. Furthermore, it is argued that from the perspective of politicians and political parties it is essential to actively join social media based political communication, in particular during election campaigns.

Already, U.S. politicians are said to have a leading role in this regard, with the most prominent example of Barack Obama being able to successfully employ social media in his last election campaign (Wattal et al. 2010). The recent 2008 U.S. presidential campaign has shown that the Web 2.0 has become an influential tool for political communication and persuasion (Towner et al. 2011; Hoffner & Rehkoff 2011). It became obvious that particularly social networks could be successfully adapted to contact and discuss with voters as well as to disseminate material information to them. Specifically young people developed interest in politics after coming across

such discussions on social software which is a communication platform (Chen 2009; Kushin & Kitchener 2009).

The rise in the use of social media in political campaigns on the African continent cannot be overlooked. Ghana is a good case of efficient use of social media in her political dispensation. A 17 January 2013 article on modernghana.com by Francis Xavier Tuokuu and Billings Tanaa notes how competing parties in Ghana used Facebook and Twitter in creative ways for advertising and engaging the public in the country's 2012 elections. Dr. PaaKwesiNduom, the presidential candidate for the PPP (Progressive People's Party) who at the time had more than 10,551 subscriptions on his Facebook page, engaged his supporters online via chat, giving them an opportunity to ask and make comments.

Citizens were able to evade the state controlled media in the Arab Spring revolutions and employ social media to communicate the ideas of defiance and resistance in North Africa and Middle East (Simon, 2011). For instance, when a Tunisian Mohammed Bouaziz was denied a chance to work as a street vendor to fend for his family, he set himself on fire. This act sparked protests that spread across all cities and capitals as the video of Bouaziz burning was captured by a passerby and went viral on YouTube. In Egypt, Marcus (2011) notes that Facebook facilitated the formation of anti regime movements which had no central organization but was significant forces that later saw the ousting of the then president Hozni Mubarak.

In Botswana, one of the most reputed democracies in Africa, leading politicians in the country are intensively campaigning on social media ahead of their 2014 elections. The battling ground has now shifted to Facebook with the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana Movement for Democratic (BMD) and Botswana Congress Party (BCP) reaching out to potential voters online (Daily Nation, March 9 2012). Botswana president Ian Khama addresses national issues by responding to posts on the BDP Facebook wall which approximately receives 4,000 visits a day. Khama's interaction with people on the social network has earned the title "man of the people" (Daily Nation, March 9 2012).

1.4 Problem Statement

Previous studies have specifically focused on Social Networking Sites and their use in the political context. In the investigation on the use of Facebook by U.S. Congressional candidates during election campaigns, Williams and Gulati (2007, 2009) found that a number of their

Facebook supporters can be considered a valid indicator of electoral success. In a different study by Utz (2009) of the 2006 Dutch elections, the findings of his research indicates that SNS provide an opportunity to reach individuals that are less interested in politics. Thereby, viewing a candidate's profile further strengthens existing attitudes. Although social networking sites are increasingly being utilized in political campaigns, it has not yet been fully established if they can directly affect election results; but there is already a trend of positive contributions from these sites that has led to voter decision in favor of a political candidate (Connors, 2005).

In the 2013 presidential elections of Kenya, Narc Kenya presidential hopeful Martha Karua and Eagle Alliance Peter Kenneth were notably most active and had significant following on social media. According to statistics from socialbakers.com as of 23 January, 2013, Martha Karua had the most following on Twitter with 116,000 followers. She also had 230,000 likes on her official Facebook page. She also came up with "AskMartha" on Thursday where her followers asked her questions and she would respond to them. Peter Kenneth who was also popular on social media had 165,000 Facebook likes and 63,000 followers on Twitter. The speech issued by his son, Andrew Kenneth, during the launch of his presidential bid caused a lot of euphoria and discussion on social media which subsequently increased his followers online. Kenneth was the most active and with the largest following on Facebook in comparison to other presidential candidates and is credited for using social media to raise funds for his campaign (Daily Nation, October 5 2012).

According to a 21 November, 2011 article published on Forbes.com, the current president of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta is noted to have leveraged the power social media to reach the young Kenyan electorate. He operated active Twitter and Facebook accounts which he used to keep his followers informed of his activities. His Twitter handle @UKenyatta had 21,400 followers. He actively used YouTube where his handlers uploaded videos of him addressing the public in campaign rallies. A survey by The Guardian (2012) named Uhuru Kenyatta among the top ten most active African politicians on social media.

Despite Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth acquiring a largest following on social media by consistently engaging the public on Twitter and Facebook, they both performed dismally when it came to the 2013 elections whereas Uhuru Kenyatta who equally campaigned on social media obtained over 50 percent of the total votes casted. The question that remains is whether the social

media campaigns had any effect on voters' choice in the 2013 Kenya presidential elections. Previous research argue that social media has really no effect on voter behavior. This study seeks to analyze the how social media was integrated in the presidential campaigns and establish whether it had any influence on the voter's presidential choice.

1.5 Research objective

The general objective is to establish the role social media in the 2013 presidential election campaigns.

1.5.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To investigate the integration of social media into the 2013 presidential campaigns.
- ii. To explore how social media users utilize SNS for political purposes.
- iii. To explore the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process.

1.5.2 Research Questions

- i. How was social media integrated into the 2013 presidential election campaign?
- ii. How do social media users utilize SNS for political purposes?
- iii. What was the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process?

1.6 Justification of the Study

Creating a social media strategy for use during political campaigns has become an essential part of every candidate's plan to get into office. With social media sites often getting more traffic than an official campaign website, it's important for candidates to get connected.

The use of social media in today's campaign is not only important but also critical since millions of people are involved in using social networks daily. It is the opportunity to be in touch with large numbers of voters quickly, constantly and at a low cost. It has become a common practice for political campaigns to create pages on social networking sites as part of their marketing strategy. Social media has a significant impact on elections given its high speed of communication and the number of its able to reach.

Political actors are using social networking sites to appeal to the youth by generating content that people share, and gauge where their candidates stand in the race. This shows how advancement in technology has affected political campaigns and democratic process in general. Therefore the findings of this research help determine whether there is a causal connection between online

strategies and votes. Moreover, this information generated in this study is useful to scholars, especially those who have expressed interest in new media, political parties, candidates and campaign strategists.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to two social networking sites: Facebook and Twitter and specifically the accounts of the three presidential candidates namely: Uhuru Kenyatta, Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua. Students at the University of Nairobi were issued with questionnaires to provide information on how they utilized social media for political purposes. A campaign strategist was interviewed to provide information on how they integrated social media into their campaign.

This limitation is due to scarcity of resources both financial and human for the research, preparation, data collection and analysis as well as lack of time due to the limited time schedule.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter critically examined the available literature and studies that have been previously carried out and are relevant to this research. The chapter will shed light on the research problem to create a better understanding of the issues discussed.

2.1 MASS MEDIA AND POLITICS

The mass media forms the backbone of democracy as they provide voters with political information which they use in electing their leaders. According to Dye and Ziegler, (1983), the mass media serves four political functions that include: news making, interpretation, socialization, persuasion and agenda setting. Through these functions, the mass media create political issues they consider of importance to the public, define their meanings and consequences and ultimately cause the shift of public opinions and attitudes. An example is when the media gives more coverage to elections than to ongoing cases in the supreme courts.

News making is all about making decisions of “who” and “what” will appear in the news. Media coverage helps the general public know about personalities whom they have little direct encounters, events or organization. Viewers are also likely to believe news on distant figures such as the president since they have no personal experience with them. However, their opinions on religions or ethnicity are not likely to be influenced by media coverage because they have their own personal experience of them (Dye and Ziegler, 1983, p.7). At the same time, politicians understand that a high amount of media coverage tells people what is important and this explains why they struggle to get the attention of the media. They achieve this by coming up with what is referred to as media events which among other qualities should attract an unusual audience.

According to a survey by Pew Research Center in the year 2000 on the Americans attitude towards the credibility of newsmakers showed that 57 percent believed that news media professionals are influenced by their political preferences in their news reporting while 32 percent believe this happens at times (Mauk & Oakland 2005). With regard to the influence of news media, a 2004 poll conducted by Harris in America revealed that only 17 percent of the respondents had confidence in the television news while 15 percent in the press. This evidently

shows that a minority of viewers believe everything they see on TV as true (Mauk & Oakland 2005).

Not only do newsmakers decide what appears in the news but also interpret it by placing an event in a context and thereafter speculate the causes and consequences. Newsmakers normally take an angle on a story which they give to reporters before assigning them news docket. Films and also video tapes are edited for selections of different segments to be aired during news. A good example is the Iraq war in 2003 where American media reported the attack on Iraq by the United States as a defensive act against terrorism as it was alleged that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. However, these weapons were not found and this prompted the media to shift its focus to the poor planning of the attack which caused a decrease in public support of the war (Shea, Green and Smith, 2007).

Another function of the mass media is political persuasion which is an attempt to change people's behavior and attitude through communication. Political parties and candidates try to convince the public to accept their political beliefs. Propaganda is a form of persuasive communication which involves transmission of opinions, facts and information that are aimed at benefiting the communicator (Dye and Ziegler, 1983). Political leaders use persuasion and propaganda as their most important tools in their profession. Presidents have control over the time that is allocated for their speeches and announcement. Also, presidential candidates can create their own campaign organizations, separate from that of their party, which deploy persuasion and propaganda techniques.

The mass media is responsible for the creation of public opinion through agenda setting. That news media shape public opinion through priming is one of the most widely accepted results in political behavior. Politicians are more likely to pay attention to public opinion when it offers an opportunity for political advantage over their competitors. In the event that they fail to respond to public opinion due to conflicting convictions, they risk losing voter support and subsequently the elections. Shea et al. (2007) note that one of the marks of first-rate political leader he knows when to support or resist public opinion.

2.1.1 News coverage of political campaigns

In the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the news media, and television news in particular, were linked with growing political malaise, not least because of the emphasis on bad news such as political incompetence, scandals, and corruption (Robinson 1976; Robinson and Sheehan 1983). Subsequent research on U.S. presidential election campaigns between 1960 and 1992 identified trends that are no more heartening: campaign news has become more negative, more interpretative rather than descriptive, and more game oriented than policy oriented (Patterson 1980, 1993). Television news in the United States has been singled out for diminishing what politicians have to say to an ever shrinking soundbite (Hallin 1997), for providing only "episodic" coverage of political issues without making sense of them in their larger thematic or historical context (Iyengar 1994), for reporting complex political issues in simple terms.

Television news viewing in the United States, Britain, and a number of other countries has been associated with higher levels of political knowledge, participation, and personal efficacy (Brehm and Rahn 1997; Norris 1996, 2000). The 1997 British election study, for example, revealed a positive association between attention to news and higher levels of political knowledge and civic engagement, and an experiment designed to test the effects of television news in the general election campaign found that exposure to positive news about a party had stronger effects on vote choice than exposure to negative news (Norris et al. 1999).

The media has the power to determine who are or is the main candidate(s) in an election. Favorable media reporting over a period of time can create presidential candidates out of governors, senators and other political figures. The media create name recognition which is the essential quality of presidential candidate and the first step to successful election. On the contrary when the media fail to report activities of an aspiring candidate, they can completely disclaim him. Once the media have agreed on one candidate as a winner in the party, he receives the majority of the media coverage and all other opponents are sentenced to sink into obscurity. Financial contributions to opponents begin to dry up because no one wants to patronize the losing candidate (Ridout and Smith 2008).

One common aspect of campaign coverage by the media is that they tend to create focus on a horse race; the candidates who appear to have significant support get more coverage than those

who seem to be losing. Studies show that presidential campaigns dominate a horse race kind of media coverage (Patterson and McClure 1976; Robinson and Sheehan 1983; Steger 1999).

The 2013 presidential elections was dubbed as a two horse race by the Kenyan media following the release of the opinion polls by Infotrack and Ipsos Synovate that placed Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta as the two main contenders of the presidency. This was received with a lot of contempt by other presidential hopefuls such as Eagle Alliance Peter Kenneth who dismissed such notions as misleading (Daily Nation, June 4 2013). This was also followed by significant media coverage of the two leading candidates' campaigns as they transverse the country looking for votes.

The media has a tendency of focusing on campaign controversies which are also referred to as campaign issues. Leighly (2004) posits that the media refers to them as campaign issues since they were formulated in the context of campaigns and lack the backing of public policy. The media to a larger extent focus on clear cut issues that candidates take positions on than diffuse issues which they use to solicit voter support (Patterson 1994). Therefore, when a candidate's speech talks of infrastructure development and economic growth, the media focus on his disagreement his opponent on land reforms. Patterson notes that 'the battlefield' is a common metaphor in the media especially in election news as they concentrate on controversies. During the 2013 elections of Kenya, the media focused on Jubilee Coalition presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto ICC case and also the formers vast land ownership.

The media focus on controversies is attributed to commercial pressures that require news outlets to be sensational in order for them to attract a larger audience. News organizations use this as their bargaining chip as they negotiate advertising charges (Kaniss 1991). For instance, the story of John Kerry lying about his heroism in Vietman would appeal to a larger audience than his plan to reform the health sector (Ridout and Smith 2008). So news audiences are put on a steady diet of controversy and conflict from the campaign trail by reporters.

2.1.2 Political Advertising

Political advertising also referred to as issue or advocacy advertising plays a big role in proposition and ballot election and in the advocacy of public policy and issue groups. Modern

political advertising is characterized by control of the message and use of mass media for distributing messages (Kaid, 1999). The ability to control the message is relayed to the audience is one of the greatest advantage of all forms of political advertising. Other forms of political communication such as speeches, debates are subject to interpretation or filtering by the news media.

Control over political ad messages by the source distinguishes it from news content messages. Political ads allow for inclusion of messages that advocate for the election of candidates and parties as well as solicit support on political ideas. The channels used in political advertising include newspapers, posters, broadcast and cable advertising, internet and other electronic distribution systems (Kaid 1995). The definition of political advertising also encompasses the free broadcast time that is given to candidates and parties in some countries apart from the free internet.

Political advertising is considered the modern form of promotion for politicians in democratic systems of government. Television political advertising is the dominant form of communication between candidates and voters in presidential elections (Kaid 1999 and Johnston, 2001). This dominance is measured by the amount of funds spent on television political advertising. For instance in the 1988 U.S. elections, George W. Bush and Dukasis spent over \$ 80 million on electronic advertising (Devlin, 1989). In the 1996 elections, Clinton, Dole, Al Gore and Perot advertising expenditure was reported to be \$ 200 million. Television is the most dominant medium in the U.S. electoral process. However, the American style of television advertising is slowly gaining significance in political processes of other democracies in the world (Kaid 1999). The differences in mass media systems and cultural constraints are responsible for the speed at which other democracies have made television advertising a central part of their electoral politics.

The use of candidate centered advertising is a distinctive feature of American political campaign processes and has been adopted in the European political campaigns. However, European countries have stringent restrictions on televised political advertisement than those in the U.S. In the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya, media outlets came up with rules and guidelines that were to be observed by political actors if they wanted them to run their political advertisement. For instance Nation Media group developed 11 guidelines which they used in vetting

advertorials for both their print and electronic media. In the aftermath of the 1988 U.S. elections, Washington Post Columnist David Broder called on journalists to take a watchdog role in assessing the validity of claims in political advertising after George W. Bush made attacks on his competitor Micheal Dukasis Broder (Kaid 1992).

Evidence from studies on the effects of political advertising on voter knowledge behavior indicate that exposure to political ads enhances candidate name recognition by citizens (Kaid 1992). A study of the 1992 California U.S. senate race found that paid advertising exposure can be a predictor of candidate recognition than news coverage on television or newspapers. Studies also show that exposure to political ads influences what voters recall about a campaign issue and a candidates position on it. The type of advertisement also affects voter's ability to recall and research shows that negative ads produce higher recall levels than positive ones. It has been argued that political ads are superior to television debates.

With regards to the effects of political ads on voter behavior, studies show that campaign spending seems to have a relationship to voter turnout and success for the candidate (Weaver-Lariscy & Tinkman 1976; 1987). Wattenberg (1982) found a relationship between spending for advertising in Congressional campaigns and the salience of candidates for the electorate. Bowers (1975), notes that newspapers have been covering political ads for a much longer period of time compared to television which peaked in the 1980's and subsequent years.

2.1.3 Radio and Television

In the 1920's, the radio provided a new channel for politicians to campaign. Politicians were then able to directly communicate with citizens, dispersing their messages over large geographical locations and thereby bypassing the hostile reporters. Radio played an important role in the 1932 presidential campaign when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected. Roosevelt's speeches were brief, interesting and dramatic; he knew how to use a friendly, conversational style. He scheduled periodic 'Fireside Chats' with the American public, using them to promote his 'New Deal' programs.

The emergence of television changed the image of political campaigns as it made a mass audience available to the candidates for the first time. The first president to make an appearance on television was Franklin D. Roosevelt while opening the New York World's Fair in 1939.

Harry Truman spoke about the Korean War to a mass audience through the television in 1950. By 1952 millions of Americans had television sets in their living rooms which implied that candidates could get television coverage though at a cost and advent of new campaigning styles that focused on the image of the candidate (Sherrow, 1992).

On 26 September, 1960 the first presidential debate was aired on the television. Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard M. Nixon sat in a Chicago television studio, along with four news people from ABC, CBS, and NBC who were to question the candidates about domestic policy. This televised debate influenced the election and Kennedy became the next president (Best and Hubbard, 1999). Presidential debates are major events that provide candidates with an opportunity to sell the policies and agenda to the electorate. Unlike convections, debates are highly visible events that can significantly improve a candidate's position in the polls. They frequently leave voters with lasting memories such as in the U.S. when Ronal Reagan asked voters if they were better off than they were five years ago. In Kenya, presidential candidate Aduba Dida is remembered for the comic relief that he provided while responding to questions during the televised presidential debate.

An overall conclusion from Kraus's (1962) volume on *The Great Debates of 1960* between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon was that the debates mattered whether people watched them or not. There was so much discussion, especially of Kennedy's performance in the first of the four debates, that a social reality took shape holding that Kennedy had "won" the debates, and this perception very likely was an important factor in the outcome of a very close election. Similarly, media commentary following the Ford-Carter foreign policy debate in 1976 contributed substantially to both the salience and negative evaluation of Ford's statement that there was no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe (Steeper, 1978).

McKinnon, Tedesco, and Kaid (1993) showed that network commentary after the 1992 debates between George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot lessened Clinton's perceived margins of victory, and McKinnon and Tedesco (1999) showed that network commentary following the 1996 debates raised perceivers' assessments of both Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. While it is not entirely predictable how commentators' appraisals might affect voter opinion, it seems clear that they can and do. Geer's (1988) analysis of the 1976 presidential debate (between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford), and 1984 debate (between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale) suggests that

they had a sizable but not determinative impact on the voter behavior. Shelley and Hangs (1991) study of the 1988 election indicate that Bush gained 6 percentage points in the second and nothing from the first debate. However, Lanoueu's (1991) analysis of the second debate in 1988 asserts that the second debate had little lasting impact on vote choice.

An opinion poll carried out by Ipsos Synovate after the 2013 Kenya presidential indicated that 40 percent of Kenyans who watched the presidential campaign would vote for Uhuru Kenyatta while 33 percent said they would vote for Raila Odinga. Peter Kenneth would get 7 percent while Martha Karua 2 percent (Allafrica.com). In previous polling survey, Raila was always in the lead followed closely by Uhuru but after the presidential debate, polls indicated that Uhuru surpassed Raila. Millions of people watch debates, discuss them, and read and watch analyses of the candidates' performances. They have been shown to play a role in the outcome of every campaign in which they have been held, and they may have been decisive in several elections.

2.1.4 Printed Material

During colonial times, political candidates campaigned through rallies and the print medium as there were no radio, television and telephones thus they relied on personal contacts and newspapers to communicate with the electorate. U.S. presidents owned their own newspapers of which they had control over which stories got published and were therefore called partisan papers. These papers targeted the elite audience and at times had offensive content. Politicians then also used posters, pamphlets and handbills to influence public opinion on various issues and subsequently win votes. Offensive campaigning which involved calling of names was part of politics at the time and the 1828 elections has been cited by historians as the first negative presidential campaign as General Andrew Jackson accused president Quincy Adams of dishonesty whereas his supporters called Adams a murderer.

As the number of literate people began to rise, new kinds newspaper designs came up which targeted those who were working. There was also a shift from non-partisan reporting by the newspapers and by 1940, 48 percent of them were considered independent. It has been noted that President Theodore Roosevelt utilized the media more effectively than any of his predecessors. . In 1901 he set up the first permanent *White House Press Quarters* and appointed his secretary, William Loeb, as a press liaison. This was truly the beginning of a relationship between the print medium and the president. Today, newspapers assign reporters to cover campaigns and follow

what is going on in the political arena, thus playing an important role in this game. The politicians also recognize this role, especially during campaigns, and they know that if they deny the press access to them, they are removing themselves from the reach of the voting public.

2.2 INTERNET AND POLITICS

The internet has transformed the way individuals, organizations, political institutions and governments communicate and negotiate political information and political roles (Tedesco 1999). McLuhan (1964) posits that the internet has linked the world through a virtual space creating what he refers to as a global village. Optimists of the internet argue that it will transform and stimulate participatory democracy whereas pessimists regard the internet as a tool that reinforces other political communication channels.

Selnow (1988) defines the internet as a master medium, a revolutionary hybrid of the traditional medium that offers an opportunity of two way communication feedback loop. Another revolutionary feature of the internet is its lack of a gate-keeping structure which characterizes the traditional print and broadcast media (Margolis, Resnick & Tu, 1997). What distinguishes the internet from other media is its unrestricted access and providing citizens a medium to voice their political agenda to a worldwide audience. It has also appealed to the political organizations and political candidates because it offers a source controlled communication and are way cheaper than advertisements.

Furthermore, the internet has provided political actors' unlimited space to articulate their positions on policies and a variety of political information such as press releases, manifestos, speeches among others (Tedesco et al. 1999). However, Tedesco notes that media skeptics consider the unmediated aspect of the internet as disadvantageous to the citizens since they heavily rely on the media to contextualize and interpret information for them. Majority of the Americans reported that television news is their main source of information which bring into question if they are able to make informed choices on voting decisions based on television news (Kaid et al. 2000). Swanson (1992) notes that politicians are held hostage to established media as they have to package their message to the public according to their news structure.

Thus, the information provided by the internet in the cyberspace enables political actors and institutions to bypass the new organizations control over the content and tone of political

communication. This will result in a decline on the hierarchical dependence on established media though observers note that there is the challenge of too much raw information on the internet that is unofficial and unsubstantiated (Barber, Mattson, & Peterson 1997). Although political observers are not quick to assign democratic merits to the internet solely based on its structural attributes, they suggest that if nurtured, it can a spontaneous source of information and interaction.

2.2.1 Structure and Benefits of the Internet

The internet potential to contribute to participatory and direct democracy according to an analysis of the 1996 U.S. presidential elections, specifically the political websites, by researchers at Rutgers University (Barber et al. 1997). The findings of the study demonstrated the internet contains structural possibilities that enhance democracy and include: inherent interactivity, potential for vertical and horizontal communication, direct/non hierarchical modes of communication, low user costs, its instantaneous, not limited to physical boundaries and free from government interference (Barber et al. 1987).

In addition to the above structural advantages of the internet as a political tool, Sparks (2001) includes anonymity of social actors, search mechanism and discursive requirements. Sparks asserts that anonymity is the internet's central advantage since it eliminates socially identifiable criteria such as sex, age and race that may cause prejudices or exclusion of individuals in political dialogue. Despite these advantages, researchers note that most political websites have failed to exploit the internet's interactive potential and succumbed to obstacles of information overload, hierarchical structure and non interactive design (Barber et al. 1997).

2.2.2 Internet Access and Digital Divide

As the internet penetration rate increases, candidates and political organizations will definitely rely more on the medium as a means of communication with their constituents (Tedesco, 1999). Criticism on the role of the internet in politics has been founded on the issue of limited access. Researchers have attributed the disparity in internet access to economic factors. Anderson et al. (1996) during the time of his study noted that the usage of computer mediated communication in America was 3 percent in low income households and 23 percent in high income households. Hacker (1996) notes that citizens' have to be tech-savvy for there to be electronic

democratization, and adds that those who are active online use other available mediums for political participation. A 1996 survey by Pew Research showed that the population online was younger, more educated, most were male and wealthier than the average population. Also, the diffusion of the internet appears to be following the diffusion pattern of other innovations.

What began as a media outlet that was skewed from the general public because it represented mostly young, well educated, and affluent (Gainous and Wagner, 2007; Davis, 2005), has since expanded at exponential rates. According to Gulatti and Williams, education, income, ethnicity, age and urbanization are all potential influences on a candidate's Internet use (2010). Approximately one in three young voters under the age of thirty-six rely on the Internet as their main source of political information (Panagopoulos, 2009).

However, other researchers have also found the Internet guilty of exacerbating the pattern of unequal participation based on income (Mossberger and Stansbury, 2003). This further encourages the digital divide between the haves and the have-nots. Ironically, because findings on race and ethnicity have been mixed, education has become the most important factor in the digital democratic divide (Mossberger and Stansbury, 2003). Through the obvious correlation of education and income, the Internet encourages the digital divide shifting the focus from outreaching to potential voters to reinforcing participation. Furthermore, even though the Internet alters the resources necessary for political activity, the individuals who are participating online are similar to those participating offline (Best, 2005). This sequence further encourages an ever-evolving circle where Internet participation is reinforcing rather than supplementing. Therefore, the Internet is not capturing new, potential voters, but instead encouraging and supporting the beliefs already in place.

2.2.3 Civic Engagement and Participation

The 1992 Clinton campaign is credited as being the first to distribute speech text over the internet (Wilhock, 1997). His administration with Al Gore promoted electronic democratization by publishing general information and press releases on the internet in January 1993. By the time the 1996 elections reached, serious presidential candidates, Congressional hopefuls and interest groups had established an online presence despite them developing basic websites. D' Alessio (2000) analysis of the candidate's adoption of the internet between 1996 and 1998 indicated that they preferred adopting the medium as a campaign tool. However, he equated their online

presence with an online brochure as they failed to capitalize on the potential of the medium to promote participatory democracy.

The internet also provided an opportunity for financially mismatched politicians to increase their popularity through campaigning as it was less costly compared to other mediums. Websites provide unmediated access to internet users. Klotz (1997) analysis of the 1996 election shows that 50 out of 68 party candidates in the senate race had a website. Whillock (1997) posits strategists for underdog candidates viewed the medium as a means to by-pass the filters of the traditional media before their message gets to the public.

Studies on the effect of computer mediated political communication in relation to political activity shows that those who are motivated to use technology exhibit high patterns of political participation (Garamoe et al 1996). Garamoe adds that new technology has further widened the gap between the politically active and inactive. Similarly Baran (1995) and Hacker (1996) note that this would widen the gap between those who are economically and educationally privileged with the underprivileged.

2.2.4 Internet and Political Mobilization

A survey conducted during the 1996 U.S. elections by Chandrasekaran (1996) indicated that about 8.5 million Americans admitted that their voter decision was influenced by the information they had found on the internet. Norris (2000) notes that the influence of the internet on politics has been speculated on the support of mobilization and reinforcement theories. Mobilization theories argue that virtual democracy will bring abundance empowerment in a digital world whereas reinforcement theories argue that internet usage will not transform but strengthen the existing patterns of social inequality and political participation. Most research on internet with regards to political communication applies the arguments in one of the above theories. The common ground for majority of political communication research on the internet is based on whether it is becoming a new medium form of political engagement or whether it is strengthening the existent power structures (Norris 2000).

There is optimism among scholars that the internet will empower online communities of likeminded individuals, create a more informed electorate (Sullivan 2000) and reunite those who had been alienated politically (Keane, 1995). However, there are scholars who do not share the

optimism expressed above. Margolis et al. (1997) argues that despite the fact that the internet has lowered informational costs, established parties will transfer their offline advantage to the web thus making it difficult for lesser know parties to build new constituents. Scholarly debate exists in whether the internet will realize its full potential or whether follow a similar pattern to the print and broadcast media. Nueman (2001) argues that the internet would further fragment the society in general as it tends to isolate people from each other on the other hand Rheingold (1995) holds that the internet would transcend the limitations of the existing mass media.

A study by Hill and Hughes (1997) on on-line USENET groups where they analyzed 1000 messages from a sample 22 political USENET group revealed that they function just like other political groups where individuals debate, share information, recruit volunteer and reinforce their social structures. Kern (1997) asserts that candidate and political parties were exploring new avenues for communication such as the internet in order to reinvigorate their social capital. This can be achieved through building online communities, through bulletin board information exchange and reducing the distance between the government and the governed (Norris, 2000).

Scholars argue that the internet may not only be reinforcing political behavior but also media behavior. For instance the decline use of local and national television and newspaper can be attributed to the growth of the internet, research shows that internet users and non users still rely on the traditional media for news (Stempel, Hargrove and Bernt, 2000). Stempel et al. (2000) further notes that internet users are heavy newspaper readers thus they can be described as information seekers. Therefore, the internet serves as a reinforcement agent for information seekers and this would result into widening of the divide between the information rich and information poor.

2.3 SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS

Social Networking Sites (SNS) are the main form of communication for social media and thus the definition of SNS applies to Social media. Boyd & Ellison (2007) define social media networking sites as internet-based applications that allow users to develop a public profile within a closed system, have a list of users whom they have a relation with, and are able to view their own friends list and that of others within the system. This is generally the model that social media follow. They include Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, blogs, and YouTube.

Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) posit that the growth of online political behavior has been partly facilitated by the recent emergence of new interactive, media rich websites. These social media sites exist under the conceptual umbrella of Web 2.0. The ability to express political views and opinions online plays an important role for social media in campaigns.

Social media allow users to not only seek information but also interact with others through online expression such as posting political commentaries on blogs and social network sites and sharing multimedia commentary (Kushin and Yamamoto 2010). In past campaigns, Facebook users have expressed themselves politically in many ways, such as making online donations, encouraging friends to vote, or posting graphics or status updates expressing political attitudes and opinions. Twitter and blogs have been used by candidates and voters to comment on social and political issues, share information and encourage participation (Kushin and Yamamoto 2010).

Facebook allows its members to form groups based on a shared topic or theme and connect with others of the same interest. Once members join a Facebook group, they can post to the group's wall, engage others on an open discussion board, and share photographs, videos and other media files. To date, several thousand groups have been organized along a political theme (Calahan, E. & Hughes, C., 2006). On each profile, Facebook displays the number of supporters for each candidate and provides a continuous snapshot of each candidate's percentage of vote in his or her race. According to Hernnson, et al. (2007), internet use declines with each advancing age group. Urban areas have greater Internet use than rural areas, but the difference has declined substantially. These constituency demographics in turn influence candidates' internet use.

William and Gullati (2006) in a study investigating the use of Facebook for campaigning by Congressional candidates in the 2006 U.S elections found that candidates who campaigned on Facebook in 2006 won a larger share of the vote than candidates who did not campaign on Facebook when controlling for all other variables. In addition, incumbents added 1.1% to their vote share by doubling the number of supporters on Facebook, while open-seat candidates added 3% by achieving that same increase (William and Gullati, 2006). However, they acknowledge the need to see how this new technology plays out over several elections and further empirical research before designating online social networks as a major determinant of election outcomes.

If future research can confirm these findings and demonstrate a causal connection between online strategies and votes, then Facebook and other social networking sites will be an essential tool in enhancing the democratic process. Williams & Gullati (2008) observe that a strong, viable online campaign can translate into votes, but it is not a substitute for traditional campaign resources. Rather, it is most effective when highly developed and then integrated with more tried and true forms of campaign communication and mobilization (i.e., the Barack Obama campaign) and can be somewhat useful to campaigns that have some place for it in their grassroots networking strategy. Facebook and other online social networks can offer very little benefit, however, to candidates who do not integrate the online network into their offline network (e.g. the McCain and Romney campaigns).

The 2008 US elections were a defining moment for the use of social media in politics. Demonstrating clearly the importance of internet political campaigning, President Barack Obama's campaign staff relied profoundly on social media to engage voters, recruit campaign volunteers, and raise campaign funds. Statistics provided by Graber (2010) indicate that Obama had 2 million Facebook friends while McCain had only 600,000. Disparities such as this were seen on other social media outlets like YouTube, Twitter, Flickr, Digg and BlackPlanet (Graber 193). Obama spent millions on advertising on Facebook and Google, while McCain used mainly television advertisements (Graber 194). Obama focused on social media sites to target young people and mobilize millions of volunteers, as well as receive donations. The campaign used social media to connect with voters and supporters. His widespread use of social media seemed to be a major factor in his victory over John McCain.

Also, a study by Matthew James Kushin and Masahiro Yamamoto published in *Mass Communication and Society*, provided insight into the social media habits of young people (adults under the age of 30), a demographic targeted by Obama in the 2008 campaign. The study found that young people tend to get political information from social media more than any other age group (Kushin and Yamamoto). Bimber and Davis (2003) found that Internet users are not attempting to bypass traditional media. Rather than using the Internet to displace information, people are supplementing their current positions with information gathering (Bimber and Davis, 2003).

Therefore, the people who are already interested in politics are supplementing the information they already currently have, displaying that the Internet is not attracting new uninterested voters into making a conscious choice. Moreover, Hill and Hughes also believe that the Internet reinforces beliefs that are already developed rather than fundamentally changing people and their attitudes (1998). The Internet is reinforcing the already present political attachments, providing additional data and information for voters who are seeking to bolster their vote choices (Bimber and Davis, 2003). Again, the Internet is enabling voters to find out additional information, not transform them.

Gibson and McAllister's (2006) recent analysis of the 2004 Australian national elections suggests that online campaigning can have a positive impact on a candidate's share of the vote. Even when controlling for financial resources and competition, they found that having a web site increased a candidate's share of the vote by an average of 2 percent. Gibson and McAllister's findings are not specific to the Australian context since U.S. congressional candidates who campaigned on Facebook in 2006 won a larger share of the vote than candidates who did not campaign on Facebook when controlling for all other variables.

D'Alessio's (1997) analysis of the 1996 U.S. Senate elections found that candidates who launched a campaign web site won, on average, 9,300 more votes than candidates who had no web presence. Yet this study omitted a number of theoretically important variables, including financial resources and competition. Since these two variables are correlated with both a web presence and votes, the observed relationship between web presence and electoral success is likely spurious. Bimber and Davis's (2003) in-depth case studies of online campaigns in 2000 further called into question a causal connection between web site presence and vote choice. They found that citizens' 'viewing of candidates' web sites had no impact on their decisions about whether to vote or their vote preference. These findings were derived from research on only a limited number of races, leaving open the possibility that a positive relationship between web site presence and vote shares exists more generally.

Wagner and Gainous (2009) also found that web presence is a significant predictor of the total votes obtained in the 2006 Congressional elections, even when controlling for funding, experience, and incumbency. This demonstrates that candidates are evolving from simply supplementing traditional media outlets to engaging the Internet as part of a detailed campaign

strategy to win office. Because web presence could be influencing the amount of total votes obtained, candidates can strategically use the Internet to bypass the once circular motion of participation and use online campaigning to their electoral victory benefit. Specifically examining campaigning with Twitter, Williams and Gulati (2010) found that constituency attributes also influenced the decision to adopt Twitter as a medium of campaigning without affecting the impact on Twitter usage. This previous research suggests that candidates implement the Internet as a campaign tool when it will aide and expand the current campaign.

2.3.1 Social Media and Politics in Africa

The Internet's role in democratic or developed countries can be quite different from its role in less democratic or developed countries, especially where freedom of speech is not guaranteed and the state controls the media. In such countries, the Internet can be a catalyst for dramatic outcomes. Social networking sites, in particular, played a crucial role in the 2011 revolts in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya to build extensive networks, create social capital, and organize political action with a speed and on a scale never seen before. Thanks to these technologies, virtual networks materialized in the streets.

In light of presidential campaigns, social media is taking shape in Africa with political candidates and campaign strategists embracing social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter to engage their supporters. A lot of similarities can be drawn from the use of these networking sites by political actors in Africa with the Obama Campaign which has been referred to the 'Americanization' of campaigns.

In 2010, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan announced his bid for the highest office on Facebook. According to a 2010 article By George Webster on the CNN website, his Facebook status update on September 15 read "*I Goodluck Ebele Jonathan by the grace of God hereby offer myself and my services to the Nigerian people as a candidate for the office of President*". At the time, he had over 200,000 fans on this popular networking site and in 24 hrs he already had 4,000 more people joining his page. During his presidential campaign in 2011, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan through Facebook was able to establish a new relationship model between politicians and their supporters as he personally responded to comments made by his followers, for instance a youth named Toyin Dawodu indicated that he had an idea for a project that could deliver 4,000 MWs of electricity. In his response, president Goodluck said "*Toyin, someone from my office*

will make contact with you regarding your idea. I know I cannot attend to every comment or suggestion due to time constraints, but please do know that I read them and they influence my actions."

Five years ago, there was little interest in the use of social media for campaigning purposes in Ghana. The situation was different in the Ghanaian 2012 elections as most of the candidates had adopted the digital media to raise their chances of winning. The current president of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama, frequently engaged his follower on a verified twitter account during his campaign. Other candidate also established an online presence by using social media to respond to questions from their supporters and clarify any issue that had arisen during the campaign. The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) organized a presidential debate in Ghana that was dedicated a live YouTube channel where Ghanaians both local and internationally could access through a live feed. Social media acted as source of information for some citizens during the election season as they followed the hashtag #GhanaDecides on twitter which trended worldwide.

In Botswana, one of the most reputed democracies in Africa, leading politicians in the country are intensively campaigning on social media ahead of their 2014 elections. The battling ground has now shifted to Facebook with the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana Movement for Democratic (BMD) and Botswana Congress Party (BCP) reaching out to potential voters online (Daily Nation, March 9 2012). Botswana president Ian Khama addresses national issues by responding to posts on the BDP Facebook wall which approximately receives 4,000 visits a day. Khama's interaction with people on the social network has earned the title "man of the people" (Daily Nation, March 9 2012).

As opposed to 2007 elections, 2013 elections were held during a period when Kenya was rated as the 2nd most tweeting nation in Africa. According to a survey by Portland Communications, Kenyans had an average of 2,476,800 tweets in a period of three months placing it second after South Africa which had 5,030,226 tweets. Also, statistics from socialbakers.com indicate that the number of Facebook users in Kenya is about 2,007,960 with the majority of users lying between the ages of 18-24. The significance of this is the proof that millions of Kenyans are getting online. By CCK's stats, more than 10 million Kenyans access the internet, majority of these through their mobile phones.

All presidential candidates had a significant number of supporters and followers on the two main social networking sites, Facebook and Twitter. In fact, excluding media houses and celebrities, they are the most liked and followed Kenyans on Facebook and Twitter respectively. The main presidential candidates had official campaign websites apart from their social media accounts.

The 2013 elections had eight presidential candidates namely Peter Kenneth, Martha Karua, Musalia Mudavadi, Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, Aduba Dida, Paul Muite and James Ole Kiyiapi. However, of the eight candidates, Narc Kenya presidential candidate Martha Karua had the largest following on Twitter (@MarthaKarua) with 63,000 followers on Twitter whereas Eagle Alliance candidate Peter Kenneth had the most following on Facebook with 165,000 likes on his page. The election winner Jubilee alliance candidate, President Uhuru Kenyatta equally had a significant following on both Facebook and Twitter with The Guardian naming him among the top ten most active African politicians on social media. These three candidates carried intensive campaigns on these two social networks in bid to reinforce their support base and also create new constituents of followers.

The scramble for the youth votes saw presidential aspirants intensify their campaigns on social networking sites, making them become official forums to address and appeal to young people. On the sites, they posted updates about their activities, statements they released to the media and where they were planning to go hold campaign rallies. Martha Karua had a “AskMartha” session every Thursdays on Twitter where she would engage with her followers, responding to queries they fielded to her. Peter Kenneth followed the same trend on Facebook where he would respond to posts on his Facebook wall by his friends on the network. He also used the network platform to solicit financial assistance from his followers in bid to support his presidential campaign activities (Daily Nation, October 5 2012). He equally caused a lot of ripples during his campaign launch after his son speech which was positively received by the public and subsequently sparking discussion on social media after the video went viral on YouTube.

However, despite Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth acquiring a largest following on social media by consistently engaging the public on Twitter and Facebook, they both performed dismally when it came to the 2013 elections whereas Uhuru Kenyatta who equally campaigned on social media obtained over 50 percent of the total votes casted. In an article in the Daily Nation newspaper dated 21/1/2013, Social media consultant Nanjira Sambuli notes that the Kenyans

online are very active participating in conversations on policies and governance and discussing issues with people who have different viewpoints. She asserts that this will have an impact on the political culture of the country in the long run. Although social media provides a significant reach of the Kenyan electorate online, it has not penetrated enough to replace the traditional methods of communication. According to Gullati and Williams (2010), education, income, ethnicity, age and urbanization are all potential influences on a candidate’s Internet use.

2.3.2 Access to Social Media in Kenya

According to the Communication Commission of Kenya (CCK) 2nd quarter report of the 2012/2013 states that the number of estimated internet users stands at 16.2 million in 2013 up from 14.5 million as posted in the previous quarter. This represents a growth of 11.6 percent during the period. This increase is attributed to growing demand for Internet and data services, including use of social media especially among the youth.

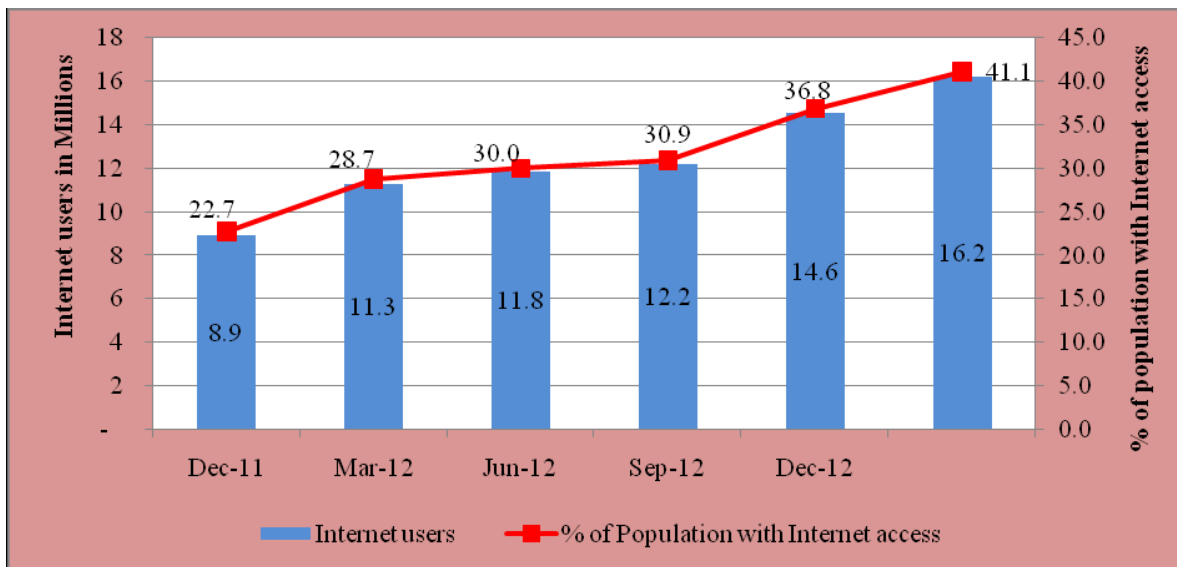


Figure 2.1 Estimated number of Internet Users and Internet Penetration

Synovate (2009) conducted a survey to find out which social networking site people visited most. They found out that more than 2 million people are on Facebook, outweighing other social networks. TNS Research International conducted a survey in 2010 to help organizations understand how people in Kenya use the internet. The research found out that out of a sample of 1421 internet users who have visited a social networking site 56% contributed to a discussion (Kenya ICT Board, 2010). The above statistics point to the fact that SNS contributes to non-

institutionalized political participation. The SNS today have the potential of building on the backbone of associational life to promote greater democratic participation in Kenya.

The CCK quarterly report further notes that mobile penetration increased to 78.0 per 100 inhabitants up from 77.2 recorded during the previous quarter. This represented a quarterly increase of 0.8 percentage points, compared to the same period of the previous year that recorded an increase of 6.7 percent. The mobile data subscribers continued to dominate the internet, representing 99 percent of the total subscriptions. These statistics show that the penetration of mobile phones has facilitated the penetration of the internet and subsequently its usage. The growth trend in the mobile penetration is shown in Figure 2.

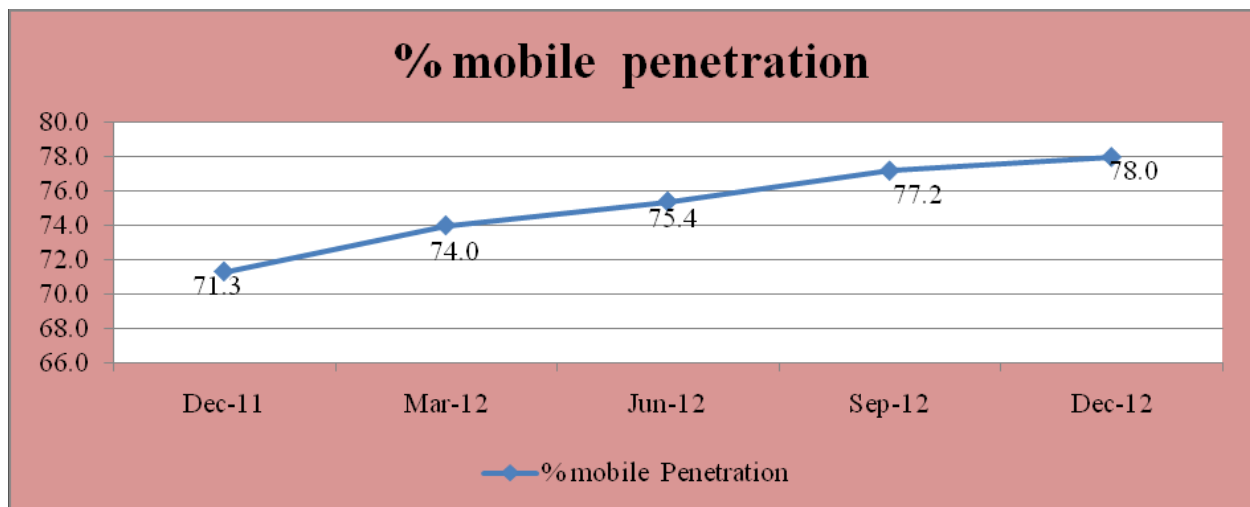


Figure 2.2 Mobile Penetrations in Kenya from December 2011 to December, 2012 in (%)

2.4 Theoretical framework

This paper adopts the Network theory and the Mobilization theory to explain the role of social media in the 2013 Kenya presidential election campaigns.

2.4.1 Network Society theory

Network Society theory was posited by Manuel Castells. In this theory, Castells argues that social media is an effective tool for organization and mobilization due to the characteristics of social networks that facilitate political activism. This includes the anonymity provided by the internet, creation of weak ties and the unrestricted nature of online communication. The internet allows for creation of weak ties with strangers through open interactions where individuals social characteristics does not influence or hinder communication. Weak ties are useful in providing

information and opening up opportunities at a lower cost compared to other forms of communication such as face to face communication.

The strength of a tie is determined by the amount of time invested in the communication, emotional intensity, degree of intimacy and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie. Therefore, social media networks are founded on the weak ties that exist among acquaintances that either have mutual friends or share the same interests. The strength in weak ties lies in their ability to introduce us to new ideas and new information, and the Internet which facilitates fostering of these ties due its incredible speed and wide geographical reach.

Sociologist Mark Granovetter in his seminal 1973 study, *The Strength of Weak Ties*, analyzed the connection between individual or small group interactions (micro-level) and large population (macro-level) interactions in social networks. Granovetter concluded that the strength of weak ties lies in their ability to facilitate political organization, social mobility, diffusion and social cohesion in general across different networks. Weak ties are advantageous compared to strong ties due to their ability to diffuse information and ideas across social groups.

Granovetter illustrates the application of this theory using the example of how a rumour is spread. If a person shares a rumour with a friend he considers close (strong ties), then the friend passes the rumour to another close friend, there is a possibility of individuals hearing the rumour multiple times since it tends to revolve around friends with strong ties. This implies that the information stays or contained among one social group. When this is applied in political mobilization, the same rule applies. For example if president Obama during his 2008 election campaign only spoke to close friends or family members then he would not be able to mobilize volunteers, resources and voter support that was instrumental for running his campaign and the resultant election win.

By capitalizing on the weak ties that are forged online through social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, politicians have been able to interact with diverse groups and communities and mobilize the electorate to support their bids for elective posts. In conclusion, weak ties that are established online help politicians to campaign on their candidature, solicit support and resources through sharing their posts and messages thus information is not confined among ones supporters only.

2.4.2 The Mobilization Theory

Strandberg (2006) identifies that the mobilization theory provides a summary of several positive predictions regarding the internet's ability to shape the political activity of citizens. The theory argues that the internet has the ability to inform, organize and engage those who are currently marginalized from the existing political system so that these groups will gradually become drawn into public life and civic communities.

There are four arguments in support of this view: First, the internet provides an ample opportunity for political engagement. Second, citizens are able to learn about public matters easily and at a low cost over the internet. Third, the unlimited information accessible on the internet gives citizens opportunities to become more informed about public affairs, and thus more articulate in expressing their views, and more prone to become active concerning public matters. Fourth, the internet facilitates two-way communication which could help strengthen and enhance the links between citizens and intermediary organizations. In sum, the internet provides a unique opportunity for political participation besides the traditional channels for participation.

Lusoli & Ward (2004) posit that the mobilization theory credits the internet with the ability to inform, engage and activate citizens. They argue that the size of the political online audience has grown overtime due to the increased penetration of the internet and shift in user preferences in seeking out political information. Scholars have noted that the internet has increasingly become a source of political information especially among the youth who are normally less active politically. Researchers such as Gibson et al. (2005); Norris, (2003) argue that the findings from their study of the internet indicate that it is has provided an opportunity for political engagement for those who in other circumstances might not have been active.

On the other hand, scholars such as Johnson and Kaye (2003) argue that the internet has not changed the wider democratic process but has empowered individuals politically by increasing their level of political involvement, campaign interest, political interest and their likelihood of voting. These scholars exemplify their faith in the internet's ability to facilitate engagement of citizens.

However, there is a counterargument that questions the optimism expressed by the above mobilization proponents. Norris (2011) refers to this as the reinforcement theory. This theory argues that political activity online cannot activate or engage citizens for two reasons. First,

access to the internet requires technological resources which are unevenly distributed in different countries due to socioeconomic reasons. Second and most important, it has been argued that online politics only attracts citizens who have been active and engaged in offline politics. All these affect the use of the internet for political mobilization.

2.5 Study Gap

Previous studies on social media indicate there is a positive relationship between online presence and vote shares such as Gibson and McAllister's (2006) study of the 2006 Australian elections and William and Gulatti (2006) 2006 U.S. elections. However William and Gulatti (2006) suggest that there is need for future research to confirm these findings and demonstrate a causal connection between online strategies and votes.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and specific methodology that was adopted by this study in examining the role of social media in the 2013 Kenya presidential election campaign. It includes sampling procedure and sample size, target population, research location, research instruments, data collection procedure and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Research design refers to the method used to carry out a research. Cooper and Schindler (2003) defined research design as the scheme, outline or plan that is used to generate answers to research problems. The research design that was applied in this study is descriptive survey research. Descriptive survey research is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to sample individuals (Orodho, 2003). It can be used when collecting information about people's attitudes and opinions on social processes such as the presidential elections. Qualitative and quantitative methods of research were used in this study to collect both discrete and non discrete data (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003).

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. In primary sources, the researcher gathered information directly from the respondents by use of the questionnaire and interviews. Secondary sources involved collection of information from journals, papers and other available literature on social media and political campaigns.

3.2 Area of Study

The area of study was Nairobi County, specifically the University of Nairobi. This is because the study was targeting the urban youth who are most likely to be using social networking sites. According to Hernnson, et al. (2007), urban areas have greater internet use than rural areas, but the difference has declined substantially.

3.3 Population of the Study

A population is a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken from for measurement (Kombo and tromp, 2006). The population of this study was the urban youth who

are most likely to be found in universities. Therefore the researcher targeted university students who are enrolled in the undergraduate programs. According to socialbakers.com (2003), majority of social media users are individuals between the ages of 18-25 that are considered as the youth.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Procedure

A sample is a finite part of statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985 as cited in Kombo and Tromp, 2006:77). According to Mugenda (2003), a large sample size is required when the accessible population is highly heterogeneous on the variable under study. He further adds that if it were possible for the population to be wholly homogenous, then studying one case would be enough. Therefore, the sample size used in this study was considered adequate and representative since the population of university students is homogenous. The study used a sample of 216 university students who were obtained from the undergraduate student population. Two sampling techniques were used: purposive sampling and stratified sampling.

Purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study. Cases of subjects are therefore handpicked because they are informative or they possess the required characteristics (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Purposive sampling can be used as part of a multi-stage sampling procedure where it is applied to get the location or districts in which the units of observation have the required characteristics (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The researcher selected Nairobi County and specifically the University of Nairobi (UON) as the location of the study. This is because the target population of the study was the urban youth who are most likely to be found in the universities.

The goal of stratified sampling is to achieve desired representation from various subgroups in the population. In stratified sampling, subjects are selected in such a way that existing subgroups in the population are more or less reproduced in the sample. Given the population of university students are found under various departments/faculties, the researcher divided the sample into five subgroups based on this criterion. The subjects were then selected randomly under each subgroup/ stratum proportionately.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures and Instruments

Data Collection is gathering specific information aimed at proving or refuting some facts (Kombo and Tromp 2006:99). This study used qualitative and quantitative methods of research. Qualitative method enabled the researcher get-in-depth data that are in the form of words; non discrete data (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). In this case, the researcher used interviews and focus group discussions.

Quantitative method entails techniques and measures that produce discrete numerical data. In this case, the researcher used questionnaires. An examination of pages on SNS was done to obtain information on campaigns activities online and trends in the use of the platform. The researcher was issued with an introduction letter from the School of journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi to facilitate data collection from the field.

3.5.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a research instrument that gathers data over a large sample (Kombo and Tromp 2006:89). The questionnaire will have both closed and open-ended questions. Relevant questions on social media usage and its impact on the users were used to capture the opinions of students in the University of Nairobi.

3.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

An interview is an oral administration of a questionnaire (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The researcher interviewed a political campaign strategist to obtain information, views and opinion on the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion

A focus group discussion (FGD) is an in-depth field method that brings together a small homogeneous group to discuss topics on a study agenda. The researcher used groups of eight students and with the help of a moderator, stimulates discussions among them to reveal underlying opinions, attitudes and reasons of how and why they use social media for political purposes.

3.5.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected from the field were both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative data was grouped into different categories for analysis. The quantitative data was keyed into the computer for further analysis using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

3.5.5 Problems, constraints and limitation

The target population of the study was undergraduate university students who were estimated to be of the ages of 18-25. However, there were instances where some respondents were above this age bracket though they were still undergraduate students.

Given the disparity in internet penetration across the country, some students did not have access to the internet during the campaign period since they were on holiday and come from rural areas. Therefore, accessing social media at the time was a challenge for them.

The UON offers other program on different levels of education such as masters and Phd. Thus, the age bracket of the subjects target by the researcher made students who were enrolled in the above degree programs not eligible to participate in the study. This is because majority of them are above 25 years.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter undertook to measure and analyze data using various statistical tools for different constructs and variables in the study. The results from the study were summarized and discussed in this chapter. Data from questionnaires was organized, coded, analyzed and converted into quantitative summary reports for analysis using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) version 20.

Data was entered into the program under specific category from which analysis was run to obtain descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies and percentages. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Using content analysis technique, data was coded, put into theme categories and tallied in terms of the number of times it occurred. Qualitative and quantitative data were linked to enable confirmation and elaborate analysis of the variables.

4.1 Response rate

According to (Fowler, 2004), response rate in a research perspective refers to the extent to which the collected set of data includes all sample members of the targeted population. Response rate is calculated by the number of questionnaires collected or the number of people with whom interviews are completed divided by the number of the entire sample.

The researcher applied purposive sampling technique in selecting the Nairobi County and specifically the University of Nairobi as the location of the study. This is because the target population of the study was the urban youth. Majority of them are most likely to be studying in the universities.

Stratified sampling technique was used in selecting the respondents. Given the population of university students is found under various departments, the researcher divided the sample into five subgroups based on this criterion. The subjects were then selected randomly under each subgroup/ stratum proportionately. According to Mugenda (2003), a large sample size is required when the accessible population is highly heterogeneous on the variable under study. He further adds that if it were possible for the population to be wholly homogeneous, then studying one case

would be enough. Therefore, the sample size used in this study was considered adequate and representation since the population of university students is homogenous.

All of the sampled respondents accepted to participate and responded to the questions. A total of 216 questionnaires were distributed and 198 were returned. This represented 91.667% response rate. A response rate of above 50% is adequate for analysis (Babbie, 2002). Therefore, 91.667% response rate, was considered as being very good for analysis.

4.2 Background information of the respondents

The study sought to find out the profile backgrounds of the respondents in order to establish if the data was collected from the purposed target group. The findings are discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1 Gender Distribution

The study sought to establish the gender distribution of the respondents. From the responses, the majority (53.54%) were male while the females were 46.46% as shown in the Figure 4.1 below. This is consistent with statistics on socialbakers.com which indicates that the number of male users on social media in Kenya is more than that of female users (Socialbakers.com, 2013). The gender imbalance is not likely to affect the study as the nature of the research and questions asked were not gender sensitive and any unlikely error as a result of the gender imbalance may be tolerated. However, given that most of the responses in the research questions relied on opinions and perceptions, the gender distribution is expected to accommodate the perceptions and opinions of either gender.

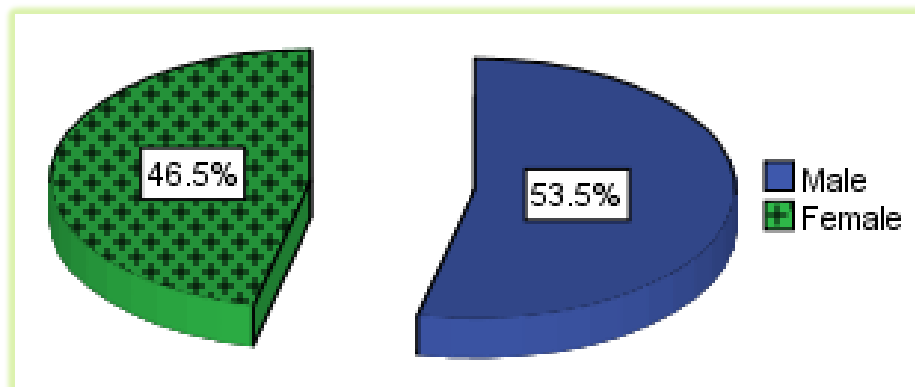


Figure 4.1 Distribution of respondents by gender

4.2.2 Age Distribution

The study sought to establish the ages of the respondents. From the findings majority of the respondents were between 18-25 years old while 18.519% were between 25-30 years old, as indicated in figure 4.2 below. These findings are consistent with statistics on socialbakers.com which note that the main users of social media are individuals between the ages of 18-25 (socialbakers.com, 2013).

These findings are consistent with a 1996 survey by Pew Research which showed that the population online was younger, more educated, most were male and wealthier than the average population. Panagopoulos (2009) further posits that approximately one in three young voters under the age of thirty-six rely on the Internet as their main source of political information.

The 18.5 % comprises of respondent between the ages of 25-30. This is to a larger extent attributed to the fact that there are students pursuing post-graduate degrees and diplomas which are offered at the University of Nairobi. According to socialbakers.com individuals between the ages of 22-34 constitute the second largest number of social media users after the youth (Socialbakers.com, 2013). The age imbalance is not likely to affect the study as the nature of the research and questions asked were not age sensitive and any unlikely error as a result may be tolerated.

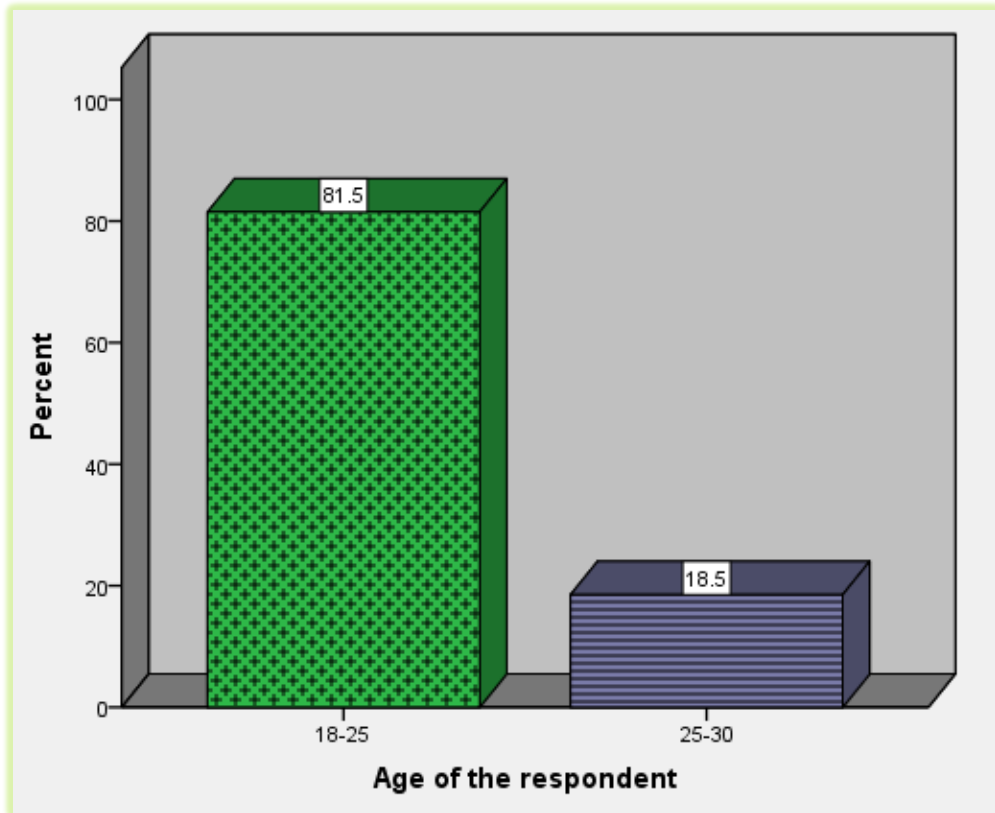


Figure 4.2 Distribution of respondents by age

4.3 RQ1: How was social media integrated into the 2013 presidential election campaign?

The research went out to find how social media was integrated into the 2013 presidential campaign, as was suggested by research question one of this study. This section discusses the results.

4.3.1 Presidential candidate followed on Facebook between January and March, 2013

The respondents were asked the presidential candidates they were following on Facebook between January and March, 2013. Table 4.1 shows the summary of the findings. Out of the total 198 respondents who filled the questionnaire, 192 responded to this particular question. Majority of the respondents 34.4% said they followed Raila Odinga. Uhuru Kenyatta was followed by 25%, Peter Kenneth was followed by 15.6%, Francis Ole Kiyapi was followed by 9.4% and Martha Karua was followed by 6.3%. The candidate with the least number of followers was Musalia Mudavadi with a 3.1%.

Presidential Candidate	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Martha Karua	12	6.3	6.3
Peter Kenneth	30	15.6	21.9
Raila Odinga	66	34.4	56.3
Uhuru Kenyatta	48	25.0	81.3
Francis Ole Kiyapi	18	9.4	90.6
Musalia Mudavadi	6	3.1	93.8
Abduba Dida	12	6.3	100.0
Total	192	100.0	

Table 4.1 Presidential candidate followed on Facebook between January and March, 2013

4.3.2 Presidential candidate followed on Twitter between January and March, 2013

The respondents were asked the presidential candidate they were following on Twitter between January and March, 2013. Figure 4.3, shows the summary of the findings. Uhuru registered the highest number of followers on Twitter with 28% while Aduba Dida had the least number of followers with 4%. Peter Kenneth and Martha shared an equal number of followers with both having 24% while Raila Odinga followed closely with 20%.

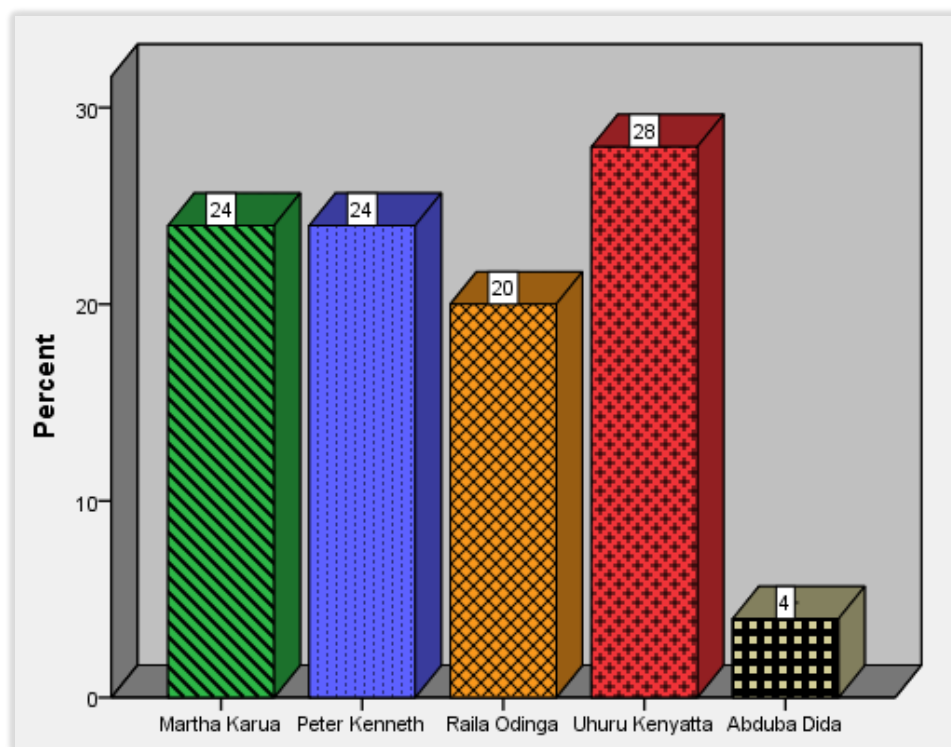


Figure 4.3 Presidential candidate followed on Twitter between January and March, 2013

The findings in sections above (4.4.1 and 4.4.2), somehow deviated from what was on the ground as Narc Kenya presidential candidate Martha Karua had the largest following on Twitter (@MarthaKarua) with 63,000 followers on Twitter whereas Eagle Alliance candidate Peter Kenneth had the most following on Facebook with 165,000 likes on his page. The election winner Jubilee Alliance candidate, President Uhuru Kenyatta had 21,400 followers on Twitter with The Guardian naming him among the top ten most active African politicians on social media. The deviation in these findings could be attributed to the fact that most of the respondents happened to be either Jubilee or ODM followers on both social media.

Furthermore, in an article in the Daily Nation newspaper dated 21/1/2013, Social media consultant Nanjira Sambuli notes that although social media provides a significant reach of the Kenyan electorate online, it has not penetrated enough to replace the traditional methods of communication. In addition, focus group discussion revealed that, majority of the respondents disagreed with the notion that the amount of followers for a political candidate on social media translated to number of votes, since they followed several presidential candidates just to stay in the know on what they were up to in the world of politics.

Margolis et al. (1997) argues that despite the fact that the internet has lowered informational costs, established parties will transfer their offline advantage to the web thus making it difficult for lesser know parties to build new constituents.

4.3.3 Frequency of coming across the listed items when the respondents went online on social media

The respondents were asked how frequent they came across listed campaign items on social media every time they went online. Table 4.2 below shows a summary the findings.

	Never		Only sometimes		Most of the time		Almost always		Always		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
A poster of a political candidate	0	0	24	13.3	36	20	36	20	84	46.7	100.0
A shared link to a political video on YouTube	12	8	42	28	36	24	36	24	24	16	100.0
A shared link to a political website	6	4.3	54	39.1	36	26.1	6	4.3	36	26.1	100.0
Received an invite to attend a political rally/event	66	33.3	30	20	30	20	12	8	12	8	100.0
Solicitation of financial support	102	70.8	24	16.7	12	8.3	6	4.2	0	0	100.0
Recruitment of volunteers on social media	84	58.3	18	12.5	18	12.5	6	4.2	18	12.5	100.0
A political campaign video	30	21.7	42	30.4	18	13	24	17.4	24	17.4	100.0
A press release made by a political party	24	16	48	32	30	20	12	8	36	24	100.0
A political party manifesto	36	26.1	36	26.1	24	17.4	12	8.7	30	21.7	100.0
A political group(s)	24	16	24	16	24	16	30	20	48	32	100.0

Table 4.2 Frequency of coming across listed items when the respondents went online on social media

Data in table 4.2 shows that majority (46%) of the respondents always came across a poster of a political candidate while 32% of the respondents always came across a political group on social media. A screen caption of Uhuru Kenyatta's Facebook page shows one of the posters he used during the campaign period and that he had requested his fans to make it their wall cover, as indicated in the appendix I section. 28% said that only sometime they saw a shared link to a political video on YouTube. A screen caption of Martha Karua's Facebook page showed that on March 1, 2013, she had shared a link to an interview she had with a local TV station, as is indicated in appendix I. Another caption of her Twitter page showed she ran a *#get4tovoteformarthaonmarch4* and *#simamanamama* campaign.

A screen caption of Uhuru Kenyatta Facebook page and Twitter showed shared links to YouTube. For instance, on March 2, 2013, he shared a link to youtube.com and soundcloud.com as is indicated in his Twitter account in the appendix I section. Still on his Facebook page, there is a shared link to his website (www.uhuru.co.ke) that was shared on January 4, 2013 to inform his followers that his website was up, as is shown in the appendix I section.

39.1% said that only sometime they shared link to a political website, 33.3% said they have never received an invite to attend a political rally/event, 70.8% said they never got any solicitation of financial support, 58.3% said that never was there any recruitment of volunteers on social media, 30.4% said that only sometimes there was a political campaign video, 32% said that there was a press release made by a political party but only sometime, 26.1% said there was never a political party manifesto on social media and another 26.1% said it was but only sometimes. 32% said always there were political groups on social media. An interview with Kenya National Congress (KNC) social media strategist, Peter Ngugi, revealed that they indeed campaigned on social media. He was the admin of presidential candidate Peter Kenneth's page. He noted that they used social media to share information, photos, videos, links and counter propaganda.

A study by Hill and Hughes (1997) on on-line USENET groups where they analyzed 1000 messages from a sample 22 political USENET group revealed that they function just like other political groups where individuals debate, share information, recruit volunteers and reinforce their social structures. The interview with KNC strategist consistent with the findings in the above study as he noted that they used social media to recruit volunteers, share links, video and

photos, update followers on their campaign schedule and activity, share images, fundraising and get opinions from the supporters and counter propaganda from their competitors. Generally, the findings of the study were consistent with those of Wagner and Gainous (2009) study of the 2006 US Congressional election where they observed that candidates are evolving from simply supplementing traditional media outlets to engaging the Internet as part of a detailed campaign strategy to win office.

4.3.4 Discussion

Presidential candidates had personal accounts on Facebook and Twitter. This is confirmed by the number of respondents in Figure 4.3 and Table 4.1 who confirm to have been following the aforementioned presidential candidates on social networking sites during the campaign period. A closer look at the activities on their Facebook and Twitter accounts between January and March, 2013 showed that they campaigned on social media, using the platform to share political news and information. An interview with social media strategist for Kenya National Congress, Peter Ngugi revealed that they used Facebook, Twitter, and Google+ to campaign for presidential candidate Peter Kenneth. This includes sharing information on campaign activities, debate on issues, sharing photos, videos and links, updating of their followers, soliciting for funds, countering propaganda and updating their followers.

This is also supported by the findings in Table 4.2 which indicate that majority of the respondent came across political content at one when they were online. The table further shows that 70.8% of the respondents never came across any solicitation of funds on social media, 58.3% of the respondents said they never came across recruitment of volunteers on and 33.3% of the respondent said they never received an invite to attend a political rally/event on social media. These findings show that although politicians are integrating social media into their campaign they are yet to exploit its full potential.

4.4 RQ2: How was social media utilized for political purposes by its users?

The study sought to find out how social media was utilized for political purposes by its users. Section 4.4.1 below discusses general social media uses while section 4.5.5.1 further narrows down to how social media was being used for political purposes.

4.4.1 General social media usage pattern

This section discusses the findings on the general patterns of social media usage by the respondents.

4.4.2 Social networking sites of the respondents

The respondents were asked which social networking sites they were on. Figure 4.4 shows a summary of the findings. The findings in figure 4.4 shows that majority of the respondents-36% were Facebook while 15% of the respondents were on Twitter. 12% of the respondents said they were on Google+, 36.4% of the respondents were on Facebook, 24.2% had accounts on all the listed social networks, 15.2% were on Twitter, 12.1% were on Google+ and another 12.1% were on YouTube.

These findings indicate that the respondents had social media presence on either of the platforms. These findings are reinforced by statistics from socialbakers.com which indicated that the number of Facebook users in Kenya is about 2,007,960 with the majority of users lying between the ages of 18-24. The significance of this is the proof that millions of Kenyans are getting online. By CCK's stats, more than 10 million Kenyans access the internet, majority of these through their mobile phones.

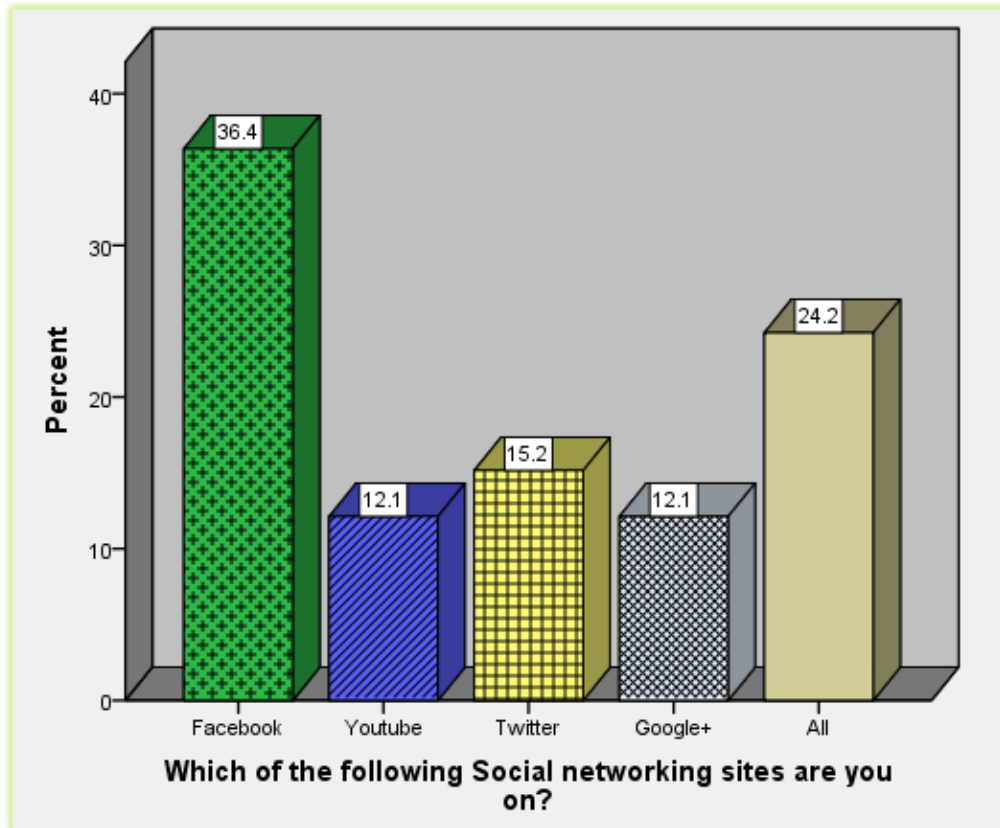


Figure 4.4 Social networking sites of the respondents

4.4.3 Cross-tabulation of Gender of the respondent against Social networking sites the respondents were on

Table 4.3 below shows the findings of the cross-tabulation between gender and social networking sites the respondents were on. 44.4% of the respondents on Facebook were male while (55.6%) of the respondents on Facebook were female. The female respondents represented majority of the sample which translated to 72 of 198 who were on Facebook. A majority of 58.3% of the male respondents were on YouTube while 41.7% of the female respondents were on YouTube. On Twitter, 60% of the male respondents had accounts there while 40% of the female respondents had accounts with Twitter. 50% of the male respondents said they had accounts in all social networks and another 50% of the female respondents had accounts on all social networks. Overall analysis showed that 53.5% of the male genders were on any one or all of the social networks while 46.5% of the female gender were on any one or all of the social networks.

		Which of the following Social networking sites are you on?					Total
		Facebook	YouTube	Twitter	Google+	All	
Gender of the respondent	Count	32	14	18	18	24	106
	% within						
	Which of the following Social networking sites are you on?	44.4%	58.3%	60.0%	75.0%	50.0%	53.5%
	Count	40	10	12	6	24	92
	% within						
	Which of the following Social networking sites are you on?	55.6%	41.7%	40.0%	25.0%	50.0%	46.5%
	Count	72	24	30	24	48	198
	% within						
Total	Which of the following Social networking sites are you on?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.3 Cross-tabulation of Gender of the respondent against Social networking sites they were on

The chi-square table 4.4 below shows that the relationship between gender of the respondents and the frequency of Facebook usage is statistically significant since p-value (0.025) is less than 0.05 threshold. Therefore, the Frequency of using Facebook is significantly likely to be influenced by the gender of the respondent.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.305 ^a	3	.025
Likelihood Ratio	11.600	3	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.713	1	.005
No. of Valid Cases	186		

Table 4.4 chi-square table on the gender of the respondents against social networking sites they were on

4.4.4 How often the respondents used social media

The respondents were asked how often they used social networking sites. Table 4.5 below shows the summary of the findings on different social networking sites. Facebook was the most visited with 74.2% saying they visited it on daily basis. Twitter was the second most visited social networking site with a daily visit of 55.6%, Google+ followed with a daily visit of 52.4% and YouTube with a daily visit of 38.1%. This again confirms the findings in section 4.4.1 above.

	Daily		Thrice a week		Twice a week		Once a week		Fortnightly		Once a month		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Facebook	138	74.2	30	16.1	12	6.5	0	0	6	3.2	0	0	100.0
Twitter	90	55.6	54	33.3	6	3.7	6	3.7	6	3.7	6	3.7	100.0
YouTube	48	38.1	48	38.1	30	23.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Google+	66	52.4	6	4.8	18	14.3	18	14.3	12	9.5	6	4.8	100.0

Table 4.5 How often the respondents used social media

4.4.5 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Facebook

A cross-tabulation was done on the gender of the respondent against how frequent they went on Facebook. The findings are summarized in tables 4.6 and 4.7 below. 58% of the male respondents said they used Facebook on daily basis while 42% of the female respondents said they used it daily. The overall average percentages indicated that male respondents had more online presence on Facebook with 53.2% while females had 46.8% web presence on Facebook platform.

		How often do you use Facebook?				Total
		Daily	Thrice a week	Twice a week	Fortnightly(Every 2 weeks)	
Gender of the respondent	Count	80	13	6	0	99
	% within					
	Male How often do you use Facebook?	58.0%	43.3%	50.0%	0.0%	53.2%
	Count	58	17	6	6	87
Female	% within					
	How often do you use Facebook?	42.0%	56.7%	50.0%	100.0%	46.8%
Total	Count	138	30	12	6	186
	% within					
	How often do you use Facebook?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.6 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Facebook

The chi-square table below shows that the relationship between gender of the respondents and the frequency of Facebook usage is statistically significant since p-value (0.025) is less than 0.05 threshold, on 3 degrees of freedom. Therefore, the Frequency of using Facebook is significantly likely to be influenced by the gender of the respondent.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.305 ^a	3	.025
Likelihood Ratio	11.600	3	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.713	1	.005
N of Valid Cases	186		

Table 4.7 Chi-Square test of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Facebook

4.4.6 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Twitter

A cross-tabulation was done on the gender of the respondent against how frequent they went on Twitter. The findings are summarized in tables 4.8 and 4.9 below. 68.9% of the male respondents said they used Twitter on daily basis while 31.1% of the female respondents said they used it daily. The overall average percentages indicated that male respondents had more online presence on twitter with 53.1% while females had 46.8% web presence on Facebook platform.

		How often do you use Twitter?					Total
		Daily	Thrice a week	Twice a week	Once a week	Once a month	
Gender of the respondent	Count	62	24	0	0	0	86
	% within						
	Male How often do you use Twitter?	68.9%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	53.1%
	Count	28	30	6	6	6	76
Female	% within						
	How often do you use Twitter?	31.1%	55.6%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	46.9%
Total	Count	90	54	6	6	6	162
	% within						
	How often do you use Twitter?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.8 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Twitter

The chi-square table below shows that the relationship between gender of the respondents and the frequency of Twitter usage is statistically significant since p-value (0.000) is less than 0.05 threshold, on 4 degrees of freedom. Therefore, the Frequency of using Twitter is significantly likely to be influenced by the gender of the respondent.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	31.012 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	38.173	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	26.374	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	162		

Table 4.9 Chi-Square test of the gender of the respondents against how frequent they went on Twitter

4.4.7 Time in hours spent on social networking sites

The respondents were asked amount of time they spent each day on social networking sites. Table 4.10 below shows the summary of the findings on different social networking sites. Majority of the respondents spent more time on Facebook with 34.4% spending more than 4 hours in a day.

	0 – 1 hours		1 – 2 hours		2 – 3 hours		3 – 4 hours		More than 4 hours		Never		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Facebook	60	31.3	24	12.5	24	12.5	18	9.4	66	34.4	0	0	100.0
Twitter	90	55.6	54	33.3	6	3.7	6	3.7	6	3.7	6	3.7	100.0
YouTube	48	38.1	48	38.1	30	23.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Google+	66	52.4	6	4.8	18	14.3	18	14.3	12	9.5	6	4.8	100.0

Table 4.10 Hours spent on social media by the respondents

4.4.8 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against the hours they spent on Twitter

Table 4.11 below shows the findings of the cross-tabulation between gender and hours spent on Twitter on an everyday basis by the respondents. 20.9% of the males spent 0-1 hours while a majority-60% of the Female respondents was spent the same number of hours. This represented the second largest majority of the population where 30 of 198 were on Twitter. A minority of 7% of the male respondents were spent 1-2 hours in a day on Twitter while 17.1% of the female respondents were spent the same. 27.9% of the male respondents spent 2-3 hours there while none of the female respondents spent same number of hours. 20.9% of the male respondents said they spent 3-4 hours a day on Twitter and none of the female respondents spent that time on

Twitter. 23.3% of the male genders spent more than 4 hours while 22.9% of the female genders spent more than 4 hours on Twitter.

			Gender of the respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
How many hours do you spend online on Twitter in typical day?	0-1 hours	Count	18	42	60
		% within Gender of the respondent	20.9%	60.0%	38.5%
	1-2 hours	Count	6	12	18
		% within Gender of the respondent	7.0%	17.1%	11.5%
	2-3 hours	Count	24	0	24
		% within Gender of the respondent	27.9%	0.0%	15.4%
	3-4 hours	Count	18	0	18
		% within Gender of the respondent	20.9%	0.0%	11.5%
	More than 4 hours	Count	20	16	36
		% within Gender of the respondent	23.3%	22.9%	23.1%
	Total	Count	86	70	156
		% within Gender of the respondent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.11 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against the hours they spent on Twitter

The chi-square table 4.12 below shows that the relationship between gender of the respondents and the hours spent in a day on Twitter is statistically significant since p-value (0.000) is less than 0.05 thresholds. Therefore, the hours spent on Twitter are significantly likely to be influenced by the gender of the respondent.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52.961 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	11.600	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.713	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	156		

Table 4.12 Chi-Square test of the gender of the respondents against the hours spent on Twitter

4.4.9 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against the hours they spent on Facebook

Table 4.13 below shows the findings of the cross-tabulation between gender and hours spent on Facebook on every day basis by the respondents. 25.0% of the males spent 0-1 hours while a majority 38% of the Female respondents was spent the same number of hours. This represented largest majority of the population where 72 of 198 were on Facebook. A minority of 7.0% of the male respondents were spent 1-2 hours in a day on Facebook while 18.5% of the female respondents were spent the same. 12.0% of the male respondents spent 2-3 hours there while 13.0% of the female respondents spent same number of hours. 13.0% of the male respondents said they spent 3-4 hours a day on Facebook and 5.4% of the female respondents spent that time on Twitter. 43.0% of the male genders spent more than 4 hours while 25.0% of the female genders spent more than 4 hours on Twitter.

			Gender of the respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
How many hours do you spend online on Facebook in typical day?	0-1 hours	Count	25	35	60
		% within Gender of the respondent	25.0%	38.0%	31.2%
	1-2 hours	Count	7	17	24
		% within Gender of the respondent	7.0%	18.5%	12.5%
	2-3 hours	Count	12	12	24
		% within Gender of the respondent	12.0%	13.0%	12.5%
	3-4 hours	Count	13	5	18
		% within Gender of the respondent	13.0%	5.4%	9.4%
	More than 4 hours	Count	43	23	66
		% within Gender of the respondent	43.0%	25.0%	34.4%
	Total	Count	100	92	192
		% within Gender of the respondent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.13 Cross-tabulation of the gender of the respondents against the hours they spent on Facebook

The chi-square table 4.14 below shows that the relationship between gender of the respondents and the hours spent in a day on Facebook is statistically significant since p-value (0.004) is less than 0.05 thresholds. Therefore, the hours spent on Facebook are significantly likely to be influenced by the gender of the respondent.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.142 ^a	4	.004
Likelihood Ratio	15.477	4	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.037	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	192		

Table 4.14 Chi-Square test of the gender of the respondents against the hours spent on Facebook

4.4.10 How the respondents used social networking sites

The study sought to establish what the respondents did when they visited social networks or the purpose they had for visiting social networking sites. Table 4.15 below shows the summary of the findings. 18.2% said they visited social networking sites to seek information, 15.2% said they were communicating with friends, 9.1% said to post information, 33.3% said to keep up with trending topics, as is indicated by the responses from the focus group discussion, which noted that, information updates on social media was spontaneous, therefore, they were able to stay up to date on the news regarding election campaigns and more so the candidate that they supported. 9.1% said to engage people in discussions, 6.1% said to seek new friends, 6.1% said networking and 3.0% said Job seeking.

An analysis on the focus group discussion indicated that young people used the social networking sites to enlighten themselves on trending issues. Also, they got to learn more about their preferential candidate which wouldn't have been possible on other platforms for communication. Moreover, there was voter education on how to tick the ballot paper which helped them ensure that they do not spoil their votes come the voting day. Others said they used social networks to access to party manifestos through shared download links on political pages on social media.

Respondents Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Seek information and keep up with trending topics	102	51.5	51.5
Communicate with friends and networking	72	36.5	88.0
Post information	18	9.0	97.0
Job seeking	6	3.0	100.0
Total	198	100.0	

Table 4.15 How the respondents used social networking sites

4.4.11 Patterns of social media usage and politics

This section below discusses the findings on the political patterns of social media usage by the respondents.

4.4.11.1 What the respondents engaged in on social networking sites between January and March, 2013

The respondents were asked what they did between January and March 2013. Table 4.16 below shows their responses. 15.6% of the respondents said they posted political photos on social networking sites, 15.6% said they posted a political status on social networking sites, 18.8% said they commented on a political post or status updates, 6.3% said they shared political videos, photos or status updates, 18.8% said they followed updates from political pages on social networking sites, 3.1% said they participated in an opinion polling while online, 12.5% liked/re-tweeted a political post on Facebook and Twitter, 3.1% said they tagged a friend on a political post on Facebook and Twitter and 6.3% said they sought political information on social networking sites.

A study by Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) on the social media habits of young people (adults under the age of 30), a demographic targeted by Obama in the 2008 campaign found that young people tend to get political information from social media more than any other age group. The findings above are further confirmed by Gullatti and Williams (2010), who posited that education, income, ethnicity, age and urbanization are all potential influences on a candidate's Internet use. Approximately one in three young voters under the age of thirty-six rely on the Internet as their main source of political information (Panagopoulos, 2009)

Respondent opinions	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Post political photos on social networking sites	30	15.6	15.6
Post a political status on social networking sites	30	15.6	31.3
Comment on a political post or status updates	36	18.8	50.0
Share political videos, photos or status updates	12	6.3	56.3
Follow updates from political pages on social networking sites	36	18.8	75.0
Participate in an opinion polling while online	6	3.1	78.1
Liked/Retweeted a political post on Facebook and Twitter	24	12.5	90.6
Tag a friend on a political post on Facebook and Twitter	6	3.1	93.8
Seek political information on social networking sites	12	6.3	100.0
Total	192	100.0	

Table 4.16 What the respondents did between January and March, 2013 on social networking sites

4.4.11.2 Number of days per week the respondents utilized the listed media as a source of information about political candidates

The respondents were asked the number of days they utilized a social media to get information about presidential candidates. Table 4.17 shows the summary of the findings. About Facebook, 27.6% said they utilized it 7 days in a week. For Twitter 34.6% said they utilized it 7 days in a week. For Newspapers, 32% said they utilized it 7 days in week. This confirms the findings of Bimber and Davis (2003) who found that Internet users are not attempting to bypass traditional media (Radio, TV & Newspapers). Rather than using the Internet to displace information, people are supplementing their current positions with information gathering (Bimber and Davis, 2003).

Scholars argue that the internet may not only be reinforcing political behavior but also media behavior. For instance the decline use of local and national television and newspaper can be attributed to the growth of the internet, research shows that internet users and non users still rely on the traditional media for news (Stempel, Hargrove and Bernt, 2000). Stempel et al. (2000) further notes that internet users are heavy newspaper readers thus they can be described as information seekers. Therefore, the internet serves as a reinforcement agent for information seekers and this would result into widening of the divide between the information rich and information poor.

For Magazines 33.3% said they utilized it 7 days in a week. For Television, 65.4% said they utilized it 7 days in a week. Tedesco (1999) notes that media skeptics consider the unmediated aspect of the internet as disadvantageous to the citizens since they heavily rely on the media to contextualize and interpret information for them. Majority of the Americans reported that television news is their main source of information which bring into question if they are able to make informed choices on voting decisions based on television news. For radio, 68.2% said they utilized it 7 days in a week. About Online newspapers, 28.6% said they utilized it 7 days a week and about E-mail updates 44.4% said they utilized 7 days a week.

KNC's Social Media Strategist, Peter Ngugi in an interview said that during campaigns, specifically the just concluded general election, the traditional media in some cases distorted information and social media updates from the campaign team would help to set the record straight. In addition, he acknowledged that traditional media still dominates in terms of the number of people it reaches *“What we saw was a start of new way of campaigning, the growth of using social media is inevitable and soon I can say it will reach more people but at the moment no”*

	0		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Facebook	12	6.9	30	17.2	18	10.3	6	3.4	42	24.1	12	6.9	6	3.4	48	27.6	100.0
Twitter	18	11.5	18	11.5	30	19.2	12	7.7	12	7.7	6	3.8	6	3.8	54	34.6	100.0
Newspapers	0	0	18	12	6	4	24	16	30	20	24	16	0	0	48	32	100.0
Magazines	24	22.2	6	5.6	12	11.1	18	16.7	6	5.6	6	5.6	0	0	36	33.3	100.0
Television	6	3.8	0	0	12	7.7	0	0	12	7.7	6	3.8	18	11.5	102	65.4	100.0
Radio	12	9.1	0	0	0	0	12	9.1	12	9.1	6	4.5	0	0	90	68.2	100.0
Online newspapers	18	14.3	30	23.8	12	9.5	6	4.8	6	4.8	6	4.8	12	9.5	36	28.6	100.0
E-mail updates	36	33.3	0	0	0	0	12	11.1	12	11.1	0	0	0	0	48	44.4	100.0

Table 4.17 Number of days per week the respondents utilized the listed media as a source of information about political candidates

4.4.11.3 Discussion

Majority of the respondents were on Facebook with Twitter having the second largest number of users as indicated in figure 4.4. This shows that these two SNS are most popular among the urban youth. A gender analysis on the respondent's use of SNS revealed that Facebook had more female users. However, male users appear to often use and spend more time on SNS than the female users. These findings therefore reveal that gender influences the use of SNS. The respondents used SNS to seek information, communicate with friends, search for jobs, and to network. However, the intensity of doing this varied as seeking information and keeping up with trending topics registered the highest number of users.

In terms of political usage of SNS by the respondents between January and March, 2013, the respondents acknowledged that they posted political photos, updates, links, and videos. They also retweeted/ liked, commented on political posts, seek political information, tag a friend on Facebook and Twitter. This shows that the respondents were actively involved in politics when they were on SNS. This indicates that although users engage in political activities when they are offline, they carry on with the same only that this time they are online. Kushin and Yamamoto, 2010 notes that social media allow users to not only seek information but also interact with others through online expression such as posting political commentaries on blogs and social network sites and sharing multimedia commentary.

Television and Radio were the most popular source of political information on the presidential campaigns for the respondents. This was followed by social networking sites, specifically Facebook and Twitter. These findings show that although more people are getting online for political news and information, they heavily rely on traditional media for the same news. Research shows that internet users and non users still rely on the traditional media for news (Stempel, Hargrove and Bernt, 2000). Focus group discussions revealed that respondents would log into social networking sites just see the reactions of presidential candidates on issues touching on them that had run on broadcast media. Tedesco (1999) observed that people heavily rely on the media to contextualize and interpret for them information.

4.5 RQ3: What was the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process?

On the research question above, section 4.5 below discusses the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process and the university students as social media users.

4.5.1 Presidential candidate's profiles or pages on social networks and if they were helpful in learning more about them

The study sought to find out if the presidential candidates' profiles or pages on social media were helpful in learning more about them. The responses from the respondents were summarized and recorded in figure 4.5. Majority of the respondents, 72.7%, said yes the profiles or pages helped them in learning more about the presidential candidates. 21.2% said no the profiles or pages were not helpful to them in terms of knowing the candidates more and 6.1% said they were not sure if the profiles or pages were helpful to their adding of knowledge about the presidential candidates.

A screen caption of the Twitter accounts of Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth showed that there were conversation between them and their followers, as is indicated in the appendix section. This reinforces the findings in the focused group that showed, the respondents unanimously agreed that social media facilitated upward communication between the electorate and their leaders. This is because they can now send messages directly to their leader by simply making a post on their wall and even engage them in discussions on matters of public interest. KNC Social Media Strategist Peter Ngugi in an interview noted that Social media also created something close to personal relationship to the candidate because someone can ask a question and the candidate

would take some minutes to reply. He further adds that since their campaign was issue based, they would make updates which would provoke debate.

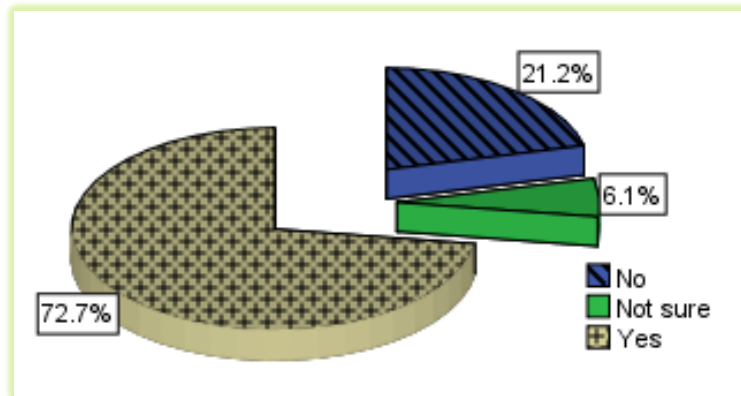


Figure 4.5 Presidential candidate's profiles or pages on social networks and if they were helpful in learning more about them

4.5.2 Information posted on social networking sites that was related to the presidential election, between January and March, 2013

The research sought to find out how much information related to the presidential election, was posted on social networks between January and March 2013. Figure 4.6 shows the findings of the study. 42.4% of the respondents said that most of the information was related to the presidential election and 24.2% said almost all of it was related to the presidential election. 30.3% said that some of the information was related to the presidential election and only 3.0% said that none of the information was related to the presidential election. However, KNC's Social Media Strategist Peter Ngugi observed that the shortcoming of social media was having to deal with all "negative" for past or current for example if a politician abuses a traffic rule, a second later the issue is on Twitter that way you might find the IT team dealing with "petty" things while they are supposed to be focused on the campaign.

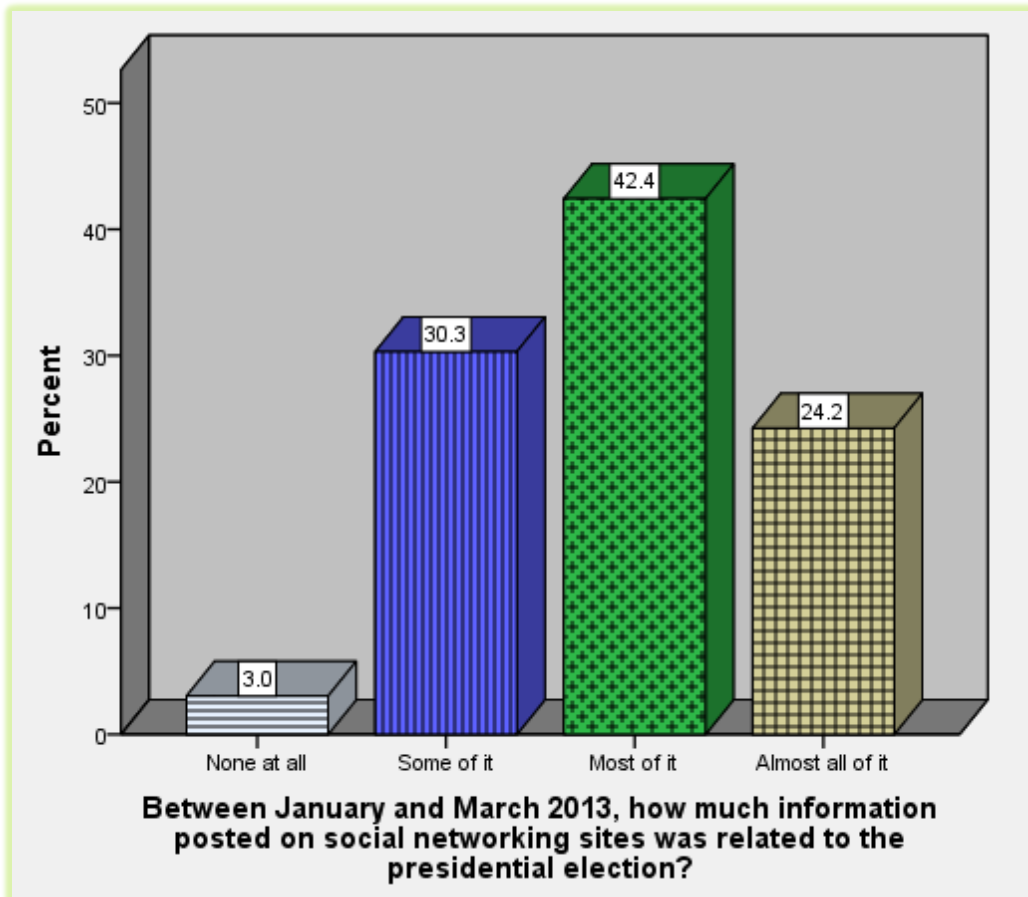


Figure 4.6 Information posted on social networking sites that was related to the presidential election, between January and March, 2013

4.5.3 Impact of social media on the respondents in relation to politics

The respondents were asked to state yes or no on statements expressing the impact that social media had on them in relation to politics. Table 4.8 summarizes the findings. On the question whether ‘political information was sufficient enough to enable me make an informed vote choice’, 50% of the respondents said yes while 42.3% said no. 52.3% said yes they developed interest in politics as a result of the social media while 36% said no and 12% said they were not sure. These findings are consistent with the study by Chen 2009; Kushin & Kitchener 2009, who said that young people developed interest in politics after coming across such discussions on social software which is a communication platform.

On the question whether ‘I became reliant on social media for election updates’, 50% of the respondents said yes, 36.4% said no and 13.6% said they were not sure. These findings are consistent with those of Utz (2009) of the 2006 Dutch elections who in a different study, found

that that SNS provided an opportunity to reach individuals that are less interested in politics. 65.2% said No on the question whether ‘they did not withdraw their support for a candidate after reading something on social media’. Therefore viewing a candidate’s profile further strengthens existing attitudes. Best (2005) notes that, even though the Internet alters the resources necessary for political activity, the individuals who are participating online are similar to those participating offline. This sequence further encourages an ever-evolving circle where Internet participation is reinforcing rather than supplementing. Therefore, the Internet is not capturing new, potential voters, but instead encouraging and supporting the beliefs already in place.

The focused group discussions indicated that majority of the respondents in the group agreed that political information on social media was to a larger extent instrumental in reinforcing their beliefs and support for a candidate of their choice. However, some of them observed that there were instances where they were persuaded to support another candidate, findings supported by the questionnaire analysis where 21.7% said yes they withdrew their support after reading something on social media. 65.4% said yes they were more knowledgeable in politics as a result of the social media. 19.2% said they were not and 15.4% said they were not sure.

	Yes		No		Not sure		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Political information was sufficient enough to enable me make an informed vote choice	78	50	66	42.3	12	7.7	100.0
I developed interest in politics	78	52.4	54	36	18	12	100.0
I became reliant on social media for election updates	66	50	48	36.4	18	13.6	100.0
I withdrew my support for a candidate after reading something on social media	30	21.7	90	65.2	18	13	100.0
I am more knowledgeable in politics	102	65.4	30	19.2	24	15.4	100.0

Table 4.18 Impact of social media on the respondents in relation to politics

4.5.4 Impact of social media on the respondents in relation to politics

The study sought to find out the extent to which the respondents would agree or disagree with statements on social media and politics. 66.7% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that there was a lot of propaganda spread on social media. This was confirmed by the focused group findings, where majority of the respondents agreed that some political pages provided accurate political information about the election campaigns. However, there are those political pages on social media that used the platform to spread propaganda about rival political candidates and parties.

10.3% of the respondents were neutral and only 13.8% strongly disagreed. This confirms the findings of a study by Dye and Ziegler (1983) which showed that political leaders use persuasion and propaganda as their most important tools in their profession. He further observed that presidential candidates can create their own campaign organizations, separate from that of their party, which deploy persuasion and propaganda techniques.

On whether hate speech was perpetuated on social media, 66.7% either agreed or strongly agreed while 13.3% strongly disagreed. 52% agreed or strongly agreed that political updates were instantaneous. 64.1% either agreed or strongly agreed that they were exposed to political information without seeking for it, findings confirmed by the focused group, whereby some of the respondents noted that they developed interest in politics after coming across political information on social media without soliciting for it. 37.5% either agreed or strongly agreed that they were misinformed by a political post on social networking sites.

	Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly agree		Total %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
There was a lot of propaganda spread on social media	24	13.8	0	0	18	10.3	72	36.4	60	30.3	100.0
Hate speech was perpetuated on social media	24	13.3	0	0	36	20	84	46.7	36	20	100.0
Political updates were instantaneous	12	8	6	4	54	36	66	44	12	8	100.0
I was exposed to political information without seeking for it	12	7.7	0	0	30	19.2	90	57.7	24	15.4	100.0
I was misinformed by a political post on social networking sites	6	4.2	36	25	48	33.3	48	33.3	6	4.2	100.0

Table 4.19 Impact of social media on the respondents in relation to politics

4.5.5 Discussion

Social media had an impact on the presidential campaign process and the SNS users. The findings in this section show that the respondent developed interest in politics while other became even more knowledgeable. A significant number of the total respondents (66) said they became heavily reliant on social media for election update. The respondents were also able to learn more about their preferred presidential candidate which was helpful for them to make an informed vote choice.

Majority of the respondents said no, they did not withdraw their support for a candidate after reading something about them on social media. Reinforcement theories argue that internet usage will not transform but strengthen the existing patterns of social inequality and political participation (Norris, 2000). Therefore, the political information that the respondents came across on social media to a larger extent reinforced their belief on their candidate choice. Scholars are optimistic that the internet will empower online communities of likeminded

individuals, create a more informed electorate (Sullivan 2000) and reunite those who had been alienated politically (Keane, 1995).

The respondents also observed that a lot of hate speech messages were being perpetuated on SNS. This was evidence from the messages posted on these sites which showed that political supporter became divided on the lines of their ethnicity. People expressed their support for a political candidate only because they come from the same tribe/community and not for the policies that one sold to the electorate. Social media campaign strategist also had to counter propaganda about their candidates that was being peddled on SNS by their competitors. Given that updates on SNS are instantaneous, campaign strategists had a lot of trouble controlling the damage on the image of their candidates in the event news came about on something bad they did. Since information on SNS spreads in a viral manner, it was important for them to be prepared to conduct damage control in case of any eventualities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of key findings from which conclusions were drawn and recommendations made. This was a synopsis of what has been tackled in previous chapters in summary. It also highlights the conclusions made on the findings of the study as well as the recommendations that can be employed by the stakeholders in the future election campaigns to help them win the elections by reaching the masses through social media.

5.1 Summary of the study

The study sought to find out the role of social media in the 2013 Kenya presidential election campaigns. Study objectives were (i) To investigate the integration of social media into the 2013 presidential campaigns, (ii) To explore how social media users utilize SNS for political purposes, and (iii) To explore the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process.

The instruments used in collection of data included questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussions. Quantitative data collected, was then coded and keyed in the statistical package for social science (SPSS). The results were then carefully analyzed and well presented to represent the actual situation on the ground. Qualitative data was closely analyzed qualitatively and important information extracted from what the interviewees said and also what was observed from the focus group discussions. The data was then presented making relevant citations in comparison with the studies that had been done earlier and that related to the topic of study. Summary and conclusions were derived from the findings of the study.

5.2 Major findings of the study

The study found that social media was integrated into the 2013 presidential campaigns. This is confirmed by the findings in table 4.1 and figure 4.3 in the previous chapter, where all the presidential candidates had followers on either Twitter or Facebook. As is shown in table 4.2 in the previous chapter, there were items that were shared by political parties and or groupings on social media. For instance, a majority (46%) of the respondents said they always came across a poster of a political candidate while 32% of the respondents always came across a political group on social media. Further, a screen caption of Uhuru Kenyatta's Facebook page shows one of the

posters he used during the campaign period and that he had requested his fans to make it their wall cover, as indicated in the appendix I section. The above findings were a clear indication that social media was well integrated in the 2013 presidential campaigns. According to Wagner and Gainous (2009) in their study of the 2006 US Congressional election, candidates are evolving from simply supplementing traditional media outlets to engaging the Internet as part of a detailed campaign strategy to win office.

The study sought to find out how social media was utilized for political purposes by its users. The findings in section 4.5.5.1 of chapter four, revealed that between January and March, 2013 the respondents were engaged in various activities on social media. Table 4.12 indicated that 15.6% of the respondents said they posted political photos on social networking sites, 15.6% said they posted a political status on social networking sites, 18.8% said they commented on a political post or status updates, 6.3% said they shared political videos, photos or status updates and 12.5% liked/retweeted a political post on Facebook and Twitter, 3.1% said they tagged a friend on a political post on Facebook and Twitter. In the same table, 6.3% of the respondents said they visited social networking sites to seek political information, findings that were in line with the findings of a study done by Panagopoulos (2009) who posited that approximately one in three young voters under the age of thirty-six rely on the Internet as their main source of political information. The findings on table 4.13 generally indicated that most of the social media was utilized by the respondents every day (7 days in a week).

The study further revealed that social media had an impact on the presidential campaign process. From figure 4.5 in chapter four, a bigger majority of the respondents, 72.73%, said yes the presidential candidates' profiles or pages helped them in learning more about them. Social media facilitated the interaction between the presidential candidates and their follower. For instance, a screen caption of the Twitter accounts of Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth showed that there were conversation between them and their followers, as is indicated in the appendix I section. Further, findings from the focus group discussion indicate that, the respondents unanimously agreed that social media facilitated upward communication between the electorate and their leaders as they could send messages directly to their leader by simply making a post on their wall and even engage them in discussions on matters of public interest.

Table 4.14 findings revealed that social media had a significant impact on the respondents in relation to politics. For example, 52.3% said yes they developed interest in politics as a result of the social media, a finding that was confirmed by (Chen 2009; Kushin & Kitchener 2009), who posited that specifically young people developed interest in politics after coming across such discussions on social software which is a communication platform. In addition, findings from the focus group discussions indicated that majority of the respondents in the group agreed that political information on social media was to a larger extent instrumental in reinforcing their beliefs and support for a candidate of their choice.

The respondents also revealed that although they follow political candidates on social media so as to get instant updates on the current activities they are involved in. Therefore, candidate's followers on social media cannot be a precise predictor of his expected votes in an election. It was also observed that seasoned politicians who had a stronger following offline had an added advantage online over new entrants and less known politicians. Margolis et al. (1997) argues that despite the fact that the internet has lowered informational costs, established parties will transfer their offline advantage to the web thus making it difficult for lesser know parties to build new constituents.

5.3 Conclusion of the study

The study set to investigate the role of social media in the 2013 Kenya presidential election campaigns. In view of the above summary, it was evident that social media played a major role in the presidential election campaigns. Most of the presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaigns and to some it did make returns but to others the returns were not significant. However, social media by itself could not guarantee a candidate victory in the elections. Therefore, presidential candidates need to strike a balance between their social media campaigns with the ground campaigns to ensure that they effectively reach the most of the voters.

On whether the social media was effectively used, the study found out that to some extent it was but not exhaustively. A few number of the respondents said they came across the following on SNS: solicitation of financial support, an invitation to a political rally/event, a shared link to a political video, a shared link to a political website, a political party manifesto and a press release. This shows that the candidates who integrated social media into their campaigns have not

exhaustively capitalized on the following campaign elements. Therefore, the use of social media for campaigning did not reach its maximum potential.

The study also revealed that social media had several impacts on the users. Some of these included enlightening the voters on the procedure of voting and most importantly on the presidential candidates themselves. It also showed that some of the respondents developed interest in politics as a result of coming across information on the social media. Some other respondents agreed that political information on the social media mostly did reinforce the beliefs they had on particular candidates and as such it also reinforced their support for the same candidates.

5.4 Major recommendations from the study

- i. In order for presidential candidates to get more voters to their side, they need to integrate social media in their presidential campaigns since majority of the masses are on social media and it can reach as many at once.
- ii. Since integration alone is not enough, presidential candidates exploit the potential that social media has in reaching the youth electorate by ensuring that they exhaustively utilize all its capabilities of reaching and raising resources for the campaign
- iii. The CCK, a regulatory body in charge of communication in Kenya, needs to step up its effort to increase the rate of internet penetration in the country especially in rural areas and other major towns. At the same time, it must reduce the cost of internet connection which is currently high which is a deterrent in the use of the medium.
- iv. The relevant authorities must monitor social media which has become a breeding ground for hate speech whereby people are defamed, inflammatory remarks are made and propaganda is continuously spread during the campaign period.
- v. The government needs to adopt social media in providing some of its services to the public given the wide reach of the platform and its ability to send messages instantly.

5.5 Suggestions for further research

- i. Since the study targeted only the presidential campaigns, a similar study can be done on other levels of campaigns such as senatorial campaigns, legislative campaigns or gubernatorial campaigns.
- ii. The target population of this study was urban youth only. This cannot be used to draw inferences on the entire voter population in Kenya. Therefore, another study can be conducted with the sampling being done on a wider population.
- iii. Given the period that this study was conducted was a few months after the 2013 general elections a similar study can be done during the election campaign window or immediately after the elections.
- iv. There is need to study hate speech on social media which has become prevalent during election period to determine how this vice can be addressed.

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Appendices

QUESTIONNAIRE

This is a questionnaire for an academic study on the role of social media in the 2013 Kenya presidential election campaigns. The information that you provide here will be held in utmost confidentiality and will be used for purposes of this study only. Please tick in the box or fill in your response where applicable.

SECTION ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Gender

Male		Female	
------	--	--------	--

2. Age.....

SECTION TWO: PATTERN OF GENERAL SOCIAL MEDIA USAGE

1. Which of the following social networking sites are you on? (Tick where applicable)

Facebook		YouTube		LinkedIn		Twitter		Google+	
----------	--	---------	--	----------	--	---------	--	---------	--

Other (Specify).....

2. How often do you use the following social networking sites? (Tick where applicable)

	Daily	Thrice a week	Twice a week	Once a week	Fortnightly (Every 2 weeks)	Once a month
1. Facebook						
2. Twitter						
3. YouTube						
4. Google+						

3. How many hours do you spend online on social networking sites in a typical day? (Tick where applicable)

	0-1 hours	1-2 hours	2-3 hours	3-4 hours	More than 4 hours	Never
i. Facebook						
ii. Twitter						
iii. YouTube						
iv. Google+						

4. What do you use social networking for? (Tick where applicable)

i. Seek information		v. Engage people in discussions	
ii. Communicate with friends		vi. Seek new friends	
iii. Post information		vii. Networking	
iv. Keep up with trending topics		viii. Job seeking	

SECTION THREE: PATTERN OF SOCIAL MEDIA USAGE AND POLITICS

1. Between January and March, 2013 which of the following did you do on social networking sites? (Tick where applicable)

i.	Post political videos on social networking sites	
ii.	Post political photos on social networking sites	
iii.	Post a political status on social networking sites	
iv.	Comment on a political post or status updates	
v.	Share political videos, photos or status updates	
vi.	Follow updates from political pages on social networking sites	
vii.	Participate in an opinion polling while online	
viii.	Liked/ retweeted a political post on Facebook and Twitter	
ix.	Tag a friend on a political post on Facebook and Twitter	
x.	Seek political videos on social networking sites	
xi.	Seek political information on social networking sites	

2. Please choose the number of days per week, ranging from 0-7, that you utilize each of the following sources of media for information about political candidates (Please tick where applicable)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i. Facebook								
ii. Twitter								
iii. Newspapers								
iv. Magazines								
v. Television								
vi. Radio								
vii. Online newspapers								
viii. Email updates								

Other (Specify).....

SECTION FOUR: INTERGRATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

1. Between January and March, 2013, which of the following presidential candidate were you following on Facebook? (Tick where applicable)

Martha Karua		Francis Ole Kiyapi	
Peter Kenneth		Paul Muite	
Raila Odinga		Musalia Mudavadi	
Uhuru Kenyatta		Aduba Dida	

2. Which of the following presidential candidate do you follow on Twitter? (Tick where applicable)

Martha Karua		Francis Ole Kiyapi	
Peter Kenneth		Paul Muite	
Raila Odinga		Musalia Mudavadi	
Uhuru Kenyatta		Aduba Dida	

3. Between January and March, 2013, how frequent did you come across the following when you went online on social media? (Tick where applicable)

	Always	Almost always	Most of the time	Only sometimes	Never
i. A poster of a political candidate					
ii. A shared link to a political video on YouTube					
iii. A shared link to a political website					
iv. Received an invite to attend a political rally/event					
v. Solicitation of financial support.					
vi. Recruitment of volunteers on social media					
vii. A political campaign video					
viii. A press release made by a political party					
ix. A political party manifesto					
x. A political group(s)					

SECTION FIVE: IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN PROCESS

1. Were the presidential candidate's profiles or pages on social networks helpful in learning more about them? (Please tick where applicable)

Yes		No		Not sure	
-----	--	----	--	----------	--

2. Between January and March 2013, how much information posted on social networking sites was related to the presidential election? (Please tick where applicable)

Almost all of it		Most of it		Some of it		Just a little		None at all	
------------------	--	------------	--	------------	--	---------------	--	-------------	--

3. Between January and March, 2013, which of the following statements express the impact of social media on you as a user? (Please tick where applicable)

	Yes	No	Not sure
i. Political information was sufficient			

enough to enable me make an informed vote choice			
ii. I developed interest in politics			
iii. I became reliant on social media for election updates			
iv. I withdrew my support for a candidate after reading something on social media			
v. I am more knowledgeable in politics			

4. On a scale of 1-5 to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (Tick where applicable)

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
i. There was a lot of propaganda spread on social media					
ii. Hate speech was perpetuated on social media					
iii. Political updates were instantaneous					
iv. I was exposed to political information even without soliciting for it.					
i. I was misinformed by a political post on social networking sites					

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president@statehousekenya.go.ke
facebook.com/uhurukenyatta
facebook.com/StatehouseKenya
@StatehouseKenya
@WilliamsRuto
@UKenyatta
@PPSKenya

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 2 Mar
Here is the Jubilee Campaign Anthem by Visita & Elsie featuring myself @WilliamsRuto @tunajibu @mamangitu youtube.com/watch?feature=... #Enjoy
View media

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 2 Mar
You can download our #Jubilee Anthem here and join us in making this a #JubileeRoundOne win soundcloud.com/believekenya/...
View media

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar
This is how you cast your vote for the Jubilee Coalition on Monday 4th. Vote correctly to ensure our first round win
pic.twitter.com/mW6TKh84wK
View photo Reply Retweet Favorite More

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar
Today we paint the country #RedAndYellow. See you at Uhuru Park. Let's make it evident that this will be a round one win for #Jubilee
Expand

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar
Kapkatet is all Jubilee. Thank You. Let's make this a first round win. God Bless you all. pic.twitter.com/89PS00d8jn
View photo

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar
Let us make it clear that this will be a round one win for #Jubilee. Thank You and God Bless you all #RedAndYellow #UhuruPark
Expand

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar

Uhuru Kenyatta Home Humphrey

Uhuru Kenyatta ✓
684,799 likes · 19,829 talking about this

Politician
President of The Republic of Kenya

About - Suggest an Edit

Photos Follow @Ukenyatta Watch Uhuru TV Likes

Like Message

120 Friends
Like Uhuru Kenyatta

Invite Your Friends to Like This Page See All
Type a friend's name... Invite

Angela Lee Haina Invite

Post
Write something...

Uhuru Kenyatta
17 hours ago

With the Russian Ambassador to Kenya Alexander Mararenko

Recent
2013
2012
2011
2010
2009
2008
2007

Coke Studio Africa
Join us on Saturday on NTV at 8PM for the best African fusion music. Like us for details!
Like · Sidney Essendi and Mwachari Butiko like Coke Studio Africa.

Ivy Amor Powers commented on her own status: " @ nathan such ppl wana faa fun..."

Kama Kamlee likes Cecil Kang'ara's post in Rotaract Muthaiga Pool and Beer Pong Tournament.

Kama Kamlee likes Cecil Kang'ara's post in Rotaract Muthaiga Pool and Beer Pong Tournament.

Rachael Shitanda commented on her own photo: "Poa no problem"

Mwachari Butiko likes Daniel Nandi's photo.

Wafula Wanyama That time after uv gne thru hel m ua lyfr n u think God amt thea 4 ...

Dennis Odhiambo Ksamba
Janno Kathambi
Prudence Talu
Welle Ideal Ruthiri Gacheri
Rina Wasswa
Rapando Martin

Turn on chat to see who's available.

Search

Uhuru Kenyatta Home Humphrey

Uhuru Kenyatta **Timeline** 2013 ✓ Liked Create Page

Uhuru Kenyatta
February 28

Hey guys. Please make this your cover image until election day. Ask your friends to do the same as well. Help us make this a first round win. God Bless you all.

Party Symbol	Presidential Candidate	Deputy Presidential Candidate	Voter's Mark/ Alama ya Kura
	 UHURU KENYATTA	WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO	

GET OUT & VOTE
UHURUTO
2013

Like · Comment · Share 7,003 3,580 2,478

Uhuru Kenyatta changed his cover photo.
February 27

Uhuru Kenyatta changed his cover photo.
February 24

Recent

- 2010s
- 2013
- 2012
- 2011
- 2010
- 2000s
- 1990s
- 1980s
- 1970s
- 1960s
- Born

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Yala Africa

Education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world, it is our weapon

Like · Prudence Talu and Sam Moyo like Yala Africa.

Uhuru Kenyatta Home Humphrey

Uhuru Kenyatta **Timeline** 2013 ✓ Liked Create Page

Uhuru Kenyatta changed his cover photo.
January 13

Like · Comment · Share 1,359 523 262

Uhuru Kenyatta shared a link.
January 12

The website is up guys - www.uhuru.co.ke

Welcome to uhuru.co.ke

Welcome to Uhuru.co.ke where we will be able to hold meaningful discussions about the pillars of our campaign; Umoja, Uchumi na Uwazi.

Like · Comment · Share 749 252 117

Uhuru Kenyatta
January 10 via mobile

The clashes in Kibisu in Tana River earlier today serve as a reminder that the underlying issues still stand unresolved. It also shows that in our pursuit of peace across this country; peace is ultimately a personal responsibility which despite the measures the gov and security forces have taken; we must take ownership for it to be meaningful and long-lasting. I urge you to be an agent of peace where you are even as we continue to preach peace across the country. Our prosperity as a country can only be possible on the solid foundation of unity. God Bless you all.

Like · Comment · Share 2,241 1,216 117

Recent

- 2010s
- 2013
- 2012
- 2011
- 2010
- 2000s
- 1990s
- 1980s
- 1970s
- 1960s
- Born

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Like · Prudence Talu likes PandaHall.

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Tweets

Following

Followers

Favorites

Lists

Tweet to Martha Karua

@MarthaKarua

Photos and videos

Who to follow · Refresh

Walt Mossberg @waltmossb...
Follow



Martha Karua ✓
@MarthaKarua

Mother of two and granny. Advocate for social justice. National Chair
Narc Kenya Party.
Kenya · joinmarthakarua.com

15,693
TWEETS

73
FOLLOWING

183,308
FOLLOWERS

Following

Followed by Citizen TV Kenya, ASAPH GATUNDU MWANGI, Smriti Vidyarthi and 24 others.


Tweets All / No replies


 **Martha Karua** @MarthaKarua 19h
Do not use me to despise women !"@KipchrisKip: @MarthaKarua
Your the best this other women are embarrassment to the society"
[View conversation](#)


 **Martha Karua** @MarthaKarua 19h
Attended the requiem mass for the late Rtd Anglican Archbishop Dr
David Mukuba Gitari at all saints cathedral . R I P
[Expand](#)


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Expand

Mama Kenya @Mama_Kenya 28 Feb
 @MarthaKarua @EricWainaina @Jitokeze #MamaKenya need to harness our numerical strength into political power #SimamaNaMama #Choice2013
 Retweeted by Martha Karua
 View conversation

Jitokeze TeamMartha @Jitokeze 28 Feb
 This election is too important for anyone to sit out. Tell 4 friends why you are voting 4 @MarthaKarua #simamanamama #Get4ToVote4MarthaMarch4
 Retweeted by Martha Karua
 Expand

Simon Shitakule @Symata 27 Feb
 @marthakarua U welkam. mimi na familia yangu tumekuamulia. go and fight them.
 Retweeted by Martha Karua
 View conversation Reply Retweet Favorite More

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 27 Feb
 Congratulations Fida on the launch of your 2012 report and SMS platform for reporting election violence now, during voting and post!
 Expand

Black Widow @sarahsside 27 Feb
 @Jjseno @nderi_j @bensonnidehi @GitauWaWangeci @cobbo3 @RyanOnAfrica -@MarthaKarua is right - a hungry person wants food regardless of tribe
 Retweeted by Martha Karua
 View conversation

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Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth
 Official Facebook page: facebook.com/honpeterkenneth, Email: me@peterkenneth.com
 Nairobi, Kenya peterkenneth.com

12,089 TWEETS 50 FOLLOWING 133,542 FOLLOWERS Follow

Followed by BeiSmart electronics, Nzioka, Smriti Vidyarthi and 22 others.

Tweets

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 19h
 @shirohgal @gishungwa thank you, you can count on me.
 View conversation

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 9 Oct
 @I_am_Rabaddu I only saw it mon.nite, saw your txt last nite and responded, you are going it the wrong way with your choice of words.
 View conversation

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 9 Oct

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TUNAWESMAKE

Martha Karua



Martha Karua
301,771 likes · 3,377 talking about this

Politician
Knowing is not enough; we must apply. Willing is not enough; we must do. ~ Goethe

My Appeal As We Await The Verdict
Good day Kenya. A country awaits the

301k

Notes 34

Jitokeze!

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Martha Karua

Martha Karua Timeline 2013

Martha Karua March 1

Moving forward for a better Kenya Get 4 to Vote 4 Martha on March 4. Si Mama Na Mama! — with Peter Otieno.



Martha Karua changed her cover photo. March 1



GET 4 people to VOTE 4 Martha on March 4, 2013

Like · Comment · Share

Martha Karua shared a link. March 1

KENYA UNITE! Get4ToVote4MarthaMarch4!



No tribe puts food on your table...Kenya UNITE!

There is no difference between poor kikuyus, luos etc. We must work together to make a better Kenya 4 all of us. Get 4 To Vote 4 Martha on March 4

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Peter Kenneth Home 1 Humphrey



Peter Kenneth
278,185 likes · 3,337 talking about this

Politician
Welcome to the official Peter Kenneth Facebook page. Engage more at www.peterkenneth.com | On Twitter @Peter_Kenneth (http://twitter.com/#1/Peter_Kenneth) |

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278k

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Located in Westlands, Reliance Centre on Woodvale Grove...look out for the Fashion House...

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Airtel Uganda

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Like · Daniels Wabuge and Lameck Miruka like Airtel Uganda.

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Peter Kenneth Home 1 Humphrey

Peter Kenneth Timeline 2013

Just Tick it! You Are The One...

Party Symbol	Presidential Candidate	Deputy Presidential Candidate	Vote's Mark (Vote for Ken)
	Peter KENNETH	Ronald OSUMBA	

Like · Comment · Share 435 61 36

Peter Kenneth March 1

I invite you to our final rally at Bahati Uhuru Primary School Grounds in Bahati, Nairobi at 12 noon on Sat, 2nd March. Please join us.

Like · Comment · Share 494 220 23

Peter Kenneth March 1

Over the last 18 months, I have been campaigning all over Kenya for President. A vote for me on Monday will not be kutupa kura; It will be a vote for the change that Kenya deserves now and into the future. I'm counting on you, your family and friends so that together we can deliver victory. Please send this message to all the people in your phonebook and your personal friends. Let the grassroots revolution begin with you. VOTE PETER KENNETH FOR PRESIDENT ON MONDAY! Tunawesmake!

Like · Comment · Share 1,351 592 368

For change to happen, we must be different and vote right. Make change happen. Vote Peter Kenneth

Like · Comment · Share 1,161 374 103

Peter Kenneth March 1

Nyeri Town, Nyeri County



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5

https://twitter.com/Peter_Kenneth#

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@crispusmahea @chrisgithinji karibuni sana
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Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth
@Mingabo Asante, ps am all your friends to vote for me.
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Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth
@Jneary Tunawesmake
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PK47Movement @PK47Revolution
March 4th get out the vote #Tunawesmake! #PK47Revolution Make it an @Peter_Kenneth moment! cc @PKsema @Tunawesmake
pic.twitter.com/cf0D87EK0G
Retweeted by Peter Kenneth
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@kenmucus Sawa sawa, asante
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@mbugua_gitau me@peterkenneth.com
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TUNAWESMAKE

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Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta
President of The Republic of Kenya.
Nairobi, Kenya · uhuru.co.ke

1,997 TWEETS 76 FOLLOWING 287,414 FOLLOWERS

Following

Followed by Mwenda Mbaya, Julie Gichuru, joseph odhiambo and 31 others.

Tweets All / No replies

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 17h
With the Russian Ambassador to Kenya Alexander Mararenko after our meeting at State House earlier today pic.twitter.com/sY2j2hFJPV
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Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 18h
Today I also held a meeting with CEO's of mobile phone service providers who called on me at State House.
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@UKenyatta

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