

**RADIO AS A TOOL OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN KENYA
DURING THE 2013 GENERAL ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF
*NAIROBI COUNTY***

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K50/70031/2013

**A Research Project Submitted to the School of Journalism
and Mass Communication in Partial Requirement for the
Fulfilment of Masters of Arts Degree in Communication
Studies.**

NOVEMBER 2015

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the University of Nairobi for academic credit.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the Almighty God for giving me strength and enabling me to accomplish this project. I also wish to acknowledge my supervisor Dr. George Nyabuga, for his selfless commitment, guidance and encouragement throughout the journey of conducting this study. Dr. Nyabuga's relentless support enabled me to acquire invaluable research skills that I believe will be quite vital in days to come. It was a privilege working with you!

I equally wish to recognize my colleagues and friends in the class of 2013 namely, Dan Martin Omondi, Emmanuel Wandera and Vincent Oduor for their support and leads during the study. In the same breath, Emmanuel Waya, Joseph Ng'etich and Raphael Nyabala who are my colleagues at work, were very instrumental in enabling me generate data.

Lastly, I wish to recognize any other person(s), who might have given me input into the development of this project, I say thank you and may God bless you.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my lovely wife Christine Ojiambo, my daughters Stephanie Riziki, Mya Liz and the unborn Samira. I reckon that this project would not have been a success without your moral support. You stood by me and made me believe that it was doable despite the tight timelines and pressure at work.

I wish also to remember my dear parents who had a strong impact in my initial days of upbringing, essentially making me what I am today.

You guys are simply awesome!

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ABSTRACT

Elections in democratic states across the world have become standard and acceptable procedure for democratic leadership and constitutional governance. During election period, candidates mobilize the electorate to be elected into public offices. Mass media is widely used by politicians during this period to gain support from the electorate and be elected into political office. While television has received much attention, radio use during campaign is an area that has not been extensively studied especially in developing countries. This study therefore sought to investigate radio as a tool of political mobilization during Kenya's 4th March 2013 general election, with a keen focus on Nairobi County. This was an analytical study aimed at establishing how radio influenced voting for various presidential candidates during the election period. The study was conducted in Nairobi County, because the county is reached by all national radio stations in Kenya especially those that use national languages. The study found out that majority of respondents (76%) who listened to radio during 4th March 2013 general election, were exposed to political content through news, political talk-shows and advertisements. Further, the findings indicated that the categories of radio (private or public) determined the way radio was used in political mobilization. Majority also agreed that radio was effective in mobilizing the masses to vote.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Communication Authority of Kenya
FM	Frequency Modulation
IEBC	Independent Electoral Boundary Commission
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

DEFINITION OF OPERATION TERMS

Political mobilization is an act of raising masses of the people both to express themselves politically and also undertake political actions (Overby, Marvin and Barth, 2006). In this study, to vote for a certain candidate

Political messages: information on the candidate's attributes that resonate with voters' needs. They also contain attributes of politicians that relate with constituents through the media (Fourie, 2013)

Electorate are registered citizens that are eligible to vote. These are the targets of politicians during the political campaigns so that they can act in a prescribed manner in achieving a set objective. In this study, to vote for preferred presidential candidate (Julius – Adeoyo, 2010).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Overview

This chapter contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and the significance of the study. It also highlights the limitations and the scope of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Elections in democratic states across the world have become standard and acceptable procedure for democratic leadership and constitutional governance (Jendele, 2011; McChesney, 2015). During this time, voters democratically elect their preferred leaders who, in return, serve them for a specified period of time depending on the constitutional term limit in their respective countries.

Following the promulgation of Kenya's Constitution 2010, the country, like most other African nations, pegged her constitutional limit for a president to two terms of five years each. During elections, those gunning for political office engage in campaigns, and use various strategies to mobilize their electorates into casting the ballot in their favour.

And as such, elections are given a lot of attention the world over, attracting massive expenditure of financial resources on political advertisement. For instance, national elections in the United States of America (USA) and United Kingdom (UK), have continued to attract global attention given their global geo-political influence (Fourie, 2013).

In Kenya's 2002, 2007 and 2013 political campaigns, presidential candidates went out full throttle to mobilize voters, leaving nothing to chance. They deployed various strategies to persuade voters to cast the ballot in their favour, during the highly competitive political campaigns.

Massive use of political advertisement in television, radio, social media, posters, billboards, cars and aircraft paintings was done to mobilize and inform voters on various contenders for different public offices. Cognizant of the important role of the media in electoral processes, the contest saw presidential contenders deploy massive resources to sell their agenda and manifestos through either news, political talk-shows or advertisements in mass media (IEBC, 2012).

Extensive use of mass media as an effective communication tool is evident during political campaigns period worldwide. It stands out as a political mobilization medium in different countries. Its coverage, diversity and change with social context have made it a social mobilization tool. Television, radio, newspapers, posters are among different forms of mass media that are mostly used in political mobilization during the election period worldwide (Akpor, 2013; Jendele, 2011; Ngugi, 2014).

Politicians have adopted political advertising as a form of wooing their supporters. Political advertisement is done in return for supporting or opposing a candidate for election to the public office (Adiego, 2010; Edegoh et al.2013). While television is the medium of choice by politicians in the developed world, radio is dominantly used in many developing countries (McChesney, 2015; Myers, 2008). This is largely because of reach.

In Africa, for example, over 80% of its population listen to radio because of its geographical distribution, cost effectiveness, portability and communal living pattern (Myers, 2008).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As part of the mass media, radio has extensively been used in social development in both developing and developed countries as a tool for social mobilization. Aling'o, Herzenberg & Gatimu (2015) posit that radio is widely accessible in Kenya. After carrying out a study on voter information in Kenya's 2013 election, Aling'o & Gatimu (2015), found out that of the 82% of respondents who listened to radio, 61% reported listening to radio daily, 14% 3–6 days a week, and 7% 1–2 days a week. What they did not mention, however, is whether the information received through radio influenced voters in one way or another during the actual voting.

During Kenya's 4th March 2013 general election, political elite scaled up their presence in various media platforms including print and electronic media. It was visible that political advertisement was channeled to television, newspapers, billboards, posters and social media. Despite many radio stations dotting Kenya's airwaves, it is not known how the medium was used in political mobilization either through news, talkshows and advertisement.

Radio is widely available and accessible in Kenya with statistics currently showing that there are radio stations spread across the country and broadcasting in different languages. In a nutshell, there are 118 radio stations in Kenya (CA, 2015).

However, it was not evident how presidential candidates leveraged on the strengths of radio in 2013 general election to mobilize the masses specifically the electorate into casting the ballot in their favour. This study therefore seeks to evaluate the role of radio in political mobilization during the campaigns with reference to 2013 national general election in Kenya.

1.3.Objectives of the Study

This study will evaluate the use of radio as a tool for political mobilization. It specifically focuses on the 4th March 2013 general election. Specific objectives of this study are to:

- Determine the types of political content channeled through radio during 2013 presidential general election.
- Assess factors informing the use of radio in political communication and mobilization
- Establish the effectiveness of radio as a medium of political mobilization during the 2013 presidential general election.

1.4. Research Questions

The study will generate information to answer the following three research questions:

1. What are the types of political advertisement that were channeled through radio during 2013 national general elections?
2. What are the factors determining the use of radio as a tool for political communication and mobilization?

3. How effective was radio as a medium of political mobilization during March 4th 2013 general election?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The findings of this study will contribute to our understanding of what role radio played in the March 4th 2013 general election. It will also be used by academic institutions, actors, politicians and other groups of persons as a source of information on political discourse.

Politicians eyeing elected positions in the country in future elections, may gain insights as to whether they should consider radio as a channel of communicating to the electorate during political campaigns. By understanding the most applied and effective types of political advertisement, politicians, political parties, media consultants and political campaigns committees may reallocate more resources towards the production of particular messages during political campaigns.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Overview

This chapter offers a critical review of literature on political uses of radio. Located within media arguments, this chapter posits that the choice of media is often based on the utilities gained as well as ease of access. The chapter begins by looking at the role of mass media in politics before examining the uses and effects of radio.

2.1. Radio as a Mass Media

In his analysis, Bhatt (1993) underscores radio's dominance and agrees that it is the only media that guarantees instant and wider coverage on any given subject. The scholar further reminds us that radio is on air round the clock in many countries, due to the nature of other forms of media like print, which takes time to compile and print. However, this assertion by Bhatt is outdated because the publication is too old; a lot has changed and people have so many choices including the internet.

While reviewing broadcast media in Africa, Biagi (2012) concurs with Bhatt's sentiments, asserting radio's important role as a communication tool in Africa, owing to low literacy levels. Kivikuru (2006) supports this view arguing that, comparatively, radio is one of the most effective tools of political mobilization in Africa. In fact, statistics provided by the Media Council of Kenya (2013) indicate that 86.4% of Kenyans consider radio to be their main source of information.

With this in mind, it is clear that radio plays a central role in many political campaigns. Radio speaks the language known by majority of the population, for an oral language is not simply the product of illiteracy, a lack of education or poverty (Kivikuru, 2006).

However with emerging dominance of social media, a serious debate is taking shape among media scholars and practitioners as to whether radio still does play a greater role in mass mobilization in the 21st century, compared to other types of media like print, television and the social media.

The nature of radio makes the production of programmes cost-effective because fewer equipment is required as compared to television (Adeoye, 2010; Kinyua & Ngugi, 2014). Furthermore, radio in nature is often cheap and affordable especially to rural people. Battery operated radio sets make users less dependent on electricity supply and the medium is portable. Radio has been installed in mobile phones and in cars which makes it portable and easily available to the listeners. Portability of the medium ensures that listeners incorporate the medium into their everyday work and other practices (Amutabi, 2013; Myers, 2008).

Above all, radio is very useful in multi-ethnic developing countries like Kenya because it broadcasts in local languages that people can speak, hear and understand. Similar sentiments have been given by Kombo (2014) in his proposal for a Nigerian community radio use; that radio use is popular at the grassroots because the medium is: affordable; has a low production cost; flexible; battery operated; requires partial attention; and its signals can reach remote areas. These inherent characteristics of radio lend credence to the concept of community radio.

2.2. Types of Political Advertisements

The electorate is exposed to many different advertisements during election campaigns. These advertisements may be used to either support, demean or respond to attacks from political opponents. These adverts are meant to influence opinion. Some adverts will praise a candidate and paint them positively extolling their virtues thus making particular candidates likable. However others will paint the opposing candidate in a negative light focusing on their shortcomings aimed at influencing the masses against them.

The modern mass media are thought by some scholars like Newton (2009) to have an immense effect on contemporary government and politics, but the nature of these effects are controversial. Newton argues that market competition and the search for bigger audiences force the media to dwell on dramatic news, especially bad news about crime and conflict, death and disaster, political incompetence and corruption, sex scandals, anything else that is sensational. This combination of bad news and negative politics tends to create a pervasive sense of cynicism, distrust and suspicion of modern politics and politicians (Newton, 2009).

2.3. Role of Political Advertisement in Political Mobilization

The definition of political mobilization from a media or political communication perspective depends on the subfield and framework of the study.

Cox et al. (1998) define it as the process by which a passive collection of individuals in a society is transformed into an active group in the pursuit of common goals or coerced into political participation by an authoritarian government.

Goldstein and Ridout (2002) identified three main elements of mobilization in their work, which affects voter turnout among citizens.

According to the scholars, these elements are the aggregate rate of mobilization, effective mobilization contact, and change in targeting of mobilization. They determined that mobilization carries with it the power to promote individual participation and argued that the more intense it is the more effective and convincing it is, thus the more it gets people to participate in a process or vote.

Michelson and Mellisa, (2005) define political mobilization as a direct or indirect process through which people are induced to participate in political action. It is indirect when persons are contacted through intermediaries, such as talk hosts. High levels of exposure of the public to the mass media, especially the news media, will tend to inform people about politics, give them a better understanding of politics, heighten their subjective efficacy and, therefore, mobilize them politically (Newton, 2009).

Social occasion theory assumes that potential voters need to be convinced rather than just be reminded to turn out and vote during elections. Green and Gerber (2004) suggest that face-to-face interaction makes politics come to life and helps voters to establish a personal connection with the electoral process. According to Dale and Strauss (2009), there are many mobilization strategies including but not limited to face-to-face canvass, street signs, television, radio, newspaper, leaflets, text messaging, direct mail, commercial phone calls, email among others.

Political advertisements often appeal to people's base emotions, and they sometimes contain false or misleading information (Burson, 2002). Exposure to messages in the media is a determinant to a large extent of awareness.

One of the major tasks which mass media is saddled with is information dissemination. There is a wide range of subjects which media disseminate information about on daily basis.

Political awareness is important especially in a democracy and it is important to ascertain at some point or another whether the supply streams are constantly flowing in order to keep political awareness at an appreciable level (Kombo, 2014).

A series of experimental studies done to examine the impact of mass media advertising on political behavior have found positive effects. Ramirez and Ricardo (2005) and Michelson (2006) support this stand-point. After conducting a series of experimental studies on Hispanic voters in Latin America in 2006, Ramirez and Ricardo (2005) found out that grassroots mobilization efforts through the mass media can raise voter turnout while more impersonal tactics such as direct mail seem ineffective.

Another field experimental study done by the Latino National Survey (2006) on electoral engagement of the Hispanics found out that 45.9% of respondents relied more heavily on Spanish- language television, radio and newspapers for information about public affairs and politics.

According to the survey, the Spanish radio evidently played a key role in marshalling Latino support and participation.

The support and participation from the Hispanic voters could also have been as a result of political knowledge, personal efficacy and other demographic factors like the education level of the electorate, their gender or age which the survey could have ignored. Scholars such as Gerber and Green (2000) have argued that personal forms of voter mobilization such as door-to-door canvassing are more effective than impersonal forms such as direct mail.

Advancing a different narrative after conducting non-experimental studies on radio advertisements and Latino voter turnout in the 2006 congressional elections, Panagopoulos and Green (2011), were of the opinion that candidates who broadcast adverts on radio tend to do better than those who do not. The duo found out that radio adverts had positive but statistically insignificant effects on voter turnout during an election period.

Applying a similar experimental approach to a different electoral context and target audience, this study takes up the question of whether radio mobilized Hispanic voters in the 2006 congressional elections. In as much as their findings have positively agreed on the significance of radio advertisements on voter turnout in elections, there is the unanswered question of whether radio advertising affects election outcomes.

On the flip side, political advertising, because of its partisan and adversarial nature, often generates conflict (Kaid et al. 2003). According to Newton (2009), the modern mass media have a malign effect on modern democracy, tending to induce political apathy, alienation, cynicism and a loss of social capital - in a word, 'media malaise'. He argues that this is the result of media content, or the consequence of the form of the media, especially television.

According to Kaid et al. (2003), the mass media, in conjunction with rising educational levels, help to inform and mobilize people politically, making them more knowledgeable and understanding of issues. British evidence though suggests that the huge media coverage of elections causes political overload in some people who tend to avoid news and current affairs programmes, and stop buying newspapers in the later stages of the campaign (Newton, 2009).

In the United States, experimental and survey research argues that television news tends to de-motivate and immobilize people politically and to make elected officials and public institutions less accountable to the public (Panagopoulos & Green, 2011).

Kombo (2014) argues that community radio is a viable channel for rallying support among the rural populace for a number of causes; social, political, religious, health, cultural, etc. In this way, people in far flung communities become active participants in political discourse (Kombo, 2014).

Despite radio being cost-effective, the media owners have been known to raise the advertising charges a few months prior to elections. In their analysis of political campaigns in the neighbouring Uganda, Artz et al. (2007) reveal radio's "opportunistic tendencies" to increase their ratings and mint money during political campaigns.

Previous studies by Mwesige (2009) and Onyebadi & Kalyango (2011) posit that people call in live radio and television current affairs talk shows to discuss politics and draw attention to socio-economic issues of national concern. Though this may not be necessarily true, a closer look at Kenya's media landscape, whether print or electronic, indicate that politics dominate the media coverage in the country.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes the propaganda model as articulated by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman in their book *'Manufactured consent; The political economy of the mass media'*. The theory was developed in 1988 within the context of U.S mass media. In their argument, Chomsky and Herman state that ideally mass media is meant to report events objectively, allow the people to make informed political choices and check on the government power through investigative journalism.

However, this is not the case in many instances. Instead, the mass media has turned out to be a platform for the elite whose interests take precedence in news production. Chomsky and Herman further argue that news is tailored to meet the interests of the elite in the US media context simply because media companies are owned by a few wealthy elite and large corporations. They also add that media source for funding from the advertisement which in most cases comes from government and large corporations.

In the same breath, media source for the information from government, large corporations and other elite centered news sources. In this interconnectedness then mass media thrive to advance the power and influence of the elite to the populace.

Mass media ensure that news favors the interests of the owners of the media, government (main source of the information) and large business/corporations (source of advertisement). This theory is suitable for this study, first because propaganda (which is systematic and purposive persuasion by influencing attitudes, opinions and actions of specified groups) is the core of this investigation. This study was evaluating how the

political advertisement (in theory context is the propaganda) influenced the electorates to elect their preferred candidates.

The study therefore evaluated the political messages and concluded whether political advertisement was in the interest of the political elite or the electorate political information and participation in elections.

Of interest to this study was the anti-communism where the political elite packaged political messages to demonstrate to the public that they have one common enemy (opponents), thus creating fear by informing the dangers of electing opponents. Many political campaigns were full of negative messages and instilling of fear to forcefully influence the electorate to elect certain candidates.

Secondly, the theory is based on US media context; this study is an application of the theory in another country's context (in this case Kenya media). The study will conclude whether the theory is suitable for other contexts or not.

2.5. Knowledge gap

Previous studies particularly in Kenya have not adequately engaged the audience to get their views on role of radio in political mobilization. In essence, mobilization through radio advertising as a tool of political mobilization remains a fertile area of study especially here in Kenya. Most studies in the developed countries have dwelt on the political mobilization on television and print media. However, radio has received little attention by researchers in relation to political advertisement and mobilization. Having identified this gap, the study

will be keen to trigger a discussion on how radio can be deployed during political campaigns.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed available literature relating to this topic, aimed at fostering understanding of the study.

Specifically, the chapter discussed media's role in political mobilization processes around the world before narrowing down to the role of radio in political mobilization in developing countries. It further looked at the role of mass media in electoral processes and considered the effectiveness of radio in political mobilization.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Overview

This chapter describes the research design, study area, study population, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection procedures and research instruments, validity and reliability, data analysis and ethical considerations.

3.1. Research Design

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), a research design is used to structure the research to show how all of the major parts of the research project work together to try to address the central research questions. The analytical study design was used in this study. The analytical study design is appropriate where a research is keen to establish the relationship or association between independent and dependent variables (Kothari & Garg, 2014).

This study design was therefore suitable for this study because in the three research objectives, an attempt was made by researcher to identify, describe and analyze the association between the variables. In objective one, association between the role of media (taken as independent variable) with political processes (considered dependent variable) was done.

In objective two, factors were taken as independent variable while use of the radio in political mobilization was dependent variable. The association was done between the two variables.

Finally objective three, an examination of the effectiveness of radio (taken as an independent variable) in political mobilization (taken as a dependent variable) was done.

Another reason for using the analytical study design was the fact that, the findings generated in this study were evaluated against the principles of the propaganda model as articulated by Chomsky and Herman (1988) which was the theoretical framework for this study.

3.2 Study Area

This study was conducted in Nairobi County that has 17 constituencies and 56 county assembly wards (IEBC 2012). Nairobi County hosts Nairobi city which is Kenya's capital and a business hub of the country. Nairobi county is also cosmopolitan in nature and people from different tribes, race and with different shades of political opinions are found here, thus touted as the melting pot of Kenya's politics.

The city is also the headquarters of many national radio stations in Kenya. Many political parties' offices are based in Nairobi city with branches located in other parts of the country. The proximity of radio stations and political parties' offices enable politicians to access radio for political mobilization and advertisement. Within Nairobi county and its neighboring counties, residents can access all forms of media including local and national radio stations with little or no interference at all.

3.3. Study Population

The population of this study was the registered voters who participated in the 4th March 2013 elections in Nairobi County.

According to Serem, Boit & Wanyama (2013), a population is a collection of all the objects or subjects to be studied. To allow the researcher draw a logical sample, an accessible or target population was described (table 3.1).

This study targeted the 1,778,903 registered voters aged 18 years and above, spread across 56 wards (IEBC, 2012). It was assumed that majority voted for their preferred candidates.

Table 3. 1. Voter registered per constituency by 18th December 2012

Constituency	Voters
Westlands	122,446
Dagoreti North	111,084
Dagoretti South	89,886
Langata	98,733
Kibra	101,352
Roysambu	111,209
Kasarani	105,461
Ruaraka	92,261
Embakasi South	111,243
Embakasi North	82,500
Embakasi Central	106,548
Embakasi East	106,470
Embakasi West	106,284
Makadara	107,233
Kamukunji	97,200
Starehe	138,630
Mathare	90,363
Total	1,778,903

Source: IEBC voter register, December 2012

3.4 Sample Size determination

To estimate the sample size of the registered voters in Nairobi county, a formula stipulated by Kothari & Garg (2014,p.167) was considered. The formula was used with an estimated proportion of the dependent variable (political mobilization) in the population, with a specified precision level for a finite population.

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

n = the desired sample size

N = finite population and

e = Margin error (level of precision)

Substitution:

$$n = 1,778,903 / (1 + 1,778,903(0.05^2))$$

n = 400 voters + 10% non response rate

n = 440 voters

To address some of the fundamental questions of this study, key informants were also interviewed. Purposive sampling method was used to sample the key informants. A total of 12 (5 key media practitioners one per radio station and 7 politicians) were sampled. The media practitioners came from Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Radio Citizen, Qfm, Radio Jambo and Milele fm. Politicians who were sampled, were allies of the presidential candidates of the political parties that participated in the election.

One constituency and one ward were also purposively sampled, because of the cost and time of the administering the survey.

3.5 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g., people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen (William & Tromp, 2006). This study a sample size of 440 out of a total population of about 1.7 million voters who were registered in Nairobi county during the 2013 general election. To get the 440 voters who were interviewed, Multi stage sampling technique was used.

According to Kothari & Garg (2014), multi stage sampling is carried out in stages using the smaller and smaller sampling units at each stage. Simple random sampling is used at each stage to select a random sample. In the study, the registered voters in Nairobi County were grouped into constituencies (primary sampling units) and county assembly wards (secondary sampling units).

As primary sampling units, voters were grouped into 17 constituencies and a list of the constituencies and registered voters generated (table 3.1). The names of the constituencies were written on pieces of papers, mixed thoroughly in an enclosed container. Then, the researcher picked one constituency. Dagoreti South constituency was chosen.

This constituency has 9 county assembly wards. The 9 wards formed the secondary sampling units.

The simple random sampling was repeated for the 9 county assembly wards and Riruta county assembly was selected. In this ward, the voters were further categorized into polling stations.

The sample size of 440 voters was distributed according to the voter registration per polling station. The voters who were interviewed were randomly selected from each polling station.

Purposive sampling was used to select the 12 key informants from the media and political circles. The media practitioners who were selected for interviews, were programme controllers who were in charge of on air trafficking of content that included political advertisement during 2013 general election, as opposed to sampling any media practitioner. In addition, politicians who were sampled to participate in the study, were selected through purposively sampling. The researcher got the names of the politicians who were interviewed by inquiring from the offices of the political parties.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The study administered questionnaires and key informants' interviews. These were used as the main instruments of data collection. The selection of these instruments was guided by the nature of data to be collected, the time available as well as the objectives of the study. The researcher was mainly concerned with views and opinions of respondents and such information was best collected through the use of a questionnaire and key informant interview techniques.

Sampled registered voters were interviewed at their respective places of choice. Most of the interviews were conducted during the weekend. This is because , many people tend to remain indoors during weekends, thus they are easily accessible to provide the information required. Data was also collected from key informant interviews with politicians and media personnel. The researcher visited their places of work and conducted interviews with them. The researcher sought for permission from the media personnel before conducting the interviews. Those who agreed to participate were interviewed.

3.7. Research Instruments

This study used structured questionnaires for sampled electorates (see appendix 1). The questionnaire had a set of questions divided into themes that took into account the study objectives. A questionnaire was suitable for this study because it has the ability to generate standard data from all sampled voters representing the total population of the voters.

The questionnaire had questions on the background information of voters, role of media in political processes in Kenya, factors that affect use of radio in political advertisement and the effectiveness of radio as a political mobilization tool.

The key informant interviews with media practitioners and politicians who were involved in crafting campaign messages were guided by the interview schedule (appendix 2). The schedule contained questions on the role of media in political processes in Kenya and factors that affect the use of radio in political mobilization in Kenya.

3.8. Reliability and Validity of the research instrument

Kumar (1996) defines validity as the ability of a research instrument to measure exactly what it has been designed to measure.

To test validity, a pilot study finding was used. The pilot study was conducted with 20 electorate in Kitengela ward in Machakos town constituency, Machakos County. The findings were studied to find out whether they were answering to the research questions (content validity).

Modification of the questionnaire by either adding more questions or dropping others was informed by the pilot study findings. Content validity of the instruments was determined by expert judgments as explained, by ensuring that the extent to which the questionnaire measured all facets of research questions (Gatara, 2010). The questionnaire was scrutinized by supervisors to judge the items on their appropriateness of content, and also determine all the possible areas that needed modification so as to achieve the desired objectives of the study.

On reliability of the research instruments, the questionnaires were pilot-tested. The researcher established reliability of the instrument by using Cronbach alpha method. This method was appropriate since it involved a single administration of the instrument.

Accordingly, it yielded greater internal consistency. Reliability coefficient was established after piloting the instruments and modifying some of the items. Reliability coefficient of 0.7 was the target for the pilot study. Cronbach Alpha was used to approximate reliability of the tools.

3.9. Data Analysis and Presentation

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), data analysis refers to examining what has been collected in a survey or experiment and making deductions and inferences.

It involves scrutinizing the acquired information and making inferences. Data generated from key informants was qualitatively analyzed by organizing it according to the objectives of this study. The data was separated and labeled and compiled through coding (Baxter & Babbie, 2003).

Data generated from the questionnaires was keyed into the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 to aid the data analysis. Descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution was used for categorical data that was collected from the questionnaire. To get the association, Chi Square Test of independence was administered, for instance, to get the relationship between types of political messages and voters' decision to vote for particular presidential candidates during the 2013 general election.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

The study did not have access to presidential candidates who contested in 4th March 2013 as respondents. In addition, the researcher did not access some of the political content especially that which was contained in advertisements that were aired during the campaign period. Given the scale of the study, accessing the candidates in 2013 presidential polls required a lot of logistical arrangement and political connections. The media and political parties too were guarded in releasing information required from their records.

As a control to this limitation, the researcher ensured media practitioners and politicians recruited as key informants had interacted with presidential aspirants and were either involved in developing the political content or scheduling it for transmission on radio. Another key limitation was how to ensure that voters who were sampled, had voted for a presidential candidate. To minimize the effects of this limitation, the researcher ensured that the voters who were recruited for this study, had lived in Riruta since 2011 and had registered in Riruta before 2013 general election.

3.11 Ethical Consideration

The electorate were informed of the objectives of the study and given the opportunity to participate. A thorough explanation was given in advance in relation to benefits, rights and potential dangers involved with their participation. For Researchers, it is significant that the research has to be carried out ethically so that the presentation of the data both respects participants' right to privacy and sustains the right of society to know about the research (Cohen et al.,2000). It also involved the extent to which personal attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and opinions were to be shared with or withheld from others during and after completion of the study.

The electorate had a chance to participate voluntarily and decline to continue with the interview whenever he/she felt uncomfortable.

Utmost privacy was also maintained by ensuring that interviews were conducted individually away from any external influence. The names of respondents were also not

disclosed on any of the questionnaires. Oral consent was required for interviews to be conducted with both the electorate and Key informants.

There is wide consensus among social scientists that research involving human participants should be performed with the informed consent of participants (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996).

Data generated from the study was only used for academic purposes and no other. This study was guided by the general ethical principles as outlined by various scholars. The findings of research greatly relied on the observation of ethics while conducting the study. A respondent could completely be alienated if a researcher ignored basic principles of ethics (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

For the sake of this study, the researcher sought official permission from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation to conduct the study. Besides, full disclosure on the purpose of this study was made to all respondents. Formal or verbal consent was sought from individual electorates and key informants, before interviews were conducted. These interviews were carried out in private to avoid any form of external influence that could have affected the final findings. In addition, all secondary information was acknowledged and reference cited.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methods used in this research. This is an analytical study because it examined the association between independent and dependent variables in the three objectives. The data was generated from the voters registered in Nairobi County, radio station personnel and politicians who were involved in generating political content and advertisements for the presidential candidates.

Other part of the methodology covered in this chapter was study population, sample size, sampling procedures and research instruments. The data generated using the methods detailed above informed the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the data as outline in the next chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Overview

This chapter is a presentation of the findings from the primary research conducted in Nairobi County. The findings are presented in four sections according to the study objectives. Section 4.2, describes the characteristic of the respondents (sampled registered voters). Section 4.3 has findings on political advertisements aired on radio in 2013 general election, while section 4.4 covers the factors that affected the use of radio in political mobilisation. Section 4.5 presents the findings on the effectiveness of radio as a tool for political mobilisation. The last section (4.6), presents the findings from key informants which was qualitatively analysed. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

4.2 Composition of Sampled Respondents who Participated in 2013 General Election

According to these findings, 66% of the respondents comprised male while 34% were female. The study also found out that 40% of the sampled respondents had previously participated in only one general election, 35% had participated in two and 25% had participated in more than 3 general elections.

A further analysis of the findings, indicated that the sampled respondents belonged to various political parties that took part in the 4th March 2013 general election. In this regard, 33% were registered members of the Orange Democratic Party (ODM), 35% belonged to The National Alliance (TNA), 5% Ford Kenya and 30% were members of other parties such as Wiper Democratic Party, Democratic Party(DP), National Rainbow Coalition

of Kenya(NARC) and United Democratic Forum (UDF) and Kenya African National Union(KANU).

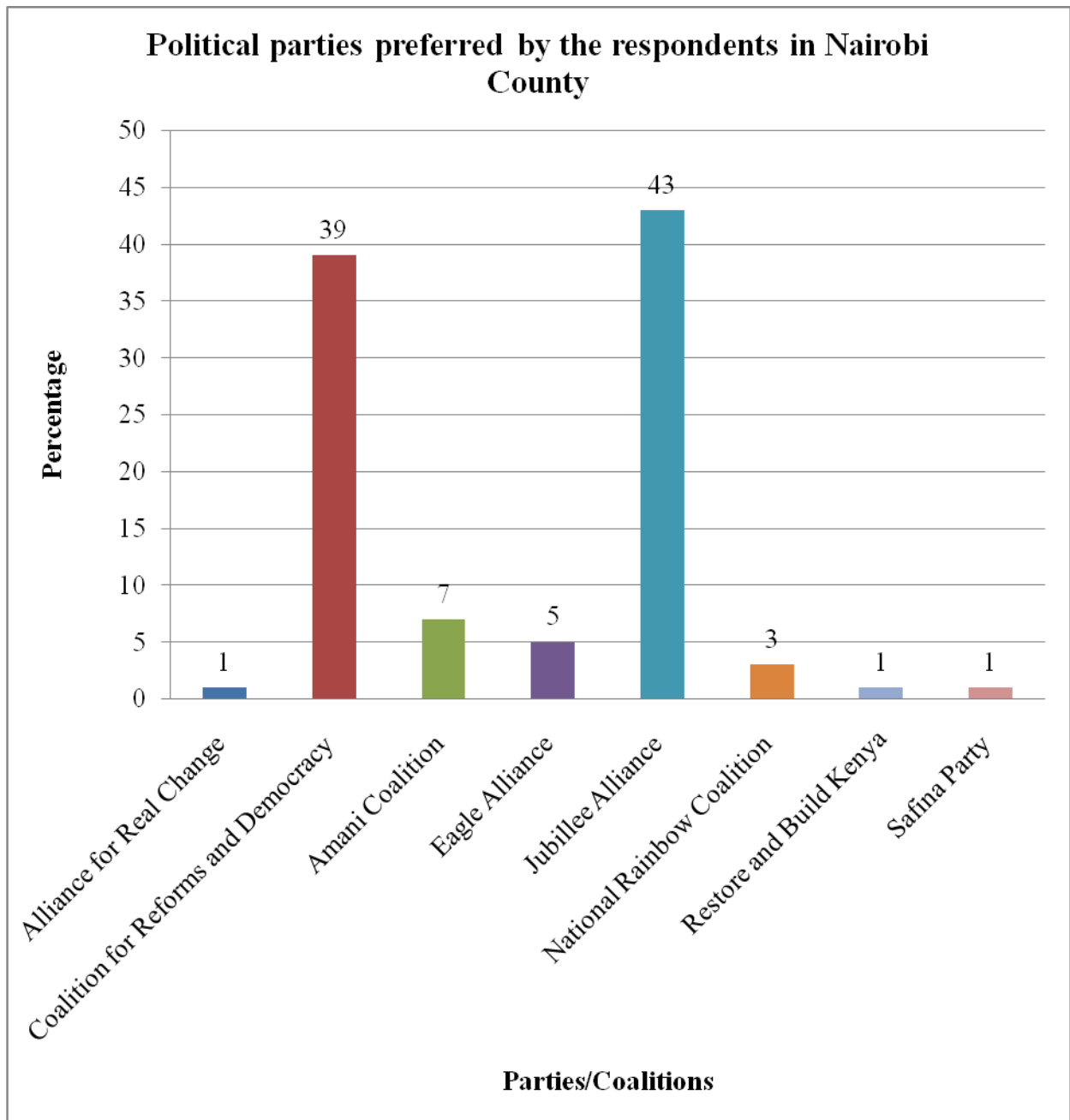


Figure 4. 1. Political party/coalition preferred by the voters in 2013 general election.

According to **Figure 4.1**, the two main coalitions -Jubilee Alliance that had sponsored Uhuru Kenyatta as its presidential candidate and Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) on whose ticket former Prime Minister Raila Odinga was contesting the presidency- were voted for by majority of the respondents who participated in the 4th March 2013 general election.

4.3. Types of Political Advertisements Aired on Radio During 2013 General Election

4.3.1. Choice of Radio Stations by Respondents in Nairobi County

With regards to the choice of radio station, the findings indicate that 76% of the respondents listened to radio during the campaign period, while 24% did not. Out of those who tuned into radio, 42% preferred listening to news, 41% entertainment, 15% political talk shows while a paltry 2% listened to all radio programs that were aired. Indeed these findings were in line with the standpoint advanced by scholars such as Newton (2009) as suggested in the literature review. The scholar indicated that high level of exposure of the public to mass media particularly news, will tend to inform the masses about politics and give them a better understanding.

For instance, the last two months of the official campaign period ahead of the March 4th 2013 general election, saw majority of contestants for various political offices jostle for coverage in radio news. Such stations like Radio Citizen, Jambo and Qfm commanded a bigger listenership as suggested by the KRAF and Ipsos Synnovate reports that were released in early January 2013. Similarly political talk-shows such as “Agenda ya Mageuzi” and Ndimi za Hoja that were aired by Radio Citizen and Qfm respectively, were seen to have gained traction among the voters, going by the phone calls that were logged by their

respective Programmes Controllers. Most of these programmes including news, were aired during peak hours, hence could be the reason as to why majority of those sampled, indicated that they preferred listening to radio during morning and evening hours.

However another assumption for the high number of listeners during peak hours, could be attributed to the fact that most people tend to be quite preoccupied during day time, and may not want or have time to catch up with political events of the day, through radio. The findings presented in **Table 4.1**, shows that morning and evening hours were mostly preferred by sampled respondents who listened to radio.

Table 4. 1. Time respondents listen to radio program

Time	Frequency	Percent
Morning hours	113	35
Afternoon hours	58	18
Evening hours	122	38
All day	29	9
Total	322	71.4

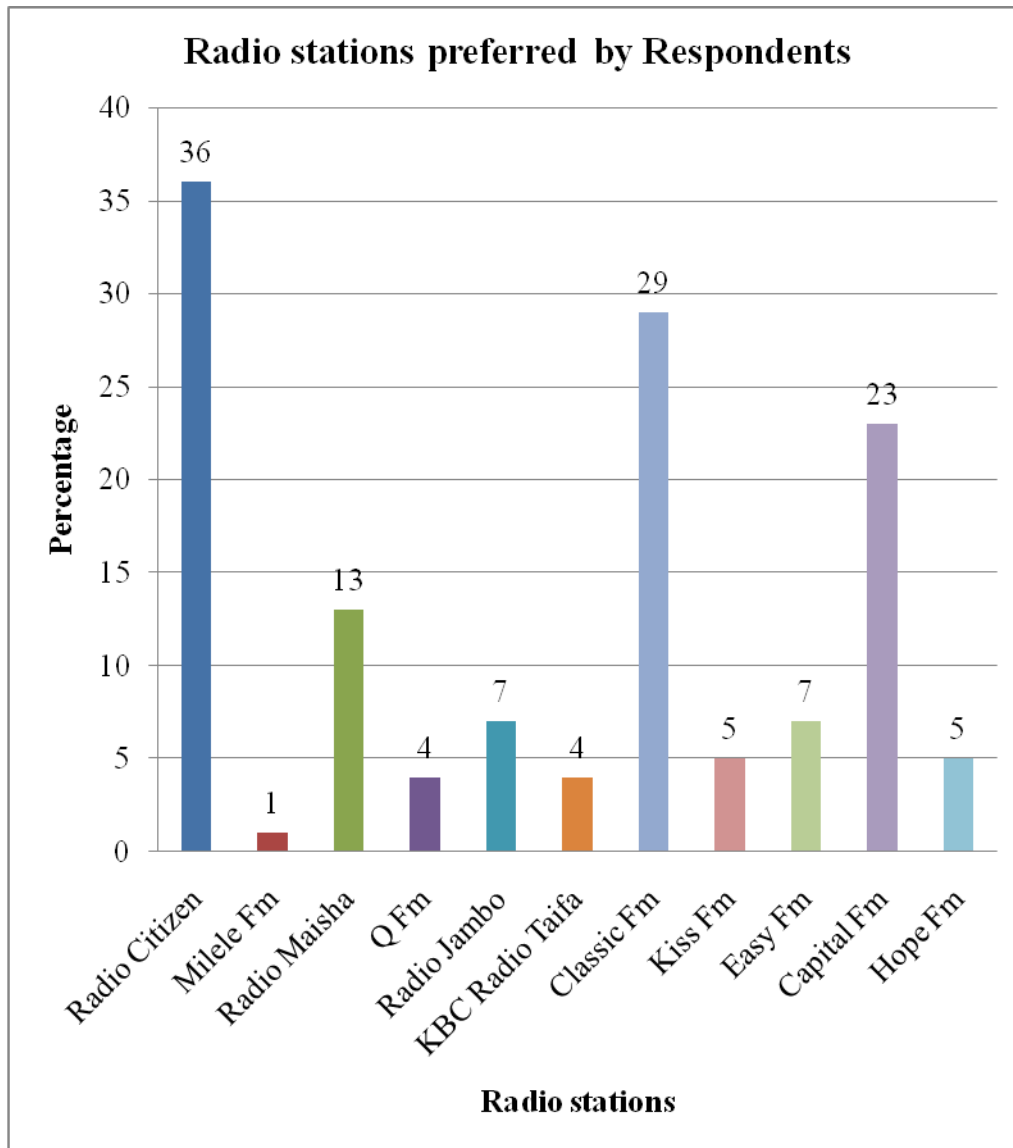


Figure 4. 2. Preferred radio station of respondents during 2013 general election

Another aspect of this study that the researcher focused on in trying to address the topic under review, was to establish which radio station was mostly preferred by respondents during the 4th March 2013 general election. According to the findings that are outlined in **figure 4.2 above**, Radio Citizen and Classic FM attracted majority listenership as was attested to by respondents who were sampled in Nairobi County during this study.

Most of those interviewed indicated that Radio Citizen was their preferred radio station due to the content and number of political talk shows that were aired by the station. “Agenda ya Mageuzi” that is aired on the station was widely mentioned. The show is presented on location by two presenters who moderate it with a live audience comprising the leadership of the area in focus and respective wananchi. **Figure 4.3 below.** Outlines some of the political talk-shows that were aired by various radio stations and how they were rated by the respondents.

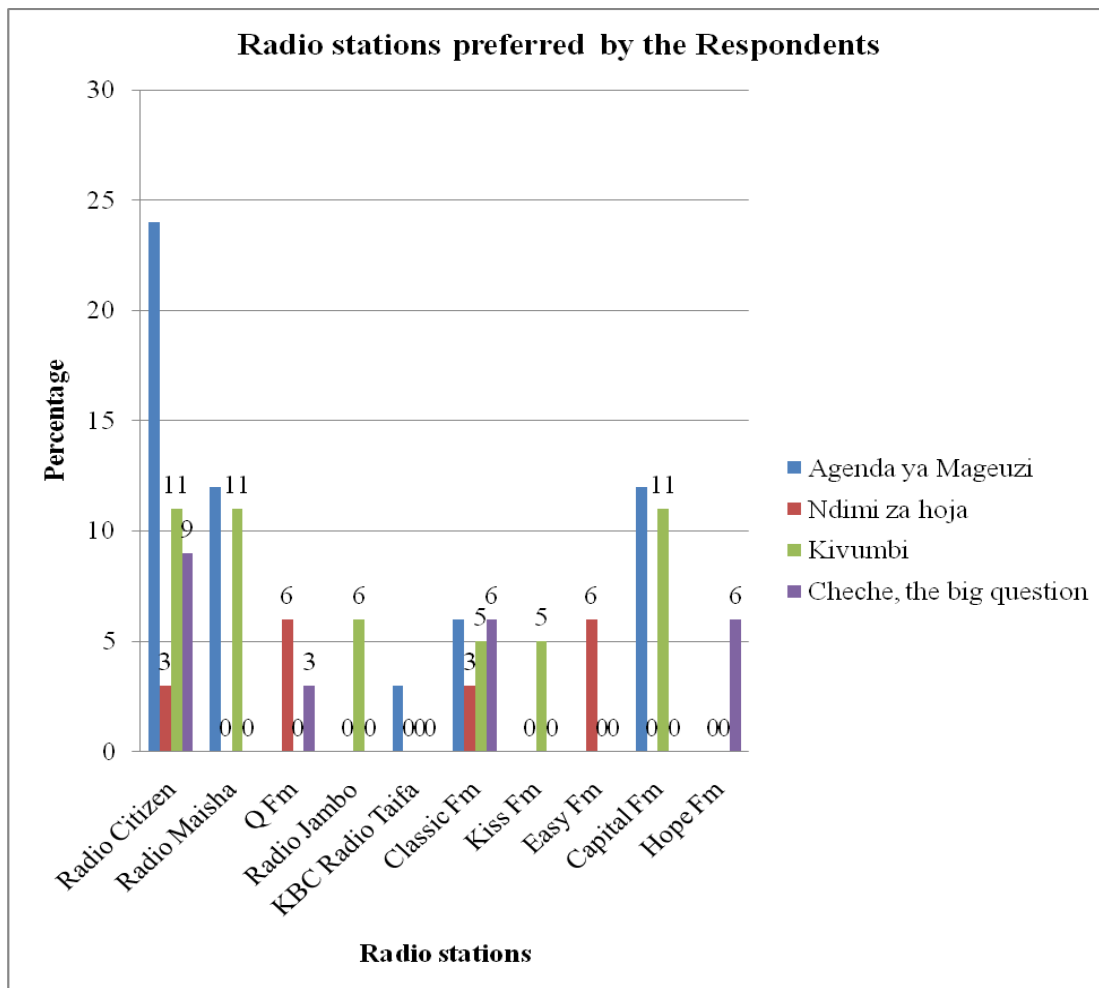


Figure 4. 3. Radio stations that aired political shows in 2013 general election

4.3.2. Political Content Aired on Radio During 2013 General Election

According to the findings, messages with political content featured in radio news, political talk shows and political advertisements aired through different radio stations. The stations mentioned were Radio Citizen, Qfm, Radio Jambo and Milele fm among others. The study investigated the three ways of political communication through radio separately.

As reported in section 4.3.1, at least 57% of sampled respondents, listened to radio news and political talk shows combined. Further analysis done to determine which political talk shows were listened to most, revealed that “Agenda ya Mageuzi” (agenda for change) a swahili political show that is aired on Radio Citizen was the most listened to radio talk show attracted 33% of listenership, followed by “Kivumbi” which is aired on Milele fm. Another political talk-show that attracted a significant following was “Ndimi za Hoja” that is aired on Qfm. All these programmes were seen to be rich in political content, whose focus was either to educate, inform or caution the voters against falling into political machinations of politicians. Through the shows, the electorate was able to take to task those who were contesting for various political offices. They did so by participating in these political talk-shows through call ins, where they pressed for answers from those who were hosted.

This was not surprising going by sentiments advanced by Kavikiru (2006) who argued that radio plays a central role in many political campaigns, and speaks the language of the majority. It should be remembered that in Kenya, swahili is constitutionally recognized as the national language and is spoken by many.

More analysis on these political talk-shows is illustrated in **Figure 4.4** below.

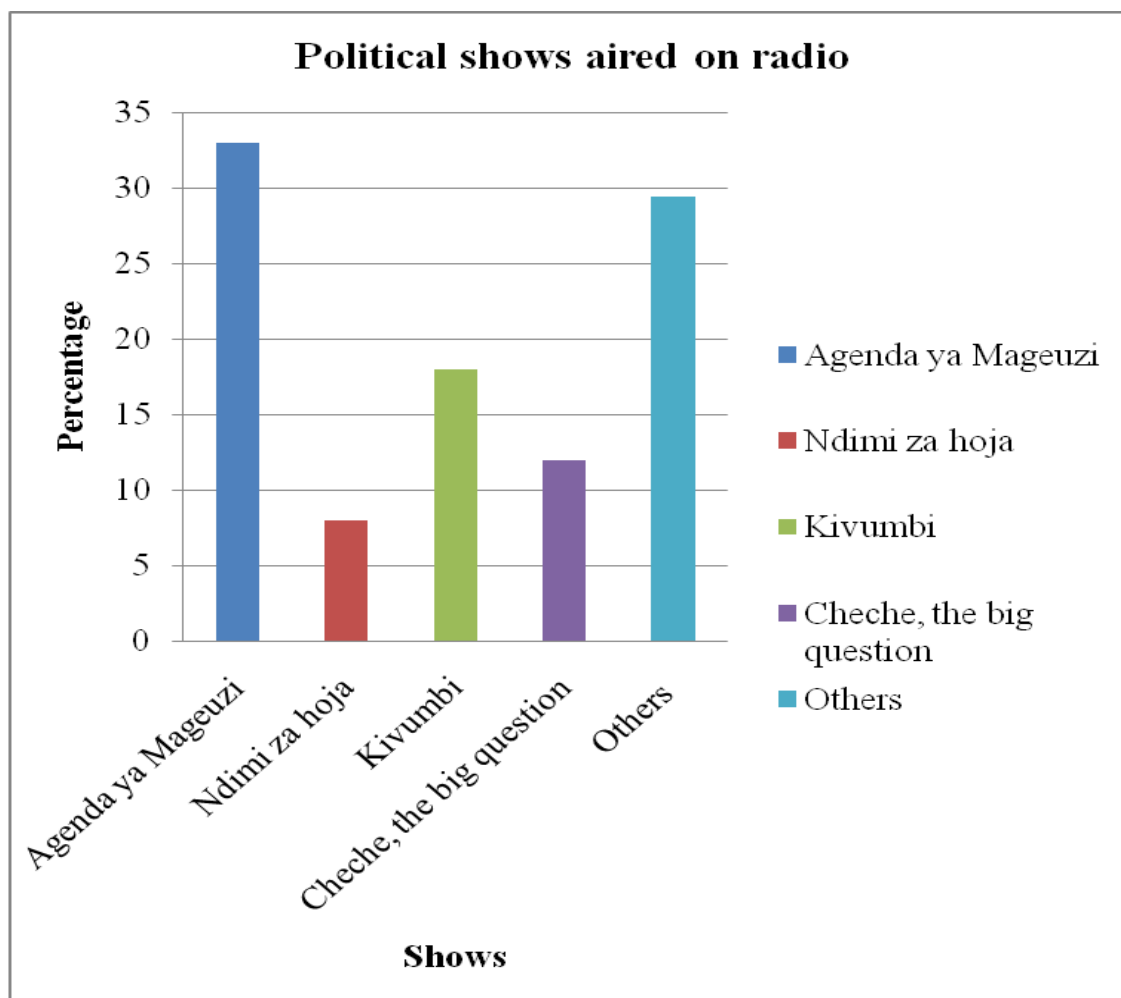


Figure 4. 4. Presents the political shows preferred by the respondents.

Regarding political messages contained in news, political talk shows and political advertisements aired on radio, the findings show that all (100%) of respondents were exposed/ to these forms of political communication during 2013 general election.

For instance, the political advertisements that were aired contained different political messages as shown in **table 4.2**. It can be seen that 82% of the sampled respondents reported that the content in political advertisements was geared towards packaging

respective candidates as better leaders compared to their opponents, while 18% was about attacking the opponents. This reliance on media by politicians corroborated the fact that politicians exploit the various opportunities in media to sell their agenda to the electorate and project a positive side with a view of convincing voters that they are best suited to represent them. **Figure 4.2** below shows the content in political advertisement that was aired on radio.

Table 4. 2. Political content in the political advertisements

Content	Frequency	Percent
Attacking the opponent	58	18
Praising candidates	81	25
Explaining candidates' agenda for the country	184	57
Total	322	100

4.4. Factors that Affected Use of Radio in Political Communication

Several factors affected the use of radio in political communication during the 2013 general election. A chi square test of independence and odds ratio with reference to unpaired variables was used to identify these factors.

4.4.1. Forms of mass media

An analysis of responses from sampled voters shows that only 12% preferred listening to radio as opposed to other forms of media. The findings show that television was the most preferred media, with a majority of 56% indicating that they watched it as indicated in **Figure 4.5**. This was however contrary to the popular view as advanced by scholars such as Mwesige (2009), that radio is a dominant medium compared to other forms of media.

However, the forms of the media (radio and other forms of media) was found significantly related to use of radio in political communication. The findings of this study, asserted that television is a dominant medium, confirming our fears that radio has been relegated by other forms of media like social media.

Social media attracted a 20% response rate, News papers and Posters/Billboards attracted a response rate of 3% each. Further analysis also indicates that the chances of radio being used in political mobilisation was greatly hampered by the presence of other media during the 2013 general election (television, newspapers among others).

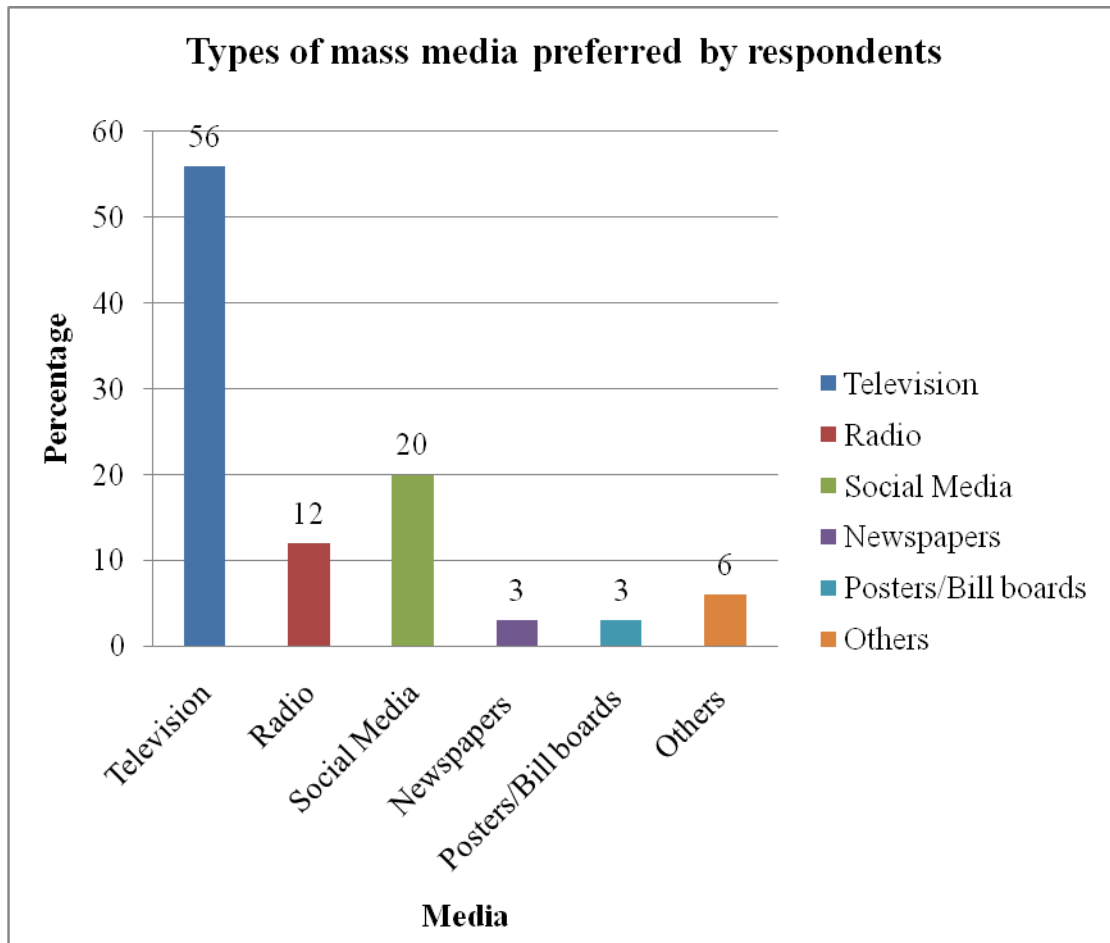


Figure 4. 5. Types of media preferred by the respondents during 2013 general elections

4.4.2. Types of Political Advertisements Aired on Radio

The findings show that the types of political messages contained in political advertisements (either attacking the opponent or praising the candidates), was significantly associated with the use of radio in political communication. This means that those supporting the candidates increased the chances of the use of radio in political communication than those who seemed to use advertisements that attacked their opponents.

4.4.3. Size of Radio Audience

The findings shows that those who listened to radio (radio audience) was not significantly different from those who did not, in relation to political communication. This means that the size of radio audience increased the chances of use of radio in political communication.

4.4.4. Categories of Radio Stations Used in Political Advertisements

The study further indicates that the categories of radio stations (public and private) was significantly associated with its use in political communication. Further analysis shows that public radio stations had lower chances of being used in political communication than private radio stations. This perhaps was due to the assertion that a government owned radio station like Kenya Broadcasting Corporation is a mouthpiece of the government of the day hence could not provide a fair coverage to all candidates.

4.5. Effectiveness of Radio as a Tool of Political Mobilization in 2013 General Election

According to the findings, 76% of sampled respondents agreed that radio had a role to play in mobilising the voters to vote for certain presidential candidates while 24% did not think that the medium had any influence. This confirmed what other scholars had already alluded to as far as the role of radio in political mobilization is concerned. Specifically, from the literature review of this study, Biagi (2012) and Bhatt assert radio's importance as a communication tool in Africa.

Further analysis on the rating by the respondents on radio in political mobilisation shows that 14% thought it performed its role in an excellent way, 37% thought it was good, 42% rated it average and 7% were of the opinion that radio performed poorly.

4.6 Findings From Key Informants' Interviews

4.6.1 Political Advertisement Aired on Radio During 4th March 2013 General Election

Though all the key informants agreed that radio was used in political advertisement during 4th March 2013 general election, television was preferred by many. Majority of those interviewed indicated that they preferred programs with political content. For instance one of those who were interviewed (A Radio Programmes Controller) said that the content of the adverts, was usually biased. He added that the adverts featured the same people and at times even stories that were covered depicted that bias.

The perception of the journalist was that the media organizes interviews and broadcasts shows with content on issues they think are important to the public. This brings in the aspect of the media's agenda setting role in society.

On the question of perception regarding political content on Kenya's media during the 2013 general election, the interviewee said that the media was mostly subjective rather than objective in its political coverage.

Further the study sought to find out what the interviewees thought about political advertisement on radio. Majority of those interviewed affirmed that the adverts aired presented the agenda for each candidate and the promises they were to fulfill once elected.

One of those interviewed said:

[...] the adverts were full of promises the candidates would bring.

[Journalist, Nairobi].

[...] more biased and not really factual. However, it was a clear manifesto that would sway the voter

[Politician, Nairobi].

4.6.2 Factors Informing Use of Radio in Political Communication and Mobilization

This study sought to find out the factors that inform the use of radio in political communication and mobilization. The responses given were as follows:

a) Forms of media: All journalists and politicians interviewed preferred radio as opposed to television and social media. The reasons for selecting radio were that radio was seen to be quite easy to tune into and consume information. For example one of them said:

[...] am able to understand more through the non-verbal cues.

[Journalist, Nairobi].

[...] it's flexible to tune in and consume the content....

[Politician, Nairobi]

b) Access and availability of radio: The perception of a broadcast journalist was key as it presented the views of media personalities. They reported that radio was passive and anyone could listen to what was being aired as they go about their daily chores.

“radio does not invade your space or cut you off your activities.”

[Politicians, Nairobi]

c) Less expensive: The respondents stated that radio is less expensive and easily accessible thus making it easier for people to receive political messages through it.

They further pointed out that radio was ubiquitously available due to the fact that technology had enabled it to be embedded in mobile phones. This findings, agreed with arguments by scholars such as Adeoye (2010) and Kinyua & Ngugi (2014), who pointed out that the sheer nature of radio makes program production cost-effective.

4.6.3. Effectiveness of Radio as a Political Mobilization Tool in 2013 General Election

Majority of the key informants agreed that radio was quite instrumental in the March 4 2013 general election as far as political mobilization is concerned. This assertion affirms arguments advanced by scholars quoted in the literature review of this study such as Kavikiru (2006) and Biagi (2012), as well as statistics provided by the Media Council of Kenya (2013), which indicated Kenyans preference of radio as their main source of information. Some of those interviewed as Key informants support this position as stated by one of them below.

[...] its performance was 90% as people went about their businesses and were still able to monitor the elections from wherever they were.

[Journalist, Nairobi].

[...] Radio played a very active role through talk shows and mobilization during the voter registration and voting.

[Journalist, Nairobi].

However while some key informants affirmed that political communication on radio was effective during the electioneering period, a politician who shared his views with the researcher was of a contrary opinion. He stated that:

[...] not really because a lot of time regional and tribal politics prevailed

[Politician, Nairobi].

[...] TV had an upper hand in giving more airtime to talk shows and live coverage.

[Journalist, Nairobi].

4.7 Conclusion

These findings show that sampled respondents were members of different political parties who took part in the 4th March 2013 general election in Kenya. However majority were affiliated to ODM and TNA political parties. Majority of the respondents indicated that they

had voted for Jubilee and CORD which were the main coalitions in the 4th March 2013 contest. The findings indicated that out of the 76% that listened to radio, majority preferred listening to it during morning and evening hours.

Most of the political content that was aired on radio, was dominated by messages of attacking their opponents. The findings further show that media category, types of political advertisements and category of radio stations significantly affected the use of radio in political mobilization. In conclusion, radio was a tool for political mobilization in 4th March 2013 general election as affirmed by majority of the key informants.

The next chapter presents the discussion on the findings presented in this chapter and draws conclusion and recommendations from the key findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Overview

This chapter presents the discussions of the findings (section 5.2). The discussion was based on the interpretation of the findings and comparison of the findings with previous published scholarly works. The discussion was done in three sub sections (5.2.1 to 5.2.3) according to the research objectives. The chapter ends with conclusion (5.3), recommendations (5.4) from the findings and areas for further research (5.5).

5.2. Discussions

5.2.1. Types of Political Advertisements

The findings of this study indicate that majority (76%) of the respondents listened to radio during 4th March 2013 general election in Kenya. It further indicated that all those who were tuned in to radio were exposed to political content either through news, political talk-shows and radio advertisements. It further shows that majority of the voters listened to radio during morning and evening hours (see table 4.1).

This finding concur with a review study conducted in 2012 by Ipsos Synovate that identified news as a key driver of radio listenership. According to the study, 81% of Kenyans aged 15 years and above listened to radio regularly during the week.

The findings further show that most of the political messages that were aired during the electioneering period extoled the virtues of presidential candidates as opposed to attacking their opponents (see table 4.2).

For instance, this argument was corroborated by majority (82%) of the sampled respondents who reported that most of the political advertisements aired were in support of the candidates. The findings of this study affirmed a study conducted in Nigeria in 2013 which established that politicians used political advertisements especially those in support of the candidates to appeal to emotions of the electorates aimed at influencing them to cast votes in their favour.

The reasons for using political messages that support a candidate is seen as a way of involving the electorate in analyzing the images and appearances of the candidates and evaluation of the issues in relation to political programs or manifestoes advanced by the candidates. In addition, the supportive political messages communicate the candidate's attributes that relate to the voters to gain their confidence and vote for that given candidate.

5.2.2. Factors Affecting Use of Radio in Political Mobilization

The study shows that there were factors that affected the use of radio in political mobilization. One of the factors was the categories of the media i.e public and private. Radio is in competition for political content with other media channels. As stated in the propaganda model (section 2.4), media generate its revenue from advertisements.

This applied during the 4th March 2013 general election's campaign, whereby all media channels in Kenya had to compete for the political advertisements available at that time, hence making the categories of media significantly associated with use of radio in political mobilization.

During this period, only 12% of the sampled respondents preferred listening to radio as opposed to other media (Figure 4.5). The findings further show that radio was less likely to be used in political mobilization as compared to other media channels.

Another factor was the type of political advertisements. From the findings it is clear that political advertisements were significantly associated with the use of radio in political mobilization. Political advertisement with political messages that support certain candidates was 5 times higher likely to attract the use of radio in political mobilization than the attaching political messages.

The category of radio station also affected the use of radio as a political mobilization tool. In Kenya we have private and public radio stations. As stated by the propaganda model in the theoretical framework (section 2.4) the two categories of radio stations depict the ownership with the public being owned by the government and private by businessmen and politicians. During the 2013 general election, the study established that categories of radio stations were significantly associated with the use of radio in political mobilization. It was also established that public radio stations (mainly KBC) was less likely to be used for political mobilization than private radio stations.

The findings confirm the Chomsky and Herman (1988) propaganda theory in which the first filter that the news go through is media ownership. In 2013 general election, private media was used more than public radio station as shown in figure 4.3. The findings show that Radio Citizen and Classic FM were listed most by many of the sampled respondents.

Use of private radio stations can be attributed to the fact that the stations are owned by politicians, corporations and business persons who could be allied to the politicians.

Advertisement being a main source of revenue then, the politicians' choice was private radio stations.

Other factors mentioned by sampled key informants included size of the audience, accessibility, availability and affordability of the radio.

5.2.3. Effectiveness of Radio as a Political Mobilization Tool During 2013 General Election

This study also investigated whether radio was effective in political mobilization in 2013 general election. The study shows that majority (76%) of the sampled respondents reported that radio played a key role in mobilizing voters to vote for their preferred candidates. They also rated radio as an excellent and a good tool for political mobilization.

The effectiveness of radio can be attributed to the fact that by 2013, radio stations had increased to over 100 (Ipsos Synovate, 2012). Another reason is that radio can be listened to from everywhere and at any time regardless of the activity one is engaged in. This attribute has made radio to be a tool that cannot be ignored by politicians during their political campaigns and voter education.

5.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study found out that radio is part of the mainstream media that was used in political mobilization in 2013 general election. Political content was aired through radio news, political talk shows and political adverts. The political advertisements were either in support of the presidential candidates (supportive political messages) or attacked the opponents (attack political messages).

Key factors that affected the use of radio in political mobilization were categories of the media, radio stations ownership (public and private) and type of political advertisements. The factors were found statistically significant to the use of radio in political mobilization. Other factors include size of the audience, radio accessibility and affordability.

In nutshell, sampled respondents confirmed that indeed, radio was an effective tool in political mobilization in 4th March 2013 general election.

5.4. Recommendations

- Presidential candidates should continue using radio as a tool of political mobilization but allow political messages to focus more on issues affecting citizens as opposed to campaigns on those that sell the attributes of the candidates.
- There is need for marketing of radio to the political class in Kenya so that in future they can use radio more to channel their messages to the electorate. This is because radio can reach remote areas where other mainstream media cannot.
- Increase the number of radio talk shows to educate voters on their rights to vote and more so to understand issues of national importance that can be solved by electing the right person into the top leadership of the country.

5.5. Areas for further research

- There is need to conduct in-depth research to investigate why public radio station (KBC) was less likely to be used in political advertisement despite being the oldest radio station in Kenya and reaches all parts of the country

- A comparative study between radio and other media will help in understanding the cost effectiveness of political advertisement through all the mainstream media
- There is need to further investigate through a longitudinal study the factors that affect political mobilization before and during political campaigns.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire for Voters

Introduction:

My name is Crispus Yankem, a Masters student in Communication and Development Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research into the role of radio as a tool for political mobilization in Kenya. I am requesting you to please take a few moments to complete this questionnaire. You are assured of complete anonymity and do not have to provide your name unless you want to. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have. Please get in touch with me at cyankem@gmail.com if you have any questions or would like to receive a summary of the results. Thank you in advance for your assistance

Section I:

Background Information of the Respondent:

Note: Please tick (✓)

1. What is your age bracket?

A. 18-28 B. 29-39 C. 40-50 D. 51 and above

2. What is your gender?

A. Female B. Male C. Others

3. What is your highest level of education?

A. University B. Tertiary C. Secondary D. Primary

E. No formal Education

4. Are you Married?

A. Yes B. No

5. Do you have children? (Skip if not appropriate)

A. Yes B. No

6. What is your religion?

A. Christian B. Muslim C. Others

Section II:

Media in Political Processes in Kenya

7. What is your preferred medium?

A. Television B. Radio C. Social Media

8. a) Do you like listening to programs with political content?

A. Yes B. No

b) Name some of the political show on radio

- i. Agenda ya Mageuzi
- ii. Ndimizahoja
- iii. Kivumbi
- iv. Others

.....

9. Do you think these shows have had an impact on the role of media in Kenya in shaping our political processes?

A. Yes B. No

10. What do you suggest that the media should focus on to improve its role in political processes?

A. Civic/Voter Education

B. Electoral malpractices

C. Strengthening of IEBC

D. Any other (Please indicate).....

Section III Factors Informing the Use of Radio in Political Communication and Mobilization

11.

a) Do you listen to radio?

A. Yes B. No

b) If YES, what radio station do you listen to? (Please tick one)

i. Radio Citizen

ii. Milelefm

iii. Radio Maisha

- iv. Qfm
- v. Radio Jambo
- vi. KBC Radio Taifa
- vii. Classic fm
- viii. Kiss fm
- ix. Easy fm
- x. Capital fm
- xi. others

d) What are the factors that inform your choice of the said radio station?

A. Political Talkshows B. News C. Entertainment

D. Others. (Please specify)

12. How would you rate the role of radio in political mobilization in Kenya?

A. Excellent B. Good C. Average Poor

Section IV. Effectiveness of Radio as a Tool of Political Mobilization During 2013 Presidential Election.

13.

a) Are you a registered voter

A. Yes B. No

b) Please specify the ward.....

12. If YES, when did you register?

A. Five years ago B. Ten years ago C. Others

13. How many elections have you participated in?

A. One B. Two C. Three D. More than Four

14. Did you vote during the 4th March 2013 general election?

A. Yes B. No

15.

a) Did you listen to radio during the official presidential campaign for 4th March 2013?

A. Yes B. No

b) If YES, what time?

A. Morning hours B. Afternoon hours C. Evening D. All day

16.

a) Do you recall listening to any presidential advertisement on radio during the 2013 campaigns?

A. Yes B. No

b) If YES, are you able to recall any specific one?

Please briefly explain.

c) How would you describe the content of the advert?

A. Attacking the opponent?

B. Praising candidates?

C. Explaining candidates' agenda for the country.

c) State whether the advert influenced you to go and vote for your preferred choice in the presidential election

d) Briefly comment on the choice of radio as a medium through which the advert was aired.

.....

END.

Appendix 2: In-Depth Personal Interview Guide For Key Informant

Introduction:

My name is Crispus Yankem, a Masters student in Communication and Development Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research into the role of radio as a tool for political mobilization in Kenya. I am requesting you to please take a few moments to complete this questionnaire. You are assured of complete anonymity and do not have to provide your name unless you want to. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have. Please get in touch with me at cyankem@gmail.com if you have any questions or would like to receive a summary of the results. Thank you in advance for your assistance

Section 1

Note: Please tick (✓) where applicable.

Background of the Informant:

1. What is your profession?

.....

2. What is your highest academic qualification?

PhD. Masters Under graduate

3. What is your religion?

Christian Muslim Others

Section II

Media and Political Processes in Kenya

4. a) What is your preferred medium?

Radio Television Social Media

b) Briefly explain reasons for your choice

.....

5. a) Do you like listening to programs with political content?

A. Yes B. No

b) What do you think of the media content?

.....

6. How do you assess the political content in Kenya's media vis a vis the role of the media in political processes?

.....

7. What areas should the media focus on in order to enhance Kenya's political processes?

.....

Section III

Factors Informing the Use of Radio in Political Communication and Mobilization

8. As a media personality, specifically, what do you think are the factors that inform the use of radio in Kenya as a tool of political mobilization and communication?

.....

9. How would you assess radio's performance as a tool of political mobilization during Kenya's 2013 presidential election?

.....

10.a) Do you recall any adverts aired on radio by presidential candidates in the 2013 campaigns?

.....

b) How would you describe the content of these adverts?

.....

c) Do you think radio advertisement was effective in mobilizing the voters to participate in the election? Please elaborate your answer.

.....

END.

APPENDIX 3.

IN-DEPTH PERSONAL INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT

Introduction:

My name is Crispus Yankem, a Masters student in Communication and Development Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research into the role of radio as a tool for political mobilization in Kenya. I am requesting you to please take a few moments to complete this questionnaire. You are assured of complete anonymity and do not have to provide your name unless you want to. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have. Please get in touch with me at cyankem@gmail.com if you have any questions or would like to receive a summary of the results. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Section 1

Note: Please tick (✓) where applicable.

Background of the Informant:

11. What is your profession?
.....

12. What is your highest academic qualification?

PhD Masters Under graduate

13. What is your religion?

Christian Muslim Others

Section II

Media and Political Processes in Kenya

14. a) What is your preferred medium?

Radio Television int Social Media

b) Please give reasons for you answer
.....

15. a) Do you like listening to programs with political content?

A. Yes B. No

b) What do you think of the media content?
.....

16. How do you assess the political content in Kenya's media vis a vis the role of the media in political processes?
.....

17. What areas should the media focus on in order to enhance Kenya's political processes?
.....

Section III

Factors Informing the Use of Radio in Political Communication and Mobilization

18. What do you think are the factors that informed the use of radio in Kenya as a tool of political mobilization and communication?
.....

19. How would you assess radio's performance as a tool of political mobilization during Kenya's 2013 presidential election? Please explain your answer.
.....

20. a) Did you air any adverts on radio to mobilize voters to vote for your presidential candidate during March 4 general election?
.....

b) Please name any that you can remember
.....

c) What do you think about the content of the adverts that you aired on radio?
.....

d) Do you think radio advertisement was effective in mobilizing the voters to participate in the election? Please explain
.....

END.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSE!