

**THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON KENYA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
OUTCOME: A STUDY OF 2013 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN STAREHE
CONSTITUENCY, NAIROBI.**

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OCTOBER, 2014

DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University for whatever award. It may not be reproduced by any means in full or in part except with written permission from either the author or the University of Nairobi.

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that I have guided the above candidate throughout the development of this project and hereby authorise it for examination by the University of Nairobi.

Dr Silas Oriaso

Date

DEDICATION

Becoming a father at the time of preparing for this research project made it more rewarding. This work is therefore dedicated to my son Charles Fortune Buchere and wife Emma Njeru.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Foremost I thank the Almighty Lord for making it possible for me to undertake and complete this research project. Secondly, my appreciation goes to Dr Silas Oriaso, my supervisor who relentlessly guided, encouraged and inspired me throughout the formulation and writing of this study. Similarly, I wish to express my gratitude to all the University of Nairobi lecturers, at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, especially Dr Ndeti Ndati, Mr Sam Ngigi, Dr Wambui Kiai and Mr Isaac Ndolo, for their academic guidance and encouragements.

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ABSTRACT

Little is known in terms of the effect of the increased use of social media tools on the election outcome. This study therefore sought to find out the effect of these social media tools on the Presidential election results. The main objective of the study was to establish the impact of social media on presidential elections. The specific objectives of the study were to; establish the extent to which the electorate relies on social media in making their election decisions; find out the benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign; find out the impact of social media on presidential elections and finally to establish how social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive results.

The location of this study was Starehe Constituency in Nairobi County, which was chosen because it has higher internet and social media accessibility. The target population was all the 138,630 registered voters in the constituency. The researcher used mixed method approach (both quantitative and qualitative methods) to collect data. A total of 190 questionnaires were distributed to respondents; 150 electorate of Starehe Constituency, 20 politicians and 20 communication experts) and 164 questionnaires were returned representing 86.3% response rate. The researcher also interviewed 10 key informants (five political scientists and five IEBC officials) to collect qualitative data. Quantitative data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17 while the qualitative data was analysed by obtaining detailed information, then trying to establish patterns, trends and relationships from the information gathered. Finally, the data was presented using tables, bar graphs, pie charts and narratives.

According to the findings of the study, to some extent the electorate relied on social media in making their election decisions. The study further established that for the electorate the main reason or benefit for being on the social media was to get information while for the politician it's the presence of a ready audience to share information with. The analysis of data also indicated that social media will continue being a reliable tool of communication in future elections. It's therefore recommended that politicians and political parties embrace the social media as a tool of political campaign to reap its benefits.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- APK – Alliance Party of Kenya
- ARK- Alliance for Real Change
- CORD – Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
- CPE – Certificate of Primary Education
- GNU- Grand National Union
- ICT – Information and Communication Technology
- IEBC – Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
- IWMF – International Women’s Media Foundation
- KCPE – Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
- KCSE – Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
- KJSEC – Kenya Junior Secondary Education Certificate
- RBK – Restore and Build Kenya
- SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)
- TNA – The National Alliance
- UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Education Fund
- UNDP – United Nations Development Fund
- URP – United Republican Party

OPERATIONALISATION OF CONCEPTS

Effect – It is the result, impact or outcome of something.

Social media: It refers to online platforms that allow for participation, information sharing, communication and user create content in a community of users (Henderson & Bowley, 2010). Social media can be defined as web based services where users can create a public profile, create a list of users they are connected to, and access their own and other users' list of contacts (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Bradley, (2010) defines it as a set of technologies and channels targeted at forming and enabling a potentially massive community of participants to productively collaborate.

Social networking: Boyd & Ellison, (2007) define social network sites as web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system; articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection; and view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.

In explaining the difference between social media and social networking, Cohen, 2009;Hartshorn , 2010 in Edsomwan, et al (2011) postulate that social media is still a media which primarily used to transmit or share information with a broad audience, while social networking is an act of engagement as people with common interests associate together and build relationships through community.

Henderson and Bowley (2010; Grow 2012), define social media as online platforms that allow for participation, information sharing, communication and user create content in a community of users. This study will adopt this definition because it fits Facebook and Twitter (the social media tools) that will be used for this research.

Political communications: It is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public (Norris, 2004).

Political power: Bambra, et al (2003) is the process through which the production, distribution and use of scarce resources is determined in all areas of social existence.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the basic contexts to the study including; the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, study justification, significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study, operationalisation of concepts and the conceptual framework.

1.1 Background to the study

Today, political victories are determined by the quantity and quality of information that campaigners can access with regards to their political rivals and constituents (McClurg and Holbrook, 2009; Wasswa, 2013). Social media has become deeply embedded in politics, serving not only as a timely communication channel between candidates and constituents but also as a comprehensive news source for the mass media and people interested in monitoring the progress of polling throughout the day, plus the counting and announcement of the outcome (Asina, 2013). Political figures have attached significance to the power of social media in reaching the masses during a campaign. Social media has become a 21st century innovation for political party contestants (Bugalo, 2011).

Researchers, politicians and the public are still attempting to understand the most effective and useful practices in managing social media sites (Hellweg, 2011). The internet and an extraordinary social movement enabled President Barack Obama to come to power and the youth were the engine of his victory (Harfoush, 2009; Hellweg, A. 2011). Most politicians are now replicating Barack Obama's use of social media and in

turn, consider Facebook and Twitter as essential campaign tactics (Hellweg, 2011). This reliance on social media and use of an array of new, incredibly speedy and cheap internet tools – email, social networks, twitter and the like – to run a grassroots campaign that contacted individual voters in personalised encounters on a near daily basis was the first fully formed campaign whose success was partially attributed to social media use by researchers and news outlets alike (Graber, 2010).

According to Bugalo (2011), the new media landscape has become a place of discourse and a public sphere to share ideas, goals, accomplishments, footage on milestones and engaging users, adding a human touch to campaigns. Political elites who have already established themselves use internet technologies such as social media to gather intelligence on the voters, organise volunteers, raise funds and research on their opposition (Howard, 2005). Facebook and Twitter offer a new outlet to mobilise groups to action and unlike most media, the receiver cares about the sender enough to seek out additional information (Shirky, 2008:184).

In the Kenya's 2013, Presidential elections, social media had a significant impact on the campaign process; the platform provided a cheaper means of campaigning for less known presidential candidates (Wasswa, 2013). The media landscape has changed, and it is therefore important to study in what manners politicians make use of social media (Pettersen & Karlstrom, 2011). Today anyone who owns a computer owns a press. As a result, the Web is turning journalism from merely a representative form of information exchange to a town hall meeting, where all the individuals in the community represent themselves (Kolodzy, 2006).

According to Wasswa (2013), internet technologies are increasingly being used to provide political information in the public sphere since unlike the traditional media, they possess interactive tools for both production and consumption of political content. Social media simplifies word of mouth and facilitates collaboration, a concept key to generating and maintaining interest in a campaign (McConnell, 2007). The introduction of social media in politics opens new venues for discussion and profiling, and these new venues serve as a more direct channel to voters (Pettersen & Karlstrom, 2011). In combination, the new venues bring a much broader spectrum of political views to the fore and offer many new opportunities for interested citizens to participate in politics (Bucy & Gregson, 2002; Dahlberg, 2001).

But even as these social networking sites are increasingly being used in political campaigns, it's not fully established if they can directly affect election results according to Connors 2005; Wasswa 2013. While there is no shortage of examples of ways in which social media played a facilitating role in the 2008 US election, there is little evidence that any of these social media venues actually drove discussion, participation or outcomes (Metzgar & Marrugi, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is no doubt that communication technology and the media have had an impact on democracy. The introduction of new technology has provided us with new channels of communication (Marvin, 2013). The introduction of social media in politics opens new venues for discussion and profiling, and these new venues serve as a more direct channel to voters (Pettersen & Karlstrom 2011) and in combination, the new venues bring a much broader spectrum of political views to the fore and offer many new

opportunities for interested citizens to participate in politics (Bucy & Gregson, 2002; Dahlberg, 2001).

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 (Wasswa, 2013). There is anecdotal evidence that social media is effective in mobilising voters (Christopoulos, 2013). Social media has provided a platform to question leaders such that the electorate is no longer a passive audience waiting to vote (Bugalo, 2011). The use of social media in Presidential and other political campaigns continues to increasingly gain popularity. However, little is known as to whether this increased use of social media has effect on the election outcome (Metzgar & Marrugi, 2009).

This study therefore sought to establish the effect of social media tools on the election outcomes of the candidates who use these social media as tools of political campaign. Thus the main research question was “What is the effect of social media tools on the election results amongst different candidates?”

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, the following objectives were met:

1.3.1 General objective

The main objective was to establish the impact of social media on election outcome.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study were;

- (i) To establish the extent to which the electorate rely on social media in making their election decisions.
- (ii) To find out the benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign.
- (iii) To establish the impact of social media on presidential elections.
- (iv) To establish how social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive election results.

1.4 Research Questions

This study revolved around the following specific research questions:

- (i) To what extent does the electorate rely on social media in making their decisions?
- (ii) What are the benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign?
- (iii) What is the impact of social media on presidential elections?
- (iv) How can the social media be used effectively in future to yield positive election results?

1.5 Study justification

Social media has become a popular tool for political campaigns. Since this is a platform that offers the politicians and the electorate the opportunity to be in touch constantly at relatively low costs, it is important for the users to understand its use and benefits. For those driving the political campaigns, it is even more important to come up with a social media communication strategy. The findings of this study are therefore vital, as the generated information is useful to the scholars, political parties, politicians

and campaign managers. The findings and recommendations of the study are also useful for the policy makers and relevant authorities in the area of social media sites.

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that the findings of this study has provided important information useful in promoting effective use of social media in targeted political campaigns. The following are the beneficiaries of this study; politicians, political strategists, the electorate, election managers, communication students and tutors. The politicians will benefit as the findings will equip them with information necessary for building relationships for their future campaigns. The information is useful for the political strategists as they will be able to incorporate a social media communication strategy in their political campaigns.

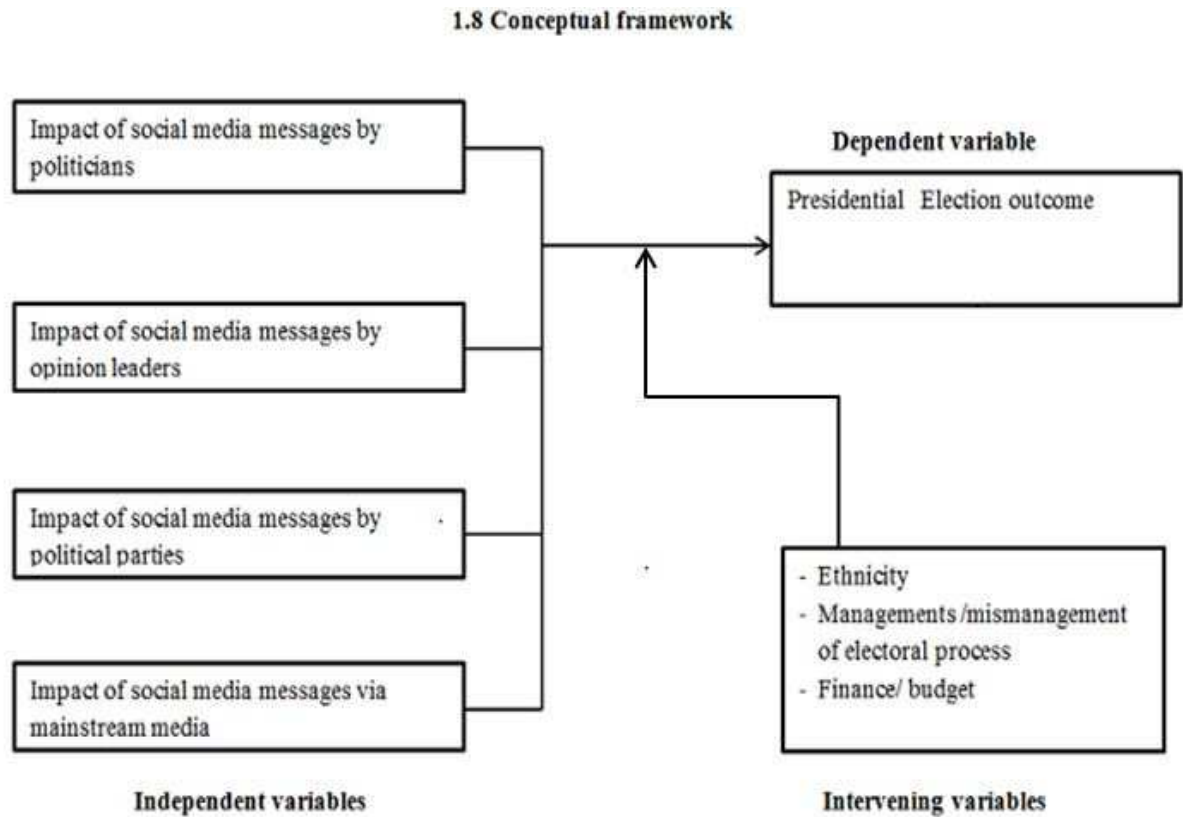
The electorate will benefit as the information gathered will strengthen their levels of interaction and political participation processes. For the election managers, the information will also be useful as it will shape their thinking in terms of use of optimal resources for successful elections. Communication students and tutors will benefit from this information as it will satisfy their thirst for knowledge in the area of social media. Finally, the study will also help policy makers to come up with firm policies to govern social media campaigns.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study scope was on the effect of social media on election outcome in Kenya. The study was limited to 2013 Presidential elections, specifically Starehe Constituency

within Nairobi County. Starehe Constituency was ideal for this study because it has high internet accessibility and social media and out of the 17 Constituencies in Nairobi, it had the highest number of registered voters with 138,630 according to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) data. The Constituency has a population of 166,041. IEBC had targeted to register an estimated population of 77,408. It is clear from the available IEBC data, that even nationwide, the Constituency registered the highest percentage enrollment at 179.1%. This study also considered only Facebook and Twitter, which are the most popular social networking sites in Kenya.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework



Independent variables

An independent variable is a variable that a researcher manipulates in order to determine its effect or influence on another variable (Mugenda, 2008). Independent variables are also called predictor variables because they predict the amount of variation that occurs in another variable (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003).

In the above figure, the independent variables are based on the impact of social media on presidential elections outcome as a result of the interactions of the voter with the messages from; politicians; the political parties; via the mainstream media and the opinion leaders. The variables politicians, political parties, mainstream media and opinion leaders are all independent variables.

Dependent variables

A dependent variable is a variable that is influenced or changed by another variable (Mugenda, 2008).

Sometimes it is also called the criterion variable, or outcome variable. It attempts to indicate the total influence arising from the effects of the independent variable (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). A dependent variable therefore varies as a function of the independent variable. In the above figure presidential election outcome is the dependent variable.

Intervening variables

An intervening variable may be considered as a very special case of an extraneous variable. The distinction between the two is probably a theoretical issue rather than a practical one (Mugenda, 2008).

Extraneous variables are those variables that affect the outcome of a research study either because the researcher is not aware of their existence or if the researcher is aware, he or she does not have control over them (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003). In the above figure the intervening variables are; ethnicity, management/mismanagement of

electoral process and finance/election budget. An intervening variable comes between the independent and dependent variables.

1.9 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has offered the introduction and background to the present study. This has been achieved through outlining a clear statement of the problem, the study justification, significance and purpose of the study. Lastly, a brief definition of the key terms in the study has been presented. The next chapter covers the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In line with the research objectives, relevant literature was reviewed to cover factors that determine the choice of a Presidential candidate, the electorate's reliance on social media as a tool of political campaign, benefits and challenges of social media as a tool of political campaign and the best way of using social media.

2.1 Political communication

Political communications is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public (Norris, 2004). There's no doubt that the mass media and to a great extent social media is powerful as it has become part of us. The media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about (Cohen, 1963:13). Those who want to curb the power of the press point out that it is no longer the "fragile" thing it was at its inception (Okigbo, 1994).

In democratic systems the media function both as transmitters of political communication which originates outside the media organisations itself, and as senders of political messages constructed by journalists. The role of the media in both respects is crucial (McNair, 2003). Okolo, E.D ; Okigbo, 1994, notes that since politics is a game of competing ideas and interests in which the people have to make a choice, media reports must be fair enough to represent all sides, and provide enough education by emphasising substantive issues of social and economic development. Media are valuable agents in society. They are fundamental in shaping public opinion. Taking an ombudsman role

between political powers and people, they are arbiters of political games (Duplat 2003:19). The importance of the media is well illustrated via Blumler in McNair (2003), who states that at a time when the public's confidence in many social and political institutions has steeply declined voters become more dependent on media resources for impressions of what is at stake.

Political figures have attached significance to the power of social media in reaching the masses during a campaign. Social media has become a 21st century innovation for political party contestants (Bugalo, 2011). McConnell, 2007; Hellweg, 2011, asserts that social media simplifies word of mouth and facilitates collaboration, a concept key to generating and maintaining interest in a campaign. Despite the challenges of social media, political campaigners can now interact directly with the electorate. Candidates are using social media to share information and politics is almost taking over the cyberspace whereas campaign messages are defeating territorial boundaries (Bugalo, 2011). Twitter and Facebook have also created an audience that is aware of not only the elements in the message but of processing those elements (Hellweg, 2011).

Past studies on electoral campaigns have noted that a candidate's impression management, political style and self-presentation are relevant to electoral political campaigns and that authenticity has long been an important dimension in politics (Berman, 1970; Mayhew, 1974; Pels, 2003; Corner, 2003) in Grow (2012).

2.2 History of social media

Social media is not a new concept – it has been evolving since the dawn of human interaction (Edsomwan, et al 2011). Carton, 2009; Edsomwan et al (2011) note that

throughout history we have developed technologies that make it easier for us to communicate with each other; social networks have evolved over the years to the modern day variety which uses digital media. Myspace and LinkedIn were created in 2003, Facebook in 2004, YouTube in 2005 and Twitter in 2006 (Gelber, 2011).

Since their introduction Social Network Sites (SNSs) such as MySpace, Facebook, Cyworld, and Bebo have attracted millions of users, many of whom have integrated these sites into their daily practices. The first recognisable social network site launched in 1997 SixDegrees.com allowed users to create profiles, list their friends (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

MySpace launched in Santa Monica, California begun in 2003 to compete with sites like Friendster, Xanga and Asian Avenue while Facebook began in early 2004 as a Harvard – only SNS which expanded beginning September, 2005 to include high school students, professionals and eventually everyone (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Twitter was developed as a micro-blogging tool where all the status updates as well the opinions written can be searched and extracted using the twitter search API (Twitter, 2011). Facebook which is the most popular allows campaigners to send out mass messages, post pictures and videos and interact with the public (Adibe, 2012).

2.3 Social media as a tool of political campaign

McQuail (2005:525) in Nyabuga (2013) argues political parties always seek to continuously engage in a “process of news management and competition to define events and issues. All significant actors employ professional news managers (spin doctors) to ensure access on favourable terms in normal daily news and put the best gloss possible on

a news story.” Political elites, scholars and pundits have suggested increased personalisation of politics. Politicians particularly political leaders, increasingly try to bypass the traditional communication through parties and establish direct links with citizens (Poguntke and Web, 2005; Karvonen, 2010; Renwick and Pilet, 2011).

Systems of political communication around the world have significantly evolved over the last decade. The introduction of digital media has given political parties worldwide new tools for logistics and new ways of reaching potential supporters (Chadwick, 2006; Chadwick & Howard 2009; Davis 1999; Foot & Schneider, 2006; Howard, 2006; Xenos & Foot, 2005) in Gilmore & Howard (2013). Social media’s quick development into an important way to influence society is part of the advancement of information and communication technologies (Toivo, 2012).

2.3.1 Global use of social media as a tool of political campaign

US President Barack Obama is one of the most well-known politicians whose successful campaign through the social media to speak to the citizens directly, demonstrates the power of this campaign tool (Crawford, 2009). The internet and an extra-ordinary social movement enabled President Obama to come to power and the youth were the engine of his victory according to Harfoush, 2009; Hellweg, 2011. He emerged as the champion of new media by using social networking tools in innovative ways to turn on and turn out young voters (Gelber, 2011). The campaign actually demonstrated the power and reach of social media and how it can be used to change the political landscape hence social media tools have been touted as the leading platforms to engage voters (Choy, et al 2012).

One of the great success stories for the use of social media are targeted political campaigns and these social media supplement rather than supplant traditional methods of political campaigning (Christopoulos, 2013). In Malaysia, during the 12th general election in 2008, social media was definitely an important instrument in promoting democracy. It opened up the space for the Malaysian citizens to deliberate political issues and gave the opportunities for the opposition to utilise in influencing the election result (Sani and Zengeni, 2010). Shirky, 2011; Safranek, 2013, observes that the most promising way to think about social media is as long term tools that can strengthen civil society and the public sphere and social media can compensate for the disadvantages of undisciplined groups by reducing the costs of coordination.

The fact that social media offers solutions to the needs of a thirsty for information audience, is evidence and can also be demonstrated by Singaporeans during their May 2011 general elections. As they tuned their televisions to watch the live coverage of the general election results, they were frustrated as the local television coverage failed to offer the viewers any insight as to how the vote was progressing. In contrast thousands of Singaporeans following Twitter hash tag #sgelections were receiving up to the second voting information, much of it fairly accurate.

Since the 2011 general election, Singapore's ruling party has decisively lost two by-elections and had to face the ignominy of nearly losing the presidential election (65 % of Singaporeans voted against the PAP's candidate). In all these campaigns, social media played a significant role not only providing a platform for candidates and parties, but also in counterbalancing advantages the ruling party enjoys in the mainstream media (Black et al 2013). Elsewhere in Moldova, social media was used as a tool of political revolution in

2009, as activists used Facebook, Livejournal and Twitter to organise protests (Safranek, 2012).

2.3.2 Use of social media for political campaign in Africa

The use of social media in politics has continued to grow in many parts of Africa in recent time. The year 2011 alone witnessed a massive use of mobile phones sms, Facebook and Twitter among others in the national and local elections in Nigeria and South Africa respectively (Adibe, Odoemalam & Chibuzwe, 2012). In other African countries like Egypt, social media has also been used by activists for organising and generating awareness of political mobilisation in the uprisings that took place in January and February 2011 (Storck, 2011). Adibe et al (2012) aver that social media was also used in South Sudan during the independence referendum as well as in the Arab uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Lybia.

Intensive use of digital media and mobile phones was one of the special features of the Ghanaian presidential elections of December 2008, which witnessed an election campaign revolving around two major political rivals Mr. John Atta Mills and Nana Akufo – Ado (Riaz, 2010).

2.3.3 Use of social media for political campaign in East Africa

In East Africa like the rest of the world, there's growing use of social media. Spider (2012), for example asserts that during Uganda's February – March 2011 elections, ICT tools including mobile phones, social media, crowd sourcing platforms, as well as radio and television were used broadly, for campaigning, tallying results,

monitoring the actions of political groups and the electoral body, for civic education and for activism. During the 2010 elections in Tanzania, presidential candidates and parliamentary candidates also used new media tools to communicate with potential voters. They used social media tools such as blogs, online videos, Facebook and Twitter alongside campaign rallies to create deeper engagement with voters (Tungaraza, 2010).

2.3.4 Use of social media for political campaign in Kenya

The rate of internet use in Kenya is growing very rapidly. In a report presented at an ICT conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Kenya's most popular websites have changed significantly over the past few years. Social networking sites have been receiving more traffic than the more traditional websites (Keimbaro, 2008; Thotho, 2010). During the 2013 presidential elections, new media played different roles for different parties. Some parties emphasised on the participatory aspects of the new technologies in communicating with voters and monitoring of public opinion, while others focused on the possibility of top-down information dissemination. New media was identified as a means of people to communicate their thoughts as well as communicate with the political candidates (Odinga 2013).

According to Oser, J. (2013) in Obare (2013), there is a growing trend in Kenya for Social Network Sites (SNS) to shape modern politics than ever before (Ndavula and Mberia, 2012). The emergence of social media in Kenya has increased political participation especially among the youth who previously did not participate in politics.

In Kenya, new media is not only seen as an extension or substitute of mainstream media and non-media activities; they also merge and mingle with. New media is

increasingly seen especially during election period as being an integral part in news gathering and dissemination (Odinga, 2013). The unrest witnessed in Kenya created by fighting between political parties' workers during the elections in December, 2007, was also as a result of new media technology (Riaz, 2010).

2.4 Factors that determine choice of a presidential candidate

Alvarez and Nagler (1997), posit that scholarly and popular discussions of presidential election outcomes have focused on three causal factors: the state of the economy, the positions of voters and candidates on the issues, and on the ability of candidates to conduct effective campaigns for office. But at the same time these scholars observe that many in academic and popular circles have pointed to a number of non-economic factors as potentially important features of presidential politics. For example, in the recent years social issues may have risen in importance as factors in presidential politics, most especially the issues of abortion and voter anger with Washington and the Federal Government.

In Kenya's political environment, leaders aspire for political office because of self-interest- both material and psychological – or self-sacrifice although in most instances it is hardly the latter. In most instances, self-interested leaders realise their service to others will eventually benefit their own interests particularly when they have at their disposal public resources from which they often illegally tap (Nyabuga, 2013).

Ethnic identity in many African countries influences political and social behaviour. Ethnic identity influences who one trusts, does business with, gets married to and whom to vote for (Romero, 2010).

From independence in 1963, Kenyan politics was dominated by the influence of ethnicity (Markussen & Mbuvi, 2011) and according to Nyabuga (2013), Kenya's politics is almost synonymous with ethnicity, and consequently, the inability of the country's leadership to steer clear of ethnicity is seen as part of selfish attempts to play an ethnic game to maintain the status quo. At the same time, Kenya is so ethnically fragmented that inter-ethnic coalition building is always a necessary component of a strategy to secure a stable power base (Markussen & Mbuvi, 2011). In ethnically diverse countries like Kenya, political parties have used ethnic identity to mobilise voters and to establish political alliances, leading in some cases to violent ethnic conflicts (Romero, 2010).

There are a number of shortcomings that have characterised Kenya's electoral system since independence. First is the lack of equity of voice in the legislature and local authorities. This has meant minorities either had very weak representation in the representative bodies or none at all. Such minority groups include women, the disabled, racial groups such as Asians, Arabs, and Europeans and ethnic minorities such as the Sengwer, the Nubian, the Ogiek, the El Molo, the Sakweri and the Ilchamus (Oloo, 2007). This in itself has a negative impact on the electorate. Burgess, et al (2010) aver that both patronage and voter buying effects lead to ethno-favouritism, where the dominant ethnic group in the government redistributes state resources (public investments, civil servant positions) towards its own members. If coalitions have to be formed to win, swing voters will be included in this redistribution process.

However, Bratton & Kimenyi (2008) contend that people in Kenya vote defensively in ethnic blocs, but not exclusively citing the December, 2007 elections where the voters also took particular policy issues into account, including living

standards, corruption and majimbo (federalism). Romero (2010), notes that in 2002, the view that Kenya's elections was becoming merely an ethnic consensus changed as President Mwai Kibaki got the support from a broad coalition of several ethnic groups which got together to end the failing economic policies of the KANU party. Similarly, Bratton & Kimenyi (2008), observe that whereas Kenyans will vote according to ethnic origins, they will also care about policy interests such as personal economic well-being, and the government's record.

The 2013 Presidential elections was won by the Jubilee coalition (comprising of President Uhuru Kenyatta's The National Alliance (TNA) Party and Deputy President William Ruto's United Republic Party (URP) and their victory had been predicted by political scientist Mutahi Ngunyi ahead of the elections, owing to their large ethnic bloc christened as "tyranny of numbers "(Kikuyus and Kalenjins respectively).In the 2013 elections, President Uhuru Kenyatta, won by having support of two most populous ethnic communities even without garnering the majority support of the rest (Amukoa, 2013).

2.5 Benefits of social media as a tool of communication

Since 2008, social media has become an integral part of elections in the US and continues to gain importance in electoral campaigns around the world as social media offers electoral candidates a new medium for communicating with their constituents (Grow, 2012). Gunter (2009) in Sani & Zengeni (2010) notes as a public sphere phenomenon, blogging alongside other online activities, has created a fresh channel of communication through which people can obtain news and political information. Wells (2010) in Grow (2012) also highlights the importance of digital media which

encompasses social media. Digital media is one of the unprecedented opportunities for new forms of engagement and action.

Asuni and Farris (2012), assert that social media can be exploited for good or bad. Social media played a constructive role during the post-election violence as demonstrated through the dispatch of crisis management personnel who saved lives and it was also used to clarify rumours. Social media tools also revolutionised the efficiency of election observing by increasing coverage and reporting while minimizing costs. Furthermore, with the combination of text, audio, and video, social media allows political parties to provide more information to their constituents at once (Ward, 2011) in Grow (2012).

Social media is a powerful tool that grants the common man unprecedented direct access to those in power, eliminating the need for middle men in the form of elected representatives. It may be possible for a government to “persuade” all Members of Parliament to shut up about something, but not the millions on Twitter and Facebook (Sifuna, 2014).

2.6 Challenges of Social Media as a tool of communication

The use of social media as a tool of communication has its own challenges. New media can also be used by those with ulterior motives (Odinga, 2013). In Kenya for example, the channel has been used by irresponsible persons to churn out messages that inflame negative ethnicity hence violence. According to Sifuna (2014), tribalism is one of the of Kenya’s favourite subjects on social media because the problem has become so entrenched that it has become almost acceptable. There’s a correlation to the increase use

of social media and the use of extremely dangerous speech statements during the weeks leading up and following the elections (Odinga, 2013).

Furthermore, in Kenya the issues of network quality and reliability remain important and unresolved even in Nairobi and affordability also remains an issue in a country where a high proportion of the population lives at or below the poverty line (Souter and Makau, 2012).

2.7 Relevance of literature review

The literature review above was relevant because it pointed out some gaps that this study aimed at finding. For example as demonstrated it's very evident that social media is now incorporated into most political campaigns both within and outside the country even though past studies have little to offer in terms of the effect of these social media tools on election outcome. There is little evidence that any of these social media venues actually drove discussion, participation or outcomes (Metzgar & Marrugi, 2009).

As pointed out, the literature review also revealed that these social media tools should be looked at in terms of a long term strategy as Shirky (2011) in Safranek, (2013) observes that the most promising way to think about social media is as long term tools that can strengthen civil society and the public sphere and social media can compensate for the disadvantages of undisciplined groups by reducing the costs of coordination. There's no doubt that the new media are transforming the industry globally hence players have no choice but to focus on this platform. However, being a new area it is important to note that it comes with challenges and these require players to come up with fast solutions.

2.8 Theoretical framework

Since this study had so many dimensions that could not be explained by only one theory, eclectic theoretical framework was applicable, with Habermas Public Sphere theory being the main theory for the study. The two other theories which were also relevant for this study were; Castells Network Society Theory and Wolfsfeld's Political Contest Model. The theories are explained below.

2.8.1 Habermas' Public Sphere Theory

According to this theory, there emerged a sphere in the 18th century between the state/economy and the private sphere. This sphere was a space where individuals were free from the state/economy and discussed issues of shared importance. People could meet in coffee houses, town halls and various places to discuss politics and trade news. According to Habermas this sphere is a space where we can communicate without any domination, coercive communication within the society.

Dahlgren; Christians, et al 2009, has identified five distinct ways the internet intervenes in the conduct of politics or affects its course. He describes these "different sectors of Net-based Public Spheres" as follows: Versions of e-government, usually with a top-down character, where government representatives interact with citizens and where information about government administration and services is made available; The advocacy/activist domain where discussion is framed by organisations with generally shared perspectives, values and goals – and geared for forms of political intervention; The vast array of diverse civic forums where views are exchanged among citizens and deliberations can take place; The prepolitical or parapolitical domain, which airs social

and cultural topics having to do with common interests and/or collective identities and; The journalism domain which includes everything from major news organisations that have gone online to Net-based news organisations (usually without much or any original reporting) such as Yahoo! News, alternative news organisations.

This classification according to Christians et al (2009), reminds us that effects from the new media can flow in quite different streams, each with somewhat different consequences for, and various interactions with, established forms of political communication. Based on Dahlgren's list there are too many substantial differences of form, content and purpose and that media roles cannot be simply transferred from the traditional press to new branches of media. The roles identified are still generally relevant to the enlarged journalism domain, but there are also new roles emerging especially those relating to active participation, empowerment and dialogue.

According to this theory, in the era of democratic revolutions, a public sphere emerged in which for the first time in history, ordinary citizens could participate in political discussion and debate, organise and struggle against unjust authority, while militating for social change. This theory was relevant for the study because social media tools offer a platform that creates a public sphere for the political leaders and the electorate to engage each other thus increasing participation.

2.8.2 Castells Network Society Theory

In this theory Manuel Castells has conceptualised as the network society the social structure resulting from the interaction between the new technological paradigm and social organisation at large. Often the emerging society has been characterised as

information society or knowledge society. According to Castells (2007), the struggle between power and the counter power takes place in the media, constituting a space for the power struggle, a struggle that can be likened to war. Social change results from the interaction between cultural change and political change.

According to Castells, what is new is the micro-electronics based, networking technologies that provide new capabilities to an old form of social organisation networks. Furthermore, because the network society is based on networks, and communication networks transcend boundaries, the network society is global; it is based on global networks.

The issue is to recognise the contours of our new historical terrain, meaning the world we live in. Only then it will be possible to identify the means by which specific societies in specific contexts can pursue their goals and realise their values by using the new opportunities generated by the most extraordinary technological revolution in humankind, the one transforming our capacities of communication and enabling to modify the codes of life, that is the one giving us the tools to actually master our own condition, with all the potentially destructive or creative implications of this capacity.

What we know is that this technological paradigm has superior performing capacity vis-a-vis previous technological systems. But to know how to use it to the best of its potential, and in accordance with the projects and decisions of each society, we need to know the dynamics, constraints and possibilities of the new social structure associated with it: the network society.

This theory was relevant to this study because social media is an innovation of the 21st century thus it needs to be understood better to enable us pursue our goals and realise our values.

2.8.3 Wolfsfeld's Political Contest Model

In his 1997 work, *the Media and Political Conflict*, Wolfsfeld develops a political contest model of the media (Robinson, 2001). Wolfsfeld's goal is to identify the conditions under which news media coverage comes to play an active role in the formulation of policy. In doing so, his goal is to achieve a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the news media and government. Wolfsfeld's focus of concern is the relationship between news media, groups in society that seek to challenge authorities and political change. His central claim is that while news media normally function to reflect and even mobilise support for dominant views in society, there are times when they serve the interests of marginalised groups. He also employs the concept of framing in order to highlight how media coverage can effectively take the side of challenges by promoting their particular perception of the political issue at stake.

The study was rooted in Wolfsfeld's (1997) political contest model, which according to Segev & Sheaffer (2013), to date has only been applied to the role of the traditional news media in conflicts, but there is reason to believe it can also prove useful for understanding the role of the new media.

2.9 Chapter Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter revealed that further research on effect of social media on election outcome is necessary as it has created a fresh channel of communication through which people can obtain news and political information.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology used in this study. It describes the research procedures which include; research design, the study area, study population, methods of data collection and administration, validity and reliability of instruments, piloting of instruments, summary and conclusion.

3.1 Research Design

The study utilised a mixed method approach (a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods). To collect quantitative data, the researcher made use of questionnaires while in-depth interviews were used to collect qualitative data. The design was appropriate as it involved collecting data in order to answer questions concerning the subject of the study.

Kothari (1990), notes that in preparation of research design, a researcher has to state the conceptual structure within which the research would be conducted. The preparation of such a design facilitates research to be as efficient as possible yielding maximal information. The function of research design is to provide for collection of relevant evidence with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money (Kothari 1990:14).

3.2 Study area

The study was carried out in Starehe Constituency; in the country's largest County in population size; Nairobi County. The Constituency was ideal for the study because a large proportion of the residents have access to internet facilities and the social

media tools. This constituency was also selected because to the best of the researcher's knowledge no similar study had been carried out in the area. In addition, the constituency was chosen because it was easily accessible to the researcher. Singleton (1993), notes that the ideal setting for any study should be easily accessible to the researcher and should be that which permits instant rapport with the informants.

The constituency has a population of 166,041 according to the 2009 Kenya National Housing and Population Census. It had 138,630 registered voters against the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC's) target of 77,408 voters for the constituency in the 2013 elections. This represents an enrollment of 179.1%, the highest percentage not only in Nairobi County but in the whole country.

3.3 Study population

The target population comprised the 138,630 registered voters in Starehe Constituency, media/communication experts, IEBC officials, politicians and political scientists.

3.4 Sampling

To collect data the researcher used sampling method.

3.4.1 Sample size

An important decision that has to be taken while adopting a sampling technique is about the size of the sample. Appropriate size depends on various factors relating to the subject under investigation like the time aspect, the cost aspect, degree of accuracy among others (Saleemi, 2012).

A sample is a small portion of a target population. Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2003). It is however agreed that the larger the sample the smaller the sampling error. Since it was not possible to include the entire population in the study, a manageable sample was selected. The following formula was used to calculate the sample size from a population of 138,630 to estimate the per cent defective within 2 per cent of the true value with 95.5 per cent probability.

$$n = \frac{z^2 \cdot p \cdot q \cdot N}{e^2 (N-1) + z^2 \cdot p \cdot q}$$

Where:

N= the population size, in this case 138,630

e = 0.2 (since the estimate should be within 2% of true value);

z = 2.005 (as per table of area under normal curve for the given confidence level of 95.5%).

$p =$ (As we have not been given the p value being the proportion, let us assume it to be
 $p = .02$ on the basis of experience)

Using this formula, the researcher obtained a sample size of 200 worked as follows:

$$n = \frac{z^2 \cdot p \cdot q \cdot N}{e^2 (N-1) + z^2 \cdot p \cdot q}$$

$$= \frac{(2.005)^2 (.02) (1-.02) (138,630)}{(.02)^2 (138630-1) + (2.005)^2 (.02) (1-.02)}$$

$$= \frac{10,923.00289}{55.53039249}$$

$$= 196.7031458$$

$$= 197$$

The figure of 197 approximated to 200.

3.4.1.1 Sample size for quantitative data

The sample size for quantitative data comprised of 190 respondents; 150 voters of Starehe constituency, 20 politicians and 20 media/communication experts.

3.4.1.2 Sample size for qualitative data

The sample size for qualitative data comprised of 10 key informants; five (5) political scientists and five (5) IEBC officials.

3.4.2 Sampling procedure

Purposive sampling was used to select key informants namely; 20 politicians, 20 media/communication experts, five (5) political scientists and five (5) IEBC officials.

According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) 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.

Stratified random sampling was used to select and categorise the 150 electorates of Starehe Constituency into various Wards. Simple random sampling would then be used to select the voters. This proceeded by first identifying the voters in the constituency through youth organisations, religious organisations, provincial administration and other relevant Government offices. Simple random sampling was then used to sample out 150 voters from the constituency. This yielded to a sample size of (150) plus the 50 (fifty) other purposive sampled respondents totaling to a sample of 200.

Random sampling is the key to obtaining a representative sample. In random sampling, every element of a given accessible population has an equal chance of being selected (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003).

3.5 Data Collection and Administration of Research Instruments

The researcher administered the questionnaires through use of research assistants and conducted interviews. The questionnaires were administered through research assistants to the 150 voters in Starehe constituency and later collected on a specific day agreed upon by both parties. Other questionnaires were administered to media/

communication experts and politicians. The researcher interviewed the IEBC officials and the political scientists. The methods are explained below.

3.5.1 The Questionnaire

The main survey instrument developed for this study was a questionnaire, which was divided into two parts. Part one contained statements aimed at obtaining background information about the respondents on issues such as gender, age, academic qualifications among others. This was necessary to enable the researcher to describe participants in the study. Part two consisted of statements intended to gather information on the access and use of social media as tools of political communication.

3.5.2 Interview Schedule

The interview schedule was constructed and employed to ensure that more adequate and reliable data was collected. White (2005) notes that interviews are chosen because the researcher is of the opinion it is the most efficient way to collect data. According to Tuckman, as cited by Cohen and Manion (1981:243; White 2005), an interview provides access to what is inside a person's head, makes it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs).

3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Instruments

Bassey (1999:74-77) defines Reliability as “the extent to which, research findings can be repeated, given the same circumstances.” Reliability is synonymous with repeatability or stability. A measurement that yields consistent results over time is said to be reliable (Wiersma, 1985). It is necessary that the research instruments are piloted as a way of finalising them (Wiersma, 1985). This is vital as it enables the reliability of the instruments to be determined.

Prior to embarking on the actual data collection, the instruments were administered to 10 respondents within a time interval of two weeks. Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17, the data was analysed and a reliability index computed. A coefficient index of between -ve and +ve 0.5 and above was considered reliable.

Bassey (1999) defines validity as “the extent to which a research fact or finding is what it is claimed to be (1999 p.75). Validity according to Bord and Gall (1989) is the degree to which a test measures what it purports to measure. A valid instrument contains content that is relevant to the study (McNeil, 1990). In this case, content relevant to the social media tools in Kenya. According to Gay (1992) validity is established by expert judgement. Therefore content validity was ensured by consulting experts in the area against the study’s objectives.

To attain content-related validity, the researcher ensured that the content of the instruments used was an adequate sample of the domain of the content they were supposed to represent. The content of the instruments was based on the research

objectives and the research questions of the study. Secondly, the format of the instruments was logically considered to ensure clarity of direction for the respondent.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedures

Data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively using the triangulation approach whereby information was obtained from different sources. Quantitative data was elicited from the closed ended questions in the questionnaire where frequencies and percentages were computed. Data was presented in tables, charts and graphs. Qualitative data was obtained from the open ended sections of the questionnaire and the interviews. Data was themed, coded and summarised and presented in tables.

3.7.1 Analysis of Quantitative Data

The researcher made use of descriptive statistics to analyse quantitative data. The purpose of descriptive statistics is to summarise long lists of data so that an overall impression of the distribution can be formed more easily (White, 2005:170). The central and variability measures were used to describe the value distributions. All cases falling into a particular interval were counted together instead of singly. Frequency distribution was therefore a valuable tool for organising the data.

3.7.2 Analysis of Qualitative Data

Analysis of data obtained through interviews and the open ended questions in the questionnaire was done through identifying common themes from the respondents'

description of their experiences with social media tools. The responses were used to address the objectives of the study.

To analyse the information collected through interviews, first the researcher transcribed the entire interview from the recorded audio. The most useful data to obtain would be full transcriptions of interviews (White, 2005). This provided a complete record of the discussion and facilitated analysis of the data. The next step was to analyse the content of the discussion, the aim being to look for trends and patterns that reappeared among various respondents. The researcher then looked for themes and coded them appropriately – identifying passages of text and applying labels to them to indicate they are examples of some thematic idea. The coding process helped the researcher identify and retrieve ideas that belonged to similar thematic area (Gibbs, 2002). After coding the data and writing it in descriptive summaries of what participants had said, the researcher interpreted the data in terms of themes/ concepts/ideas/ interactions/ processes and categories into an analytic understanding that would begin to explain what was said during the interview (Seidel & Kelle, 1995). Since the qualitative data tends to be large, the researcher organised the data to avoid being overwhelmed by the lengthy interviews.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

In terms of ethical considerations, the study ensured that the participants' rights to privacy, protection from physical and psychological harm were maintained. This was achieved by providing the respondents with clear and sufficient background information about the study to make their own decision to participate or not to participate in the research. Confidentiality of the information provided was assured.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a discussion of research design, nature and source of data, unit of analysis, study population and sample design, data collection and analysis. Each data collection technique has its own advantages and disadvantages and therefore a multi-approach for both the research design and data collection.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis and discussions of the result findings. In this chapter the researcher undertook to measure and analyse data using various statistical tools for different constructs and variables in the study. The results of the study was summarised and discussed in this chapter. Data from questionnaires was organised, coded, analysed and converted into quantitative summary reports for analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17. The analysis took triangulation approach and was divided thematically according to the four research questions namely; extent to which the electorate rely on social media in making their decisions, benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign, impact of social media on presidential elections and how the social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive election results. The data that was obtained from the questionnaire responses was presented using bar charts and tables. The aim of the questionnaires was to get information about the use of social media and its impact on elections outcome. Qualitative data was analysed after the researcher looked for themes from the transcribed interview responses, coded them appropriately and identifying examples of some thematic ideas. The coding process helped the researcher to identify and retrieve ideas of similar thematic area. Quantitative and qualitative data were linked to enable confirmation and elaborate analysis of the variables.

4.1 General Information

This subsection has data on response rate for various categories of respondents namely; Starehe electorate, politicians and communication experts.

4.1.1 Response rate

The research recorded the number of people who responded and those who did not respond. Its findings were as shown below:

Table 4.1.1: Response Rate of Respondents per category

Respondent Category	Targeted Response	Actual Response	Response Rate (%)
Starehe Electorate	150	126	84
Politicians	20	18	90
Communication/Media experts	20	20	100
TOTAL	190	164	86.3

The above table shows the total number of the respondents who responded to the questionnaires and those who did not. Out of the 190 questionnaires that were distributed to the three categories of respondents, 164 were filled and returned. The overall response rate was 86.3%. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2008), a response rate of 70% is acceptable as representative of the sampled population. The researcher had distributed 150 questionnaires among the electorate of Starehe out of which 126 were filled and returned. This represents a response rate of 84%. The 126 questionnaires that were filled

qualified to be used for analysis since they were filled to the researcher's requirements for validity. This indicates that there was good response rate and the data obtained was representative enough to make generalisations in the study. A total of 20 questionnaires were distributed to politicians and 18 were filled and returned representing a response rate of 90%. The filled questionnaires qualified to be used for analysis. The good response rate of the politicians as key respondents in the study was necessary as it provided adequate data for comparative purposes with other respondents.

The table further shows the total number of communication experts who responded to the questionnaires and those who did not. A total of 20 questionnaires were distributed to the communication experts and all the 20 were filled and returned representing 100% response rate. The good response rate of the respondents can be attributed to the fact that the researcher and the research assistants made constant reminders and follow ups on respondents on the need to fill and return the questionnaires.

4.2 Background information of the respondents

This subsection has data on the various categories of respondents namely; Starehe electorate, politicians and communication experts.

4.2.1 Gender of the respondents

The gender of the respondents who participated in the study is as shown in the table below.

Table 4.2.1: Gender of the respondents per category

(i) Gender of electorate in Starehe	Frequency	Percentage
Male	67	53.2
Female	59	46.8
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Gender of politicians		
Male	12	66.7
Female	6	33.3
Sub-Total	18	100
(iii) Gender of Communication experts		
Male	11	55
Female	9	45
Sub- Total	20	100
Total	164	100

From table 4.2.1 above, on the part of the electorate of Starehe Constituency, it's clear that more men than women responded to the questionnaires and this is represented by 53.2 % and 46.8 % respectively. This is consistent with statistics on social bakers.com quoted in Wasswa (2013) which indicates that the number of male users on social media in Kenya is more than that of female users.

For politicians, the table shows that more male politicians than female politicians responded to the questionnaires represented by 66.7 % and 33.3 % respectively. This shows that there are more male than female politicians in the country and this is consistent with Bari (2005), who observes that even though women constitute slightly more than half of the world population, and their contribution in social and economic development is also more than that of men, their participation in formal political

structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made remains insignificant. The table further shows that more male than female communication experts responded to the questionnaire with 55 % and 45 % respectively. It means that the communication profession is dominated by the male gender and this is consistent with the International Women’s Media Foundation (IWMF, 2010) Global Report on the status of women in the News Media, which showed that in Kenya men outnumber women 2:1 in the media companies surveyed. Globally, 73% of top management jobs are occupied by men compared to 27 occupied by women.

4.2.2 Age distribution

The age distribution of the respondents is tabulated below.

Table 4.2.2: Age distribution of the respondents per category

(i) Age bracket of the electorate of Starehe constituency	Frequency	Percentage
18-30	64	50.8
31-40	31	24.6
41-50	22	17.5
51-60	8	6.3
61 and above	1	0.8
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Age bracket of politicians		
18-30	10	55.6
31-40	5	27.7
41-50	3	16.7
51 and above	0	0
Sub- Total	18	100
(iii) Age bracket of communication experts		
18-30	10	50
31-40	4	20
41-50	6	30
51 and above	0	0
Sub-Total	20	100

The study sought the age of the respondents. According to the table 4.2.2 for the electorate of Starehe constituency, 64 (50.8 %) of the electorates were of the age bracket 18-30, 31 (24.6%) were of the age bracket 31-40, 22 (17.5%) were between the ages of 41-50, 8 (6.3 % were of the age bracket 51-60 while 1 (0.8%) was in the age bracket of 61 and above. This shows that in Kenya the youth constitutes a larger percentage of the voters and it is consistent with UNDP in Ombagi (2010), who observes that the youth between the ages of 18-35 years account for more than 30% of the total population.

The table also shows that amongst the politicians, 10 (55.6%) of the respondents were of the age bracket 18-30 years, 5 (27.7%) were between the ages of 31-40, while 3 (16.7%) were between the age of 41-50. This shows that the youth are really into politics than the other categories within the population. This is consistent with the UNICEF Report 2009 on National Youth Situation Analysis: Redefining the place of young people in Kenya. The report notes that for every three people in Kenya, one falls under the category of the youth – those aged below 30 years; and as the most active age group in Kenya, the youth hold the key for the country’s political, social and economic development.

On the part of communication experts, the table further shows that 10 (50%) of the respondents were in the age of 18-30 years, 4 (20%) were between the ages of 31-40, while 6 (20%) were in the age bracket of 41-50 years.

4.2.3 The level of professional training of the respondents

The following table 4.2.3 shows the level of professional training of the respondents.

Table 4.2.3: The level of professional training of the respondents

(i)Qualification of electorate	Frequency	Percentage
Certificate	32	25.4
Diploma	55	43.7
Degree	27	21.4
Masters	12	9.5
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Qualification of politicians		
Certificate	3	16.7
Diploma	2	11.1
Degree	12	66.7
Masters	1	5.5
Sub-Total	18	100
(iii) Qualification of communication experts		
Certificate	2	10
Diploma	1	5
Degree	9	45
Masters	8	40
Sub-Total	20	100

According to the table above, on the part of the electorate of Starehe 43.7 % of the respondents have professional training up to diploma level, 21.4% of the respondents are degree holders, 25.4 % certificate level while 9.5% are holders of Masters Degree. This is characteristic of an urban population meaning the literacy levels are very high in Starehe Constituency and thus the information gathered was reliable for the study.

On the part of politicians, the table shows that 66.7% of the respondents are degree holders, 16.7% certificate holders, and 11.1% diploma holders while 5.5% hold Masters Degree. For communication experts, 45 % of the respondents are degree holders, 40% hold Masters degree, 10% are certificate holders while 5% are diploma holders. Overall the respondents had high qualifications in terms of their level of professional

training and thus they could be relied upon to provide meaningful information for the study.

4.2.4 Highest academic qualification of respondent

The following data shows the academic qualifications of the respondents.

Table 4.2.4: Highest academic qualification of the respondent

(i) Education level of electorate	Frequency	Percentage
CPE/KCPE	39	31
KJSEC	12	9.5
KCE/KCSE O level	59	46.8
KACE A level	16	12.7
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Education level of politicians		
CPE/KCPE	3	16.7
KJSEC	0	0
KCE/KCSE O level	9	50
KACE A level	6	33.3
Sub-Total	18	100
(iii) Education level of communication experts		
CPE/KCPE	0	0
KJSEC	1	5
KCE/KCSE O level	17	85
KACE A level	2	10
Sub-Total	20	100

According to the table 4.2.4 above 46.8% of the electorate sat for KCE/KCSE O level, 31% sat for CPE/KCPE, 12.7% sat for KACE A level while 9.5% sat the KJSEC exams. This information also shows that literacy levels are very high among the

electorate of Starehe Constituency and thus the respondents could be relied upon to provide useful information for the study.

On the part of politicians, the table shows that 50% of the respondents sat for the KCE/KCSE exam, 33.3% sat for the KACE A level, while the remaining 16.7% sat for CPE/KCPE. This shows that most of the politicians are well educated and therefore the information gathered was useful for the study.

The table also shows the academic qualification of the communication experts. According to the table, 85 % sat for KCE/KCSE O level, 10% sat for KACE A level while 5% sat for KJSEC exams. This shows that the respondents are literate and therefore the information they provided was useful for the study.

4.2.5 Electorate has some training in ICT

Table 4.2.5: Electorate has some training in ICT

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	75	59.5
No	41	32.5
No response	10	8
Total	126	100

The above table shows that 75 (59.5 %) of the respondents have some training in ICT, 41 (32.5 %) do not have training in ICT while 10 (8%) did not respond. This shows that a larger percentage of the Starehe Constituency voters are ICT trained hence they can easily use social media tools and could therefore be relied upon to give useful information.

Table 4.2.6: Electorate level of ICT training

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage
Certificate	35	46.7
Diploma	25	33.3
Degree	13	17.3
Masters	2	2.7
Total	75	100

According to the above table, 56.4% of the 75 respondents who have acquired ICT training are of Certificate level, 33.3 % have Diploma level of training, 17.3% indicated they have Degrees while 2.7% indicated Masters level of ICT training.

Table 4.2.7: Marital Status of the electorate

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	54	42.9
Married	60	47.6
Divorced	7	5.6
Widowed	3	2.4
Others	2	1.6
Total	126	100

Table 4.2.7 shows the marital status of the respondents. According to the table, 60 (47.6%) of the respondents are married, 54 (42.9 %) are single, 7 (5.6%) divorced while 3 (2.4%) are widowed and 2 (1.6%) indicated others. This shows that the married people really have a voice in determining election outcomes and this is consistent with the Kenya Population Situation Analysis Report (2013:155), which avers that traditionally the family is also a key decision making unit that impacts on demographic behaviour.

4.2.8 Internet access

Table 4.2.8.1 and 4.2.8.2 show the status of Starehe electorate in terms of internet accessibility and the mode of access to the internet/social media respectively.

Table 4.2.8.1: Starehe electorates have access to internet

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	116	92.06
No	10	7.94
Total	126	100

According to table 4.2.8.1, 116 (92.06%) of the Starehe electorates indicated that they have access to the internet; 10 (7.94%) indicated that they have no internet access. This shows that the demand for internet and data services in the constituency is high. According to the Kenya Economic Survey 2013, the country's subscriptions to internet has been on the rise as the total internet subscriptions rose by 37.1 per cent to 8.5 million in 2012 from 6.2 million in 2011 and the growth in subscriptions was attributed to affordability of internet devices including Smart Phones, reduction in mobile data bundle rates and increased access to social networking sites especially among the youth.

4.2.8.2 Mode of access to the internet/social media

Table 4.2.8 overleaf shows the mode of access to the internet/social media by the electorate.

Table 4.2.8.2: Respondent mode of access to the internet/social media

(i) Mode of internet access for electorate	Frequency	Percentage
Office computer	13	10.3
Home computer	10	7.9
Cyber cafe	11	8.7
Mobile phone	31	24.6
All the above	36	28.6
Office computer and mobile phone	3	2.4
Mobile phone and cybercafé	4	3.2
Office computer, Home computer, mobile phone	1	0.8
Home computer and Mobile phone	4	3.2
Home computer, Cybercafé, Mobile phone	3	2.4
No response	10	7.9
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Mode of internet access for communication experts		
Office computer and mobile phone	3	15
Office computer, Home computer, Mobile phone	2	10
Office computer, cybercafé, mobile phone	1	5
All the above	14	70
Sub-Total	20	100
(iii) Mode of internet access for politicians		
Cybercafé	1	5.6
Mobile phone	7	38.9
Office Computer, Cybercafé and Mobile phone	6	33.3
Cybercafé and Mobile phone	1	5.6
All the above	3	16.6
Sub-Total	18	100

According to table 4.2.8, most of the electorates in Starehe Constituency access the internet through mobile phones at 24.6% followed by office computer 10.3 %, and cybercafé 8.7%. At least 24.6% accessed the internet through all the above. Overall, those who access the internet by mobile phone 62%, office computer 42.8%, home computer 40.5% and cybercafé 39.7%. On the part of communication experts, 70% accessed the internet through all the above, 15% accessed through office computer and mobile phone, 10% accessed through office computer, home computer and mobile phone, 5% through office computer, cybercafé and mobile phone. For politicians, 38.9% accessed through

the mobile phone, 16.7% through all the above, 33.3% through office computer, cybercafé and mobile phone while 5.6% through cybercafé. From this analysis, it is can be concluded that mobile phone is the most popular tool used in accessing the internet. This is consistent with the Research ICT Africa Policy Brief No. 2 on the 2011/2012 ICT access and usage household and individual survey which shows that in Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Rwanda and Tanzania, internet is accessed through a mobile phone by 70% of internet users; in Kenya 77.8%. This policy brief also shows that in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Namibia, Ghana, Cameroun, Rwanda and South Africa, the usage of social networking applications such as Facebook through the mobile phone is higher than using it to read or to write email.

Table 4.2.9: Mode of access to social media among electorate of Starehe

Respondent	Social media tool used	Frequency	Percentage
(i) Electorate	Facebook	63	50
	Twitter	5	4
	Myspace	2	1.6
	Linkedin	0	0
	All the above	13	10.3
	Facebook and Twitter	21	16.6
	Facebook, Twitter and Myspace	4	3.2
	Facebook and Linkedin	3	2.4
	Twitter and Linkedin	1	0.8
	Facebook, twitter and Linkedin	4	3.2
	No response	10	7.9
	Total	126	100

According to table 4.2.9, at least 63 (50%) of the respondents indicated that they exclusively used Facebook, 5 (4%) indicated they solely used Twitter, 2 (1.6%) exclusively used Myspace, none absolutely used LinkedIn, 13 (10.3%) used all the above tools, 21 (16.6%) used both Facebook and Twitter, 4 (3.2%) used Facebook, Twitter and Myspace, 3(2.4%) used Facebook and LinkedIn, 1 (0.8%) used Twitter and LinkedIn, 4 (3.2%) used Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn while 10 (7.9%) did not respond to the question, “Which of the following social media tool do you use?” From the above statistics the total number of Facebook users is therefore 108 (85.7%) while that for Twitter is 48 (38.1%). This shows that Facebook is the most popular social media network site in Kenya. This is consistent with Adibe (2012), who observes that Facebook is the most popular as it allows campaigners to send out mass messages, post pictures and videos and interact with the public. Wasswa (2013) also notes that Facebook was the most visited social media site with 74.2% saying they visited it on a daily basis.

Table 4.2.10: Gender of the respondent who use Facebook and Twitter

(i) Gender of Facebook users	Frequency Yes	Percentage	Frequency No	Percentage
Male	61	60.4	6	24
Female	40	39.6	19	76
Total	101	100	25	100
(ii) Gender of twitter users	Frequency Yes	Percentage	Frequency No	Percentage
Male	27	60	40	49.38
Female	18	40	41	50.62
Total	45	100	81	100

According to table 4.2.10, in terms of gender, more males than females indicated that they were using Facebook with 60.4% and 39.6% respectively and the same is replicated in the usage of twitter where 60% of the twitter users were of the male gender and 40% female. This is consistent with Njonjo (2010) who notes that 62% of Facebook users in Kenya are male and 38% are female.

Table 4.2.11: Age bracket of the respondent * Respondent uses Facebook Cross tabulation

Age bracket of the respondents	Respondent uses Facebook				Total
	Yes	Percentage	No	Percentage	
18-30	56	55.4	8	32	62
31-40	30	29.7	1	4	56
41-50	12	11.9	10	40	27
51-60	2	2	6	24	4
61 and above	1	1	0	0	1
Total	101	100	25	100	126

According to table 4.2.11, in terms of age bracket, most of the Facebook users are in the category 18-30 at 55.4% followed by 31-40 at 29.7%, 41-50 at 11.9%, 51-60 at 2% and 1% for 61 and above. This is consistent with Njonjo (2010) who observes that in Kenya most Facebook users (41%) are aged between 18-24 while 34% are aged between 25 and 34.

Table 4.2.12: Age bracket of the respondent * Respondent uses twitter Cross tabulation

Age bracket of the respondent who use twitter	Respondent uses twitter				Total
	Yes	Percentage	No	Percentage	
18-30	30	66.7	34	41.9	64
31-40	11	24.4	20	24.7	31
41-50	3	6.7	19	23.5	22
51-60	0	0	8	9.9	8
61 and above	1	2.2	0	0	1
Total	45	100	81	100	126

According to table 4.2.12, for twitter users the age bracket 18-30 also leads with 66.7%, followed by 31-40 at 24.4%, 41-50 at 6.7% and 61 and above at 2.2%. This is consistent with another survey conducted by the Office for National Statistics on Internet Access- Households and Individuals 2013, which shows that the adults in the two young age groups; 16-24 and 25-34 are proportionately the largest users of many of the internet activities. The survey by the Office for National Statistics also shows that in 2013, adults aged 16 to 24 were more likely to engage in online activities that focused on news activities such as social networking at 93%.

4.3 Findings based on the research objectives

4.3.1 Extent the electorate relies on social media in making election decisions

In order to achieve this objective, the researcher asked the following questions: To what extent did social media tools help you in making your election decision? Do you think social media is a good channel of communication?

Table 4.3.1.1: Electorate reliance on social media in decision making

Reliance on social media in decision making	Frequency	Percentage
Large extent	22	17.5
Neutral	10	7.9
Small extent	74	58.7
Not at all	5	4
No response	15	11.9
Total	126	100

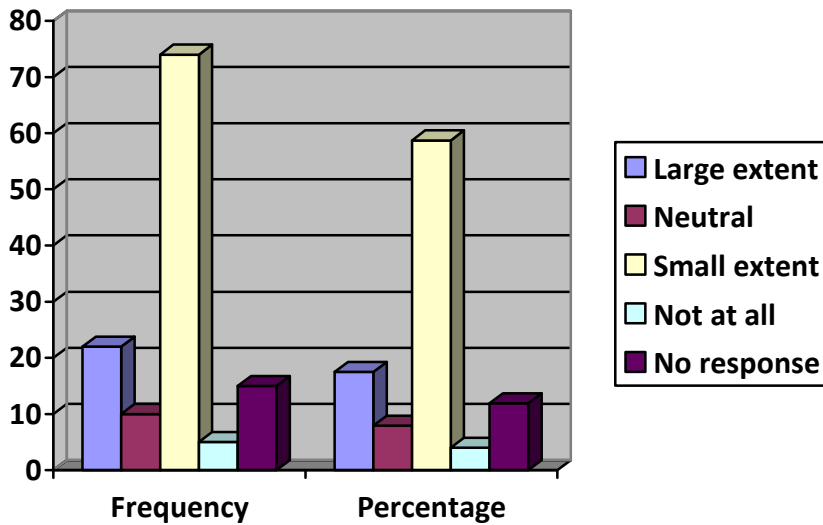
According to table 4.3.1.1, when asked the question, to what extent did social media tools help you in making your election decisions, 74 out of 126 electorates (58.7%) indicated that to a small extent they relied on social media in making their election decisions, 22 (17.5%) electorates indicated to a large extent they relied on the social media, 10 (7.9 %) electorates indicated neutral, 5 (4%) said that they never at all rely on the social media while 15 (11.9%) did not respond. Overall 76.2% of the electorate indicated that they relied on social media in making their election decision. This therefore shows that social media as a tool of communication is by some means reliable. This reality is also corroborated by the information obtained from the political scientists who were interviewed. Four (80%) of the five (100%) political scientists interviewed indicated that the electorate rely on social media to a small extent to make their decisions. This is evidenced in the following remark as made by one of the political scientists interviewed:

The electorate relies on social media to a very small extent because in this country nobody even cares about party manifesto. It is just ethnic jingoism.

This is further supported by Hellweg (2011), who asserts that most politicians are now replicating Barack Obama’s use of social media and Twitter as essential campaign tactics and Graber (2011), who adds that this reliance on social media and use of an array

of new, incredibly speedy and cheap internet tools to run a campaign that contacted individual voters in personalised encounters on a near daily basis was the first fully formed campaign whose success was partially attributed to social media use by researchers.

Figure 4.1: Extent to which social media tools helped the electorate to make the election decision



However, it is important to note that in Kenya ethnicity remains a major factor that determines the success of a candidate in elections. All the five (100%) political scientists who were interviewed cited ethnicity as a major factor that determines election outcome followed by resources/finance (80%), age (40%), political party affiliation (40%), party manifesto (20%) and level of education (20%). This is consistent with Romero (2010), who notes that ethnic identity influences political and social behaviour in many African countries. Ethnic identity influences who one trusts, does business with, gets married to and whom to vote for (Romero,2010). Nyabuga (2013) also asserts that

Kenya's politics is almost synonymous with ethnicity, and consequently, the inability of the country's leadership to steer clear of ethnicity is seen as part of selfish attempts to play an ethnic game to maintain the status quo.

Table 4.3.1.2: Social media is a good channel of communication between the politician and the electorate

Respondents	Rating						Total	
	Yes		No		No response			
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Politicians	14	77.8	4	22.2	0	0	18	100
Electorate	103	81.74	13	10.32	10	7.94	126	100
Media experts	18	90	2	10	0	0	20	100

According to table 4.3.1.2, most of the respondents felt that social media was a good channel of communication with 81.74% of the electorate, 90% of the communication experts and 77.8% of the politicians answering in the affirmative when asked whether they thought social media was a good channel of communication. This was also corroborated with the information obtained from the indepth interviews with political scientists and IEBC officials whereby it emerged that social media could be relied upon as a good tool of communication. This is evident in the following quote from one of the political scientists:

This was also corroborated with the information obtained from interviews with political scientists and IEBC officials. This is evidenced in the following remark as made by one of the interviewed political scientists:

Yes it can reach many people; it is affordable and also has the effect of going beyond territorial boundaries. You can talk to people from North Eastern, Nairobi, Western and other parts of the country and it gives you an idea of what they want. You will be able to address the issues without necessarily going there. Definetely it has a huge potential and as more Kenyans get on Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp, you can be sure messages would be sent.

In the same breadth one of the interviewed IEBC officials said:

Yes, during electioneering period, especially before the elections, this was one of the fast means of communication especially among the youth and urban centres. Whatever you post in the social media, reaches the youths very fast especially in the urban centres than any other mode of communication.

This is further supported by Ofcom 2008; Okinda, 2014, who observes that social network sites can be seen as alternative communication tools which support existing relationships and activities in a fun and colourful way that can enrich the users' experiences. From the aforementioned analysis, it can therefore be concluded that social media is a good channel of communication that can be relied upon by both the politicians and the electorate.

Table 4.3.1.3: Adequacy of information shared via social media

Nature of information shared	Frequency	Percentage
(i) Electorate's view		
Very adequate	15	11.9
Adequate	53	42.1
Average	30	23.8
Inadequate	9	7.1
Not sure	6	4.8
No response	13	10.3
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Communication experts' view		
Very adequate	0	0
Adequate	9	45
Average	10	50
Inadequate	0	0
Not sure	0	0
No response	1	5
Sub - Total	20	100

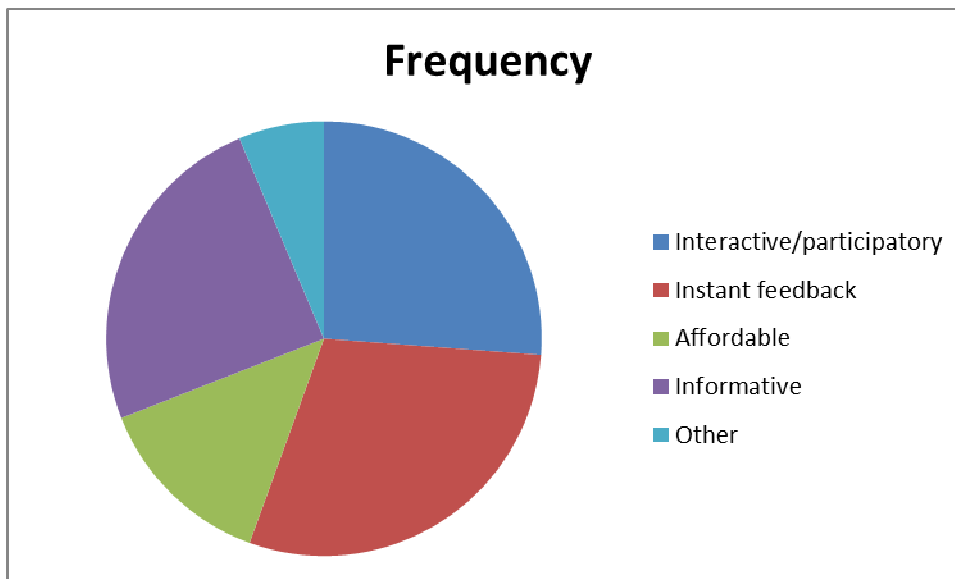
According to table 4.3.1.3, on the question on the nature of information disseminated via social media, 53 (42.1%) out of 126 electorates felt that the information that politicians disseminated through the social media was adequate, 23.8% felt it was average, 11.9% felt it was very adequate, 7.1% felt it was inadequate, 4.8% were not sure

while 10.3% did not respond. Overall, 54% of the lectorate felt the information was adequate. When asked the same question, 10 (50%) of the 20 communication/media experts felt the information was average, 9 (45%) felt it was adequate, while 1 (5%) did not respond. Based on this analysis, it therefore shows that a lot of efforts is required on the part of politicians to satisfy the audience's information needs.

4.3.2 Benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign

To address this objective, the researcher asked all the respondents to list at least three benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign. The electorate were also asked what aspect of social media made them alert to the party's political message and the results are illustrated in figure 4.3.2.

Figure 4.2: Aspect of social media that attracted electorate



According to figure 4.2, when asked the question, what aspect of social media made you alert to your party's political messages? 37 (29.4%) of the electorate cited instant feedback; 33 (26.2%) cited interactive/participatory; 31 (24.6%) indicated informative; 17 (13.5%) cited affordable while 8 (6.3%) indicated other. From this analysis, it is therefore important for the politicians and political parties to ensure that they give instant feedback via the social media to their followers. This is consistent with Taylor (2012), who avers that social media needs to be treated as an interactive forum; engaging with followers generates visibility through their networks. According to Taylor, this might include replying to followers' comments, posing and answering questions and re-tweeting and posting followers input.

Table 4.3.2: Benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign

Benefits of social media	Frequency	Percentage
i)Benefits according to electorate		
Accessibility	8	6.35
Convenience	19	15.1
Ready audience	5	4
Interactive	31	24.6
Informative	45	35.7
Affordability	8	6.35
None	10	7.9
Sub-Total	126	100
(ii)Benefits according to communication experts		
Accessibility	3	7.3
Convenience	5	12.2
Ready audience	6	14.6
Interactive	8	19.5
Informative	8	19.5
Affordability	4	9.8
Other	7	17.1
Sub-Total	41	100
(iii)Benefits according to politicians		
Accessibility	6	26.1
Convenience	2	8.7
Ready audience	6	26.1
Informative	1	4.3
Affordability	8	34.8
Sub-Total	23	100

According to table 4.3.2, when asked to list benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign, most of the Starehe electorate cited informative (35.7%), followed by interactive (24.6%), convenience (15.1%), affordability (6.35%), accessibility (6.35%) and none (7.9%). For politicians affordability was the main benefit (34.8%), followed by ready audience (26.1%), accessibility (26.1%), convenience (8.7%) and informative (4.3%). For communication experts, informative and interactive were cited as the main benefit in equal measure (19.5%), followed by other (17.5%), ready audience (14.6%), convenience (12.2%) and affordability (9.8%).

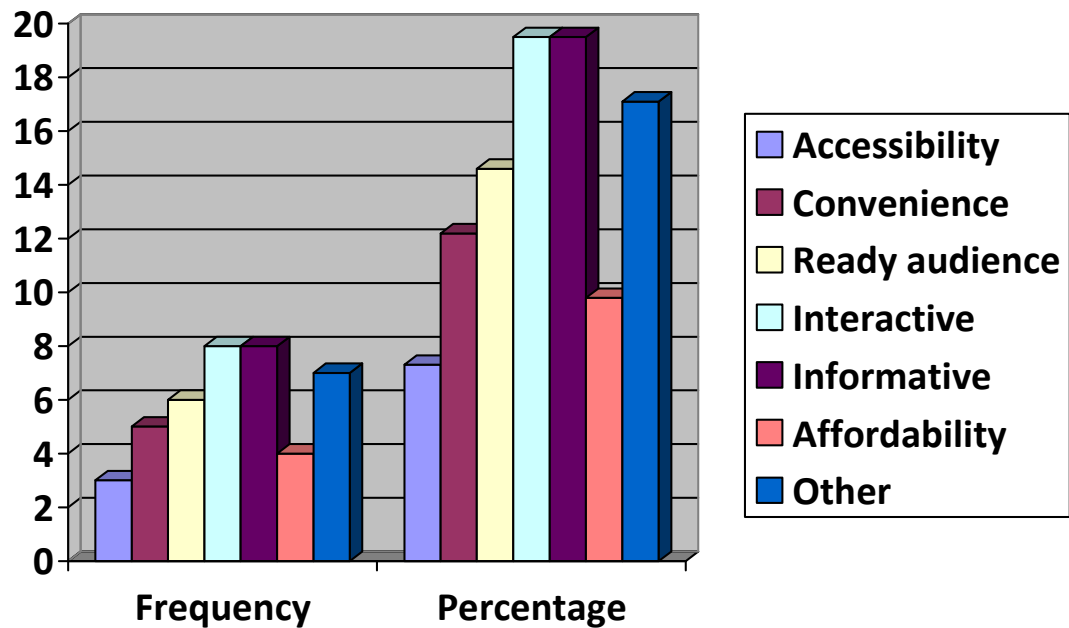
Table 4.3.2.1: Social media was very useful to the voter

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	28	22.2
Agree	57	45.2
Neutral	19	15.1
Disagree	3	2.4
Strongly disagree	7	5.6
No response	12	9.5
Total	126	100

According to table 4.3.2.1, 57 electorates (45.2%) agreed that social media was very useful to them as voters, 28 (22.2%) strongly agreed, 19 (15.1 %) were neutral, 7 (5.6%) strongly disagreed, 3 (2.4 %) disagreed while 12 (9.5%) did not respond. Overall, 67.4% of the respondents agreed that social media was very useful to them as voters and

thus from the analysis it can therefore be concluded that social media is useful to a voter. This is consistent with Rainie (2012), who notes that social media is a significant part of the process by which voters are talking about their ballot selections, especially younger voters.

Figure 4.3 Benefits of Social Media to a Politician from the perspective of communication experts



According to table 4.3.2 and figure 4.3, social media offers a number of benefits but to a politician what really matters is that there's an affordable tool of political campaign, a ready audience which requires information and if exploited fully, he/she can win some support for political gains. It is also true that the electorate understand the benefits of social media but to them the main benefit that drives them to the social media sites is information. Even from the interviews with the IEBC officials and political scientists, information was still dominant in terms of the benefits of social media. This is consistent with Kushin and Yamamoto; Smith (2011) who observe that social media

allow users not only to seek information but also interact with others through online expression such as posting political commentaries on blogs and social networks sites. Young people tend to get political information from social media more than any other age group. Candidates are using social media to share information and politics is almost taking over the cyberspace whereas campaign messages are defeating territorial boundaries (Bugalo, 2011). This is also consistent with TNS Research International and ICT Board; Njonjo 2010, internet in Kenya was mostly used for knowledge and socialising and 93% look up the news, 90% visited a specific website to get information, 85% visited a social networking site. Twitter and Facebook have also created an audience that is aware of not only the elements in the message but of processing those elements (Hellweg, 2011).

4.3.3: Impact of social media on presidential elections

To realise this objective, the researcher asked the following questions: In your opinion, is the social media a good channel of communication between a politician and the electorates? Do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes? Social media political messages have an impact when communicated through?

Table 4.3.3.1 presents the results on the responses of the respondents on their thoughts about the impact of social media on presidential elections, when asked the question; do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes?

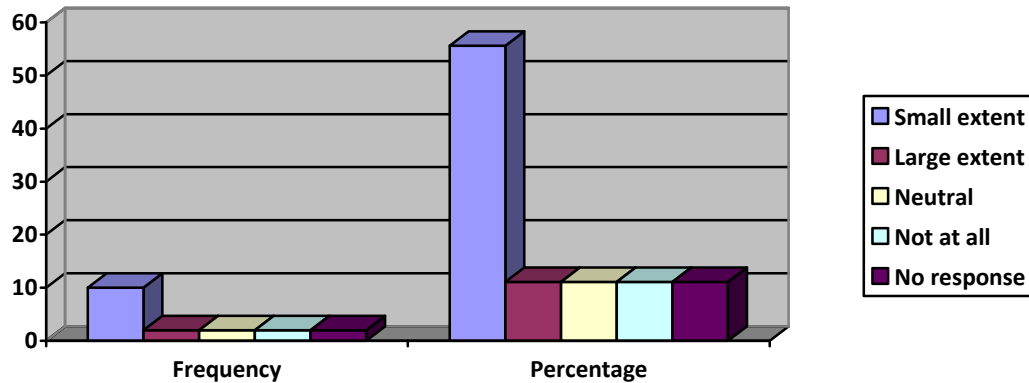
Table 4.3.3.1: Social media can help to win votes

Respondent	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Politician	Yes	12	66.6
	No	3	16.7
	Not indicated	3	16.7
	Sub-Total	18	100
Electorate	Yes	77	61.1
	No	22	17.5
	No response	27	21.5
	Sub-Total	126	100

According to table 4.3.3.1, when asked the question, do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes? 12 (66.6%) out of 18 (100%) politicians answered yes, 3 (16.7%) answered no; while another 3 (16.7%) did not respond to the question. On the part of the electorate, 77 (61.1%) answered yes, 22 (17.5%) answered no, while 27 (21.5%) did not respond. From this analysis it can be concluded that the use of social media can help to win votes. This is consistent with Edelman (2009), who attribute's President Barack Obama's victory to the campaign's proclivity to online advocacy.

The politicians were also asked the impact of social media on presidential elections and the results are illustrated in figure 4.3.3.

Figure 4.4: Impact of social media on presidential elections according to politicians



According to figure 4.4, 10 politicians (55.6%) indicated that to a small extent social media had an impact on presidential elections, 2 (11.1%) indicated to a large extent, 2 (11.1%) were of the neutral position, 2 (11.1%) indicated not at all while another 2 (11.1%) did not respond. Overall, 66.7% indicated that social media had an impact on presidential elections. In a nutshell, according to the respondents, social media had an impact on the presidential elections and this is consistent with Wasswa (2013), who in his study notes that social media had a significant impact on the presidential campaign process. This is also corroborated by the responses gathered from the interviews with the political scientists. 100% of the five interviewed political scientists answered in the affirmative when asked, “Do you think social media can shape political decisions and outcomes?” This is evidenced in the following remark as made by one of the political scientists interviewed:

Yes it can, considering the fact that the youth constitute a larger percentage of the voting bloc and the youth are really in social media. So a politician can take advantage of the attendance in social media platforms and inject his or her ideas.

Further the same question was asked to communication experts and most of them believed that social media had an impact to a small extent as illustrated in the following quote from one of the respondents:

Yes but to a very small extent because some candidates who were seemingly popular on social media platforms such as Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth performed dismally in the actual elections.

Table 4.3.3.2: Party’s use of social media generally persuaded the voter

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	30	23.8
Agree	48	38.1
Neutral	19	15.1
Disagree	11	8.7
Strongly disagree	7	5.6
No response	11	8.7
Total	126	100

According to table 4.3.3.2, majority of the electorate 48 (38.1%) agreed that the political party’s use of social media generally persuaded them as voters; 30 (23.8%) strongly agreed; 19 (15.1%) were neutral; 11 (8.7%) disagreed, 7 (5.6%) strongly disagreed while 11 (8.7%) did not respond. Overall, 61.9% agreed that the party’s use of social media generally persuaded them as voters and therefore from the analysis it can be concluded that the political party’s use of social media can persuade a voter and thus it has an impact on the presidential election outcome.

Table 4.3.3.3: Political party’s social media activities were relevant to the electorate’s desires

Relevance	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	30	23.8
Agree	47	37.8
Neutral	19	15.1
Disagree	10	7.9
Strongly disagree	8	6.3
No response	12	9.5
Total	126	100

According to table 4.3.3, when asked to indicate whether the political party’s social media activities were relevant to the electorate’s desires, 47 (37.8%) agreed, 30 (23.8%) strongly agreed, 19 (15.1%) were neutral, 10 (7.9%) disagreed, 8 (6.3%) strongly disagreed while 12 (9.5%) did not respond to the question. Overall 61.6% agreed that the political party’s activities via social media were relevant and thus from this analysis it shows that majority of the electorate found the political party’s activities via the social media to be relevant and thus it also had an impact on presidential elections.

Table 4.3.3.4: Social media political messages have an impact when communicated through:

Respondent	Trusted source	Frequency	Percentage
(i) Electorate	Political leaders	65	51.6
	Opinion leaders	26	20.6
	Religious leaders	6	4.8
	Mainstream media	13	10.3
	Government	4	3.2
	Spokesperson of political parties	1	0.8
	No response	11	8.7
	Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Communication experts			
	Political leaders	12	60
	Opinion leaders	3	15
	Religious leaders	1	5
	Mainstream media	4	20
	Government	0	0
	Spokesperson of political parties	0	0
	Sub-Total	20	100

According to table 4.3.3.4, a majority of the respondents indicated that social media political messages have an impact when communicated through political leaders; 51.6% of the electorate and 60% of the communication experts were for the political

leaders. For the electorate, following political leaders the next source was opinion leaders at 20.6%, while for the communication experts it was mainstream media at 20%. Among the electorate, mainstream media ranked at position three with 10.3% while for communication experts at third and final position was religious leaders at 5%. For the electorate religious leaders was fourth at 4.8% followed by Government at 3.2% and spokespersons of political parties at 0.8%. From this analysis, it can therefore be concluded that the messages communicated via social media through political leadership have an impact. This shows that there's good will for the political leaders in dissemination of political messages via the social media as compared to other sources.

4.3.4: How social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive election results

To realise this objective, the researcher asked the following questions: Do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections? In what areas do you think the political parties in Kenya need to improve in order to maximise benefits of using social media for future impressive results? In what ways can the 21st century politician use the social media to ensure effective use of the tool of communication for positive election outcomes?

Table 4.3.4.1: Social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections

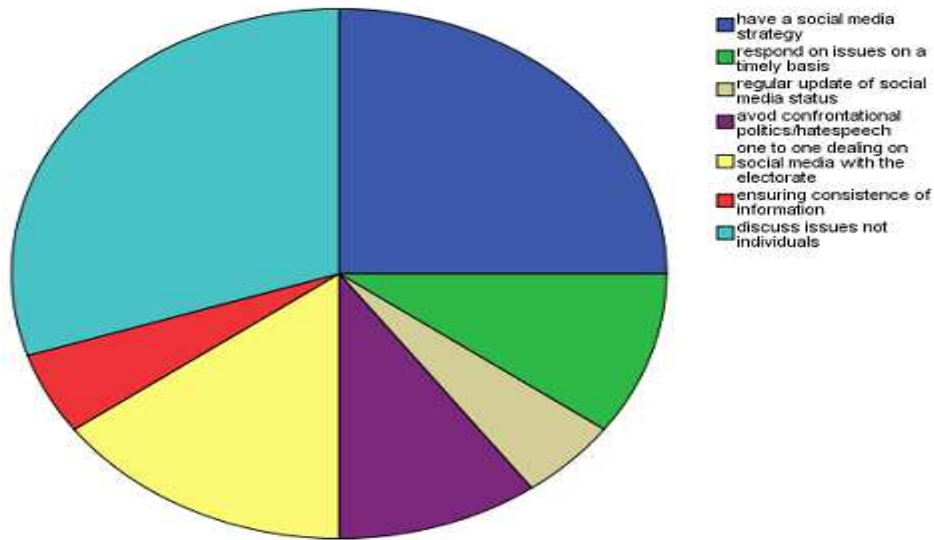
Social media will continue being reliable in future	Frequency	Percentage
(i) Politicians		
Yes	16	88.9
No response	2	11.1
Sub-Total	18	100
(ii) Communication experts		
Yes	19	95
No	1	5
No response	0	0
Sub-Total	20	100
(iii)Starehe electorate		
Yes	99	78.6
No	11	8.7
No response	16	12.7
Sub-Total	126	100

Table 4.3.4.1 indicates the frequencies of reliability of social media in future elections. According to the table most of the respondents answered in the affirmative when asked the question, do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections? 88.9% of the politicians, 95% of the communication/media experts and 78.6% said yes while 11.1%, 5% and 8.7% respectively indicated no to the same question. The same response was replicated from the interviews with the political scientists and IEBC officials as evidenced in the following remark by one political scientist:

The future of social media is great, it has huge prospects. It is in the pace of globalisation and will eventually be embraced by the population.

The fact that social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future is further supported by Maggiani (2010), who argues that social media is here to stay and it is the wave of the future. Smith (2011) also argues that social media will continue to be an important part of political campaigns.

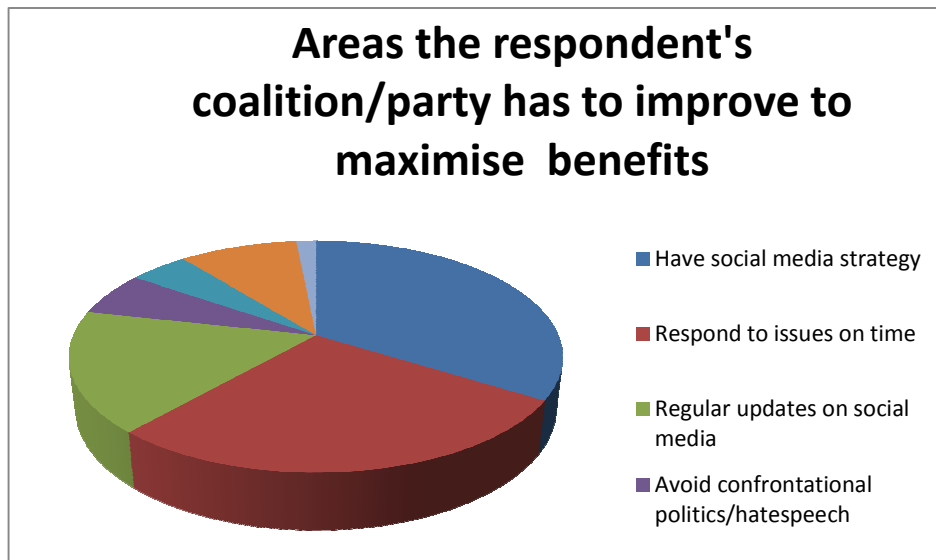
Figure 4.5: Areas the respondent's coalition/political party has to improve to maximise benefits of using social media for future impressive results from politician's perspective



From the figure 4.5, it is clear that many politicians would like their coalitions/political parties to maximise benefits of social media by prioritising in the following order the stated matters; discussing issues and not individuals, have a social media strategy, one on one dealing with the electorate in social media, respond to issues on a timely basis, avoid confrontational politics/hate speech, ensuring consistence of information and regular update of social media status. From the interviews with political

scientists the issues of establishing a social media secretariat, having a social media strategy, having a one on one dealing with the electorate and responding to issues on a timely basis were top on priority in that order. The importance of a social media strategy is further supported by Greyes (2011) in Smith (2011) advices campaigns on social media strategy. In addition, recent research points to a need for audience making by the hosts of social media sites and the importance of listening in social media (Macnamara, 2012).

Figure 4.6: Areas the respondent's coalition/party has to improve to maximize benefits of using social media for future impressive results from electorates' perspective



According to figure 4.6, the voter's top most areas of priority for their coalitions/political parties in maximising benefits is according to the following order; have social media strategy (33.8%), respond to issues on time (27.7%), regular updates on social media (16.9%), ensuring consistence of information (9.2%), avoid

confrontational politics/ hate speech (6.2%), one on one dealing with electorate (4.6%) and discuss issues not individuals (1.5%).

Table 4.3.4.4: Areas the political parties in Kenya have to improve to maximize benefits of using social media for future impressive results from communication expert’s perspective

Area of improvement	Frequency	Percentage
Have a social media strategy	4	20.0
Respond on issues on a timely basis	2	10.0
Regular update of social media status	2	10.0
Avoid confrontational politics/hate speech	4	20.0
Use most popular platforms	2	10.0
Ensuring consistence of information	3	15.0
Discuss issues not individuals	3	15.0
Total	20	100.0

Table 4.3.4.4 shows that the communication experts believe that to maximise benefits of social media, as a matter of priority, political parties in Kenya need to have a social media strategy (20%), avoid confrontational politics/hate speech (20%), ensuring consistence of information (15%), discuss issues not individuals (15%), use most popular platforms (10%) and respond to issues on a timely basis (10%). The need for a social media strategy is therefore important as also advanced by Greyes; Smith (2011) who advises on campaigns on social media strategy.

Table 4.3.4.5: How often respondent uses social media

Respondent	How often	Frequency	Percentage
(i) Electorate	Hourly	17	13.5
	Daily	81	64.3
	Weekly	8	6.3
	Monthly	3	2.4
	Rarely	7	5.6
	Not indicated	10	7.9
	Sub-Total	126	100
(ii) Communication experts			
	Hourly	6	30
	Daily	12	60
	Weekly	1	5
	Rarely	1	5
	Sub-Total	20	100

According to table 4.3.4.5, majority of the respondents use the social media on a daily basis; 64.3% of the electorate and 60% of the communication experts, followed by those who use it hourly; 13.5% of the electorate and 30% of the communication experts. This is followed by weekly at 6.3% for the electorate and 5% for the communication experts, followed by rarely for the electorate 5.6% and communication experts 5% and lastly monthly at 2.4% for the electorate. From the analysis it shows that a large percentage of the respondents keep using the social media on a daily basis, thus social media will continue being used in future.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings, the conclusion and the recommendations of the study.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

5.1.1 Electorate's reliance on social media in decision making

Based on the analysis of the study, most Kenyans access the internet via the mobile phone (62%) and majority (85.7%) use Facebook while 38.1% use twitter. This shows that Facebook is the most popular social media site in Kenya.

According to the study, majority of the respondents/ electorate (76.2%) indicated that they relied on social media in making election decisions; 58.7% indicated that they relied on it to a small extent, while 17.5% said they relied on it to a large extent. This therefore shows that social media as a tool of communication is useful to a voter in decision making. Even political scientists who were interviewed noted that to some extent the electorate relied on social media to make decisions. However, the political scientists emphasised that in Kenya ethnicity remains a major factor that determines the success of a candidate in any election outcome. From the study it can therefore be concluded that social media can be relied upon to some extent to help a voter in making election decisions especially those between the age of 18 and 40 years who are found on twitter and Facebook. However, a politician should be alert to the factors that contribute

to election outcome including ethnicity, financial resources, political party affiliation, and level of education among others.

Most of the respondents recognised social media as a good channel of communication with 81.74% of the electorates, 90% of the communication experts and 77.8% of the politicians who participated in the study answering in the affirmative, when asked whether they thought social media was a good channel of communication.

5.1.2 Benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign

Based on the analysis of 126 respondents in the category of the electorates, 35.7% cited information as their main benefit, 24.6% cited interactivity, 15.1% cited convenience, 6.35% cited affordability, and 6.35% cited accessibility while 4% cited ready audience. When asked what aspect of social media made them alert to political party's messages, 29.4% cited instant feedback, 26.2% cited interactivity/participatory, 24.6% cited informative while 13.5% cited affordability. Thus for the electorate information and instant feedback are very key. However, for politicians 34.8% cited affordability as the main benefit, followed by ready audience 26.1% and accessibility 26.1%. This therefore shows that for the electorate the main reason for being on the social media is to get information while for the politician the reason for being on the social media is to get a ready audience to share information with.

When asked whether social media was very useful to the voters, 67.4% of the electorate agreed; whereby 22.2% strongly agreed while 45.2% agreed. This therefore shows that social media is a useful tool for the voters.

5.1.3 Impact of social media as a tool of political campaign

When asked the question, do you think social media can help to win votes? Majority of the respondents answered in the affirmative; 66.6% of the politicians and 61.1% of the electorate. From the analysis it can therefore be concluded that the use of social media can help to win votes. Politicians were also asked a question on the impact of social media on presidential elections whereby 66.7% of the respondents indicated that it had an impact; 11.1% indicated to a large extent while 55.6% indicated to a small extent.

In response to whether the party's use of social media generally persuaded them as voters, 61.9% of the respondents agreed; 23.8% strongly agreed while 38.1% agreed. This is also corroborated by the responses gathered from the interviews with the political scientists. 100% of the five interviewed political scientists answered in the affirmative when asked, "Do you think social media can shape political decisions and outcomes?"

Finally, majority of the respondents indicated that political messages have an impact when communicated via the social media through political leaders; 51.6% of the electorate and 60% of the communication experts. This shows that there's good will for the political leaders as compared to other sources in dissemination of political messages via this tool of communication. From this analysis it can therefore be concluded that the messages communicated via social media by the political leaders have an impact on presidential elections.

5.1.4 How social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive election results

The analysis of data indicated that social media will continue being a reliable tool of communication in future elections with most of the respondents (88.9% of politicians, 95% of communication experts and 78.6% of the electorate) answering in the affirmative when asked the question, do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections? The same was also replicated from the interviews with political scientists and IEBC officials.

To maximise the benefits of social media for future impressive results, it was found that political parties need to prioritise their issues and according to politicians the priority should be in the following order; discussing issues not individuals, have a social media strategy, ensuring consistence of information and regular update of social media status. For the voter the priority should be in the following order; one on one dealing with the electorate, ensuring consistence of information, have a secretariat to handle social media, have a social media strategy, discuss issues not individuals, avoid confrontational politics/hate speech, regular update of social media status and use the most popular platforms. For communication experts the top priority for the political party should be having a social media strategy followed by avoiding confrontational politics and ensuring consistence of information. Most importantly, the electorates appreciate the social media campaign messages through political leaders.

It can therefore be concluded that the key for maximising benefits of social media lies in an effective communication strategy that incorporates a social media strategy which addresses the other issues of importance such as a one- on- one dealing with the

electorate, avoidance of confrontational politics, and consistence of information among others.

5.2 Conclusion of the study

The study sought to investigate the impact of social media on the Kenya 2013 presidential elections.

5.2.1 Electorates' reliance on social media in decision making

According to the above summary, it's evident that social media played a role in the elections and the electorate to some extent relied on the social media in decision making. However, social media cannot be relied upon as the only tool of communication for political campaign to guarantee a political candidate victory. Thus politicians and even political parties should have a social media strategy to run their social media campaigns and use it by providing adequate information consistently alongside other political campaign strategies including political rallies and other mainstream mass media channels in order to reach out to a sizeable number of voters.

5.2.2 Benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign

Based on the analysis of the study, social media offers a number of benefits but what is important for the electorate on the social media sites is access to information and to the politician the presence of an audience to share with information is what matters. Therefore it is important for the politicians using this tool of political campaign to ensure

that they meet the electorates' expectations by providing adequate, consistent and timely information to win their support.

5.2.3 Impact of social media as a tool of political campaign

From the analysis of the study, it was found that social media had some impact on the presidential elections and therefore it is important for politicians to take advantage of the attendance in social media platforms for their political campaigns, and since there's that good will of the electorate for the messages by political leaders, it is important to ensure timely, adequate and consistent information to win the support of the voters.

5.2.4 How social media can be used effectively in future to yield positive election

results

From the analysis of the data, it was found that social media will continue being a reliable tool of communication in future elections and to maximise the benefits for future impressive results, it was found that the key lies in an effective communication strategy that incorporates a social media strategy. The social media strategy itself must be detailed to address issues such as one on one dealing with the electorate, avoidance of confrontational politics, and consistency of information among others.

5.3 Major recommendations from the study

5.3.1 Key policy recommendations

Social media has proved to be a reliable tool to the electorate in making their decisions and therefore politicians and political parties should embrace it fully to reap the benefits.

With Facebook being the most popular site a lot of efforts need to be directed towards this channel to reach a good number of potential voters.

Social media offers a number of benefits ranging from cheap cost, flexibility, information, accessibility, and interactivity, among others and thus it is recommended that a strategy be put in place to reap these benefits.

Since most of the voters are online for purposes of getting information/ political news, the political parties should strive to give adequate, accurate, consistent and timely information to the potential voters.

To maximise the benefits of social media as a tool of political campaign for future impressive results, political parties need to have a social media communication strategy that focuses on issue based politics, ensures consistence of information and responsive to the communication needs of the electorates.

Political parties need to integrate social media in their presidential campaigns and have a secretariat to specifically respond and address issues in the social media.

It is recommended that the Government should come up with policies on the use of social media and monitor content to guard against spread of negative ethnicity and hate speech via the social media.

Since social media continues to gain popularity as a tool of political campaign, it is recommended that IEBC should amend the code of conduct for political campaigns of candidates to include the use of social media as channels of campaign.

5.3.2 Key recommendations for further research

(i) The areas for further research should include a study on whether the use of social media can help electoral bodies to build credibility and win public confidence.

(ii) There's also need to conduct a study on the impact of hate speech spread via the social media on the electorate.

(iii) Since social media has become a reliable channel of information and it has encouraged the growth of citizen journalism, it is important to conduct a study on how this affects the mainstream media.

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APPENDIX A: LETTER REQUESTING PARTICIPATION OF RESPONDENTS

Buchere Dave Jones
The University of Nairobi
P.O BOX
NAIROBI
March 19, 2014

Dear Participant,

I am a final year postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi pursuing Master of Arts in Communication Studies.

The attached questionnaire seeks to find information from the Starehe electorate on the effect of social media on the Kenya 2013 presidential elections outcome.

You are among the few who have been selected to participate in this survey. Your cooperation and assistance in completing the questionnaire will be highly appreciated.

All the information obtained as a result of your response will be used only for purposes of this survey and will be kept confidential.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you in advance for taking part in this study.

Yours sincerely,



Buchere Dave Jones.

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE ELECTORATE

INSTRUCTIONS

Please respond to all items in this questionnaire by ticking [] or filling the blanks appropriately.

PART 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your name? (Optional)

2. The person completing this questionnaire is

Male [] Female []

3. Indicate your age bracket

20 years and below [] 21-30 [] 31-40 [] 41-50 [] 51 – 60 [] 61 and above []

4. Indicate by tick [] your level of professional training

Certificate [] Diploma [] Degree [] Masters [] PHD [] Others (Specify).....

5. Indicate by tick [] your highest academic qualification obtained

CPE/KCPE [] KJSEC [] KCE/KCSE “O” Level [] KACE “A” Level []

6. Do you have any training in the Information and Communication Technology (ICT)?

Yes [] No []

7. What is your level of training in ICT?

Certificate [] Diploma [] Degree [] Masters [] PHD [] Others (Specify).....

8. What is your occupation?

.....

9. What is your marital status?

Single [] Married [] Divorced [] Widowed [] others (specify)

10. How many general elections have you ever participated in as a voter?

2013 was my first elections [] 2013 was my second elections []

2013 was my third elections [] 2013 was my fourth elections []

Have participated in more than 5 other elections []

PART 2: ASPECTS ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

1. Do you have access to the Internet? If No proceed to part 3 of this questionnaire.

Yes [] No []

2. How do you access the Internet?

Office computer [] Home computer [] Cyber café [] Mobile phone [] All the above []

3. Which of the following social media tools do you use?

Facebook [] Twitter [] MySpace [] LinkedIn [] All the above [] Any other

4. In your opinion, why is the social media you chose above preferable to use?

5. How often do you use the social media?

Hourly [] Daily [] Weekly [] Monthly [] Rarely []

6. What are your interests in social media sites?

Politics [] Interaction [] Entertainment [] Establish network []

Education [] Information [] Business []

Any other

7. In the last general elections of March 2013, which of the following coalitions/ political parties did you associate yourself with as a voter?

Jubilee coalition [] CORD [] Amani coalition [] Eagle Alliance [] Narc Kenya []

Safina [] Grand National Union (GNU) [] Alliance Party of Kenya (APK) [] Restore and Build Kenya (RBK) [] Alliance for Real Change (ARK) [] Others []

8. Did the coalition/ party (in 7 above) use social media in reaching the electorate?

Yes [] No []

9. Through which social media tool(s) were you able to interact with your preferred coalition/ political party?

Facebook [] Twitter [] MySpace [] LinkedIn [] All the above [] Any other

10. How often was the coalition/ political party communicating with the electorate via the social media?

Very often [] Often [] Sometimes [] Seldom []

11. How did the political party/ coalition use the social media tool?

Announce political rallies [] share party manifesto [] Respond to questions []

Post speeches [] Share photos [] Counter opponents []

Provide new information [] Explain political agenda [] Any other

12. In your opinion, is the social media a good channel of communication between a politician and the electorates?

Yes [] No []

13. What makes you to keep using the social media tools?

Easy to use [] Affordable [] Availability [] Flexibility []

[] Informative [] Interactive [] Entertaining [] Educative []

Any other

14. Did your preferred coalition/ political party meet your communication needs via the social media?

Yes [] No []

15. Social media as a tool of communication was very useful to me as a voter

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

16. The political party's social media activities were relevant to the electorate's desires

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

17. In your opinion the information disseminated by the political party through the social media prior to the elections was

Very adequate [] Adequate [] Average [] Inadequate [] Not sure []

18. The party's use of social media generally persuaded me as a voter to believe the party

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

19. The persons charged with the responsibility of managing the social media sites met my expectations

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

20. What aspect of social media made you alert to your party's political messages?

Interactive/ participatory [] Instant feedback [] Affordable [] Informative []

Any other

21. To what extent did social media tools help you in making your election decision?

Large extent [] Neutral [] Small extent [] Not at all []

22. As a voter, do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes? Explain

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23. List any three benefits of social media tools to a voter?

24. In what areas do you think your political party/ coalition needs to improve in order to maximize benefits of using social media for future impressive results?

25. Do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections?

Yes [] No []

26. Social media outlets drive election outcomes

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] strongly disagree []

27. Social media sites encourage discussions and participation

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

28. Social media political messages have an impact when communicated through

Political leaders [] Opinion leaders [] Religious leaders [] mainstream media []

Government [] Spokespersons of political parties []

PART 3: RESPONDENTS WITHOUT INTERNET ACCESS

1. What makes you lack access to the Internet?

Lack of education [] Age factor [] It is costly [] It is not necessary []

Any other

2. Given a chance how would you like to access the Internet?

Mobile phone [] Office computer [] Cyber [] All the above []

3. Which of the following social media tools have you ever heard of?

Facebook [] Twitter [] Myspace [] LinkedIn []

4. Do you think the social media above has any benefit? Explain.

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.....
.....

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POLITICIANS

INTRUCTIONS

Please respond to all items in this questionnaire by ticking [√] or filling the blanks appropriately.

PART 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your name? (Optional)

2. The person completing this questionnaire is

Male [] Female []

3. Indicate your age bracket

20 years and below [] 21-30 [] 31-40 [] 41-50 [] 51 – 60 [] 61 and above []

4. Indicate by tick [√] your level of professional training

Certificate [] Diploma [] Degree [] Masters [] PHD [] Others (Specify).....

5. Indicate by tick [√] your highest academic qualification obtained

CPE/KCPE [] KJSEC [] KCE/KCSE “O” Level [] KACE “A” Level []

6. What is your occupation?

.....

7. How many general elections have you ever participated in as a politician?

2013 was my first elections [] 2013 was my second elections []

2013 was my third elections [] 2013 was my fourth election []

Have participated in more than 5 other elections []

PART 2: ASPECTS ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

1. Do you have access to the Internet? If No proceed to part 3 of this questionnaire.

Yes [] No []

2. How do you access the Internet?

Office computer [] Home computer [] Cyber café [] Mobile phone [] All the above []

3. Which of the following social media tools do you use?

Facebook [] Twitter [] MySpace [] LinkedIn [] All the above [] Any other

4. In your opinion, why is the social media you chose above preferable to use?

5. How often do you use the social media?

Hourly [] Daily [] Weekly [] Monthly [] Rarely []

6. What are your interests in social media sites?

Politics [] Interaction [] Entertainment [] Establish networks []

Education [] Information [] Business []

Any other

7. In the last general elections of March 2013, which of the following coalitions/ political parties did you associate yourself with as a politician?

Jubilee coalition [] CORD [] Amani coalition [] Eagle Alliance [] Narc Kenya []

Grand National Union (GNU) [] Safina [] Alliance Party of Kenya (APK) [] Restore and Build Kenya (RBK) [] Alliance for Real Change (ARK) []

8. Did the coalition/ party (in 7 above) use social media in reaching the electorate?

Yes [] No []

9. Through which social media tool(s), did you as an individual use to interact with the electorate?

Facebook [] Twitter [] MySpace [] LinkedIn [] All the above [] Any other

10. How often were you communicating with the electorate via the social media?

Very often [] Often [] Sometimes [] Seldom []

11. How did you use the social media?

Announce my political rallies [] To share my party's manifesto [] Respond to questions [] Post speeches [] Gather intelligence on voters [] To share my vision [] Share photos [] Counter opponents [] Research [] Raise funds [] Provide new information [] Explain political agenda [] Any other

12. In your opinion is the social media a good channel of communication between a politician and the electorates?

Yes [] No []

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

13. What makes you to keep using the social media tools?

Easy to use [] Affordable [] Availability [] Flexibility []
[] Informative [] Interactive [] Entertaining [] Educative []
Any other

14. Did your preferred coalition/ political party meet your communication needs via the social media?

Yes [] No []

15. Social media as a tool of communication was very useful to me as a politician

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

16. The political party's social media activities were relevant to the electorate's desires

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

17. What do you think about the information you shared with the electorate via social media?

Very adequate [] Adequate [] Average [] Inadequate [] Not sure []

18. The electorate was very supportive and cooperative in social media

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly disagree []

19. Generally speaking, to what extent did the social media affect the outcome of the Kenya 2013 Presidential elections?

20. Who administers/ manages your social media pages?

Myself [] My personal assistant [] Secretary [] other staff [] Agency []

Any other

21. To what extent did social media tools help you in your campaigns?

Large extent [] Neutral [] Small extent [] Not at all []

22. As a politician, do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes? Explain

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.....

23. List any three benefits of social media tools to a politician?

24. In what areas do you think your political party/ coalition needs to improve in order to maximize benefits of using social media for future impressive results?

25. Do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections?

Yes [] No []

Explain.....
.....
.....

26. What are some of the weaknesses of these tools of communication to a politician?

27. Do you think social media campaigns can directly affect election results? Explain.....

.....
.....

28. Social media political messages have an impact when communicated through

Political leaders [] Opinion leaders [] Religious leaders [] mainstream media []

Government [] Spokespersons of political parties []

29. In what ways can the 21st century politician use the social media to ensure effective use of the tool of communication for positive election outcomes?.....

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

PART 3: RESPONDENTS WITHOUT INTERNET ACCESS

1. What makes you lack access to the Internet?

Lack of education [] Age factor [] It is costly [] It is not necessary []

Any other

2. Given a chance how would you like to access the Internet?

Mobile phone [] Office computer [] Cyber [] All the above []

3. Which of the following social media tools have you ever heard of?

Facebook [] Twitter [] Myspace [] LinkedIn []

4. Do you think the social media above has any benefit? Explain.

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

**APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MEDIA/COMMUNICATION
EXPERTS**

INTRUCTIONS

Please respond to all items in this questionnaire by ticking [√] or filling the blanks appropriately.

PART 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your name? (Optional)

2. The person completing this questionnaire is

Male [] Female []

3. Indicate your age bracket

20 years and below [] 21-30 [] 31-40 [] 41-50 [] 51 – 60 [] 61 and above []

4. Indicate by tick [√] your level of professional training

Certificate [] Diploma [] Degree [] Masters [] PHD [] Others
(Specify).....

5. Indicate by tick [√] your highest academic qualification obtained

CPE/KCPE [] KJSEC [] KCE/KCSE “O” Level [] KACE “A” Level []

6. Do you have any training in the Information and Communication Technology (ICT)?

Yes [] No []

7. What is your level of training in ICT?

Certificate [] Diploma [] Degree [] Masters [] PHD [] Others (Specify).....

8. What is your occupation?

.....

PART 2: ASPECTS ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

1. How do you access the Internet?

Office computer [] Home computer [] Cyber café [] Mobile phone [] All the above []

2. Which of the following social media tools do you use?

Facebook [] Twitter [] MySpace [] LinkedIn [] All the above [] Any other

3. In your opinion, why is the social media preferable to use for political communication?

4. How often do you use the social media?

Hourly [] Daily [] Weekly [] Monthly [] Rarely []

5. In the last general elections of March 2013, which of the following coalitions/ political parties do you think made maximum use of the social media sites for its campaigns?

Jubilee coalition [] CORD [] Amani coalition [] Eagle Alliance [] Narc Kenya []

Grand National Union (GNU) [] Safina [] Alliance Party of Kenya (APK) [] Others [] Alliance for Real Change (ARK) [] Restore and Build Kenya (RBK) []

6. How often should a politician communicate with the electorate via the social media?

Very often [] Often [] Sometimes [] Seldom []

7. How should the politician use the social media tools?

Announce political rallies [] To share party manifesto [] Respond to questions []

Post speeches [] Gather intelligence on voters [] To share vision [] Share photos []
Counter opponents [] Research [] Raise funds [] Provide new information [] Explain
political agenda [] Any other

8. In your opinion is the social media a good channel of communication between a politician and the electorates?

Yes [] No []

Explain.....
.....
.....

9. The information politicians shared with the electorate via social media was?

Very adequate [] Adequate [] Average [] Inadequate [] Not sure []

10. Generally speaking, to what extent did the social media affect the outcome of the Kenya 2013 Presidential elections?

11. As a media/ communication expert, do you think the use of social media as a tool of political campaign can help to win votes? Explain

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.....

12. List any three benefits of social media tools to a politician?

13. In what areas do you think the political parties in Kenya need to improve in order to maximise benefits of using social media for future impressive results?

14. Do you think social media will continue being a reliable tool of political campaign in future elections?

Yes [] No []

Explain.....
.....
.....

15. What are some of the weaknesses of these tools of communication?

16. Do you think social media campaigns can directly affect election results?
Explain.....
.....
.....

17. Social media political messages have an impact when communicated through
Political leaders [] Opinion leaders [] Religious leaders [] mainstream media []
Government [] Spokespersons of political parties []

18. In what ways can the 21st century politician use the social media to ensure effective use of the tool of communication for positive election outcomes?.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

1. What are the factors that determine the election outcome of a political candidate in any competitive elections in Kenya?
2. In the recent past, politicians in Kenya, Africa and even globally have been using the social media as a tool of political campaign. Do you think the social media can shape political decisions and outcomes?
3. What are some of the benefits of this channel of communication to a politician?
4. How can citizen journalism (gathering and distributing news by ordinary citizens) via social media affect a politician's future?
5. What are some of the challenges/ risks that a politician may face when using the social media as a tool of political campaign?
6. Comment on the role of social media in shaping political debate in the context of plural politics in Kenya.
7. Do these social media tools open up new opportunities for contentious politics?
8. In your opinion, how is the relationship like for the politician who is on the social media sites with the ordinary citizen, as compared to the one who does not employ the use of these social media tools?

9. To what extent does the electorate rely on political campaign messages to make their voting decisions?
10. To what extent should a politician rely on social media to disseminate these political campaign messages?
11. How can a politician really make good use of this channel to maximise the benefits for better election results?
12. In your opinion, what is the future of social media as far as the general elections in this country is concerned?
13. What can the Government do to ensure proper use of these social media tools before, during and after elections?

THE CLOSURE OF THE INTERVIEW:

Is there anything else that you would wish to discuss? If yes kindly proceed and share.

The interview is now over and I take this opportunity to sincerely thank you for your cooperation and support as this is very valuable for my research.

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR IEBC OFFICIALS

1. What was your role in the Kenya 2013 general elections?
2. How was the elections and how do you gauge the performance of IEBC during these elections?
3. What was the voter turnout like in the polling centre/ constituency/county where you were assigned?
4. Do you think the social media was of any use to the IEBC in discharging its mandate before, during and after the elections?
5. A number of political candidates from the position of MCA to the Presidential candidates used the social media platforms to spearhead their campaigns. In this case what can IEBC do to ensure the candidates conduct their campaigns as per the code of conduct governing elections?
6. What were some of the challenges of social media as a tool of communication to IEBC during the 2013 elections period?
7. In your view, how can IEBC make use of the social media to win public confidence from the voters?

THE CLOSURE OF THE INTERVIEW:

Is there anything else that you would wish to discuss? If yes kindly proceed and share.

The interview is now over and I take this opportunity to sincerely thank you for your cooperation and support as this is very valuable for my research.

APPENDIX G: RESEARCH BUDGET

BUGDET FOR RESEARCH ON EFFECT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON ELECTION OUTCOME

NO.	ITEM	AMOUNT (KSHS)
1.	STATIONERY	15,000
2.	PHOTOCOPYING	5,000
3.	TRAVELING EXPENSES	20,000
4.	SUBSISTENCE	5,000
5.	STATISTICIAN	5,000
6.	INTERNET	5,000
7.	TELEPHONE	5,000
8.	PRINTING AND BINDING	10,000
9.	MISCELLENOUS	7,000
	TOTAL	77,000

APPENDIX H: WORKPLAN

WORKPLAN FOR THE RESEARCH ON THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON ELECTION OUTCOME

NO.	ACTIVITY	PERIOD	DURATION
1.	Concept Paper writing and Literature search	January – March 2014	3 moths
2.	Correction and improvement of proposal	March – April 2014	2 months
3.	Full proposal development and defense of the proposal	May – June 2014	2 months
4.	Correction and improvement of proposal	June – July 2014	1 month
5.	Pilot study, data collection and field work	July – August 2014	2 months
6.	Data analysis and submission of project for examination	August 2014	1 month
7.	Report writing	September 2014	1 month
8.	Defense of project and correction after defense	October 2014	1 month
9.	Binding and submission of final project for examination	October 2014	1 month