

RAILA ODINGA'S FRAMED POLITICAL BRAND IMAGE AND THE VOTERS
REASONED ACTIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

by

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APPROVAL

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DECLARATION

RAILA ODINGA'S FRAMED POLITICAL BRAND IMAGE AND THE VOTERS
REASONED ACTIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university for academic credit.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Kanu Kenya African National Union

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ABSTRACT

Branding is a key element for any politician who wants to excel in their quest to win an election because voters tend to identify with a political brand that favours them. Raila Odinga is a brand with a huge political following and over the years he has been a key contestant in general elections even though he has not succeeded to rise to presidency. This paper sought to analyze his brand image, the rivals branding of his candidature in both the social and legacy media; and the effect all these had on voting behavior during elections. The study was anchored on two theories: the framing theory and the theory of reasoned action. Based on framing theory, this study assumed that there were pre-existing frames that were inherent in the brand 'Raila Odinga', which were shaped by both the media and his campaign team. To this end, these frames were key in determining the voters reasoned actions during presidential elections. The study was limited to Murang'a and Homa-Bay counties and it adopted a descriptive design. Questionnaire and key informant interview guide were used to collect data. The study sampled 384 respondents in each of the two counties; Homa Bay County had a response rate of 315 (82%) while Muranga County had 357 (93%). The findings indicated that Raila Odinga was easily recognised across the country and that his rivals used his easily recognisable brand to frame negative messages during the run-up to the 2017 presidential elections. Region and politics of belonging played a role in the framing of Raila Odinga's brand image. Central Kenya residents were more likely to believe the messages spread by Raila Odinga's competitors compared to the Western Kenya. The study also established that whereas voters in Homa-Bay did not take keen interest in Raila Odinga's coverage in the media; a fairly significant percentage of Muranga voters were keen on the same with only 50.10% stating that his coverage was unimportant to them compared to 75.90 percent in Homa Bay.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Branding emerged as a function of a paradigm shift from the domain of product to the sphere of human marketing. With this paradigm shift, the concept of branding and image has continued to take shape in the sphere of political communication (Eke, 2012). Within the political realm, political advertising is increasingly gaining significance as a tool for building a brand image either positively for a politician or negatively in instances where politicians intend to paint negative brand reputations around their rivals.

Hughes (2003) defined political advertising “as the process whereby a candidate and/or party will pay for a non-personal communication that promotes their superior attributes or policies over those of their opponents to elicit specific behaviors, such as voting, and/or increased awareness of the candidate or party” (p. 2). Political advertising thus ensures that the public is aware of an opponent’s weaknesses while promoting the sponsoring candidate’s strengths and policy

In the last general election, the two major political formations advanced narratives in both their public rallies and the media (social and legacy). This study's focus was to determine the extent to which Jubilee’s campaign messages, including the negative advertising on social media and the rhetoric by Jubilee leaders, led to the framing of the perceptions that were used in the elections to evaluate the candidature of Raila Amolo Odinga (hereafter referred to as Odinga). This was looked at alongside Odinga’s own campaign messages, his image, and the dominant discursive model that emerged from the overall frame that the voters perceived.

Yassin and Zauddin (2012) argued that the intangible aspects of brands in politics are image and reputation, and the three influential factors on voter's decision-making are personal identity, personal ethics, and personal benefit. To this end, they pointed out that framing should thus cover the informational representation of political elites. Odinga's value image has continuously been an easy target for attack advertising in Kenya. There was aggressive attack advertising on the brand -Raila Odinga, a one-sided assault designed to draw attention to his weaknesses in either character or issue positions.

Hughes (2003) stated that such aggressive attacks are the most malicious form of negative advertising on a political brand. Odinga was on record saying that he received a lot of negative advertisement that depicted him as devilish and evil by the Jubilee campaign machinery (BBC News, 2017). He is a big political brand not only in Kenya but also in Africa. Part of the citation read during the awarding ceremony of an honorary Doctor of Laws (LLD to Odinga by the University of Nairobi stated that "Raila Amolo Odinga has been at the center of all major political events that set-in motion the wheels of irreversible change towards a more open and participatory political system in Kenya" (Odinga, 2008, p. 6).

Odinga has been the dominant political figure since the year 2002 Presidential elections in Kenya, has participated in four presidential elections, commands a near-fanatical following in Western Kenya, and has been a key figure in the second liberation and the enactment of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. Michael Kijana Wamalwa Kijana, a former Kenya vice president, once described Odinga as a politician who commands what he termed as *Railomania* and *Railaphobia*. Despite his popularity, Odinga has not managed to win or get sworn in as the Republic of Kenya's president.

Arguably, Raila Amolo Odinga's failure to win or be sworn in as the president in the years 2007, 2013, and 2017 Kenya general elections could be a consequence of his political image and how he has previously been branded. Essentially the perception of Odinga by the voters could be attributed to either a lack of enhanced political communication strategies for advancing his image or to his brand's negative political advertising and media framing.

Background to the Study

Political branding is not a new concept. The United Kingdom Labor Party rebranded into the "New Labor" in the mid-1990s, an effort that was partly by professional branding firms (Scammell, 2007). The Conservative Party initiated the position of Head of Brand Communications, which was a job title that was only found in corporate organizations (Sweney, 2006). In Kenya, the Jubilee Party was accused of hiring the services of Cambridge Analytica; a British company to not only help in branding the political party for the 2017 general elections, but allegedly to also brand the rivals negatively through negative political advertising. The negative advertising included the use of symbols in distinguishing the brand. Former President Moi, for instance, was known for his *Rungu ya Nyayo* while the 'Young Turks' of Kenya's second liberation branded themselves as intelligent reformists.

The symbolic value and the psychological representation of a particular product is critical in branding (Scammell, 2007). Branding in politics refers to the use of intangible benefits associated with a politician whose win is likely to help in the realization of the benefits, just like buying a branded product (Lambin, Chumpitaz, & Schuiling, 2007). The term brand, therefore, covers the emotional and social connotations that are experienced or associated with using something. A brand is not

what a product is, but rather, a projection of what the consumers believe it to be (Adolphens, 2009).

According to Scammell (2015), competence, strength of leadership, and credibility of promises are all attributes that can be subjected to criticism and, therefore, cannot be sustained over a long period; they will eventually come under scrutiny and possible breakdown. A political candidate is not guaranteed an electoral win simply based on their positive attributes. The representation of these attributes as brand images and the spread of the images to the electorate as brand awareness, determines how the voters perceive the candidate.

The spread of the images and brand awareness by a political candidate, including how both the candidate and the rivals frame that spread, affects the candidate's voting patterns. As a politician, Odinga presents the possibility that his brand as the preeminent politician in the last four elections could have been spread by both his campaign team and the rivals. This dual spread of perhaps contracting frames might have convinced voters to vote for him while others might have had a contrary choice his political image and capital notwithstanding.

Scammell's (2015) posited that the spread of the perceived brand image and awareness through important how a politician is perceived does not necessarily play out the same way among different voters. This, therefore, means that the spread of what Raila is or is perceived to create different responses to different voters. The responses and attitudes of the voters are both a result and consequence of perceived media frames and campaign messages built on to the reasoned actions during elections (Ajzen & Fishbein as cited in Scammell, 2015).

There are two main dimensions in brand knowledge: brand awareness and brand image. While brand awareness is related to the strength of the brand explicitly

described as how consumers can identify it under different conditions (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2015), brand image is the perception that consumers have and the associations that they make about the brand (Keller, 1993). In the case of Odinga, there seemed to be a fairly significant brand awareness, where Kenyan voters easily identified him as a brand.

In the political space, the voter has referred to him as *Baba* (father). To his current rivals in the *Tanga Tanga* (aimless) movement, when you say *yule jamaa wa vitendawili* (that guy of paradoxes), it is clear that Odinga is the point of reference. As much as Odinga's brand image is easily identified by the voters, the brand awareness seems not to have worked to his advantage as far the voters' behavior in the elections is concerned. Despite the brand's awareness, the voting patterns in Kenya have not been in his favour.

Adolphens (2009) argued that "an organization's activities are aimed at the creation and fostering of distinct brand image in consumers' minds" (p. 5). Branding, therefore, involves turning resources towards "selected tangible and intangible attributes to differentiate the brand in an attractive, meaningful, and compelling way for the targeted audience" (Grimaldi, 2003, p. 7). Political parties and politicians are all involved in branding either through media appearances and rallies, to create an image of who they are and what they stand for. Kotler (2005) noted that competing parties deliver and communicate superior values to the voter. Hence, politicians are engaged in actively selecting the attributes that differentiate them from their competition and defining their brand in a way that is compelling to the voters (Grimaldi, 2003).

Branding activities follow three characteristics that are important when considering a brand's position in political communication. These are value

laden/emotional narratives, multi-channel orientation, and trust-building (Adolphens, 2009). Brand awareness and image of a politician such as Odinga are thus shaped by the value and emotional narratives infused in the brand during political campaigns.

Cwalina and Falkowski (2015) argued that politicians influence how they want to be perceived by projecting “characteristics, leadership potential and surrounding messages” (p. 157), which they frame to their advantages. Odinga has ensured that the voters identify the political brand and associate him with specific voter needs. Kadhi (as cited in Mudhai, 2007) accused Odinga of using clever tactics to manipulate the mass media to his advantage. Further, Cwalina and Falkowski (2015) observed that such manipulation, though effective in creating a certain perception favourable to a politician, certainly cannot appeal to all voters no matter how much the effort.

Despite the political capital, Odinga, his framing both in the media and campaigns has impacted the voter patterns. His political rivals have used negative political advertisements to create a negative brand image that elicited doubt, tribalism, corruption, and hate; hence leading to rejection of his brand by voters. The Cambridge Analytica case where the Jubilee party was accused of branding Odinga as devilish and dangerous seems to confirm this argument. Based on this, this researcher considered it necessary to assess how Raila Amolo Odinga’s branding of himself and his rivals’ use of his political image to brand him in the 2017 presidential elections campaigns either appealed to different groups or not. The study also evaluated how the choices of the different segments of the electorate were influenced by the aforementioned branding (Baines, 1999).

Statement of the Problem

Known to many Kenyans as a popular politician who has consciously guarded his public image, Odinga’s branding of himself as *Tinga* (tractor) in 1997, *Agwambo*

(mysterious) 2007, and *Baba* (father) 2017, has “earned his stature as a true African statesman” (Wachira, 2018, para. 8). However, despite his impeccable efforts and political clout, Odinga has only had near misses in his quest for the presidency - three times claiming his victory was stolen. Despite making a stab at the presidency four times, his failure has largely been due to what critics claim as a phobia occasioned by his rivals branding (Asamba, 2018) and the ease with which his political image is recognizable.

Asamba (2018) noted that Odinga threatened to sue Cambridge Analytica, a data-mining company, and Facebook for running ‘devilish’ propaganda against him during 2017 polls. He accused the said company of portraying him as an evil man, incapable of leading the country (BBC News, 2017). The negative campaigns allegedly commissioned by Odinga’s rivals were mostly on social media. Whereas Suuronen (2018) found out that social media sites such as Facebook are linked to electoral gains for non-incumbents, the Kenyan situation presents a unique experience. This is because it is the non-incumbent, Odinga, who appears to have been negatively framed by anonymous content producers believed to have been sponsored by his rivals (Ekdale & Tully, 2019). Consequently, a gap is inherent regarding clarity of the extent to which such framing played into the electorate’s reasoned actions in their voting preferences.

Such framing and campaign messages by Odinga’s rivals could have played a part in the citizens’ perceptions of the brand Raila Odinga, just like Raila Odinga’s campaign messages and his own branding. However, what is not clear is how all these influenced the reasoned actions that informed the voters’ choices. This was hence, the focus of the current study. The campaign messages have had the potential of influencing the behavioral intentions, attitudes, and subjective norms of the electorate.

Nyamnjoh (2005) maintained that politics in Africa is characterized by belonging, and that the media is largely influenced by regionalism, ethnicity, and unprofessionalism. Odinga's framing by both his team and his rivals has over the last electioneering periods had different messages and branding - targeting particular voters in different regions of the country. Consequently, this researcher perceived the need to investigate the influence of such messages, framing, and brand image.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to establish how Raila Amolo Odinga's perceived political image, as framed by the media and his campaign team, influenced the voters' reasoned actions in the August 8, 2017 general elections. The study further examined how these perceived images and the branding by Odinga's rivals, in the lead up to the elections, influenced the voting behaviour.

Objectives of the Study

1. To determine how the negative campaign messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's political rivals contributed to the voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 presidential elections.
2. To establish how the media's coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga elections campaigns influenced the voters' choices in rejecting or supporting his candidature.
3. To establish and describe how the perceived image and framing of Raila Amolo Odinga in media influenced voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 presidential elections.

Research Questions

1. How did the negative campaign messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's political rivals contribute to the voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 presidential elections?
2. How did the media's coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga's election campaigns influence the voters' choices in rejecting or supporting his candidature?
3. Did the voters' perception of the Raila Amolo Odinga image and frames in the media influence the reasoned actions taken in the 2017 presidential elections?

Justification for the Study

Raila Amolo Odinga was one of the two most popular candidates in the 2013 presidential elections (Ndlela, 2016). His political brand has been framed by various political actors including the media, political rivals, and his campaign team. Ndlela (2016) found out that apart from the traditional media, political rallies, and interviews; Kenyan politicians also use social media such as Facebook and Twitter to mobilize supporters, organize rallies, profile and political parties.

Political actors use such platforms to deliberately frame their brand and create a positive impression of such a brand to the electorate. Scammell (2007) argued that branding is the new version of the permanent political campaign and political rivals have used negative campaigns to make their competitors look bad. The negative sponsored messages about Odinga were purposely used to negatively portray his brand. The fact that Kenyans are active on social media when it comes to finding out information about their preferred political leaders means that there was exposure to the media framing and campaign messages; hence the need to find out how such messages influenced the voting patterns.

The Kenyan electorate relies on the media for political information. With the

introduction of new media, the Kenyan voter can participate in the political process and freely express their opinion. Moreover, politicians also depend on social media to build their brand. The politicians are now able to receive feedback from the voters and shape their identity through the needs of the electorate.

Social networks have been turned into major money-making Public Relations sites where the leaders dialogue directly with the electorate and give assistance where needed or shade light on issues they feel their political rivals and not working on. For example, Kenyans on Twitter and Facebook have actively pushed for hashtags that have led to political discourse within the public sphere. These two platforms proved effective during the 2017 general elections, where even the traditional media relied on them (platforms) to reach out to the electorate. For instance, the hashtag #WhileyouwereawayBaba #SomeoneTellCNN depict how social media is a platform where brands have to be taken seriously.

Significance of the Study

The study provides insights on media framing, voting patterns, and branding to political actors and institutions. The findings on how Odinga's image and branding by both his team and rivals seem to suggest that branding and image have a bearing on voters' informed choices. These findings advance knowledge, as they indicate that the political agenda in the legacy media play a big role on rallying voters, and make strong contributions in the area of social media in elections campaigns. For instance, despite the predominant devolish messages about Raila Odinga, there is no evidence that voters were swayed to vote based on such messages as was expected by Raila Odinga's rivals. These findings thus provoke further interrogations on the role of the social media campaign in a society such as Kenya, where despite high internet penetration, social media messages on political candidates seem to have an

insignificant effect.

The findings would also contribute to knowledge in the area of political branding and use media framing for the purpose of achieving political campaign objectives. Findings on how media frames and campaign strategies influenced the voters' reasoned actions would be beneficial to political actors and parties and advance scholarship in the area of framing in political communication. Moreover, political figures would find the findings instrumental in helping them design their campaign strategies and messaging. For instance, the findings indicate that even though Odinga enjoyed popularity and legacy image as a politician with a rich history of the struggle, his easy identification also played to the advantage of his rivals. This is because the rivals used his popular image and perceived framed image to propagate negative propaganda to an audience that easily identified Odinga.

The flipside of the findings is that Odinga's political agenda was found to be critical in mitigating the impact of negative campaigns, even though his team appears not to have done enough to wade through his perceived rivals strongholds. Suggested here for would-be presidential candidates is the need to advance political agenda since the voters in areas where a politician does not hail from seem to be keen on such politicians' political agenda. A case in point is when voters of Muranga were of Odinga's political agenda. In essence, the need to focus on issues that will not negatively influence the voters is imperative if negative media and campaign messages are found to have played a role in the phobia and associated attitudes in the voters' reasoned actions.

The study would also be significant to political actors and communication scholars since it would provide insight on the importance of personal branding as a campaign tool during an election. The success of the Joshua narrative and the Caanan

journey motif is another valuable finding that advances scholarship in political communication, especially in the use of allusion, and offers pathways for future politicians and probably provides and impetus for the use of such strategies.

The findings could also provide an understanding of political engagements' trends regarding the use of the media for political branding in hypothesizing and predicting voting patterns in a presidential election. The study could also offer insights into how active audience engagements on highly personalized platforms such as social media platforms influence the perception of the electorate and the voting patterns. To academics and practitioners, the study findings can provoke discussions in the field of political communication and branding in politics.

Assumptions of the Study

This research assumed that politicians, and specifically, Odinga have political images that are continuously shaped by the messages that the public is exposed to. Further, this study assumed that politicians deliberately communicate in ways that influence their brand image brand in an effort to influence voting patterns

The study also assumed that the branding is done through framing of messages on both the legacy and the new media and that the new media has emerged as the field where negative political advertising and branding of political rivals takes place. The assumption herein was that on social media, politicians can anonymously and negatively brand their rivals through negative political advertising, which Meirick (as cited in Hughes, 2003) defined as those that only present negative information about a competing candidate.

Scope of the Study

The study was limited to the two counties, that is, Murang'a and Homa Bay, where the voters have either overwhelmingly voted for Odinga's rivals (Murang'a) or for Raila Amolo Odinga (Homa Bay) to the last man (www.iebc.co.ke). Focusing on Odinga's political rallies, campaigns, media interviews, and his relation to his fathers' legacy, in addition to how his rivals have continuously branded him, the study restricted itself to a descriptive survey on how voters in these two counties voted in the 2017 elections. The study, thus, limited to the voting behavior in 2017, to establish what informed the electorates' choice to either vote for Odinga or reject him, despite his immense political capital and brand awareness since his 2002 *Kibaki tosha* declaration.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

One of the limitations that the study envisioned was the proposed dependence on the memory of the respondents in giving us the reasons why they voted either for or against Odinga in 2017. In as much as the study tried to delimit this by providing closed-ended questions in the questionnaire, the limitation was still a factor given that the choices that informed past elections were influenced by current realities owing to given the fluidity of Kenyan politics. The researcher interviewed political communication analysts who either had a political science background or media background because their input was considered to enrich the study, especially in the aspect of framing and branding's influence on voting patterns.

The study had a fairly large sample size and for the six categories, only the transport sector and market respondents were found in specific locations such as the bus stages and markets in Mbita, Homa Bay town, Rodi Kopany, Kenol in Muranga,

and Gatanga areas. The other respondents, namely teachers, students, medical and health professionals and civil servants were predominantly traced via a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. For university students, snowball led to the assembling of a group in a central place and administering a questionnaire. This approach has some limitations on the representativeness of the sample. To delimit this, the researcher had six different categories of respondents from diverse backgrounds to reflect the population of voters.

Definition of Terms

Personal branding: Denotes “an individual’s identity stimulating meaningful perceptions to the audience regarding the qualities and values a person stands for” (Chandler & Owen, 2002, p. 16). In this study, it meant the political identity that Odinga has built to stimulate meaningful perceptions about the values and qualities he stands for

Political branding: Defined by Omojola (2008) as the creation and management of distinct values by a politician in a manner that distinguishes him from others, and in the case Odinga, as a politician who is easily recognizable and the only reasonable solution to the problems facing Kenyans.

Social media: The media that is interactive and gives the end user control over the selection and consumption of the content, while also providing a platform for feedback (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). In this study, it included blogs, podcasts, Facebook, twitter, and podcasts.

Negative political advertising: Negative information about a competing candidate that targets the candidate’s image or position (Meirick as cited in Hughes, 2003). In this study, it was used in reference to a subset of comparative advertising that focuses on denigrating the opponent, as opposed to bolstering the sponsor

Summary

In this chapter, the study's research topic has been introduced, and the background of the study provided. The study's purpose, objectives, research questions, significance, justification, assumptions, limitations and limitations, scope, and finally, definitions of key terms used in the study have also been presented. The next chapter will provide a review of relevant literature on the topic of study.

DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher reviews literature related to political branding in the media and specifically studies related to how political branding contributes to the public's perception of politicians, the consequence of such branding, and the emergent image of politicians on the voting patterns. The chapter also provides a discussion of the two theories that were used in the study, that is, the theory of reasoned action and framing theory

Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on two theories: the theory of reasoned action, as proposed by Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen as an improvement over information integration theory (Ajzen & Fishbein as cited in Fishbein, 2008); and framing theory by Goffman, which was advanced prominently by Entman.

Theory of Reasoned Action

The theory of reasoned action was developed and expanded by Fishbein and Ajzen, who tried to elaborate and predict the behavioural intentions. The theory has its roots in psychology, where it started as research about attitudes, leading to the theory of attitudes and behavior. The dyadic relationship between the consumer and a brand has been critical for building trust and commitment (Morgan & Hunt, 1994).

According to Ajzen and Fishbein (as cited in Fishbein, 2008), reasoned action is made up of behavioural intentions, attitudes, and subjective norms. The theory suggested that individuals' behavioural intentions are determined by their attitudes

and subjective norms. Therefore, confirming that the electorate are highly dependable on the attitude they have toward a specific political candidate and the subjective norms that they are used to.

The fact that these behavioural intentions, attitudes, and subjective norms can be influenced by the politicians' framing of issues and their brand image suggest that the electorates' decisions may possibly be reasoned action. For instance, in Odinga's case, the electorate possibly developed certain behavioural intentions, attitudes, and subjective norms, which consequently informed their reasons for voting the way they voted. This has stemmed from Raila Amolo Odinga's historical actions, speeches, and even relations that was used to frame and brand him through negative advertising and branding.

Reasoned action theory plays a big role in political choices since the electorate uses the attitudes they have developed over time and the subjective norms to decide on their candidate of choice based on the candidate's political brand. This study sought to ascertain how the voter's perception of the overarching frames or what Collins (2017) called 'discursive model' that emerged from the media frames, Raila Amolo Odinga's political image, and Jubilee's campaign messages (that bordered on negative advertising) influenced the reasoned actions of voters in the 2017 elections.

In the context of this study, the use of reasoned action was appropriate as the perceived frames that got ingrained in the mind-sets of the voters in Muranga and Homa Bay counties possibly influenced the voters' behavioural intentions and attitudes. The assumptions that Kenyans vote along tribal lines and reasoning behind such voting patterns based on the campaign's frames was the focus of this study.

Framing Theory

Goffman (as cited in Chong & Druckman, 2007), in his book, *Frame analysis*, made two arguments about the comprehension of information. The first argument is that people “locate, perceive, identify and label” events and occurrences. Secondly, people comprehend information based on how it is presented to them. To him, the framing of Odinga begins with people locating, perceiving, identifying, and labelling him and this is based on how Odinga is presented in the public sphere. Therefore, given the ethnicised media and politics of belonging, according to Nyamnjoh (2005), there is a likelihood that the spaces where Odinga is identified and influenced by how he brands himself.

Entman (1993) built on Goffman’s theorization of framing by arguing that to frame means to select and package a communicating text to “promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation” (p. 51). The idea here is that the framing party, in this case, Odinga and his opponents, select certain aspects of political events or newsworthy events that are then given prominence to locate, perceive, identify, label, and interpret the consequent interpretation based on the selected aspects of reality.

Entman’s introduction of the word *culling* underscores the fact that “we can define framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007). Central to framing is the idea that the audience is presented with content in a way that influences interpretation. Framing has been used in content analysis studies where the researchers either use directed or non-directed analysis.

However, in the current study, framing did not inform the framework instead it was used in the analysis of the findings to establish whether the choices of the voters in the 2017 elections was based on the dominant frames that were perceived by the electorate. Therefore, the focus was on the extent to which the aspects that informed the electorates' choices to either reject or vote for Raila Amolo Odinga had anything to do with how Raila Amolo Odinga was located, perceived, identified and labelled. By looking at the two selected counties, it was interesting to establish whether the branding of Raila Odinga through framing influenced voter choices.

Cissel (2012) noted that a frame consists of a schema of interpretation, collection of anecdotes, and stereotypes that individuals rely on to understand and respond to events" (p. 1). She argued that in coverage of news such schema of interpretations, anecdotes and stereotypes guide the audience in the interpretation and understanding of the communication text and thus shape public opinion. In other words, a frame anchors how a media or communication text is interpreted.

In this study, the framing of Raila Amolo Odinga was assumed to have creolized in the minds of the electorate and the study sought to establish what kind of stereotypes, anecdotes and interpretations guided the electorate. For instance, to what extent did the Raila Amolo Odinga phobia frame or a reformist frame influence how the voting patterns and how did the negative framing influence the election outcome. Entman (2007) aptly summarized what scholars refer to as a frame by arguing that a frame is that which "introduces or raises the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, thereby activating schemas that encourage the target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way" (p. 2).

Entman's (2007) framing when put within the context of political competition suggests that politicians and their rivals through repetition, different location of

information in the texts and association with certain symbols influence how they are perceived. The public domain, during the campaign by the media's coverage of politicians and the political rival groups' repetition, location and association of certain cultural symbols to advance their agenda are assumed to have led to three key important elements of frames.

Collins (2017) argued that the first element is reception of informative messages and the assumption herein is that during the campaigns the voters received informative messages from the media. Media and campaign message framed Raila Amolo Odinga both positively and negatively hence influencing how voters perceive his as a Presidential candidate. The second element is integration of information, which Collins (2017) argued that it takes place through "interplay of the characteristics of the text and the information inferred by the interpreters mediated by their social knowledge and past experiences" (p. 13).

Collins (2017) second element pointed out that the messages by different political players during the campaigns as covered by the media were interpreted within a wider context of social knowledge and experiences. This interpretation led to the third element that Collins calls the "construction of a discursive model, or a mental representation of the actors, the actions carried out by them or about them, the scenarios and the consequences of a situation, which can subsequently be applied in the interpretation of events" (p. 13).

These three elements happened during the campaigns and this study assumed that the voter's choices were constructed by the discursive model. Hence the use of framing as a theory to determine the perception of these frames and the how discursive models played a role in the voting patterns. The framing that contributed to the emergence of this discursive model was assumed to have been prevalent in both

the legacy and digital media where Jubilee, for instance was alleged to have broadcasted negative messages about Raila Amolo Odinga. The respondents were assumed to have been exposed to these framed messages about Raila Odinga and have memory of how such framing played out in their decisions. To this, framing was used to explain how the frames that were prevalent in the media as perceived by the voters influenced their reasoned actions in voting patterns.

Ultimately the framing theory was used to make conclusions based on the impact of such frames on voters' choices. This therefore means that even though framing is a methodological theory, the current study did not adopt content analysis given the existence of media frames that depicted Raila Amolo Odinga's brand. This study thus looked at whether perceived frames of Raila Amolo Odinga influenced behavioural intentions, attitudes and subjective norms of the voters in the 2017 Presidential elections.

General Literature Review

Historical Background of the Multiparty Elections in Kenya

Kenya has been a multiparty democracy since 1991 when section 2A of the pre 2010 constitution was repealed and the first multiparty election held in 1992. Raila Amollo Odinga was incarcerated without trial for six years for his alleged role in a failed 1982 coup attempt against President Daniel Arap Moi. In 1992, He contested and won the Lang'ata Parliamentary seat on a Ford Kenya ticket, in 1997 he contested the presidency and lost to Moi and Kibaki, coming in third, but retained the seat Lang'ata parliamentary on a National Development Party.

In 2002, he broke away from Kenya African National Union (KANU) where he had assumed the post of secretary general after the KANU/ National Development Party merger to lead a splinter group called the Rainbow from KANU. The rainbow

movement joined Mwai Kibaki, Charity Ngilu and Michael Kijana Wamalwa to form the National Rainbow Coalition whose presidential candidate, Mwai Kibaki, won the 2002 general elections beating Moi's preferred candidate Uhuru Kenyatta. Raila's Kibaki Tosha earned him a legendary status as a kingmaker ticket even though he fell out with Kibaki in 2005, and later contested against Kibaki in 2007 in an election that was marred with post elections violence in 2007/2008.

Later in 2008, Raila Odinga agreed to work with Kibaki in grand coalition government and served as the Prime Minister in 2008-2013. He lost to Uhuru Kenyatta in both the 2013 and 2017 elections despite having been the front-runner and the man to beat in both elections. Odinga developed a science to his politics where although he has never won a presidential election, he continued to be relevant in the Kenyan political scene, thus, *Railamania* and *Railaphobia* concepts always preceding his reputation as a politician (BBC News, 2017). For instance, in Odinga's case, different generations have been exposed to different forms of him as an opposition leader, a statesman, a whistle-blower, and one without scandals.

The media frames of Odinga have greatly influenced the choices that the electorate makes during elections since their (electorate) reasoned actions are influenced by the attitude developed over time. Odinga's political rivals also used their developed attitudes and understanding of the electorate to create and manipulate the public perception to think of Raila Amolo Odinga as a brand that they should reject in an election (Asamba, 2018).

According to O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg (2007), political brands have three clearly distinct elements, a trinity with the party as the brand; the politician as its tangible characteristics; and policy as core service offerings. All these influence the voter's behavioural intentions and attitudes towards the candidates. Lau and Redlawsk

(2001) argued that political brand operates as an empirical device at several levels, and “everything the brand does in some way reflects and contributes to its unique identity” (Feldwick, 2003, p. 135).

Lau and Redlawsk (2001) argument seemed to point to a calculated strategy that has influenced how Raila Amolo Odinga presented himself, from *Kibaki tosha* declaration in 2002 to the release of his biography in 2006 that highlighted his role in 1982 to his current branding as *Baba* (Badejo, 2006). The mention of *Baba* was unequivocally perceived to refer to Raila Amolo Odinga, who has concertededly worked to be perceived as a reformist and a Statesman. In the era of social media where a politician’s brand may be influenced by sources opposed to him, the sources of influence that a voter attends to or is likely to be swayed to believe are numerous, therefore the voters reasoned action based on developed attitude, subjective norms and behavioural intentions are fairly complicated and worth investigating.

More than once, Raila Amolo Odinga has been referred to as a popular brand in Kenya’s politics (Gori, 2016: HOT 96, 2018). On Tuesday, January 30th 2018, he was sworn in as “the people’s president”, after his electoral rival Uhuru Kenyatta was sworn in as the president (Khafafa, 2018). Since taking over as the leader of Kenya’s opposition movement, Raila has grown to be a political powerhouse, albeit as the leader of the opposition through three different regimes - the Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki, and Uhuru Kenyatta presidencies. He has consciously guarded his public image, maintaining it only through public appearances that focus on his political efforts and statesmanship. He presents himself as a man of the people who is willing to forgo political discourse to be the best Presidential candidate.

Raila Amolo Odinga maintained his image as an advocate of the people, to the point of being “sworn in” during a public rally and in a public location as the

“people’s president” (Khafafa, 2018). His ability to move large crowds and bring together politicians from different parties has proven to be a “headache” to the established governments (Obonyo, 2017). His brand is situated as a family man and a man of the people – one who understands the struggles of the electorate, and wants to work towards the alleviation of their suffering (Daily Nation, 2017). He has morphed his image from a bearded militant when he emerged in the Kenyan political scene in the 1980s fighting for multi-partyism, to cultivate the image of a statesman who can represent Kenya even at the international level (Obonyo, 2017).

Currently, Odinga is the African Union special envoy on infrastructure. He has maintained a large brand awareness, and loyalty. He has, on two occasions, almost become president, and caused nearly half of the electorate to refrain from voting at his request resulting in a record-low election turnout in Kenya (BBC News, 2017a). However, his failure to succeed in his quest to become the president could be as much the work of his rival politicians in whipping emotions among their supporters as it is about an opaque electoral system.

Political Branding, the Media and Voter’s Choice

Politicians operate in a very diverse arena and are confronted with the difficult task of successfully convincing the electorate on their prowess in managing various critical issues such as national security, social stability and economic growth (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2015). In order to overcome the difficult task of convincing the electorate, political branding and marketing of a responsive political brand is very critical and Newman (as cited in Cwalina & Falkowski 2015) argued that politicians must then align their actions and vision into a realistic transformation of the electorate's dreams and aspirations.

In doing this, the politicians must be deliberate in every action including what

they say and the appearances they make in public. The task entails coming up with marketing strategies that would accommodate the diversity inherent in the electorate. Raila Amolo Odinga has for instance put in a lot of effort to cultivate statesman brand while at the same time involving himself in actions that have reflect positively not only on the diversity of the voting blocks in Kenya (Obonyo, 2017).

Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2008) argue that “in order to develop competitive advantage and win support of as many voter segments as possible” (p. 2). Politicians must endear themselves to a mass electorate by establishing a political brand that need to draw from array of issues. A politician seeks to address and be built on features that are “important for the ‘psychological realism’ of candidate image” (Cwalina et al., 2008). In the current mediatized socio-political ecology, political branding goes beyond a politician’s image building into a deliberate attention to details on how the politician is discoursed and how he/she responds to issues.

Fouts (2010) noted that the evolving internet-based platforms are likely to manifest the politicians’ brand in a way that requires serious attention to a greater need of managing the perception of the voters and his/her brand. The physical interaction and management of such interactions is as important as the picture captured in the media. The digital platforms have been used by politicians to prime issues and to frame their opponents. In 2017, for instance, Odinga was framed negatively as a devilish politician, his rivals were alleged to have hired Cambridge Analytica to negatively brand Raila using negative adverts.

Odinga’s brand was negatively framed as the candidate that brings fear, tribalism and devilish. The creative use of technology in branding is used to co-create identities, experiences, and imaginaries as traditional marketing promotion no longer wins a global audience's hearts and minds (Govers & Go, 2010). Raila Odinga’s

opponents adopted Govers and Go's thesis, by creatively conjuring messages that were framed to influence voters against his Presidency.

Over the years, politicians have used the media to offer voters opportunities to connect and interact with them, their manifestos and position on issues that affect the electorate (Zarella as cited in Mølbak-Andersen, 2011). Politicians and political parties have built direct and personal relationships with their voters through social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. They have integrated social media into their campaign strategies (Mølbak-Andersen, 2011).

In a study of the 2013 and 2015 elections in Israel, Haleva-Amir and Nahon (2015) found out that Facebook was the most popular political campaign platform and accessing political information. In the 2016 US elections, the Brexit campaigns in the UK and the 2017 general elections in Kenya, Facebook was predominantly used to mine voter information and framed targeted messages to influence voters' attitudes and behaviour in all these instances.

Asirigwa, Chai, and Wendo (2016) found out that in the run-up to the 2013 elections, Facebook users formulated and posted messages that got planted in the voters' minds to influence ethnic stereotypes ethno-political undertones that provoked ethnic emotions between competing political camps. Israel, Haleva-Amir and Nahon (2015) observed that Facebook is popular because of its high traffic and high chances of attracting users' attention; its easy to use features; the fact that it can bypass many campaign restrictions; and most importantly that it has a highly personalized advertising system that allows politicians to reach both mass and specific audiences in a way that the legacy media cannot. Moreover, even traditional media like TV and radio are now incorporating social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to get information or opinions on political parties and politicians to cultivate either a

positive or negative attitude for the politician.

The popularity of Facebook is also witnessed in Kenya with the Communications Authority of Kenya report of 2016, which indicated that there are 37.7 million Internet users in Kenya. This is a penetration rate of 85.3% based on the computation on a population of 44.2 million (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2016). The growth of the Internet is propelled by the rising number of Kenyans who have Internet-enabled phones at their disposal. iFreedoms Kenya (2016) also indicated that the blogging scene recorded a huge growth in terms of month on month readership of 18.1 million on average. The report further affirmed the place of Facebook as the preferred digital platform in Kenya, with 6.1 million Kenyans using Facebook and 2.2 million on Twitter; 3 million use Instagram, 1.5 million others use LinkedIn and 350,000 are on Google+.

In the Israeli elections, social media and more especially Facebook was the “main public space where discussions, discourse, deliberations and debates occurred – for the first time passing traditional media in terms of exposure and engagement” (p. 20). According to Haleva-Amir and Nahon (2015) the potential of social media was not fully exploited and on the basis of their findings, it is important to establish how far social media can be exploited by politicians beyond its public sphere potential. Could it be that social media can be exploited further by politicians in their branding and image identities? In political campaigns, social media has been found to be provide the platform for engagement, mobilisation and the greater offline political discussion and engagements (Vaccari & Valeriani, 2016).

Social media's power has forced traditional media to expand its engagement level and open up their studios to public opinion through social media feedback. Politicians can use social media sites such as Facebook to convey media frames that

would help shape how the electorate perceive them based on their characteristics and leadership potential (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2015).

Empirical Literature Review

In their study of the framing approach to Malaysian Prime Minister Mohammad Najib bin Abdul Razak branding identity, Yassin and Zanuddin (2012) found out that the majority of the news stories touched on the government or Najib's responsibility in such a way that branded him favourably. The study covered four main newspapers and established that the newspapers that were allied to Prime Minister Najib framed him positively for a favourable political brand in return for government business and contracts. Raila Amolo Odinga used media coverage to brand himself, there is a possibility that while certain outlets have branded him positively, others have branded him negatively, hence media's influence on Raila Amolo Odinga's Presidency.

Yassin and Zanuddin (2012) asserted that political branding employed by most of the newspapers owned by individuals who had connections with or benefited from the government "can be considered as the basis for long term relationship whereby PM Najib and his political entities can keep their winning coalitions together in order to maintain repeat sales or win the election" (p. 17). In the same argument, it can be argued that Raila Amolo Odinga's political rivals segmented the voters and targeted particular groups of voters by spreading the popular Raila Odinga brand awareness in such a way that his political image unpopular among certain voters.

Cwalina and Falkowski (2015) sought to determine what politicians can do to establish and manage both their own and their rivals' brand images, perceptions, and associations in a manner that the electorate applies the prevailing brand awareness based on the values and beliefs. This can lead to the targeted electorate either

rejecting or accepting the political candidates. In essence, Cwalina and Falkowski presented a conceptualized three-stage model of political branding: The first stage is positioning of the candidates and it focuses on common features perceived in various voter segments. Herein, the campaign must define both the negative and positive elements that constitute the politician's image.

The second stage is based on the contrast model of similarity where two options are inherent, either the addition of common features or alternatively the second option being deletion of distinctive features which "allows one to define mutual relationships between the perception of particular politicians and their reference to an ideal candidate" (p. 19). This model suggested that political branding seeks similarity with the ideal candidate, but most importantly, it is supplemented by detailed association valence analyses that the ideal is based on. The third and the last stage of the model is the need to relate the created brand to voters' decisions. This means that once the campaign team has established a brand, they then need to develop a strategy anchored on the brand and responsive to the voters' issues so that the voters can associate the brand with the solutions to their problems.

In the case Odinga, there was a possibility that his brand awareness had been used by rivals who have either added the fear appeal or other brand elements to make his popular political brand appear like a threat in solving the problems of certain segments of the electorate. Even as his team used the brand awareness to endear his candidature in areas where he has over the years received overwhelming support. Adolphsen (2009) noted that political branding seems to be pursued as a deliberate strategy by political actors who rely on insight from the discipline of brand management to improve their external presentation. In his study he explored the use of branding by President Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their 2008 US

Democratic Party primaries and found out that Obama's campaign team relied heavily on branding. Interestingly his quantitative content analysis of 80 television advertisements only revealed a limited number of statistically significant differences in the presentation of Obama and Clinton.

However, he statistically concluded that branding cannot be detected as a distinct quality in political communication because there was strategic branding by both teams. In essence Adolphsen's findings showed no serious differences between Obama and Clinton brand communication, despite the perception that Obama has been engaged in heavy political branding, suggest that for branding to have a significant effect it must be more nuanced than the average descriptions of critics. The study also found out that Obama's interactions and mode of dressing was deliberately branded; he was surrounded by common people, though he still managed to maintain an official outlook. The distance between him and his supporters was always bridged through his sometimes semiformal or even casual clothes.

Similar to Raila Amolo Odinga, he managed to set up a particular dressing style that enabled the public to identify him. He was more casually dressed presumably to relate to the common mwananchi who may be stereotypical about leaders who wear suits. His dressing style enabled him to become part of the larger public without trying too much. Such findings on Obama's ads, echo Yassin and Zauddin's (2012) argument that branding entails intangible aspects such as personal identity and ethics especially in helping the voters make decisions.

Obama's ads were also found to convey feelings of optimism and solidarity and this suggested that research informed the branding given that the Bush administration had faced a lot of issues such as terrorism and the perception of the US as a hated country by most of the Islamic States, which needed to be addressed. This

also applied to Raila Odinga's campaigns, where he assured the voters about unifying the country, was optimistic about fighting graft and terrorism, and was ready to welcome assistance from the public.

Perhaps most related to the branding envisioned by Adolphsen (2009), Raila branded himself 'Baba', a sort of a unifying name and even travelled to Israel's Wailing Wall just before the elections, a trip that attracted counter branding from his rivals (Agutu, 2017). Raila branding of himself as Joshua and the analogy of leading Kenyans from Egypt to the Promised Land not only endeared him to most of his supporters, but also led to analogies of a fake Joshua and equation of his brand to Moses who never entered the promised land by his rivals. The extent to which all players in the reasoned actions of the electorate was the subject of the current study.

In a study on branding and social media marketing, Mølbak-Andersen (2011) found out that social media creates and maintains brand loyalty by enabling individuals and organizations to build consistent relationships with customers. He also argued that awareness in itself cannot make a brand strong, and that social media must be used in such a way that even the creation of awareness is strategic to ensure the brand is remembered for the right reasons. In his study of British politician, Ed Miliband, he asserted that British politicians must strategically use social media and "develop social media strategy to avoid unfavourable brand associations" (p. 23). For instance, Raila was consistently known as the opposition leader and maintained this image for a long time, by keeping the government in check. Mølbak-Andersen (2011) argued that the integrated social media effort should fit into the established identity and build on the existing or strategically crafted brand and reputation.

The study found out that Ed Miliband's brand image was weak because he lacked ethos and there was need for Miliband to return traditional Labour Party values

and use social media to extend his identity. Mølbak-Andersen (2011) argued that Ed Miliband, the Labour Party leader ought to have created a more personalised style in his approach and engaged in dialogue with his voters as a way of solidifying his brand identity and most importantly he needed to have creative ways that the British voters had not seen before. Mølbak-Andersen (2011) further noted that even though social media is risky, proper strategy helps to avoid the risk associated with the instantaneous nature in which the audience receives the messages on digital media.

The risk is inherent in the manner in which the user generated content on social media such as Facebook fan pages can degenerate to issues and aspects that do not align to the politician's brand strategy. Therefore, the case of Raila Amolo Odinga as the biggest political brand and his efforts to be identified as the enigma, 'Agwambo, Tinga' and most recently 'Baba' is not the sole reason for the action's voters took during the election. This is because his branding on different platforms also attracted user generated responses on the more liberal social media platforms like Facebook, where his very dominant brand image generated both negative and positive conversations about what his presidency would entail, the bulk of it negative and allegedly engineered by his rivals and illegally obtained data from Facebook by the British Company, Cambridge Analytica (BBC News, 2017).

Vaccari and Valeriani (2016) argued that the risk of the social media campaign spiralling out of control can be mitigated by having party campaigners who are supportive of the strategic direction that a party is taking. Thus, rein in the discussions by citizen campaigners to keep the conversations in line with the predetermined brand identity in the case of political branding. The study by Mølbak-Andersen (2011) relied on secondary data from two research organizations: opinion pollster YouGov plc and Ipsos Mori, a research company specialized in advertising, social and political

research, and reputation research. The current study endeavoured to collect data directly from the electorate and ask questions that would elicit responses that would help the researcher determine and describe the reasons why they either voted for or against Raila Amolo Odinga.

Diehl, Weeks, and Gil de Zúñiga (2015) conducted a study on social media use for news and political persuasion involving 200,000 participants. The study sought to find out the relationship between discussion disagreement and political persuasions on social media, and how traditional media can be influenced by social networking sites to form opinions about political leaders. The study was not on branding but it is of interest to the current study because it focussed on how interactions on social media leads to political persuasion.

They found out that the use of social media for news and interactions leads to political persuasion with their results indicating “that social media for certain apolitical purposes directly lead to reconsidering or changing political views on social media” (Diehl et al., 2015, p. 14). This finding suggested that if political candidates endeavour to engage social media consumers through framed messages and brand attributes, they are likely to persuade even the apolitical consumers to perceive them in particular ways. The extent to which such endeavours on social media informed the voter patterns in the case of Raila Odinga is the focus of this study.

The study by Diehl et al. (2015) focussed on news and found out that news distributed in the media inclusive of radio, newspapers and TV plus social media now has the strongest impact on political persuasion. They further argued that on social media there exists a tendency for users to build and maintain friendly networks with greater potential for deliberative political discussions. An interesting dimension to explore therefore would be how handlers of political candidates’ frame media texts

based on current news stories in an attempt to not only have an impact on political persuasion, but also to frame their texts on the media to attain predetermined attributes that would endear them to the electorate.

This study built on the strong impact that media had on political persuasion and focused on how the Raila Amolo Odinga brand and his branding by the rivals informed the voting patterns in 2017 Presidential election, despite his immense political capital and brand awareness, he failed to garner enough votes to propel him to the presidency. The emerging connection between politics, political campaigns, and media for both political deliberations especially with regard to news is clear.

Ndlela (2016) pointed out that in Kenya, both politicians, electorate and members of the civil society are engaged in political activities in the media, therefore politicians use the platform to reach out to the electorate, to inform them of rallies and meetings, to profile individuals and parties and showcase their political might by illustrating their diverse support base through powerful visual images.

On one hand, civil society seeks information and most importantly monitors the politicians' activities regarding vices such as hate speech, corruption, abuses, and the performance in rallies and meetings (Ndlela, 2016). This calls for a strategic approach by politicians, especially in profiling themselves and their parties to not be perceived in a manner they would not wish.

This study explored the link between media framing, the perceived branding of Raila Amolo Odinga, and the voting patterns. Given that new media has made it even easier for politicians to communicate and interact with the electorate without the gatekeeping constraints of the legacy media, the study identified how the communication of the Odinga's brand influenced the voter's perception of his brand image, and the impact this had on the voter patterns.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study, illustrated in Figure 2.1, was adapted from Singh, Leong, Ta, and Wong’s (1995). It is a schematic of the proposed voting behavior model based on the theory of reasoned action. It is, therefore a modified version of Singh et al. (1995).

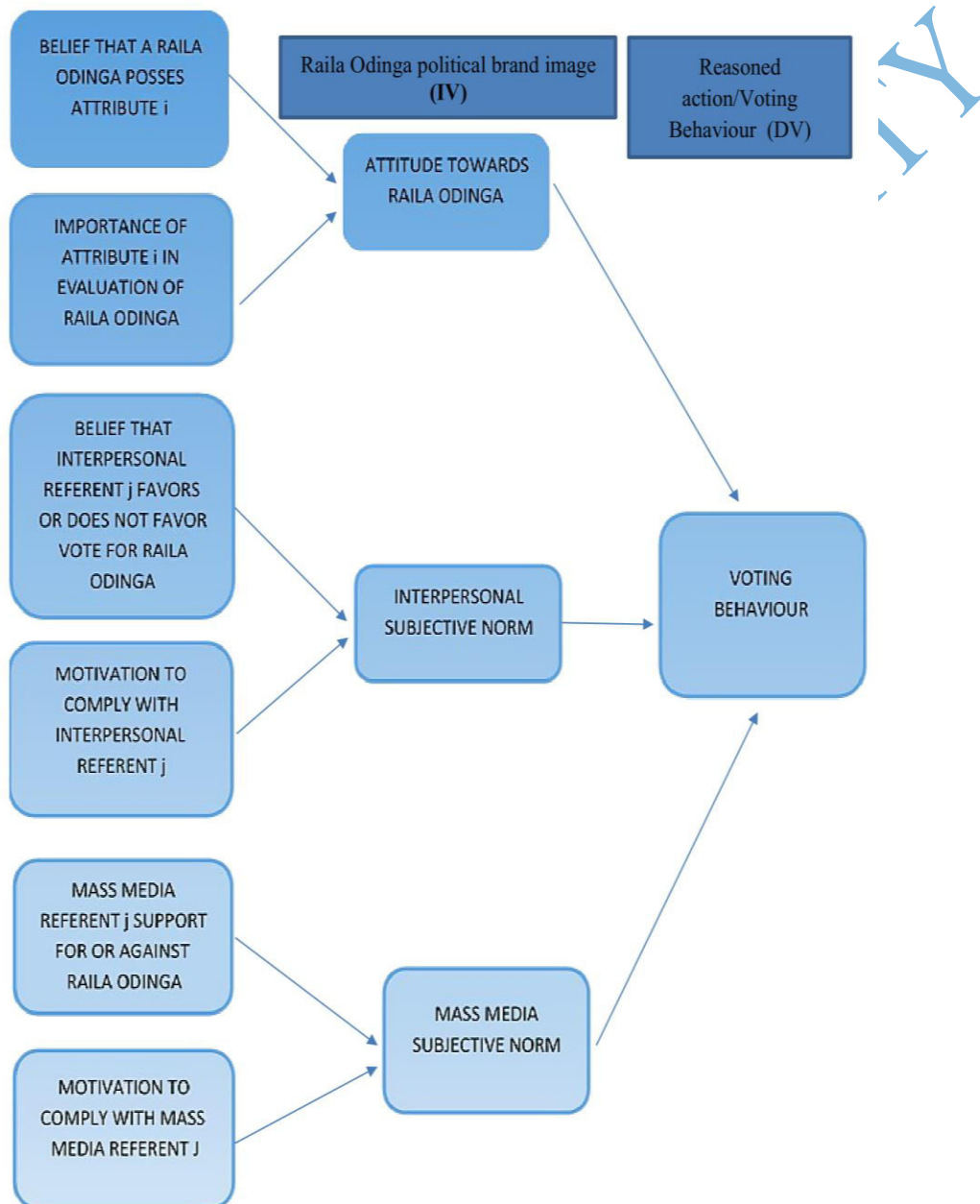


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework
Source: Author (2020)

Discussion

The conceptual framework presented a synthesis of literature to explain how the study was conceptualized in terms of the relationship between the Raila Amolo Odinga brand as shaped by his own branding and that of his rivals and how such branding influenced the electorate's choice in the 2017 presidential elections. The study assumed that the framing of Raila Odinga had an influence on the voting patterns against the backdrop of the reasoned action theory. The framework omitted the two attitudinal components related to the political party, given that the focus was on Raila Odinga. This conceptual framework suggested that voting behavior is determined by four components, two attitudinal and two based on subjective norms.

The independent variable was Raila Odinga brand which had three indicators: (1) attitude towards Raila Odinga as influenced by the belief that He possesses certain attributes that are critical in evaluating his brand. (2) Interpersonal subjective norms that explain how the voter's interaction impacted Raila Odinga's brand and the willingness to comply with the interpersonal references (3) Mass media subjective norm as an indicator of Raila Odinga's brand and the impact of framing on Raila Odinga's candidature. The voter's willingness to comply with that framing was also critical in this study as it influenced the independent variable, which was voting behaviour (voters reasoned actions).

The attitudinal components relate to the candidate; in this case, Raila Amolo Odinga and looked at the attitude the electorate had of Raila as a Presidential candidate. These attitudes are conceptualized as having been influenced by media framing and public perception. The resulting attitudinal component is then affected by a cognitive evaluation of Raila's beliefs possessing attributes and the importance of these attributes. The subjective-norm components are likewise "functions of the

voter's normative beliefs about the relevant referents (interpersonal and media influence) and motivation to comply with these referents" (Singh et al., 1995, p. 6).

It is at the subjective belief that Raila Amolo Odinga's brand of his political image and how his rivals have branded him come to play. Therefore, the conceptual framework looked at the voter's normative beliefs as shaped by both the interpersonal referents and the media frames. The conceptual framework presupposed that the voter behaviours and voting patterns in the 2017 elections were based on their perceived Raila Odinga brand, as influenced by the media frames and campaign messages and their subjective interpersonal norms.

Summary

This chapter has explored the relevant literature in the area of political branding and media framing and how brand image and framing of political candidates influence voting patterns. The researcher has also discussed the two theories of framing and reasoned action theory anchor the study. In brief, the study is designed along the kind of images the voters have of Raila Odinga and how the framing of Raila Odinga over the years and as captured in their memory influenced the reasoned actions in their choice to vote during the elections. Framing does not guide the framework of the study; as a theory, it is used to explain how the image of the politicians as framed by both their campaign teams and the rivals play a part in informing voting choices. The chapter has also presented and discussed the conceptual framework which draws from Singh et al. (1995) and how it incorporates the idea of a framed political candidate (Raila Odinga) and the impact of such framing on the attitudes towards the candidate, the subjective norms that inform the evaluation of the candidate and the role of the mass media in influencing the voting behavior.

The next chapter presents the research design and methodology that was used in this study.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The chapter discusses the research methodology that described the specific techniques used in collecting and analyzing data (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, the chapter provides a framework on how the researcher determined and described how the electorate were influenced during the 2017 general elections. This chapter, therefore, explains how the entire process of collecting data was done and the tools which were used to collect and analyze the data.

Research Design

The study used a descriptive research design, and the researcher used a survey questionnaire to get the electorate's responses. The main intent of data collection is responding to why and how questions with regards to the factors inherent in political campaigns that led the voters to make their choices (Cresswell 2009; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The approach was mixed method, where qualitative and quantitative data was collected. Mugenda and Mugenda (2013) explained that the survey method is ideal when a researcher collects information from a target population that is otherwise too large to directly observe. The qualitative data was useful in explaining the quantitative data and filling in the gaps that could not be explained in numeric terms.

Population

A population consists of all the units that possess attributes or characteristics that the researcher is interested in (Keyton, 2006). Population is defined as the group,

class of subjects, variables, concepts or phenomena that are being studied and about whom the researcher wants to base his or her study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). In this study the population was the Kenyan voters, with a key focus on the two counties of Muranga and Homabay which as Creswell (2009) argued constitute the totality of items under study.

Homa Bay and Muranga counties were selected because they are the two counties where Raila Amolo Odinga has either been overwhelmingly voted (Homa Bay) or rejected by almost the entire voting population (Muranga) (www.iebc.co.ke). The two counties were critical in the descriptive survey as the choices of the electorates were looked at against how the branding of Raila Amolo Odinga led to the choices made by the electorate. This is because the personal experiences and the framing of the Raila Amolo Odinga brand most likely elicited different images of him. It was therefore critical to determine whether the framing of the brand had an impact on the voter behaviour and voting patterns.

Target population

The target population of the study was voters in the two counties and the study clustered the voters into quotas to enhance validity through triangulation of sources. In each of the two counties, 384 Kenyans who voted in the last elections were targeted; the researcher administered 64 questionnaires to teachers, 64 to government officials in the county offices, 64 to professionals in the health and medical sector, 64 to traders in the market and a further a 64 to the public transport sector. A further 64 questionnaires were to be administered to faculty and non-teaching staff the universities in the two counties. In Homa Bay County, the researcher had purposed to sample Tom Mboya University College and in Muranga the target was Muranga University. However, due to the COVID-19 lockdown measures and protocols this

was not possible and the researcher, just targeted university students who voted in the 2017 elections and reside in these two counties irrespective of which universities they are currently admitted. The six clusters were arrived at after a careful analysis of the different sectors of the population that had unique characteristics influenced by their daily activities in their respective work places. The research also ensured inclusive population drawn from the diversity of voters in these two counties.

Sample Size

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), a sample is defined as the “subset of the population that is representative of the entire population” (p. 88). A sample must be representative of the population from which it was drawn. Schwarz (2010) argued that in calculating the sample size, the researcher needs to know the study’s required precision expressed as a margin of error based on Schwarz’s statistical methods as shown on the table below extracted. The table summarised the calculations for sample sizes for survey research, assuming a probability of 50/50 on a dichotomous question and no sub-populations. To this end, the current study sampled a total of 384 respondents in each of the two counties, hence a total 768 respondents.

Table 3.1: Sample Size Tabulations

Accuracy (+/-) (Margin of error)	Confidence Level		
	90%	95%	99%
1	6765	9604	16576
2	1691	2401	4144
3	752	1067	1848
4	413	600	1036
5	271	384	663
10	68	96	166
20	17	24	41

The number 384 was based on the choice of margin of error of 0.05 and the level of confidence of 95% as indicated on the table 3.1 above. The respondents were sampled in such a way that the 384 selected were representative of the diversity

inherent in the voting populations of the counties. The use of quotas ensured that different electorate were represented for validity and generalisability of the findings.

The researcher believed that a total of 768 respondents for the descriptive survey was a statistically finite representation of the diversity of views held by the electorate in these two counties, thus have properties that can be studied to gain information (Kombo & Tromp, 2006, p.70). The Raila Amolo Odinga brand and the voter's behaviours were linked to the framing. Thus, the interpersonal subjective norms and the media subjective norm had an impact on the voting patterns. The qualitative information helped corroborate the statistical findings from the survey, the researcher interviewed two national political analysts and two professors in political communication.

Sampling Techniques

The researcher used non-probability sampling which according to Du Plooy (2009) is "representative of the global population" (p. 115). The choice of non-probability sampling was based on the fact that the study focused on Kenyans who voted in the 2017 elections and the need to get responses from different sectors of the electorate. Further, the use of triangulation of sources mitigated against any limitations of non-probability sampling by ensuring that even as the researcher collected data, the choice of sampling did not just conveniently get information from a group that was uniquely different, but also categorised the population into six quotas that are representative of the wider array of the voters in Kenya.

Therefore, the sampling was a non-probability sampling method that employed both convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling focused on the specific places and locations where voters in a certain quota occupied and were easily be traced and the questionnaire administered. For instance, the

researcher went to schools in both counties and traced the teachers from the ones who lived in schools and these teachers who were traced from the school's locations directed the research assistants to other teachers in a combination of both snowball and convenience sampling until the 64th questionnaire was administered to the teachers. The same was done for the 64 government officials in the county offices and health and medical professionals in the health centre, which unlike schools were operational with skeleton staff. The traders in the market and respondents in the public transport sector, were easily located in the locations where they ply their trade. Here the researcher and the research assistants introduced themselves and administered the questionnaires to all those who consented till the 64th questionnaire was administered to both groups.

Since the universities were closed, the researcher defaulted university students from the two counties and herein the 64 quota for university students was sampled through snowball sampling. The researcher and the assistants traced university students who hailed from the two counties, regardless of the universities they were registered in, and after administering the questionnaires asked them to help trace other university students they know. Though it was slow at the beginning, the snowball sampling eventually peaked, and most university students congregated together and responded to the questionnaire in both counties.

In summary, the researcher worked with research assistants on a formula that helped the research assistants administer questionnaires to different quotas using convenient purposive sampling and snowball where it was necessary. For all cases, the questionnaires were then administered to the respondents until the 64 quota was attained.

Data Collection Instruments

A self-administered questionnaire and an interview guide were used in this study. The questionnaire allowed participants to respond to a different set of questions that helped the researcher determine their choices in the 2017 general elections. The researcher was able to determine how those choices were based on the attitudinal components related to Raila Amolo Odinga, the cognitive evaluation of beliefs and the subjective normative beliefs the voters had of Raila Amolo Odinga based on interpersonal and mass media influence.

Questionnaires were ideal in this study as they provided quantitative data from many respondents while providing confidentiality to the respondents. The respondents were not required to share their thoughts with others as was the case with interviews (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Confidentiality is important given the emotions and intolerance that characterises political differences in Kenya.

The questionnaires only had close-ended questions in order to give the exact picture on the ground based on quantitative data. On the other hand, the interview guide had open-ended questions that allowed the political analysts to respond exhaustively and give in-depth data that helped in explaining the numerical findings obtained from the questionnaire.

Data Collection Procedures

The interviews were conducted by the researcher, who did both face-to-face and zoom interviews, depending on the availability of the respondents. Barack Muluka's interview was conducted via zoom while the interviews with Dismas Kizito Mokuia and Ken Echesa were face to face. The researcher strived to get the-face-to-face (Physical) interviews, as they provide nonverbal cues as well as a wider latitude to seek in-depth responses (Creswell, 2009). The interviews were recorded for quality

purposes. The questionnaires were self-administered and the research assistants picked the required letters to access the study sites to collect data.

The research assistants were sent to different sectors as covered by the six quotas, they introduced themselves and sought informed consent. They then administered the questionnaires to the respondents who met the criteria and were willing to participate in the study. The research assistants moved from one willing and qualified respondent to another until the quota figure was attained. In both cases, informed consent was sought.

Validity and Reliability of Instruments

Validity refers to the ability of a scientific test or piece of research to measure what it sets out to do and how well it reflects the reality it claims to represent. It refers to how well a test measures what it is purported to measure (Creswell, 2009).

Pretesting

To ensure that the study was valid, the researcher pre-tested the questionnaires in Nairobi County, with 50 respondents who voted in the 2017 general elections. Nairobi was chosen because of its cosmopolitan nature and the fact that it was likely to have voters who share in the characteristics of the voters of the two counties chosen for the study.

The questionnaires were administered to different sectors that represent the electorate. Pre-testing ensured that the questions are well understood, and based on the responses, the researcher assessed the questions to determine whether the tool was getting the information that the researcher intended. The triangulation of sources also ensured that the data collected was valid and representative. Reliability is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results. It is also the

consistency of a research study to assess the quality of the measurement procedure used to collect data (Creswell, 2009). Creswell added that the measurement tool must be reliable in order for the test to be valid.

Pre-testing the research instruments thus came in handy in ensuring that the study was reliable. The questions that were not clear were revised for clarity, and the tools cleaned up. Once the questionnaires had been filled, the researcher checked to ensure that the answers were consistent, and any inconsistently filled questionnaire was weeded out (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2013).

Data Analysis Plan

The researcher cleaned the data and marked the questions that were not answered to make sure that questions that were left blank were not addressing a key objective. The questionnaires were checked for accuracy and consistency before data entry and analysis began. This was done through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), given that all questions were closed-ended. All the filled and cleaned questionnaires were serialised, and each question coded in SPSS.

Coding was done by assigning numerical codes to the responses in the structured questionnaires. After this, all the responses were circled, and the data entered into the SPSS software, and different reports were spooled based on the objectives. The reports were then presented in the form of charts, graphs, frequencies, and figures. The researcher analyzed data at the three levels of descriptive, explanatory, and interpretive.

The interviews were analyzed based on the emergent themes presented as narratives with verbatim quotes used to explain the quantitative data from the structured questionnaires. The researcher only identified information that is relevant to the research objectives.

Ethical Considerations

The researcher conformed to the rules of conduct that guide research. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) argued that ethics is the “right thing to do” (p. 67). Therefore, the researcher sought all the ethical clearance and trained the research assistants on the need to uphold integrity in the process of data collection. Informed consent was sort from all the respondents, and confidentiality was ensured. The researcher also managed the data to ensure that there was no breach in confidentiality.

The researcher financed the research from her own savings. Therefore, based on the potential use of the data collected and the findings and how the same are possible pathways for would-be political campaigners, any use of the findings by anyone who accesses this thesis should be attributed to the researcher.

Summary

This chapter has focused on the research methodology that the study employed. The next chapter centers on how the collected data was presented, analyzed, and interpreted.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This study sought to establish how Raila Amolo Odinga's perceived political image as framed by the media and both his campaign team and the rival team influenced the voters reasoned actions in the August 8, 2017 general elections. The study did this by establishing how the perceived image of Raila Odinga and his branding lead up to the elections influenced the voting behavior. This chapter presents the findings, analysis, and interpretations from the survey responses of the two counties of Muranga and Homa Bay.

Analysis and Interpretation

Response Rate

The study targeted a total of 384 respondents in the two counties: in Homa Bay, 315 questionnaires out of 384 were returned hence a response rate of 82 percent; in Muranga, 357 questionnaires were returned hence the response rate of 93 percent. In total the response rate for the two counties was 87.5 percent, which is sufficient for data analysis and interpretation. For the interviews, the study targeted four political analysts who were on TV talk shows during the electioneering and campaign period. The four were Barack Muluka, Dismas Kizito Mokuu, Ken Echesa and Prof Herman Manyora. The first two are political analysts with communication and political risk communications background respectively while the last two are a law lecturer and a university professor respectively. Professor Herman Manyora was not available, and the researcher only managed to interview three participants.

Profession of the Respondents

The study targeted a cross section of respondents with the intention of triangulating responses for validity. The response indicated that there was an almost equal representation of respondents from the six different demographics with respect to what they do for a living. In both counties, the researcher targeted students in universities who were at home during the data collection period. The intention was to target universities in these local areas and administer questionnaires to students, faculty and staff, but due to COVID-19 the researcher refocused the target to university students who reside in these counties regardless of which university they were pursuing from. The majority of the respondents were teachers by profession, followed by traders in the market, as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Profession of the Respondents (Combined)

	Frequency	Percent
Teacher	116	17.40
Government official in the county government offices	110	16.50
Professionals in the health and medical sector	112	16.80
Traders in the market	113	16.90
The transport industry (owner/driver/conductor)	106	15.90
University students	110	16.50
Total	667	100.00
Missing	5	
Grand Total	672	

While the Homa Bay indicated that the majority of the respondents who completed the survey were teachers, in Muranga, the respondents in the transport industry seemed to have returned a slightly higher response rate, as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: The Profession of Respondents in Homa Bay and Muranga

	Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Teacher	62	20.00	54	15.10
Government official in the county government offices	48	15.50	62	17.40
Professionals in the health and medical sector	53	17.10	59	16.50
Traders in the market	51	16.50	62	17.40
The transport industry (owner/driver/conductor)	41	13.20	65	18.20
University students	55	17.70	55	15.40
Total	310	100	357	100
Missing	5			
Grand total	315			

Campaign Message and Best Strategy to Address Issues

The study sought to find out whether the voting patterns were influenced by the campaign messages projecting him as the candidate with the best strategy to address the issues affecting individuals and the society at large. A study by Gosavi (2015) explains that a five scale likert can be converted to a binary response scale in instances where either side of the scale is significantly higher for analysis of frequencies. In advanced analysis like Chi-square tests nominal categories can also be combined, and even though the current study only advanced to the level of cross tabulations of findings, the likert scale questions did not present significant disparity in the extent of agreement or disagreement. Therefore, strongly agreed and somewhat agreed were combined and so were strongly disagreed and somewhat disagreed given that the analysis was more on frequency and cross tabulations.

Majority of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed (51.20%) that they voted for Raila Odinga because his campaign messages portrayed him as the candidate with the best strategy to address societal issues. While 36.80 percent either strongly disagreed or disagreed, 4.20 percent were undecided and 7.80 percent either did not answer the question and did not know, as shown in Table 4.3.

The findings also indicate that in Homa Bay, many voters either strongly agreed or agreed (84.40%) that they voted for Raila Odinga because his campaign messages projected him as the candidate with the best strategy to address issues with only 8.60 percent either strongly disagreeing or disagreeing. The inverse seems to be true in Muranga where only 22.80 percent either strongly agreed or agreed that they voted for Raila Odinga because of his campaign messages which projected him as the candidate with the best strategy to address issues. In comparison, a 60.70% either strongly disagreed or disagreed.

Table 4.3: Campaign Messages and Best Strategy to Address Societal Issues

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	242	36.80	26	8.60	216	60.70
Undecided	28	4.20	.9	3.00	19	5.30
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	337	51.20	256	84.40	81	22.80
Don't Know	16	2.40	.5	1.70	11	3.10
Refused	36	5.40	.7	2.30	29	8.10

These suggest that Raila Odinga's campaign messages and projection of his strategy in those campaign messages impacted those who voted for him. The voting pattern in Homa Bay, one of Raila's home turf is fairly predictable, given that most of the voters in this area are his supporters. However, the fact that 22.80% of the respondents in Muranga indicated that they voted for him because his strategy to address societal issues was projected as the best in his campaign messages suggests that to some extent, the media's coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga elections campaigns messages influenced the voters' choices, especially in areas such as Muranga, to go against the popular voting patterns to vote for him. Barrack Muluka, one of the interviewees, seems to support these findings in his response. He noted that Raila Odinga had the best manifesto and strategy in 2013, and according to him, even

though Kenyan politics is ethnicised a reading of manifestos can have a bearing on the voting patterns.

Raila Historical Fights for Just and Democratic Society

The study also sought to establish the extent to which the respondents vote for Raila Odinga was based on his image and reputation, especially his historical fight for a just and democratic society. The findings indicate that Raila's image of a fighter for a just and democratic society did not play a significant role as a basis upon which those who voted for Raila did so. Overall, 49.10 percent of the respondents strongly agreed or somewhat agreed that their vote for Raila Odinga was based on his historical fight for a just and democratic society. In Homa Bay the figure was higher at 79.50 percent while in Muranga it was 22.80 percent as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Raila Historical Fights for Just and Democratic Society

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly disagree	227	35.00	30	9.90	197	56.70
Undecided	33	5.10	15	5.00	18	5.20
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	319	49.10	240	79.50	79	22.80
Don't Know	26	4.00	9	3.00	17	4.90
Refused	44	6.80	8	2.60	36	10.40

The findings suggest that even though the fight for a just and democratic society is a history that Raila is associated with, it did not play a significant role as expected. With the 9.90%t in Homa Bay and 56.70% in Muranga either strongly disagreeing or disagreeing that their vote was based on Raila Odinga's historical fight for a just and democratic society, it does appear that either Raila Odinga did not project his history as a democrat and fighter for a just society or the voters were oblivious of that very history or both.

The responses from the interviews also indicated that most of the voters in the last elections were first time voters who have not history of the fight for the

democratic space that we have today. Therefore, the history of Raila as a fighter for a just society seems not to register in their minds. One interviewee noted that “Most of the voters have the picture of Raila as a Prime Minister, Uhuru Kenyatta’s competitor, and as the leader of opposition during the grand coalition government”.

Biggest Political Name in Kenya with a Track Record for Fighting for Common Mwananchi

The study also sought to find out whether the respondents voted for Raila Odinga because of his political capital and track record of fighting for the common mwananchi. The findings indicate that for the two counties, 47.70 percent of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they voted for Raila Odinga because he is a well-known politician with the biggest political name in the Kenyan political scene and a track record for fighting for the common mwananchi. As expected, this group that strongly agreed or agreed is higher in Homa Bay at 79.70 percent and fairly low at 20.30 percent in Muranga.

A combined total of 38.30 percent either strongly disagreed or disagreed that they voted for Raila Amolo Odinga because he is a well-known politician with the biggest political name in the Kenyan political scene and a track record for fighting for the common mwananchi. As shown in table 4.5 below those who disagreed or strongly disagreed are fewer in Homa Bay (14.70%) and significantly high in Muranga (58.70%).

Table 4.5: Vote on the Basis of Raila Odinga as the Biggest Political Name in Kenya Fighting for Common Mwananchi

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muran'ga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	250	38.30	44	14.70	206	58.70
Undecided	25	3.80	7	2.30	18	5.10
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	311	47.70	240	79.70	71	20.30
Don't Know	21	3.30	3	1.00	18	5.10
Refused	45	6.90	7	2.30	38	10.80

These findings suggest that even though Raila's political capital and track record for fighting for common citizens does not seem to have played a significant impact (47.70%) overall, it has a fairly good number of voters in both Muranga (20.30%) and as expected Homa Bay (79.70%). However, as suggested in these findings the tribal influence and politics of belonging play a key role in the voting patterns of Kenyans.

The pattern just like in Raila's history for fighting for a just and democratic society suggested the influence of belonging. In Homa Bay the voters identified with Raila Amolo Odinga image and the findings indicate that his history and his present political capital have a positive correlation with the voters reasoned action to vote for him. On the contrary in Muranga, the positive correlations were fairly negligible.

Raila Odinga's Brand Image and the Narrative that Instilled Fear about his Presidency

The study sought to find out the extent to which the vote against Raila Amolo Odinga was influenced by a narrative that instilled fear about his presidency given his household political name and brand image. The findings indicate that 45.64 percent of the respondents either strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed that Raila's household name in the political scene and brand image was used to influence the vote against him through a narrative of fear about his presidency. In Homa Bay 41.70 percent strongly disagreed with this while in Muranga 49 percent did.

A combined total of 27.72 percent either strongly agreed or somewhat agreed, while in the two counties the numbers were found to be close with 28.80 percent in Homa Bay and 26.70 percent in Muranga either strongly or somewhat agreeing that Raila Amolo Odinga is household political name. The respondents indicated that their votes against Raila was influenced by how his brand image was associated with the narrative that instilled fear about his presidency. A total of 26.64 percent in the two counties either were undecided, did not know or refused to answer this question as shown in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Raila Amolo Odinga's Popularity, Brand Image and the Narrative that Instilled Fear about his Presidency

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	298	45.64	126	41.70	172	49.00
Undecided	45	6.89	25	8.30	20	5.70
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	181	27.72	87	28.80	94	26.70
Don't Know	32	4.90	10	3.30	22	6.30
Refused	97	14.85	54	17.90	43	12.30

The above findings indicate that the use of Raila Amolo Odinga's popularity to propagate negative narratives about his presidency by instilling fear among the voters was found to have worked to a significant extent. In Muranga, the social media campaign messages that were alleged to have been sponsored by Jubilee and propagated by Cambridge Analytica, appear to have significantly influenced the people of Muranga in their rejection of Raila Amolo Odinga as a 51 percent somewhat or strongly agreed, 24.30 percent were undecided, did not know or refused that Raila Amolo Odinga's popularity and brand image was used to propagate a narrative that instilled fear about his presidency.

Interestingly, the 28.80 percent of Homa Bay County voters who somewhat or strongly agreed, 29.50 percent were undecided, did not know or refused that Raila

Amolo Odinga's popularity was used to propagate a narrative that instilled fear about his presidency, and 41.70 percent strong or somewhat disagreed. Meaning a total of 58.30 percent were either undecided, didn't know or refused

These findings suggest that whereas the respondents in Muranga were responding on the basis of their choice to either reject or vote for Raila Odinga, the respondents in Homa-Bay County were expressing their perception of the reasons why most people rejected Raila Odinga, not necessarily in Homa-Bay.

Jubilee Campaign Through Media Narratives and Raila Odinga's Win

The study sought to find out the extent to which the Jubilee campaign narratives managed to convince even those who thought that Raila Odinga was the best candidate, that his win would be dangerous. The findings show that Jubilee narratives had some significant influence as a total of 26 percent of the respondents from the two counties somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that the narratives by Jubilee convinced them that a Raila Odinga's win would be dangerous for their people. In Homa Bay it is slightly lower at 22.10 percent while Muranga was significantly higher at 29.40 percent.

Overall, slightly more than half of the respondents (52.80%) either strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed with the statement: despite the fact that Raila Amolo Odinga seemed to me like the best candidate to save Kenya in 2017, the Jubilee campaign team, through their media narratives, managed to convince me that a Raila Amolo Odinga win would be dangerous for our people. However, whereas the respondents who disagreed the fact that 10.30 percent refused to respond to this question and 4.60 percent and 6.30 percent were undecided and said they did not know respectively suggest that the Jubilee campaign had a significant impact, especially given that 26 percent strongly agreed or somewhat agreed as shown in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Jubilee Campaign Through Media Narratives and Raila Odinga's Win

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	345	52.80	173	57.80	172	48.60
Undecided	41	6.30	15	5.00	26	7.30
Strongly agree	170	26.00	66	22.10	104	29.40
Don't Know	30	4.60	12	4.10	18	5.10
Refused	67	10.30	33	11.00	34	9.60

Raila Odinga's Campaign Messages and Counter Narratives by Jubilee in

Convincing Voters not to Vote for Raila Odinga

Slightly more than half of the respondents (51.60%) in the two counties said that they strongly or somewhat disagree with the fact that the campaign messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's team would have convinced them to vote for him, a significant percentage were found to hold different opinions. In the two counties 24.10 percent strongly or somewhat agree that Campaign messages by Raila Odinga's team convinced them to vote for Raila. In Homa-Bay this number is high at 28.80 percent while in Muranga it is 20.10 percent. Moreover, the number of those who were undecided, did not know or refused to answer this question suggest some relative significance: Combined (24.30%), Homa Bay (21.90%) and Muranga (26.30%) as shown in the Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: Counter Narratives by Jubilee in Convincing Voters not to Vote for Raila Odinga

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	336	51.60	147	49.30	189	53.60
Undecided	50	7.70	20	6.70	30	8.50
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	157	24.10	86	28.80	71	20.10
Don't Know	48	7.40	20	6.80	28	7.90
Refused	60	9.20	25	8.40	35	9.90

The findings above indicate that more than half of the voters in the 2017 were not influenced Raila Odinga's campaign messages. The numbers of those who agreed

that the messages influenced them is in both Homa Bay and Muranga does not even hit the 30 percent mark and is fairly close to those who were either undecided on this question or did not know or refused. Therefore, in as much as the close to 30 percent of the voters in Homa Bay and the slightly more than 20 percent in Muranga who based their evaluation of Raila Odinga on his campaign messages are a good indication of some departure from Nyamnjoh's (2005) politics of belonging, the overarching finding here is that most of the voters did not evaluate Raila Odinga on the critical issues that they ought to. Looking at the behaviour of the voters based on the findings, and as argued by O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg (2007), Raila Odinga was not evaluated on the critical aspects of the party brand, his tangible characteristics and his political agenda which essentially was the party's core service offering.

Voted for Raila Based on Presidency Perception Despite Negative Campaign

Messages by Jubilee

The study sought to find out the extent to which respondents agreed that they voted for Raila Amolo Odinga because of the perception they had of what his presidency would mean despite the negative campaign messages by the Jubilee team. The findings indicate that 45 percent of respondents from the two counties combined strongly and somewhat agreed that they voted for Raila based on the perception they had of his presidency despite the negative campaign messages by the Jubilee team while 39.90 percent somewhat or strongly agreed.

In Homa Bay County, 65.80 percent of the respondents somewhat or strongly agreed that they voted for Raila Amolo Odinga because of the perception they had of what his presidency would mean despite the negative campaign messages by the Jubilee team with 22.70 percent strongly or somewhat disagreeing. Muranga seems to

be presenting the opposite with 18.30 percent strongly of somewhat agreeing while 63.60 percent strongly or somewhat disagreed as shown in Table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9: Vote for Raila Based on Presidency Perception Despite Negative Campaign Messages by Jubilee

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	292	45.00	67	22.70	225	63.60
Undecided	25	3.90	10	3.40	15	4.20
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	259	39.90	194	65.80	65	18.30
Don't Know	27	4.20	12	4.10	15	4.20
Refused	46	7.00	12	4.00	34	9.50

Jubilee Campaigns on Legacy and Social Media and the Reasoned Action to Vote for Raila Odinga

The findings indicate that what 56.60 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed that to a large extent what Jubilee said about Raila Amolo Odinga in their campaigns and on both legacy and social media convinced them not to vote for him, his manifesto and campaign messages notwithstanding. In Homa Bay and Muranga these respondents who strongly or somewhat disagreed is 58.60 percent and 53.90 percent respective and it seems that in both counties the Jubilee campaign messages about Raila Odinga on legacy and social media did have an influence on only 14.70 percent (Homa Bay) and 28.20 percent (Muranga) as shown Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: Jubilee Campaigns on Legacy and Social Media and the Reasoned Action to Vote for Raila Odinga

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	371	56.60	176	58.60	195	53.90
Undecided	26	4.00	8	2.70	18	5.10
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	144	22.00	44	14.70	100	28.20
Don't Know	39	6.00	27	9.00	12	4.30
Refused	75	11.40	45	15.00	30	8.50

The findings above suggest that whereas majority of the respondents were not influenced by Jubilee's campaign messages that focused on Raila Odinga in the legacy and social media, the respondents in Muranga were found to have been influenced significantly compared to their counter parts in Homa Bay. Even though social media reach is not as significant in terms of influence in Kenya as it is elsewhere, the combined influence of Jubilee's negative campaign messages about Raila Odinga on both the legacy and social media seems to have been slightly higher in Muranga County compared to Homa Bay.

Raila Odinga's Framing as a Leader to Take Kenyans to Canaan

The way Raila Amolo Odinga framed himself as a leader with a track record and the promise to take Kenyans to the promised land of Canaan convinced 51.60 percent of the respondents who somewhat or strongly agree that the narrative convinced them to vote for him. In Homa-Bay County the number of those who somewhat or strongly agreed that they were convinced by this narrative is significantly high at 84.20 percent promise to deliver Kenyans to Canaan narrative, while only 24.50 percent of Muranga respondents were convinced by this narrative. Whereas only 11.20 percent of Homa Bay respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed that Raila Odinga's framing of himself as a leader with track record and the

Canaan promise convinced them to vote for him, 58 percent of Muranga respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed as shown in Table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11: Raila Odinga's Framing as a Leader to Take Kenyans to Canaan

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	239	36.70	33	11.20	206	58.00
Undecided	22	3.40	2	0.70	20	5.60
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	336	51.60	249	84.20	87	24.50
Don't Know	21	3.20	4	1.40	17	4.80
Refused	33	5.10	8	2.50	25	7.10

The findings above indicate that whereas Raila Odinga's track record and his Canaan narrative was framed to influence voters, it significantly influenced voters in areas where he was already popular. In areas like Muranga where his main rival was more popular. Findings indicate that more than half of the respondents did not buy the narrative to vote for Raila Odinga on the basis of his track record and framing as a leader to take Kenyans to Canaan. However, with 24.50 percent of Muranga respondents agreeing that they were convinced and a further combined total of 17.50 percent of respondents in Muranga remaining undecided on this question or saying they don't know or refusing to answer it does appear that Raila Odinga's track record and the Canaan narrative did have a fairly significant influence.

In Homa-Bay, only a combined total of 4.80 percent of the respondents were undecided, did not know or refused to respond to the question. Suggested here is the fact that Homa-Bay respondents were decisive and did not have the fear the Muranga respondents had, given that in Muranga County, Raila Odinga was considered a rival to the region's political kingpin, President Uhuru Kenyatta. This situation probably made it difficult for the respondents to be decisive and open about the influence of Raila Odinga's track record and framing of the Canaan narrative.

Jubilee's Negative Branding of the Canaan and Joshua Narrative

More than half of the respondents (51.20%) strongly or somewhat disagreed that they did not vote for Raila Odinga because they considered Him as a fake Joshua in a fake journey to Canaan given Raila Odinga's past leadership record. The findings also show that 24.20 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat agreed that the Raila Odinga was a fake Joshua in a fake Canaan journey hence did not vote for him. The fake Joshua and fake Canaan journey narrative did convince a lot more respondents in Muranga (30.70%) not to vote for Raila Odinga than in Homa-Bay (16.50%). The findings also indicate that in Homa-Bay (31.50%) compared to Muranga (18.80%), the respondents were cautious about either agreeing or disagreeing with more of Homa-Bay respondents choosing to remain undecided on this question, opting to select don't know or refuse to answer.

Table 4.12: Negative Branding of Raila Odinga's Canaan and Joshua Narrative

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	333	51.20	154	52.00	179	50.50
Undecided	43	6.60	25	8.40	18	5.10
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	158	24.20	49	16.50	109	30.70
Don't Know	33	5.10	13	4.40	20	5.50
Refused	84	12.90	55	18.70	29	8.20

The findings indicate that negative campaign messages about Raila Odinga's Canaan and Joshua narrative had a fairly significant influence in both Muranga and Homa-Bay. This evidence in both counties where only slightly more than 50 percent of the respondents disagreed. In Muranga, the respondents were clear and expressed their agreement that the narratives influenced their reasoned choices (30.70%) but respondents from Homa Bay, because of Raila Odinga's popularity in the region were found to have been indirectly agreed that they were influenced by going with the

options of undecided (8.40%), don't know (4.4%) and did not answer the question (18.70%).

Information About Raila Odinga's Candidature and Vote for Raila Odinga

The respondents strongly and somewhat disagreed (43.30%) that all they needed was to vote for Raila Odinga regardless of the frames or messages from other sources. Those who strongly and somewhat agreed were 37.50 percent, while a total of 19.20 percent remained undecided, did not know or refused to respond. In Muranga County, the findings indicate that the majority disagreed with 57.30 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat disagreeing that all they needed was to vote for Raila Odinga regardless of the frames or messages from other sources. In Homa-Bay, the inverse seems to be true as 61.40 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat agreeing that all they needed was to vote for Raila Odinga regardless of the frames or messages from other sources, as shown in Table 4.13 below.

Table 4.13: Information about Raila Odinga's Candidature and Vote for Raila Odinga

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	274	43.30	72	25.70	202	57.30
Undecided	36	5.70	17	6.10	19	5.40
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	237	37.50	172	61.40	65	18.40
Don't Know	33	5.20	7	2.50	26	7.40
Refused	53	8.30	12	4.30	41	11.50

These findings suggest that whereas Raila Odinga's candidature elicited positive voting behaviour and patterns among the voters in Homa-Bay County regardless of the frames or messages from other sources, in Muranga County voters found it hard to just vote on the basis of his candidature and brand appearing on the ballot. The findings suggest that the frames and messages about Raila Odinga's

candidature from other sources was more likely to influence the voter behaviour and voting pattern in Muranga than in Homa-Bay.

Jubilee's Campaign Narrative and the Vote for Raila Odinga

Majority of the respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed (49%) with the statement that all they needed was to listen to the Jubilee campaign team and what Jubilee had to say about Raila Odinga for their choice to be made regardless of what Raila had to said about his candidature. Only 23.70 percent of the respondents either strongly or somewhat agreed, while a total of 27.20 percent were either undecided, did not know or refused to respond to the question. The findings also indicate that the respondents in Homa-Bay County who strongly or somewhat disagreed (46.60%) and those who somewhat or strongly agreed (22.80%) is slightly lower than Muranga County which has 51 percent and 24.50 percent respectively. The number of respondents who were undecided, did not know or refused to answer the question seems to be high with Homa-Bay posting 30.60 percent and Muranga 24.50 percent as shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Jubilee's Campaign Narrative and the Vote for Raila Odinga

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	314	49.00	135	46.60	179	51.00
Undecided	54	8.50	24	8.30	30	8.50
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	152	23.70	66	22.80	86	24.50
Don't Know	38	5.90	15	5.20	23	6.60
Refused	83	12.90	50	17.10	33	9.40

These findings indicate that the influence of what Jubilee said about Raila Odinga was fairly significant in both counties as more than 20 percent strongly or somewhat agreed that Jubilee's campaign narratives is all they needed to listen to, to

vote for Raila Odinga. Despite what the Raila team said about his candidature the influence of Jubilee's narratives was slightly more in Muranga.

Jubilee and Association of Raila Odinga Brand Image with Fear Among the Voters

Whereas 41.80 percent of Muranga respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed that they were influenced by the negative adverts from the opponents of Raila Odinga, the number of respondents who strongly or somewhat agreed that the reason they did not vote for Raila Amolo Odinga because of the negative adverts from his opponents was high in Muranga (32.80%) compared to Homa-Bay (18.80%) and the combined responses (26.50%). The findings as shown in table 4.15 below also indicate that majority of the respondents in Homa-Bay (50.70%) strongly or somewhat disagreed that reason they did not vote for Raila Amolo Odinga was because of the negative adverts from the opponents. The number of those who disagreed is slightly lower in Muranga County (41.80%).

Table 4.15: Impact of Negative Adverts from the Opponents of Raila Odinga Brand

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	295	45.90	148	50.70	147	41.80
Undecided	47	7.30	17	5.80	30	8.50
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	170	26.50	55	18.80	115	32.80
Don't know	61	9.50	34	11.70	27	7.80
Refused	70	10.80	38	13.00	32	9.10

These findings suggest that the negative adverts by the opponents of Raila Odinga's was slightly more pronounced in Muranga than in Homa-Bay county. Therefore, the negative adverts had an impact on the voters' behaviour and voting patterns in Muranga against Raila Odinga, with a positive impact in Homa Bay, where 30.4 percent did not out rightly agree or disagree with the statement. These respondents in Homa Bay who either refused to answer the question, were undecided or did not know suggest that there the negative adverts also had a negative impact of

the voting patterns against Raila Odinga, though the respondents did not acknowledge in the responses given Raila Odinga's popularity in the region.

Raila Odinga's Campaign Brand Association with Hope and Prosperity

Majority of the respondents (46.1% strongly agreed or somewhat agreed) indicated that the reason why they voted for Raila Amolo Odinga was because of how his campaign team associated his brand with Hope and Prosperity among the voters, though 35.50 percent strongly or somewhat disagreed. However, in Muranga majority (55.80%) strongly and somewhat disagree while 20.40 percent strongly of somewhat agree that they voted for Raila Amolo Odinga because of how his campaign team associated his brand with Hope and Prosperity. The number of respondents who strongly or somewhat agreed that they voted for Raila Odinga because his Brand gave a sense of Hope and Prosperity was relatively high at 77.20 percent with only 10.90 strongly or somewhat disagreeing.

Table 4.16: Raila Odinga's Campaign Team and Brand Association with Hope and Prosperity

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	229	35.50	32	10.90	197	55.80
Undecided	38	5.90	13	4.40	25	7.10
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	298	46.10	226	77.20	72	20.40
Don't Know	48	7.40	12	4.10	36	10.20
Refused	33	5.10	10	3.40	23	6.50

These findings indicate that Raila Odinga's brand did well to get a fairly significant percent of respondents to believe that His Presidency will bring Hope and Prosperity at 46.10 percent overall and a relatively significant 20.40 percent in Muranga.

Vote Patterns Regardless of What the Campaign Teams Did

The findings indicate that 38.7 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat agreed while 41 percent strongly or somewhat disagreed that their vote was always going to be for Raila Odinga regardless of what Jubilee or the Raila Odinga campaign team did or did not do. In Homa Bay County, 62.60 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat agreed that their vote was always going to be for Raila Odinga while 21.60 percent either strongly or somewhat disagreed. In Muranga, only 19.20 percent strongly or somewhat agreed while 56.80 strongly or somewhat disagreed.

Table 4.17: Vote Patterns Regardless of the Media Frames or Campaign Messages

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	264	41.00	63	21.60	201	56.80
Undecided	39	6.00	18	6.20	21	5.90
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	250	38.70	182	62.60	68	19.20
Don't Know	43	6.70	15	5.20	28	7.90
Refused	49	7.60	13	4.40	36	10.20

The findings above suggest that to some extent (38.70%) voters were destined to vote for Raila Odinga and that the campaigns did not do much to their choice to vote for Raila and majority of the voters who were of this persuasion were mostly in Homa Bay with a fairly significant number in Muranga (10.20%).

These findings are in line with previous findings from scholars who argue that in most multi-ethnic African societies, voting is based on politics of belonging. It appears that strong sentiments to vote for Raila Odinga by people in his stronghold of Homa Bay County (62.60%) seems to be more pronounced than the strong sentiments that people in his rivals' strongholds of Muranga County, who voted against Raila's candidature (33.50%), despite the campaign messages.

Vote Against Raila Odinga No Matter What the Campaign Teams Did

The findings indicate that 48.10 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed that did not matter what Jubilee or the Raila Campaign team did or did not do; their vote was always going to be against Raila Odinga. On the other hand, 25.60 percent strongly or somewhat agreed that they voted against Raila Odinga. In Homa-Bay 48.90 percent of the respondents strongly or somewhat disagreed while 16 percent strongly or somewhat agreed with a very significant percentage of 20.40 percent refusing to respond to the question. Muranga County has almost the same percentage of respondents as Homa-Bay who strongly or somewhat disagreed at 47.30 percent.

However, compared to Homa-Bay, Muranga has double the number of respondents who strongly or somewhat agreed (33.50%) that they voted against Raila Odinga's regardless of what Jubilee or the Raila Campaign did or did not do. See Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Vote Against Raila Odinga no Matter What the Campaign Teams Did

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree and somewhat disagree	311	48.10	143	48.90	168	47.30
Undecided	47	7.30	20	6.80	27	7.60
Somewhat agree and strongly agree	166	25.60	47	16.00	119	33.50
Don't Know	41	6.30	23	7.90	18	5.10
Refused	82	12.70	59	20.40	23	6.50

The above findings have a fairly high percentage of Homa Bay respondents who refused to answer (20.40%) with those who were undecided or noted that they don't know together amounting to 35.10 percent. Given that Homa Bay is one of Raila Odinga's political strongholds these figures indicate that a significant number of

voters either did not vote for Raila Odinga and opted for safer choices in their responses for fear recrimination. There is also the possibility that Raila Odinga's popularity is waning with an increasing disassociation with him.

Vote for or Against Raila Amolo Odinga

A slight majority of the respondents (51.10%) indicated that they voted for Raila Odinga while 42.50 percent indicated that they did not, and 6.40 percent did not answer this question. In Homa Bay 89.90 percent of the respondents voted for Raila Odinga while in Muranga, only 17.10 percent voted for Raila Odinga as shown in Table 4.19 below.

Table 4.19: Vote for or Against Raila Amolo Odinga

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	337	51.10	277	89.90	60	17.10
No	280	42.50	21	6.80	259	73.80
No answer	42	6.40	10	3.30	32	9.10

The above findings, though manifest the trends in the voting patterns in the August 8, 2017 presidential elections, slightly depart from the actual results. Records sourced from Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission show that Raila Odinga had 400,351 (99.3%) votes in Homa Bay and 9,122 (1.8%) in Muranga (www.iebc.or.ke). The findings from the study indicate that the data from Homa Bay is 90.5 percent accurate when compared to the IEBC data while data from Muranga is fairly skewed by 950 percent. The suggestions herein is that either majority of the people who responded to the questionnaire in Muranga were Raila Odinga's supporters who probably voted for him or the handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta swayed them to state that they voted for Raila Odinga. The first explanation seems plausible given that during data collection a number of respondents who were approached and had the name Raila Odinga and politics just declined to participate.

This means that the majority who participated are Raila Odinga supporters and sympathisers as situation that probably explains why in the study there is a difference of 15.3 percent while in Homa Bay the difference is only 9.4 percent.

Raila Odinga's Attribute that Influenced the Voters' Reasoned Action to Vote for or Against Him

The study sought to find out the key attribute about Raila Amolo Odinga's that influenced the voters' reasoned action of Raila Odinga. The respondents identified for key attributes about Raila Odinga's that determined their voting patterns: Hunger for Power, promise to fight corruption, struggle to Liberate Kenya and Take over business and properties. The findings indicate that 28.50 percent of respondents said they voted against Raila Odinga because of his 'hunger for power', 20.70 percent of the respondents said they voted for him because of 'his struggle to liberate Kenya.

In Homa Bay, Raila Odinga's 'struggle to liberate Kenyans from suffering' influenced 37.30 of respondents to vote for him, and 21.70 percent vote for his because of 'his promise to fight corruption' hence the voters reasoned action in Homa-Bay. In Muranga, 49.90 percent of the respondents voted against Raila Odinga because of the attribute 'hunger for power', 20.10percent of the respondents voted against his attribute 'take over our business, properties and wealth'. Table 4.20 with more details.

Table 4.20: Raila Odinga's Attribute that Influenced the Voters' to Vote for or Against Him

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not good for my community's						
Business	45	7.00	10	3.30	35	10.30
Hungry for power	182	28.50	13	4.30	169	49.90
His people would take over our business, properties and wealth	79	12.30	11	3.70	68	20.10
He is a reformist	51	8.00	35	11.70	16	4.70
His struggle to liberate Kenyans from their suffering	132	20.70	112	37.30	20	5.90
His promise to fight corruption	81	12.70	65	21.70	16	4.70
Track record	69	10.80	54	18	15	4.40

The findings above indicate that in the areas where Raila Odinga had the highest votes like Homa Bay County, the reasoned action was because of his attributes of 'struggle to liberate Kenyans', and 'fight against corruption'. On the contrary, in Muranga, the majority of the voter reasoned action was against Raila Odinga because of attributes such as 'Hunger for power', 'Perception that his supporters would take over businesses, properties and wealth', and 'Not good for my community's business.'

Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency Influenced Vote Choice

The study established that most of the respondents (40.80%) were influenced in their choice of vote by the perceived image of Raila Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land. This is based on how Raila Odinga's campaign team framed Raila Odinga and it appears that the framing worked to influence many voters given that the next perceived image that influenced the voters' choice – anti my community and their business and wealth – only influenced the vote choice of 19.40

percent. The framing of Raila Odinga by Jubilee, to be perceived as a dangerous man hungry for power had a marginal influence on voters' choice as only 11.90 percent considered it an influence in the choice they made in voting for or against him as shown in table 4.21 below.

Table 4.21: Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency Influenced Vote Choice

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Anti my community and their businesses and wealth	124	19.40	10	3.30	114	33.70
Comes from a community that doesn't produce leaders & is not circumcised	55	8.60	8	2.70	47	13.90
Will send our leaders to The Hague	46	7.20	15	5.00	31	9.20
Comes from a community that we do not supported	51	8.00	37	12.30	14	4.10
Doesn't belong to my community	26	4.10	4	1.40	22	6.50
He is a dangerous man who is hungry for power	76	11.90	16	5.30	60	17.80
Portrayed himself as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land	260	40.80	210	70.00	50	14.80

The findings in table 4.21 above also indicate that the portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land was a very significant factor in influencing the respondents in Homa-Bay County (70%) while in Muranga the negative perception of Raila as "anti my community and their businesses and wealth" (33.70%) was a significant factor in the choices the respondents made in either voting for or against Raila Odinga. Suggested here in is that the framing of Raila Odinga as Joshua influenced the Homa-Bay voters to vote for him overwhelmingly, while the framing of Raila Odinga as anti-certain communities influenced Muranga residents to choose not to vote for him.

Positive Coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga by the Media

Majority of the respondents found Raila Odinga's positive coverage by the media unimportant. In Homa Bay County the percentage that found his coverage unimportant or of little importance is relatively high at 75.90 percent compared to Muranga (50.20 %) and combined (61.70%). On the flipside the Muranga respondents who found his coverage extremely and very important is relatively high at 39.50 percent compared to Homa Bay (13.30%) and combined (27.70%). Table 4.22 below with the details.

Table 4.22: Impact of Positive Media Frames on Raila Amolo Odinga's Brand

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Extremely important and very important	176	27.70	38	13.30	138	39.50
Somewhat important	67	10.60	31	10.80	36	10.30
Little importance	149	23.50	100	35.00	49	14.00
Unimportant	243	38.20	117	40.90	126	36.20

These findings indicate that positive coverage of Raila Odinga did matter slightly more to the people of Muranga than the people of Homa Bay. The framing of Raila Odinga positively to Homa Bay voters seemed not to have attracted importance Raila Odinga as majority in this region would expect positive coverage anyway because of the politics of belonging and the fact that Raila Odinga is their defacto political leader whereas in Muranga positive coverage would attract importance because Raila Odinga was a threat to their defacto political leader.

Importance of Raila Odinga's Political Agenda as Advanced by His Team and Media

The findings indicate that whereas 52.20 percent of respondents in Muranga found Raila Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media extremely

and very important, only 11.80 percent did in Homa Bay. On the flipside 68.60 percent of Homa Bay respondents found Raila Odinga's political agenda as advanced by his team and the media of little importance or unimportant compared to 29.60 percent in Muranga as shown in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: Importance of Raila Odinga's Political Agenda as Advanced by His Team and Media

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Extremely important and very important	216	34.20	33	11.80	183	52.20
Somewhat important	119	18.90	55	19.60	64	18.20
Little importance	126	20.00	77	27.50	49	14.00
Unimportant	170	26.90	115	41.10	55	15.60

In Muranga, the findings indicate that the respondents did not interrogate Raila Odinga's agenda yet they seemed to be keen on his political agenda as espoused by the media. This suggest that any framing of Raila Odinga's political agenda and image negatively influenced their perception and eventual reasoned actions, for voters in Muranga. These voters were more inclined to be swayed by the media frames than Raila's agenda for them.

Importance of Raila Odinga Political Agenda as Advanced by the Jubilee Team and the Media

The study established that Raila Amolo Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by the Jubilee team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media was extremely and very important to the respondents in Muranga (53%). This was relatively higher than in the combined numbers (46.10%) and the numbers in Homa Bay County (37.60%) as shown in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24: Raila Odinga's Political Agenda as Advanced by the Media

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Extremely important and very important	294	46.10	108	37.60	186	53.00
Somewhat important	144	22.60	84	29.30	60	17.10
Little importance	90	14.10	50	17.40	40	11.40
Unimportant	110	17.20	45	15.70	65	18.50

Muranga also registered the least number of respondents who found the importance of Raila Odinga political agenda as advanced by the Jubilee team and the media of little importance or unimportant at (29.90%). This number is slightly higher than in Homa Bay (33.10%) and for the combined population (31.30%). The findings show that the people of Muranga paid more attention to Jubilee's framing of Raila Odinga's political agenda in both the mainstream media and social media.

Influence of Media Coverage on Voting Decision

Most of the respondents indicated that they did not follow the media's coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga and their decision to vote for or against Raila was not influenced by the media coverage. In the two counties, a total of 53.20 percent of the respondents said the media did not influence their voting decision, 53.30 percent of respondents in Homa-Bay and 53 percent in Muranga indicated that media coverage was unimportant or of little importance. See the results in Table 4.25 below.

Table 4.1: Influence of Media coverage on voting decision

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Extremely important and very important	222	35.10	93	33.20	129	36.70
Somewhat important	74	11.70	38	13.50	36	10.30
Little importance	105	16.60	49	17.40	56	16.00
Unimportant	231	36.60	101	35.90	130	37.00

Even though a fairly significant percent of the respondents (Combined, 35.10%; Homa Bay, 33.20%; and Muranga, 36.70%) chose extremely important or

very important as the option to the statement - I made my decision by comparing all the candidates and how the media covered their positions on issues – it is safe to conclude media coverage was not the only factor that the voters used to decide on whether to vote for Raila Odinga or not. Based on the other findings in this study other factors such as Raila Odinga’s image, track record and history of struggle for the poor in the society are also key.

Comparison of Candidates and Media Coverage on Issues

The study found that majority of the respondents considered of little importance or unimportant to compare how the media covered the Presidential candidates especially based on their political agenda. A combined response of 59.90 percent; 75.90 percent in Homa-Bay and 46.90 percent in Muranga. Table 4.26 below shows the results.

Table 4.25: Comparison of Candidates and Media Coverage on Issues

	Combined		Homa Bay		Muranga	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Extremely important and very important	185	29.00	40	14.00	145	41.20
Somewhat important	71	11.10	29	10.10	42	11.90
Little importance	119	18.70	76	26.60	43	12.20
Unimportant	263	41.20	141	49.30	122	34.70

These findings indicate that whereas the respondents in Homa-Bay did not consider the comparison of candidates and how the media covered them based on their political agenda, the respondents in Muranga did find the comparison of candidates by the media covered to be significantly important. These findings suggest that in Homa-Bay where Raila Odinga commands near fanatical support, voters there did not compare him with rivals nor were they influenced by the media coverage. Earlier findings which state that media framing, priming and agenda setting have little influence on voters in multi-ethnic societies or where the electorate are already

partisan along ethnic lines, corroborate these findings on dearth of comparison by voters who consider a candidate one of their own.

Crosstabs

Voted for Raila and the Key Attribute of Raila Odinga’s Leadership that Swayed the Vote

A cross tabulation of those who voted for Raila Odinga and the key attributes about Raila Odinga’s that made them vote for Raila indicates that majority (38.75%) of those who voted for Raila Odinga associated it to his attribute of ‘struggle to liberate Kenyans’, 23.44 percent of those who voted for him attributed it to his ‘Promise to fight corruption’, 16.88 percent attributed their vote to his ‘Not good for their business community’ and 13.75 percent voted for him because of his attribute of ‘Reformist’. Figure 4.1. below show the other attributes that made the respondents vote for Raila Odinga.

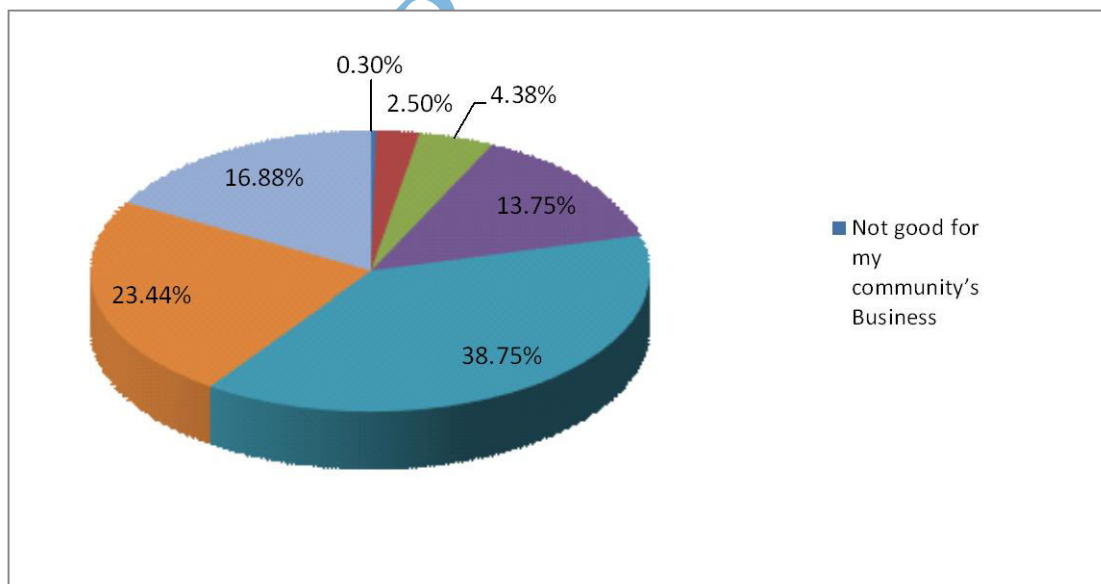


Figure 4.1: Voted for Raila and the Key Attribute of Raila Odinga’s Leadership that Swayed the Vote

Voted Against Raila and the Key Attribute of Raila Odinga that Swayed the Vote

On the other hand, those who voted against Raila attributed it to his ‘Hunger for power’, and ‘His people would take over other communities’ business and properties’. The hungry for power (56.88%) was the top attribute for voters against Raila Odinga. 22.10 percent voted against because of his attribute of ‘His people would take over our business and properties, and 14.49 percent voted against because he is ‘not good for my community’s business’. See the below Figure 4.2 for the results.

These findings indicate that there is a correlation between voting patterns and the attributes of the Presidential candidate, in this case Raila Odinga.

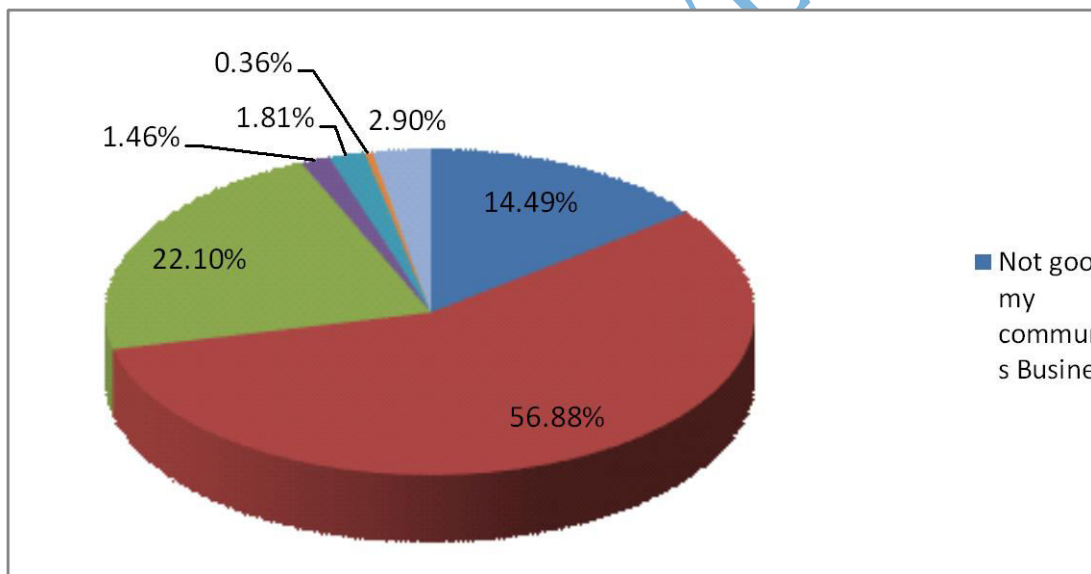


Figure 4.2: Voted Against Raila and the Key Attribute of Raila Odinga that Swayed the Vote

Homa Bay - Voted for Raila and Did Not Vote for Raila and the Key Attribute that Informed Choice

In Homa Bay County, majority of the respondents who voted for Raila Odinga perceived his struggle for democracy (40.67%) as the key attribute for voting for him. 23.88 percent of the respondents voted for him because of his ‘promise to fight corruption’ and 18.66 percent voted because of his ‘track record’. For the voters who did not vote for him in Homa Bay, 42.86 percent attributed it to his ‘Hungry for power’, 38.1 percent believe he is ‘not good for my community’s business’ See the results in Figure 4.4 below.

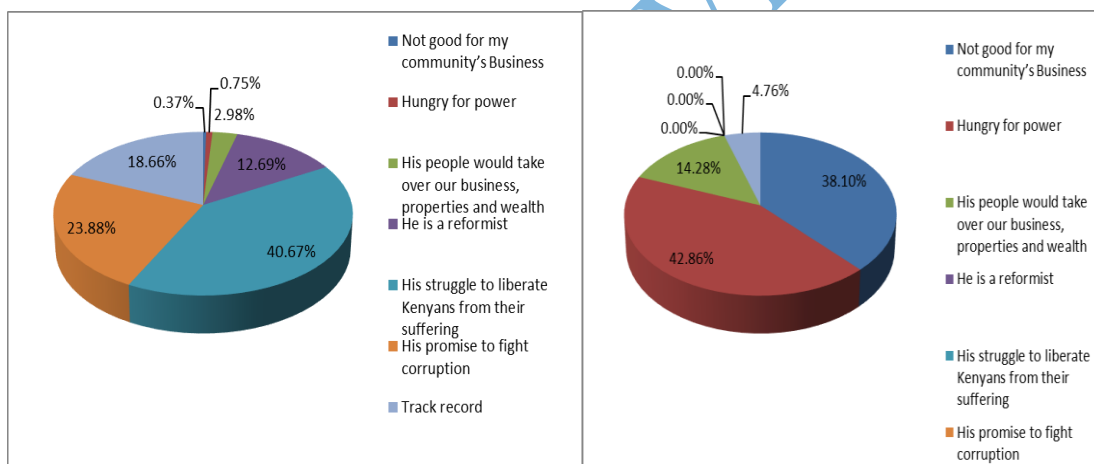


Figure 4.3: Homa Bay - Voted for Raila and did not Vote for Raila and the Key Attribute

Muranga -Voted for Raila and Did Not Vote for Raila and the Key Attribute that Informed Choice

In Muranga County, the findings indicated that the key attributes about Raila Odinga that made the respondents vote for him are fairly distributed: 28.85 percent voted for him because of ‘His struggle for democracy’; 21.15 percent because of his

‘Promise to fight corruption’ and 19.23 percent because ‘He is a reformist’. See results in Figure 4.4 below.

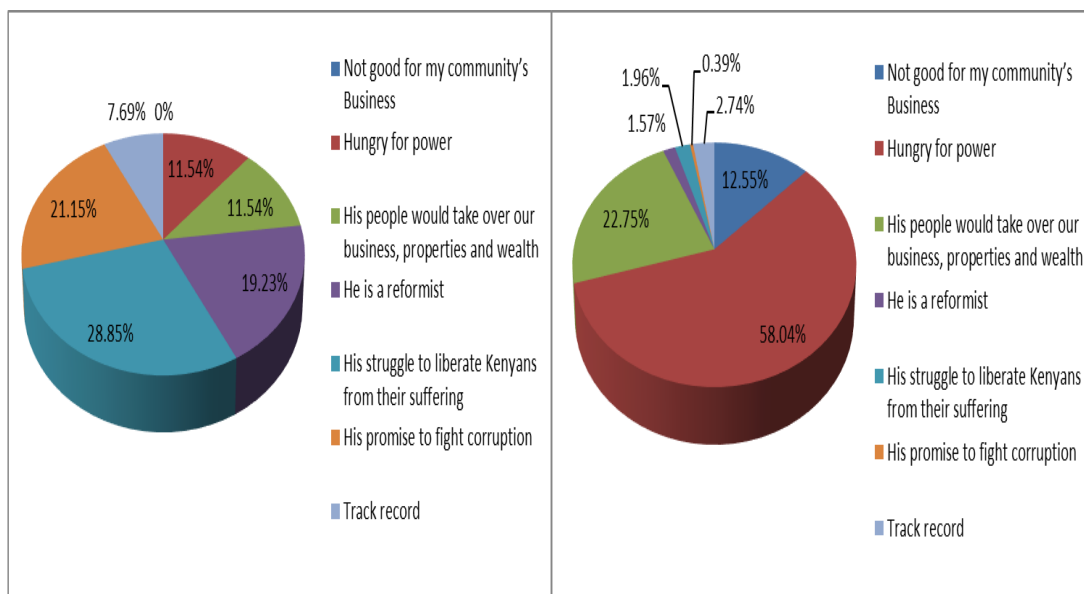


Figure 4.4: Muranga Voted for Raila and did not Vote for Raila and the Key Attribute that Informed Choice

In Muranga County, those who did not vote for Raila Odinga indicated that the key attributes that made them not vote for him was his hunger for power (58.04%), and his people would take over our business and properties (22.75%).

Perceived Image Of Raila Odinga’s Presidency That Influenced The Choice To Vote/Not Vote

The study sought to find out the perceived image of Raila Amolo Odinga that influenced the voting patterns, and this was cross tabulated with the question that sought to find out whether the respondents voted for Raila Odinga or not. The findings indicate that the majority who voted for Raila Odinga (71.16%) said the portrayal of Raila Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land was the popular perception that influenced them to vote for him. For those who did not vote for Raila, the most popular perception that influenced them not to vote for Raila Odinga was ‘anti my community and their businesses and wealth’ (39.26%) followed

by 'Raila Odinga as a dangerous man hungry for power (18.52%). Table 4.26 shows the results to the cross-tabulation.

Table 4.26: Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency that Influenced the Choice to Vote/not Vote

Combined	YES voted for Raila		Did not vote for Raila	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Anti my community and their businesses and wealth	6	1.84	106	39.26
He is from a community that does not produce leaders based on their cultural practices such as not circumcising men	7	2.15	45	16.67
He would send our leaders to The Hague	15	4.60	30	11.10
He belongs to my community or the coalition that my community supported	44	13.50	6	2.22
He does not belong to my community and would have marginalised my community	7	2.15	18	6.67
Jubilee's portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as a dangerous man hungry for power	15	4.60	50	18.52
Raila Amolo Odinga's campaign team portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land	232	71.16	15	5.56
Total	326	100	270	100.00

Homa Bay- Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency that Influenced Your Choice of Vote

The findings indicate that 75.19 percent said that they voted for Raila Odinga because they were influenced by the portrayal of him as Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land, and 13.70 percent said they voted for him because of the perception that 'he belongs to my community or my community supports'. For those who voted against him, 20 percent of the respondents said it was because he 'Comes from a community that produces leaders and is not circumcised ,45 percent voted against because he is 'anti-my community's businesses and wealth' (45%). See the results in Table 4.27 below.

Table 4.27: Homa Bay- Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency that Influenced Your Choice of Vote

Homa Bay	YES voted for Raila		Did not vote for Raila	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Anti my community's businesses & wealth	1	0.37	9	45.00
Comes from a community that doesn't produce leaders & is not circumcised	3	1.11	4	20.00
Would send our leaders to The Hague	12	4.45	3	15.00
Belongs to my community that my community supports	37	13.70	0	0
Does not belong to my community & will marginalise my community	4	1.48	0	0
Portrayal of Raila as a dangerous man hungry for power	10	3.70	3	15.00
Portrayal of Raila as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land	203	75.19	1	5.00
Total	270	100.00	20	100

Muranga - Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency that Influenced Your Choice of Vote

In Muranga County where only 56 of the respondents said they voted for Raila Odinga, the findings indicate that 51.79 percent of the 56 who voted for Raila Odinga voted for him because they were influenced by his campaign team's portrayal of Raila as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land. For the 250 who did not vote for Raila Odinga in Muranga, 'anti my community and their business interests' (39%) and 'Jubilee's portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as a dangerous man hungry for power' (19%) were top of the list of the perceived image of Raila Odinga that influenced them to not to vote for him. More details in Table 4.28 below.

Table 4.28: Muranga - Perceived Image of Raila Odinga's Presidency that Influenced Your Choice of Vote

	YES voted for Raila		Did not vote for Raila	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Anti my community and their businesses and wealth	5	8.93	97	39.00
He is from a community that does not produce leaders based on their cultural practices such as not circumcising men	4	7.14	41	16.00
He would send our leaders to The Hague	3	5.36	27	11.00
He belongs to my community or the coalition that my community supported	7	12.50	6	2.00
He does not belong to my community and would have marginalised my community	3	5.35	18	7.00
Jubilee's portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as a dangerous man hungry for power	5	8.93	47	19.00
Raila Amolo Odinga's campaign team portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land	29	51.79	14	6.00
Total	56	100	250	100

Importance of Positive Coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga by the Media in the Decision to Either Vote or Not Vote Raila Odinga

The study cross tabulated the question on whether the respondents voted for Raila Odinga and the impact of positive coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga. The findings indicate that 79.86 percent of those who voted for Raila Odinga said that the positive media coverage of Raila Odinga was extremely important or very important in making the decision to vote for or against Raila Odinga. Only 8.82 percent of the respondents found the positive media coverage of Raila to be of little importance or unimportant.

For those who did not vote for Raila Odinga, 49.82 percent said that the positive media coverage of Raila Odinga was of little importance or unimportant in their decision to vote for or against Raila Odinga. Perhaps these findings explain why

the portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as a dangerous man who is hungry for power is fairly high at 19 percent and had the biggest impact on those who did not vote for him. See Table 4.29 for the results.

Table 4.29: Importance of Positive Coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga by the Media in the Decision to Either Vote or not Vote Raila Odinga

	Voted for Raila		Did not vote for Raila	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Extremely important and very important	139	43.70	86	31.73
Very important	115	36.16	24	8.86
Somewhat important	36	11.32	26	9.59
Little importance	15	4.72	80	29.52
Unimportant	13	4.10	55	20.30
Total	318	100	271	100.00

Raila Amolo Odinga's Political Agenda and Legacy and the Social Media

The study sought to find out the importance of Raila Amolo Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media. Majority of the respondents who voted for Raila Odinga (72.20%) said that Raila Amolo Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media was extremely or very important in their decision to vote for Raila Odinga. 20.45 percent said it was somewhat important while 7.35 percent of the 313 who voted for Raila said that it was either of little importance or unimportant in their decision to vote for Raila Odinga.

On the other hand, for the 272 who did not vote for Raila Odinga, 65.07 percent said that Raila Amolo Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media was of little importance or unimportant. More details on these findings in Table 4.30 below.

Table 4.30: Importance of Raila Amolo Odinga's Political Agenda for the Electorate

	Voted for Raila		Did not vote for Raila	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Extremely important and very important	133	42.49	24	8.83
Very important	93	29.71	25	9.19
Somewhat important	64	20.45	46	16.91
Little importance	16	5.11	114	41.91
Unimportant	7	2.24	63	23.16
	313	100	272	100

These findings suggest that whereas Raila Odinga's political agenda was important for the majority who voted for him, the ones who did not vote for him do not appear to have based their decision on Raila Odinga's agenda. It does appear that for the 65.07 percent who did not vote for him and paid little attention to his agenda, the reasons have nothing to do with what the rivals had in their agenda. These findings are further corroborated by the themes from the interviews which indicate that the reasons for rejection of political candidates in Kenya have very little to do with the candidates manifestoes or political agenda.

One participant in the interview argued that whenever Kenyans go for an election, 70 percent of the voters are almost always decided and manifestoes and political agenda does not affect this percentage, either because they will vote along ethnic lines or because they are too involved with certain candidates to even focus on what the manifestoes have. According to him, it is only 30 percent of the voters who are undecided and likely to be influenced by the campaign messages. These findings are further corroborated by Nyamnjoh (2005) who argues that Africa is characterised by politics of belonging.

Summary of Key Findings

The Negative Campaign Messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's Political Rivals and Their Contribution to the Voters' Reasoned Actions in The 2017 Presidential Elections.

1. While Raila's image is easily recognisable across the country, the perception of his brand and the impact of the negative messages that were spread during the run up to the 2017 presidential elections, were greatly influenced by the region of the audiences. Central Kenya residents were more likely to believe the messages spread by Raila Odinga's competitors compared to the Western Kenya. In as much as only 51 percent of the respondents indicated that they were not swayed by Jubilee's messages, it is in Homa Bay that many were not swayed as 65 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that they voted for Raila Odinga despite negative messaging about his presidency. In high contrast, 63 percent of the respondents in Muranga strongly disagreed which suggest that they did get swayed by the Jubilee narratives and negative messages.
2. Jubilee campaign team media messages seemed not to have had a very significant impact as majority of the respondents (58%) did not think that Jubilee messaging convinced them not to vote for a Raila Odinga presidency. Only a total 26 percent of the respondents agreed that the media messages by the Jubilee campaign convinced them that a Raila presidency would be dangerous. The findings also indicate that Jubilee messages on social media had insignificant impact in the voting patterns as a majority of the respondents indicated that social media messages by Jubilee did not convince them not to vote for Raila.

The Media's Coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga Elections Campaigns and its Influence on the Voters' Choices in Rejecting or Supporting His Candidature.

1. Positive coverage of Raila Odinga by the media was also not very significant according to the respondents. A total of 61.80 percent of the respondents did not find significance in positive coverage of Raila's campaign by media.
2. There was a significant difference between the respondents from Muranga and those in Homa Bay. While 50.10 percent of respondents from Muranga found coverage of Raila in the media unimportant, a significant percentage of 75.90 percent of respondents from Homa Bay found Raila Odinga's coverage in the media unimportant. These findings suggest that as opposed to Homa Bay respondents, who seem not to have been keen on Raila Odinga's coverage in the media, a fairly significant percentage of Muranga residents found Raila Odinga's coverage in the media significant and whatever the media had about Raila Odinga probably influenced the reasoned actions of a significant number of voters in Muranga.

The Perceived Image and Framing of Raila Amolo Odinga in Media and its Influence on Voters Reasoned Actions in the 2017 Presidential Elections.

1. The framing and perception of Raila Odinga's political candidacy ranged between one who understands the needs of the electorate and a leader pursuing the alleviation of the people's suffering, to a devilish politician who instils fear in the public. However, Jubilee's narratives did have a fairly significant influence as a total of 26 percent of the respondents from the two counties somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that the narratives by Jubilee convinced them that a Raila Odinga's win would be dangerous for their people.
2. The brand image of Raila Odinga and the framing by both his campaign team and the rival Jubilee team was found to have influenced the electorate in Muranga more than in Homa Bay, the traditional home turf of Raila Odinga.

Homa Bay seemed more immune to media narratives about Raila Odinga than Murang'a. Only 13.30 percent of the respondents in Homa Bay compared to 39.50 percent of respondents from Murang'a found the image of Raila Odinga as presented in the media narratives important in their reasoned actions.

3. While a combined percentage of 34 percent of the respondents found that the media coverage of Raila Odinga's political agenda was extremely important to their reasoned action to vote for him or not, results indicate that in Muranga his agenda was secondary to Jubilee's framing of his candidacy. Moreover, the framing of Raila Odinga's presidency as dangerous also did have some fairly significant influence as 27.72 percent of respondents agreed that the messaging of Raila's presidency as dangerous impacted the choices they made. The 27.72 percent is fairly significant despite the fact that those who did not agree that the image of Raila's presidency as dangerous affected the way they voted was high (45.64% combined, 41.70% in Homa Bay, and 49% in Murang'a).

In a nutshell, although media coverage was significant in voters' reasoned actions in relation to Raila Odinga's candidature, it was not the overall deciding factor. A total of 53.2 percent of the respondents stated that they found overall media coverage of Raila Odinga unimportant to their decision to vote for him or not, while a combined 35.10 percent found media coverage important to their vote.

Even though perception of Raila Odinga's political capital influenced the respondents differently depending on the region, the study found that the perception of Raila Odinga as a fighter for a democratic Kenya only influenced a marginal number of the respondents. Fewer than half of the respondents who stated they voted for Raila Odinga did so because their reasoned action was informed by track record

for fighting for the common mwananchi. The regional difference is also present in the perception of Raila's political image. In Homa Bay, 79.50 percent of the respondents who voted for Raila agreed that it was owing to his historical image as a champion for justice and democracy, compared to Murang'a's 22.70 percent.

Summary

This chapter provided the findings on Raila Amolo Odinga's perceived political image influenced the voters reasoned actions in the August 8, 2017 general elections. The findings presented in this chapter were based on responses from both Muranga and Homa Bay respondents and were presented as aggregate while in some instances comparisons were made. These findings were presented in form of tables and pie charts. The tables and figures were accompanied by descriptions and explanations of the findings. The chapter also gave a summary of the key findings in relation to the research objectives and in the next chapter the researcher presents a discussion of these key findings. In summary key findings were discussed along the objectives in chapter five where the researcher also drew conclusions and made recommendations.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The chapter presents a discussion of the key findings on Raila Amolo Odinga's perceived political image and how this image influenced the voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 general elections. The chapter also presents a discussion and derived conclusions on the findings on how these perceived images and the branding by Raila's rivals in the lead up to the elections influenced the voting behaviour.

Discussions

Negative Campaign Messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's Political Rivals and the Voters' Reasoned Actions in the 2017 Presidential Election

Objective one sought to determine how negative campaign messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's political rivals contributed to voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 presidential elections. The study found Jubilee negative campaign messages worked to some significant extent especially in the Jubilee strongholds. Voters in Raila Odinga's political home tufts were not influenced by the negative campaign messages by the political rivals. However, in the rivals' strongholds the findings indicate that the influence of the negative campaign messages was relatively strong and influenced the voters to make choices that did not favor Raila Odinga in the 2017 presidential elections.

A significant proportion of the respondents, 51 percent, believed that they were not swayed by messaging by the Jubilee camp; 45 percent stated they voted for Raila despite the negative messaging by Jubilee. In Homa Bay, 65 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that they voted for Raila despite negative messaging

about his presidency, while in high contrast, 63 percent of the respondents in Murang'a strongly disagreed. Whereas 51 percent is a significant percentage to say that they were not swayed, the fact that the other 49 percent did not commit to saying they voted outside the framing by the Jubilee campaign team suggests that the negative campaign messages significantly contributed to the reasons why some voters rejected Raila Odinga in their choice despite his popularity over time.

Yassin and Zanuddin's (2012) found that branding helped the voters make decisions and the findings in the current study seems to be in agreement with the branding influence in voting as the respondents who voted for Raila despite the negative messaging by the Jubilee campaign team is less than half (45%). More than 50 percent were certainly influenced by Jubilee messages. From a reasoned action theoretical point of view, the Jubilee campaign messages seems to have, taken advantage of Raila Odinga's traditionally known attributes, to attach importance to certain attributes of Raila Odinga to lead to an evaluation that resulted in behavioral intentions, attitudes and subjective norms which consequently informed a significant number of voters to reason against voting for Raila Odinga (Ajzen & Fishbein as cited in Fishbein, 2008).

Raila Odinga's huge political capital made it easy to frame him along negative messages that influenced voters in Jubilee strongholds. The results also indicated that Raila's easily recognizable image as a national political brand name across the country, made it easy for his rivals to frame him along negative messages that were spread during the run up to the 2017 presidential elections. The findings further indicated that region was a big factor in the way the use of Raila Odinga alongside negative framing influenced the voters. Central Kenya residents were found to have voted along the negative framing of messages that were spread by Raila Odinga's

competitors such as not good for my community's business and hungry for power. On the other hand findings from Homa Bay suggested that in Raila Odinga's strongholds like Western Kenya the influence to vote for Raila Odinga significantly drew from perceptions such as: a reformist, struggle to liberate Kenyans from their suffering, and Raila's promise to fight corruption.

Therefore, to a large extent Raila Odinga's public image, as has been framed in the media appeared to have aided a reference to him and Jubilee messages appear to have capitalized on the easy referent that was reinforced by both the interpersonal and mass media subjective norm, especially in regions like Muranga where Jubilee was popular and Raila was known. Singh et al. (1995, p. 6) for instance, noted that where a referent is known at either interpersonal or mass media level the motivation to comply with messages referring to the referent, in this case Raila Odinga, is high.

In Jubilee's strongholds there seemed to have been concerted efforts to have the image of Raila Odinga as a referent that evoked feelings that persuaded the voters not to vote for him. Barack Muluka for instance, argued that the use of all manner of pejorative idioms like Mugoroki, a mganga and 'one dangerous man' noting that the impact of such dark words are still felt up to this moment. Dismas Mokuu, however, argued that in Kenya, majority of the voters are mobilised along ethnic lines and the campaigns messages in 2017 that demonised Raila Odinga were just reinforcing the Raila phobia narrative that has been there for some time. While in his strongholds the respondents who voted for him say they did so, not because of his campaign in the media, or Jubilee's framing, but because of Raila Odinga's history of the struggle, his reform agenda and to a large extent because he belongs given that majority of the respondents in Homa Bay said that the media did not influence their decisions. These findings were also corroborated by the interview findings where the responses seemed

to indicate that the fanatical following that Raila Odinga enjoys in certain areas renders the media messages null and void. One interviewee for instance, talked of our ethnic politics, noting that tribesmen and kinsmen vote for their kith and kin regardless of the political rivals branding, manifestoes and the media narratives.

The Media's Coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga's Election Campaign and the Voters' Choices in Rejecting or Supporting His Candidature

Objective two sought to establish the extent to which the media's coverage of Raila Odinga's election campaign influenced the voters' choices in rejecting or supporting his candidature. The results of the study indicated that positive coverage of Raila Odinga by the media was relatively significant in the voters' reasoned action to vote for Raila as a total of 38.20 percent found such coverage extremely important, very important or somewhat important. Even though a total of 61.8 percent of the respondents did not find significance in positive coverage of Raila's campaign as was covered by the media, positive coverage seemed to have had substantive influence at 38.20 percent.

The significance of such positive coverage appear to have had more impact in Muranga and other non Raila strongholds compared to Homa Bay, given that results in this study also showed that for most of the respondents in Homa Bay it was not important what kind of media coverage Raila got, their decision was already made. In Muranga, on the other hand, the study established that a fairly significant percentage of residents found Raila Odinga's coverage in the media significant and whatever the positive coverage the media had on Raila Odinga, did influence the reasoned actions of a significant number of voters in Muranga. The significance is further supported by 52.20 percent of respondents in Muranga who found Raila Odinga's political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the

mainstream media and the social media extremely and very important, compared to a paltry 11.80 percent in Homa Bay.

These findings suggested that Raila Odinga's coverage and the positive portrayal of his campaign and political agenda both in the legacy and social media did present the voters in Muranga and probably other regions with a 'discursive model', Collins (2017), that influenced the reasoned actions of the voters in the 2017 elections. In Muranga these positive coverages of his agenda both in legacy and social media appeared to have reigned in on the Jubilee negative campaign messages as suggested by the significant numbers of respondents who found his agenda on different media platforms important.

The presence of positive coverage of Raila Odinga and the presence of his political agenda in both legacy and social media and the significant number of Muranga who considered such coverage and agenda seemed to support the tenet in framing which states that media consumers "locate, perceive, identify and label" events and occurrences and that in doing so they comprehend information based on how it is presented to them. Thus we can safely conclude that positive presentation of Raila Odinga's political agenda and the positive coverage in different media platforms played a role in helping the electorate locate him and the positive frames and the agenda influenced how his candidature was comprehended. In Homa Bay and by extension other Raila Odinga's strongholds such coverage and advancements of his political agenda may not have had a significant impact as they had in Muranga and other areas where Raila did not command near fanatical support.

It also does appear that certain negative portrayals of Raila Odinga especially on social media did have impacts that were fairly high and could have been neutered by positive coverage of Raila Odinga and maybe, had Raila's campaign team done

more to mitigate negative portrayals by advancing his agenda. These negative portrayals were predominantly on social media and the findings indicate that more than half of the respondents were convinced by the messages on social media (56%) not to vote for Raila compared to (26%) on legacy media. Unlike the legacy media that has a fairly rigorous gatekeeping process the social media allowed for negative and campaign messages that as Cissel (2012) would argue consists of frames which provided a framework upon which Raila Odinga's candidature was interpreted along anecdotes and stereotypes that voters relied on to make their voting choices.

The results of the study show that Odinga's coverage still bowed to the image that the voters in the study locations had of him. These results illustrate that despite not being the pivotal factor, media coverage still has an influence over how the study population perceived Raila Odinga. Coverage in the legacy media was not as influential as coverage in the social media in influencing the respondents not to vote for Raila Odinga. Therefore, despite the coverage of Raila Odinga positively and advancing his political agenda, the influence of negative portrayal in the social media appears to have swayed in getting voters to reason against voting for Raila Odinga.

In conclusion the image that the electorate had of Raila has been shaped over time by Raila Odinga's longevity in the political scene and in the recent times by interactions the electorate has had with both the legacy and social media. It is possible that the study population did associate the image they have of Odinga with the copious amounts of mediated information that they have consumed over the years, and not directly as a result of the campaigns to the presidential elections, though the campaigns weighed in on how the public used the previously held information, especially the conspicuous image of Raila Odinga in the public domain. Collins (2017) discursive model seems to be at play here as what informed the choices that

the voters made seems to be as a result of the application and interpretation of different aspects including the coverage in the media and Raila Odinga's brand reputation.

Perceived Image and Framing of Raila Amolo Odinga in Media and the Influence on Voters' Reasoned Actions in the 2017 Presidential Elections

Objective three sought to establish and describe how the perceived image and framing of Raila Amolo Odinga in media influenced voters' reasoned actions in the 2017 presidential elections. The framing of Raila's political candidacy ranged between one who understands the needs of the electorate and a leader pursuing the alleviation of the people's suffering, to a devilish politician instilling fear in the public. The findings explain that even though Jubilee's framed media narratives were perceived by a slight majority of the respondents (52.8%) who had Raila Odinga as their best candidate, the narratives did not convince them not to vote for him. Further, there was a clear regional factor in the way in which framing of these narratives influenced the electorate. Homa Bay, one of Raila Odinga's traditional home turf, was not influenced by the negative narratives by Jubilee while in Muranga the portrayal of Raila Odinga as anti-certain communities and as a dangerous man was found to have influenced a significant percentage of the voters who said they did not vote for him. For the Muranga residents who voted for Raila Odinga, it does appear that Raila Odinga's campaign team portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land played a big role. The Joshua narrative and the efforts by his campaign team seem to have mitigated the Jubilee campaign team's narratives.

Homa Bay seemed to be more immune to media narratives about Raila Odinga than Murang'a. Only 13.3 percent of the respondents in Homa Bay found media messages important to their reasoned action, while 39.5 percent of respondents from

Murang'a did. Nevertheless, in Murang'a, Raila Odinga's own agenda came second to his competitor's framing of his candidature and the voters indicated that they evaluated Raila Odinga's candidature first along how Jubilee framed Raila Odinga which is the opposite of what happened in Homa Bay county and even though Homa voters overwhelmingly voted for Raila Odinga, their choice was hardly influenced by the media or Jubilee's framing. However, in Both Homa Bay and Muranga Raila Odinga seemed to have pulled a masterstroke with the Joshua framing of his candidature as the biblical allusion was found to have influenced majority of the voters who voted for him. Based on Scammell (2007) theorization of brands in politics, Raila Odinga appeared to have used the Joshua narrative and its symbolic value to propagate a psychological representation of his candidature to great effect.

The implications of this finding are far reaching in the world of political science. It shows that media messages, though important to gaining the support of a crucial section of the electorate – which might just be the deciding factor in the election – there are more people who are not influenced by political messages in the media than those who are. Politicians, therefore, need to be a lot more innovative in their framing of their campaign messages to influence the voters. It is therefore safe to conclude that the audiences were influenced by the perceived frames differently, with the voters in Muranga majorly influenced by the infusion of very negative images or Raila Odinga, which drew a lot from how rivals have branded Raila Odinga over the years.

The anti-community, one dangerous man, hungry for power and such negative adjectives were used in framing of messages and these narratives were the number one determinants of the choices that the voters in Muranga made. To a large extent, in Muranga Jubilee used negative sentiments in framing the rejection of Raila among the

voters. Raila Odinga's team on the other hand influenced a significant percentage of voters who voted for him through framing that appeared to be positive and drawing from a popular biblical story of a saviour. The interview responses also support the negative narrative findings with emergent theme pointing to the fact that with Raila Odinga huge political brand, it has been easy for his rivals to just attach negative attributes to him given that the electorate can easily identify him. One interviewee noted that ease of negative branding comes with longevity in the political scene, especially the Kenyan one where the contestations are rarely anchored on solid issues. Another one noted that some of the negative attributes have been there since the Mwai Kibaki era and he traces the dangerous man to a former politician who in his attempt to counter Raila Odinga's party Orange Democratic Movement, coined the term, 'one dangerous man.'

The study found that there was little perceived association between Raila Odinga's fight for a democratic Kenya or generally his perceived reformed background the reason why the voters chose to either vote for him or reject his candidature. His fight for a just and democratic society, reformist brand perception and background, track record, know and chronicled struggle to liberate Kenyans from the one party rule only marginally influenced the voters reasoned action. Moreover, it is only in Homa Bay that a fair number of voters said that their reasoned action to vote for or against Raila Odinga drew from his reformist image, struggle to liberate Kenyans from their suffering and past track record. Therefore, whether it is these perceptions that influenced the reasoned action or the politics of belonging which Nyamnjoh (2005) argues characterises politics in Africa. Indeed, there is no clarity on the extent to which Raila Odinga's image influenced the voters and it could well be that in Homa Bay he got the votes more because he is the regions political leader.

These findings seemed to suggest that even though the Jubilee strongholds had the voters evaluate Raila Odinga more on the narratives that were propagated by Jubilee, the Raila Odinga team did very little to frame his candidature along his political image and track record of fighting for the common mwananchi. This allowed such negative frames like hunger for power, enemy of a certain community and one dangerous man to go unchallenged, even though the Joshua narrative played a big role among the voters from his rivals' strongholds.

It does appear that Raila Odinga's rivals used intangible associations theorized by Lambin et al. (2007) and Adolphens' (2009) of brands as projections to rally some voters to have a certain perception of Raila Odinga that led to some not voting for him while some did not take keen interest in such projections, a situation that was influenced by regions. Raila Odinga's track record and reform credentials were found to have had fairly negligible effect. In his strongholds, for instance, the findings indicate that the voting was on the basis of belonging while in his rivals' strongholds the past records, his image and campaign promises were found to have been subjected to more scrutiny against the backdrop of a negative campaign and the media's portrayal of his political agenda. These findings are in agreement with an earlier study by Scammell (2015) whose thesis holds that competence, strength of leadership and credibility of promises of a political candidate cannot guaranteed an electoral win mainly because such attributes can be subjected to criticism and in the case of Raila Odinga sustained negative campaign messages that disrupted the voters picture of the past records.

Conclusion

This study adds to the body of knowledge in the area of political communications and specifically, framing, and political branding during the elections

campaigns. The findings indicate that politicians are better placed using the media to advance their agenda. In the current study for instance, voters from Muranga, which is perceived as an area where Raila Odinga does not enjoy popular support, were more keen on his political agenda in the media than the voters in Homa Bay. It is therefore safe to conclude, that despite earlier studies that allude to ethnicised and regional voting patterns, voters are increasingly receptive of political agenda from leaders who do not belong. These findings therefore contribute to scholarly conversations on the role of political communications and more specifically framing and branding.

The perception of Raila Odinga among the voters was partially affected by their location and media coverage. All three research questions have significantly differing results from the two counties, with a favourable brand image of Raila Odinga in Homa Bay, and a largely negative brand in Murang'a. While Raila's brand image has previously been projected through the media, it is not perceived in the same way across the two counties. It is therefore critical that brand and campaign managers consider quantifying the political capital of politicians among the electorate. Raila's brand image, though communicated or understood in the same manner across the country, had his opponents use the negative advertising on the basis of his past record to convince voters in Muranga to vote against him. This had an effect, though minimal, only because Raila Odinga's team did not advance his agenda robustly to counter the rival narratives.

The portrayal of Raila Odinga and his political agenda was not very important to the voters in his strongholds like Homa Bay, because they had their minds made on voting for Raila Odinga, while in Muranga Raila Odinga's political agenda was fairly significant to the voters. The significance attached by Muranga voters to Raila's political agenda, media coverage of Raila Odinga and frame of his message along the

story of Joshua leading Kenya of Canaan seeds to have countered the predominantly negative campaign messages through an emergent discursive model. Lastly, the study also concludes that the politics of belonging seems to be at play and voters appear to be voting along tribal lines and the media frames. The study also established that the interpersonal subjective norms played and media coverage of Raila Odinga political agenda had a significant role in Raila's brand and how the respondents voted. The voters in Homa Bay were found to have paid less interest media coverage and Raila Odinga's image, and this can be attributed to Nyamnjoh's (2005) politics of belonging which was further corroborated by the key informant interviewees who pointed out that in Raila Odinga's strongholds, media frames and his demonization did not have any impact on their voting. on the other hand, in Murang'a the subjective norm appears to have been at play given that despite the negative media coverage, the findings indicate some significant degree of willingness to comply, not only with interpersonal inferences but also to what the media reported about Raila Odinga's political agenda.

Indeed, in looking at the mass media subjective norm as an indicator of Raila Odinga's political brand image, the conclusion is that Raila Odinga's framing in the media had an impact in his candidature and media coverage of his political agenda was not pronounced enough to mitigate the negative influence by his rivals. However, it does appear that his positive attributes made a significant impact in mitigating the influence of the negative media campaigns amongst the voters in Muranga. These voters in Muranga were found to have relied on the negative messages to vote against Raila Odinga, they appeared to have been keen on the media as a reference point. The conceptual framework therefore when looked at against the backdrop of the findings

seem to suggest that an objective media can play a big role in political communication.

Recommendations

The study established that even though the negative media frames had a significant negative impact among voters in Muranga, voters in these areas were keener on Raila Odinga's political agenda and the voting patterns were influenced by the media frames of Raila Odinga. The inclination the voters in Muranga had to pay attention and Raila Odinga's political agenda suggests that political candidates should not be resigned into thinking that voters would automatically reject them without due consideration of their political agenda. To this end, the current study recommends a framework that would reign on the political class to concentrate on their candidature and not negative advertising and campaigns. In other words, an environment where political players are only given coverage for as long as their utterances are on issues that affect voters and not opponents. The study also recommends a consultative and all-inclusive framework on how tradition and social media covers political campaigns; ethics should be upheld.

The findings therefore offer pathways for informing political campaigns and how politicians brand themselves. More especially the study makes a strong recommendation for politicians to ensure that their political agenda is disseminated to the public.

Recommendations for Further Research

The findings of this study have several implications for future research. The study was framed on the assumption that the participants have in their memory the perception of Raila Odinga and how he was covered in the media and framed by his

opponents during the 2017 election. Future studies should actually focus on the framing of Raila Odinga and look at the emergent frames through content analysis or conduct a survey that would determine the prevailing image of Raila Odinga as perceived by the voters today.

Other areas of studies should focus on designs that would delve in-depth and granular analysis of the messages, especially negatively framed messages to understand how audiences receive such messages, and its quantitative impact. The study focused on Raila's frames and perceived brand image; it does not conclusively interrogate the potential effects of location to how political candidates are perceived, even though location was found to be a factor. This calls for further research into the possible influence of location on the perception of political candidates.

The findings indicate that perceived image of Raila Odinga was used by his opponents to frame narratives that formed attitude towards Raila Odinga, which appear to have influenced the voters who believed Raila Odinga possessed the attributes that his opponents framed in their messages. As has been established the perception of these messages influenced the voters on the basis of the counties, with voters from Raila Odinga's strongholds not influenced by such messages and those against were influenced.

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DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire

My name is Claudia Mumo, a master's student at Daystar University and currently undertaking an academic study in partial fulfillment of my MA degree. My study main goal is to determine and describe how Raila Amolo Odinga's political image as branded by his team, and his political rivals in the past general elections, influenced the choices that the electorate made in the 2017 general elections.

Kindly take 20 -30 minutes to participate in this study by answering the questionnaire. We have put in place protocols that will ensure your participation in this study will remain confidential and anonymous. Results of the study will be aggregate rather than specific and the published findings will not give your name or include identifiable references to you.

CONSENT: I have read and understood the consent form. I volunteer to participate in this study, and voluntarily choose to participate. I understand my consent does not take away legal rights in the case of negligence or legal fault of anyone who is involved in this project.

Participant signature: _____

Participant name: (Optional) _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Principal Investigation: _____ Date: _____

Section A: Approaches used to win votes

1. Did you participate in the last general election (Presidential elections of 2017)?

Yes

No

2. Which of the following represents what you do for a living?

Teacher

Government official in the county government offices

Professionals in the health and medical sector

Traders in the market

The transport industry (owner/driver/conductor)

Faculty and non-teaching staff in one of universities

(Name of the university _____)

3. The following statements describe different approaches Raila Amolo Odinga and his political rivals have used to win voters. For each of them, please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. 5 means you strongly agree, 4 means somewhat agree, 3 means undecided, 2 means somewhat disagree, and 1 means strongly disagree.

- 5 *strongly agree*
- 4 *somewhat agree*
- 3 *undecided*
- 2 *somewhat disagree*
- 1 *strongly disagree*
- 777 *Don't know*
- 999 *Refused*

A	Raila Amolo Odinga's campaign messages and the way he projected himself as a candidate with the best strategy to address the issues affecting me and the society at large made me vote for him.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
B	My vote for Raila Odinga's was based on his	5	4	3	2	1	777	999

	historical fight for a just and democratic society							
C	Raila Amolo Odinga is a well-known politician and I voted for him because he is the biggest political name in the Kenyan political scene with a track record for fighting for the common mwananchi`.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
D	Raila Amolo Odinga is household political name and my vote against him was influenced by how his brand image was associated with a narrative that did instilled fear about his presidency.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
E	Despite the fact that Raila Amolo Odinga seemed to me like the best candidate to save Kenya in 2017, the Jubilee campaign team, through their media narratives, managed to convince me that a Raila Amolo Odinga win would be dangerous for our people.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
F	The campaign messages by Raila Amolo Odinga's team would have convinced me to vote for him were it not for the negative counter narratives about Raila Amolo Odinga from the Jubilee team	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
G	I voted for Raila Amolo Odinga because of the perception I had of what his presidency would mean despite the negative campaign messages by the Jubilee team	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
H	I would say that to a large extent what Jubilee said	5	4	3	2	1	777	999

	about Raila Amolo Odinga in their campaigns and on both legacy and social media convinced me not to vote for him, his manifesto and campaign messages notwithstanding							
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SECTION B: Raila Odinga’s image as shaped by media frames To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- 5 *strongly agree*
- 4 *somewhat agree*
- 3 *undecided*
- 2 *somewhat disagree*
- 1 *strongly disagree*
- 777 *Don’t know*
- 999 *Refused*

A	The way Raila Amolo Odinga framed himself as a leader with a track record and the promise to take Kenyans to the promised land of Canaan convinced me to vote for him	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
B	Jubilee’s messages about Raila Amolo Odinga and how his journey to Canaan as a fake Joshua made a lot of sense to me given his past leadership roles and that is why I did not vote for him	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
C	I did not need to find out information about Raila Amolo Odinga, from other sources. All I needed was to vote for him if he was on the ballot.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
D	I did not need to understand what Raila Amolo Odinga had to say about his candidature. All I needed was to listen to the Jubilee campaign team and what they had to say about him and my choice was made.	5	4	3	2	1	777	999

E	The reason why most people in this region rejected Raila Amolo Odinga was because of how the Jubilee campaign team associated his brand image with things that instilled fear among many of us	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
F	The reason why most people in this region voted for Raila Amolo Odinga was because of how his campaign team associated his brand image with hope and prosperity among many of us	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
G	It did not matter what Jubilee or the Raila Amolo Odinga Campaign team did or did not do, our vote was always going to be for Raila Amolo Odinga	5	4	3	2	1	777	999
H	It did not matter what Jubilee or the Raila Campaign team did or did not do, our vote was always going to be against Raila Amolo Odinga	5	4	3	2	1	777	999

SECTION C: In what ways has the Raila Odinga brand image as perceived by the electorate influenced his quest to win the presidency?

4. Did you vote for Raila Amolo Odinga?

Yes No No answer

5. What would you say is the key attribute/thing about Raila Odinga's leadership characteristics that made you either vote or not vote for Raila Odinga?

- Not good for my community's Business
- Hungry for power
- His people would take over our business, properties and wealth
- He is a reformist
- His struggle to liberate Kenyans from their suffering
- His promise to fight corruption
- Track record

6. What perceived image of Raila Amolo Odinga's presidency influenced your choice to vote/not vote for him?

- [] Anti my community and their businesses and wealth
- [] He is from a community that does not produce leaders based on their cultural practices such as not circumcising men
- [] He would send our leaders to The Hague
- [] He belongs to my community or the coalition that my community supported
- [] He does not belong to my community and would have marginalised my community
- [] Jubilee’s portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as a dangerous man hungry for power
- [] Raila Amolo Odinga’s campaign team portrayal of Raila Amolo Odinga as the Joshua to take Kenya to the promised land

7. Please tell me how important each of these were to you in your choice either to vote for or not vote for Raila Amolo Odinga.

5 means you found them extremely important;

4 means very important;

3 means somewhat important;

2 means little importance; and

1 means unimportant.

A	Positive coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga by the media	5	4	3	2	1
B	Raila Amolo Odinga’s political agenda for the electorate as advanced by his campaign team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media	5	4	3	2	1
C	Raila Amolo Odinga’s political agenda for the electorate as advanced by the Jubilee team and highlighted by both the mainstream media and the social media	5	4	3	2	1

D	I did not follow the media's coverage of Raila Amolo Odinga and my decision had nothing to do with media coverage	5	4	3	2	1
E	I made my decision by comparing all the candidates and how the media covered their positions on issues	5	4	3	2	1

Thank you for participating

If you would like to contact the Principal Investigator in the study to discuss this research or get a copy of the final report please email claudiawmumo@daystar.ac.ke

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Appendix B: Interview Guide.

1. During campaigns leading to the 2017 general elections, Raila Amolo Odinga accused sections of the press of waging a propaganda war against his persona by painting him as unreliable, untrustworthy and the wrong choice for president. Do you think the characterization affected the way voters evaluated him?
2. Raila Amolo Odinga has been perceived to be running on a platform of zero tolerance on corruption and has been quoted severally threatening to jail all those implicated when he ascends to power. What is your opinion on how this perception has been twisted and framed in a way that has alienated him from certain voting blocs?
3. Raila Amolo Odinga espouses democratic values and he has solid credentials himself but his critics accuse him of lacking a clear economic agenda for the country. Has that position worked against him when it comes to voting given that certain communities perceive him to be anti their economic prowess?
4. In the last four elections Raila Amolo Odinga has been the biggest political figure with a recognizable image all over the country. Has that conspicuous political image made it easy for the rivals to brand him negatively and how has such branding affected the voting patterns?

5. During campaigns leading to the 2017 general elections, Raila Amolo Odinga accused sections of the press of waging a propaganda war against him by painting him as a dangerous man hungry for power. These messages were predominantly distributed on social media anonymously. Do you think the characterization affected the way voters evaluated him?

6. Raila Amolo Odinga has been a big factor in the last four general elections but has not won or ascended to power losing narrowly and to some controversially. How is this explained by how his rivals have made the public perceive him

END

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Appendix C: Consent Form

My name is Claudia Mumo and I am currently undertaking a study that seeks to determine and describe how Raila Amolo Odinga's political image as perceived by the electorate and branded by his political rivals in the past general elections, influenced the choices that the electorate made in the August 8, 2017 general elections.

I am interested in among other things, establish whether Raila Odinga's political image as shaped by both the public's perception from the media frames and the opponent's negative adverts/messages influenced the reasoned action and the choice to vote for or against him in the 2017 presidential elections. The findings of the study will only be published in aggregated form, based upon the averaged responses from all the respondents. If you would like a copy of the results of the study, there will be a question at the end of the survey where you can tell us where you would like us to send the report.

The study should take you around 20 -30 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point during the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice. If you would like to contact the Principal Investigator in the study to discuss this research please email claudiawmumo@daystar.ac.ke

AUTHORIZATION: I have read and understood the consent form. I voluntarily choose to participate in this study. I understand my consent does not take away legal rights in the case of negligence or legal fault of anyone who is involved in this study.

Participant signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Principal Investigation: _____ Date: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____ Date: _____

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Appendix D: Ethical Clearance

VERDICT – PASS

Daystar University Ethics Review Board

Our Ref: **DU-ERB/06/03/2020/000406**Date: 6th March 2020

To: Claudia Wayua Mumo

Dear Claudia,

**RE: RAILA ODINGA'S FRAMED POLITICAL BRAND IMAGE AND THE VOTERS
REASONED ACTIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

Reference is made to your ERB application reference no. 060320-02 dated 6th March 2020 in which you requested for ethical approval of your proposal by Daystar University Ethics Review Board.

We are pleased to inform you that Daystar University Ethics Review Board has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your application approval number is **DU-ERB-000406**. The approval period for the research is between **6th March 2020 to 5th March 2021** after which the ethical approval lapses. Should you wish to continue with the research after the lapse you will be required to apply for an extension from DU-ERB at half the review charges.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements;

- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used.
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by Daystar University Ethics Review Board.
- iii. Death and life threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to Daystar University Ethics Review Board within 72 hours of notification.
- iv. Any changes anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to Daystar University Ethics Review Board within 72 hours.
- v. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of a signed one page executive summary report and a closure report within 90 days upon completion of the study to Daystar University Ethics Review Board via email [duerb@daystar.ac.ke].

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://oris.nacosti.go.ke> and other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Purity Kiambi".

Mrs. Purity Kiambi,
Secretary, Daystar University Ethics Review Board

Encl. Review Report

Appendix E: Research Permit

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

RefNo: **953333** Date of Issue: **16/March/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that **Ms. Claudia Wayua Mumo of Daystar University**, has been licensed to conduct research in Homabay, Murang'a on the topic: **RAILA ODINGA'S FRAMED POLITICAL BRAND IMAGE AND THE VOTERS REASONED ACTIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS** for the period ending: **16/March/2021**.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/20/4296**

953333
Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

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Appendix F: Plagiarism Report

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