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INFLUENCE OF CAMPAIGN PRACTICES ON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: A CASE OF 2017 ELECTION IN KAJIADO NORTH CONSTITUENCY, KAJIADO COUNTY, KENYA

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Abstract: *This article sought to investigate the influence of campaign practices on presidential election outcome during 2017 general election in Kajiado North constituency of Kajiado County, Kenya. Specifically the study attempted to determine the influence of provision of Goodies, Cash Handouts and Campaign promises on presidential election outcome during 2017 elections in the constituency. Kajiado North constituency was selected because of its cosmopolitan nature. Most of the residents come from the major communities of Kenya. The study adopted descriptive research design. Yamane[1967] sampling formula was used to determine sample size of 398 from 106,132 registered voters in the constituency who constituted the target population. Structured questionnaire was used to collect data. The data was analysed using descriptive statistical methods including statistical tables, pie charts and regression method. The study revealed that 72 per cent of respondents had knowledge of the existence of campaign practices while 28 per cent said they had no such knowledge. Further the study revealed that 44.5 of the respondents acknowledged that they voted for presidential candidates who gave them cash handouts, 12.3 per cent of the respondents confirmed that they voted for presidential candidates who gave better promises while 43.2 of the respondents said that they voted for presidential candidates who gave them goodies. The study therefore recommends that state institutions responsible for the management of the voting process and other stakeholders should improve and enhance voter education and monitoring presidential campaign. It further recommends that effective mechanisms should be put in place to enforce electoral code of conduct during campaign and voting period.*

Keywords: *Voting behaviour, campaign practices, political game theory, Investment theory of party competition*

1.1 Introduction and Study Background

World over, political parties and candidates engage in political campaigns to promote their agenda among constituents. Such Political campaigns are in most cases regulated by a state's constitution and are outlined by relevant bodies for political candidates to adhere to and integrate them into their political campaigns. However, globally, no electoral process has been conducted without political candidates being accused of illegal campaign practices during their campaigns to favour their election and that of their party (Manyara, 2017). Voting is the main form of political participation in democratic societies and its study in political science is highly specialized in various subfields. While doing the analysis of voting patterns, the determinants such as, why people vote and how they make the decisions are invariably focused. Sociologists look at the socio-economic determinants such as support for political parties, occasions, ethnicity and gender, correlation between the classes, age and vote (Lednum, 2006). On the other hand, political scientists focus on the influence of voting behaviour of political factors such as political programs, electoral campaign, issues and popularity of leaders of the political parties contesting elections (Hamara, 2015).

Voting behaviour in Kenya has been influenced by a variety of factors. Under the one party regime, voter turnout was quite low while it was quite high in the multiparty elections of 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 (Perez & Owens, 2010). Since the reintroduction of competitive politics in Kenya following the repeal in 1992 of Section 2(a) of the constitution that had made Kenya a de facto single party state, several political parties compete for political power. General elections are held every 5 years and these elections are preceded by campaigns by various political parties and their candidates. These campaigns provide a platform for political candidates to market and popularize themselves as well as their parties (Michira, 2014).

The Electoral Code of Conduct was introduced in 1997 as an amendment to the elections law. While the country's criminal laws and the Election Offences Act apply to election activities, the code of conduct specifically deal with campaign activities (Kanyinga, 2014). The Independent, Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Code of Conduct is an important control measure in addressing election crimes and offences. This was because the Code set out rules outlining the responsibilities of, and proper practices for an individual political aspirant, political party and organizations involved in elections. This is important because it showed that IEBC was committed in delivering free and fair elections devoid of offences and crime. The continued commission of election crimes and offences despite the availability of the Code of Conduct signified the level of impunity among the perpetrators of the crimes and offences (Makabila, 2013).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya's electoral and electioneering practices have been influenced greatly by the financial clout of candidates for presidential office. Moreover, factors and events that clouded the run-up to the 1992 and 1997 elections are the practices of undemocratic consolidation, domination, corruption and manipulation of political processes and institutions, which seem to be inherent in 'African emerging democracies'. In the 2007, 2013 and 2017 general elections, other forms of electoral practices by candidates became popular as candidates tried to lure voters to support their candidacy and join their political camps. Most of these practices are often illegal and unethical and the electoral body and stakeholders of elective democracy have been trying to deal with these practices but they still remain prevalent in some regions and locations. There are several studies that have examined voting behaviour in Kenya. For example, Ferree Gibson, and Long (2014)

conducted a study on voting behaviour and electoral irregularities in Kenya's 2013 Election; Wafula (2014) examined voter behaviour in general elections in Kenya 1992-2007; and Hamara (2015) evaluated the effect of political leadership on voting behaviour in the North Eastern Kenya. However, there are no studies that have been conducted on the influence of election campaign practices on voter behaviour and presidential election outcome during the 2017 general elections in Kajiado North Constituency. This study therefore seeks to address this gap.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following research objectives;

- i. To determine the influence of provision of goodies on voting behaviour during the 2017 presidential elections among voters in Kajiado North Constituency.
- ii. To determine the influence of cash handouts on voting behaviour during the 2017 presidential elections among voters in Kajiado North Constituency.
- iii. To examine the influence of campaign promises on voting behaviour during the 2017 presidential elections among voters in Kajiado North Constituency.

1.4 Scope and Significance of the Study

The study is also limited to the influence of campaign practices in the 2017 general election. The study may be of significance to policy makers in regard to placing legislation and policies that regulate the campaign practices that are experienced during the electioneering period. The study may also be of importance to the Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) as it will be able to amend their regulations and standards for election candidates during the general election. The study findings will contribute to the body of knowledge on campaign practices and voter behaviour in Kenya.

1.5 Study Site

The study was conducted in Kajiado North Constituency in Kajiado County. Kajiado County is located in the southern part of Kenya. It borders Nairobi County to the North, Narok County to the south, Kiambu County to the North, Kajiado West constituency to the west

The study is limited towards registered voters in Kajiado North Constituency. There are five constituencies in the county, namely: Kajiado North, Kajiado Central, Kajiado East, Kajiado West and Kajiado South. The county has 25 county wards.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study used the investment theory and political game theory to underpin this research. The Investment Theory places the role of money at the heart of the political process. This theory was developed by Thomas Ferguson's (1995). There are three main tenets of the Investment Theory: economic situation, the "campaign cost condition," and the "non-competition principle. (Clouston, 2017). The theory describes the election environment as comprising of political parties, ordinary voters, and wealthy investors have on the conduct of general elections. The theory assumes that political parties and wealthy investors are the dominant groups in this environment and the voter has no real voice and play the submissive role. The "campaign cost condition principle argues that in order to mount effective electoral campaigns political parties need substantial amounts of money (Ferguson, 1995).

In effect, donors or wealthy investors make investment decisions by giving support to political

parties with the expectation of a return on that support or ‘investment’ and thus can be termed ‘investors’ (Ferguson, 1995). Second, is the principle of non-competition where there will be no party competition on issues affecting the vital interests that major investors have in common, such as property rights (Ferguson, 1995). The economic situation principle argues that the economic situation of a country can become a factor in its general election (Clouston, 2017).

This theory is applicable to the 2017 general election in Kenya in three ways. One the economic situation principle can be used to understand the impact of the general elections on the national economy. The period before the 2017 general elections reported an anticipated growth of 5.7 % which was a decline from the previous year economic growth performance of 5.8 % in 2016. Second, the campaign cost principle can be applied to the general elections in terms of political parties receiving donations from specific individuals and organisations that anticipated the parties supported entry to the government as a means of which to win them favours. Donors to political parties bet on their preferred parties as a means of investment in the change that this party wins.

Third, the non-competition principle was also observed in the 2017 general elections where the main parties in the race had no intention of changing the economic situation although they had impressive manifestos that did not go into detail into any policy change to the performance of the national economy further indicating the lack of influence of the majority (voters) in the elections which fits to the central aim of the Investment Theory is that since ordinary citizens cannot afford to acquire the information required to invest in political parties, the political system will be dominated by those who can. Political game theory is the idea that individuals rationally pursue goals subject to constraints imposed by physical resources as well as the behaviour of other actors. Game theory in this case outlines the various combinations of actions and outcomes that will take place on election day between these two sets of voters and eliminates the unfavourable combinations and brings out the most viable and lucrative option for both groups of voters (Parekh, 2017). Game theory is “The study of human conflict and cooperation within a competitive situation” This essentially means that in such a tight and competitive situation such as the Election Day, game theory can show why the ‘Best possible outcome can be brought about with the best combination of actions’ - the best combination of actions being the trading of votes between the aforementioned voters.

In game theory, political institutions and configurations define the rules of the game of a campaign as well as the logic of interaction between the political elites, the media and the citizens. Political institutions are, as Sniderman (2000) points out, the ‘organizers of political choices’. To make reasonable choices, the citizens do not have to rely exclusively on their own limited informational resources and computational capacities. Instead, they get help from the political institutions which put them in a position where they can make coherent choices (Sniderman & Levendusky, 2007).

In Kenya, political parties and the institution mandated to managed general elections (IEBC) come up with the rules of the game under the IEBC’s code of conduct. These rules are agreed upon by each of the political parties contesting in a general election and being a signatory means that the parties are culpable to any deviations from these rules. However, political parties do not adhere to these rules and often practice crimes and offences during campaigns that go against these rules. The political parties are often influencing the choice of voters who have limited access to information and this influence is through voter manipulation, making promises, and buying voters

goodies.

1.7 Literature Review

In Norway, Karlsen (2009) examined the role of ICTs in election campaigns, and approaches this topic through a study of party internet strategy in the 2005 Norwegian parliamentary campaign. The data derive from interviews with party strategists and a party survey of the involvement of professionals in electoral politics. The findings revealed that the Internet was considered a tool to win voters and activate activists, but remain uncertain of the effects. Party internet strategy is somewhat influenced by international experiences, but external professionals are not very involved.

In Indonesia, Winters (2016) examined the electoral dynamics by assessing the money politics, patronage, and clientelism at the grassroots. The findings revealed that Indonesians quite reasonably set aside things like track records from the past and promises for the future, and focus instead on the only concrete thing they can be sure to get from the elections: direct material pay-offs. The goal is to get as much as possible (and in as many forms as possible) from the candidates - to yank whatever they can from the politicians' hands, pockets, and wallets or to snag some of the government goodies they might control. In Malaysia, Omar and Othman (2014) research focused on voting behaviour and political culture among students. The objectives of the study are to identify and rank the factors that influence students' voting behaviour, to determine the type of political culture among students and to discover the relationship between demographic variables with factors that influencing students' voting behaviour. The study concluded that the major factors influencing students' voting behaviour were manifesto, group/party affiliation, candidates, and status-quo. This finding suggested that students' voting behaviour was significantly influenced by promises made by the political candidate because manifestos are the documents in which these promises were contained.

A Philippine survey in the 2016 general elections revealed that Philippines after the 2016 elections. Data analysis shows that vote buying among the poor is indeed very common, but the incidence varies depending on the vote buying type. The most prevalent form uses more benign goods such as food and clothing, but offers of money is still reported by more than a quarter of respondents. Different vote-buying types also have different correlates, including some socio-economic factors, suggesting that it is a finely targeted activity. In addition, money vote buying is predominant in tight elections, but buying votes using non-monetary offers is more common when there is a clear winner even before the election (Canare, Mendoza, & Lopez, 2018).

In Mexico, Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez, and Magaloni (2012) assessment of strategies of vote buying reported that party leaders gave poor housewives boxes of rice, beans and other foodstuffs purchased by a government charity headed by President Zedillo's wife. As they handed out these goodies, party brokers took the names of the people and made copies of their electoral identification cards. These were the typical vote-buying tactics that the PRI's electoral machine employed and continues to employ around elections. India is often regarded as a 'patronage democracy' because vast amounts of money continue to circulate during Indian elections. In the run-up to elections in the state of Bihar in 2015, journalists reported that 'almost \$2.5million in cash' and 150,000 litres of liquor' had been seized under the electoral code of conduct in a state where 'cash and liquor are commonly used to influence voters' (Pandey 2015). During India's

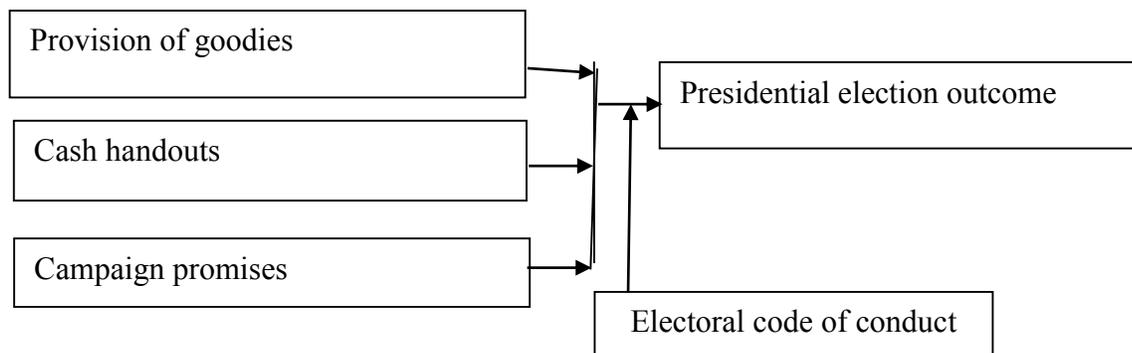
2014 General Elections, the big question for some voters wasn't who will win, but how much candidates will dole out in cash, alcohol and other goodies to bag their support (Heath & Tillin, 2018).

In Nigeria, Odoziobodo and Banko (2017) conducted an assessment of elections conducted in Nigeria from 1999 – 2015 and report that the periods 1999 to 2007 were characterized by unwholesome campaign practices that created doubts about the resolve of Nigerian leadership to entrench the culture of democratic elections in Nigeria. Ovwasa (2013) research on money politics and vote buying in Nigeria found that political candidates were spending money beyond what is ordinarily required to defray legitimate campaign expenses by directly or indirectly bribing voters which is an electoral malpractice in Nigeria.

In Zimbabwe, Masunungure (2013) article reported on the 'menu of manipulation' and the 2013 Zimbabwe elections indicating the different tactics used by political leaders to influence voters. The First Lady, Grace Mugabe, at every rally addressed by the president just before the elections she donated large quantities of foodstuffs, including maize meal, sugar beans, cooking oil and salt. At one such rally, the state-controlled media reported that Grace Mugabe 'donated food stuffs worth thousands of dollars to the Madamombe community. Among the food stuffs were 10 tonnes of maize meal, 10 tonnes of sugar beans, 2 tonnes of salt and 560 cases of 12x2 litres cooking oil (Masunungure, 2013).

Baidoo, Dankwa, and Eshun (2018) conducted a study on culture of vote buying and its implications and assessed the range of incentives and conditions politicians offer to electorates in Nigeria. The study revealed among other things that: (a) Items that are used to buy votes include silver pans (basins), cloths, gas cylinders, laptops, money, outboard motors, wellington boots and party branded items; and (b) During vote buying, conditions are not actually attached to the incentives except where there are doubts that one wants to take the incentive without reciprocating with his/her vote.

In Kenya, there is ample evidence to show that the term 'goodies' has been loosely used to campaign promises by political candidates. Goodies are mainly material and are given at critical moments such as immediately before and after elections, There are several research that has pointed to the phenomenon of 'goodies' on the behaviour of voters. According to Oucho (2010) creation of new districts was one of the goodies Presidents Moi and Kibaki gave to particular districts which they favoured or wished to woo their votes. In their study, Carrier and Kochore (2013), pointed the role that goodies were used in the 2013 general elections in the Northern region of the country and contributed to incidences of conflict. Campaign promises are also a common occurrence in the run to presidential elections in developing nations. In Kenya, Kanyinga (2014) notes that pre-election promises have often been used since the post-colonial Kenya and most of these promises are often not fulfilled because the parties or government had unrealistic promises. In the run up to the constitution referendum, Kramon and Posner (2011) reported that on several occasions during the campaign, Kibaki (illegally) promised the creation of new administrative districts—and in one case even a new university—in exchange for a strong local "Yes" vote.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Source: Own Conceptualization, 2019

1.8 Research methodology

The study adopted a descriptive research design. The descriptive research design is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behaviour of a subject without influencing it in any way. According to Best and Kahn (2007), descriptive research is concerned with the condition of relationships that exists: practices that prevails; beliefs and process that are going on; effects that are being felt; and trends that are developing. A target population refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which researchers are interested in generalizing the conclusions (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). The target population of the study are registered voters of Kajiado North Constituency as of 2012. The target population for the study is thus 106,132. The study used non-probability means to select the area of study. Kajiado North Constituency was selected due to its cosmopolitan representation of its residents. In order to determine the sample size of the study, the study adopted the Yamane (1967) sampling formula to determine the sample size of 398 respondents.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e^2)}$$

Where;

n = sample size

N = study population

e = tolerance at the preferred level of confidence

p = 0.05 at 95% confidence level.

$$\begin{aligned} n &= 106,132 / 1 + 106,132 (0.05)^2 \\ &= 106,132 / 266.33 \\ &= 398 \end{aligned}$$

The study adopted a structured questionnaire to collect data for the study. The research used research assistants to collect information from the study participants. Data analysis is a method of rendering quantitative information meaningful and intelligible. Descriptive statistics tell what is whereas while inferential statistics try to determine cause and effect. Descriptive statistics provide simple summaries about the sample and about the observations that have been made (Kaushik & Mathur, 2014). The study used frequencies, percentages, and multiple regression to analyse and present the data.

1. 9 Data Presentation

Knowledge level of campaign practices

The study was interested to know whether respondents had knowledge of electoral practices. The results show that 72.0 % indicated knowing about campaign practices whereas 28.0 % did not know about campaign practices as shown in Figure 2. The findings suggest that respondents since being engaged in political campaigns were aware of the events and activities going on in campaigns.

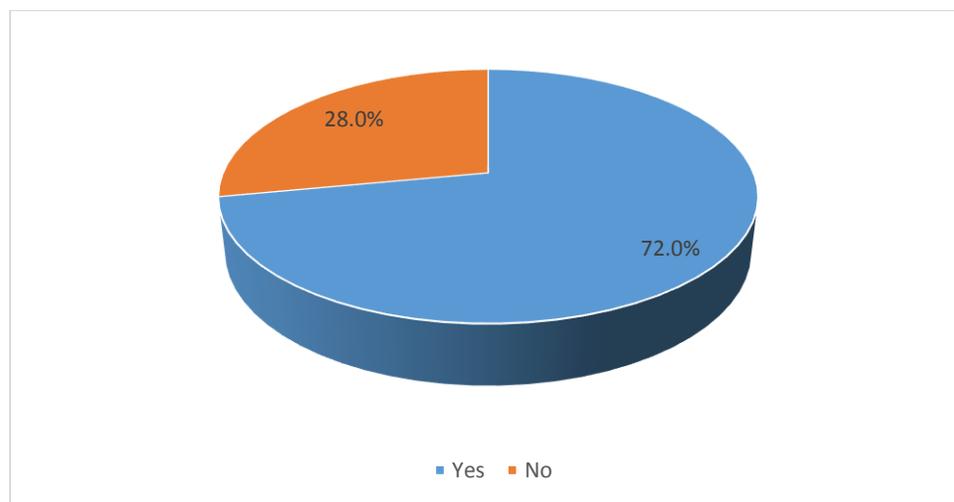


Figure 2: Respondent's Knowledge of campaign practices

Source: Field data, 2019

Forms of campaign practices experienced

The study was intent on establishing the forms of campaign practiced in Kajiado North constituency. Table 1 shows a list of the campaign practices that respondents indicated having witnessed during the campaign period to influence the outcome of their vote in the constituency. The results show that 43.2 % indicated that provision of goodies by political parties and candidates during the campaigns, 44.5 % cited being handed cash, and 12.3 % mentioned being influenced by campaign promises. This finding show that respondents voted for the political party and candidate that best addressed their immediate interests.

Several studies have shown that most communities in Kenya vote for political parties that are more likely to win the elections based on their experience with their campaign. Supporters of some candidates or parties have also fought one another after disagreeing on the mode of sharing goodies given to them by their candidates (IEBC, 2014). The high levels of youth unemployment imply that unscrupulous politicians will always have around them people who can easily be enticed with a few goodies to engage in prohibited activities during elections (such as interrupting opponents' rallies) for the politicians' benefits (IEBC, 2014). Further probing revealed that some of the goodies given during the 2013 presidential elections included *lesos*, t-shirts, and any branded material handed during the elections by a political party.

Handing of cash to voters is a form of bribery that is prevalent in general elections around the country. A survey in Kenya found that bribery was one of the most prevalent election offences.

The findings showed that all counties experienced the offence of bribery but it was most prevalent in counties such as Narok (77.6%), Garissa (69.0%), Bomet (56.3%), Siaya (53.8%), and 41.5 % in Kisumu (National Crime Research Centre, 2016). In Kenya, bribery is mainly orchestrated by politicians and their agents to gain advantage over their opponents. They normally use cash money to buy support from potential registered voters who are usually financially unstable. Perceived supporters of opponents are bribed to vote for the bribing candidate or bribed so as not to vote for the opponent (IFES, 2012; Makabila, 2013).

Table 1: Campaign practices experienced by respondents

Campaign practices	Frequency	Percent
Campaign goodies	139	43.2
Campaign promises	39	12.3
Cash handouts	143	44.5
Total	321	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

The findings support earlier results that have shown that unkept promises of job opportunities for young people, have been identified as some of the most important contributors to outbreaks of violence during electoral processes. Politicians have capitalized on these factors to influence the electorate using rewards, cash handouts and relief food during the election period (International Foundation for Electoral Systems [IFES], 2012). Upon further interviewing, the respondents revealed that promises on future projects that the community needed were often used as a tool to vote for a particular political parties. Several failed projects in the County were promised to be re-started upon re-election of political parties. The respondents specifically cited the Kiserian Sewerage project which has been ongoing for several years as its completion was used as a promise for the 2013 presidential election in Kajiado County.

Regression analysis

Table 2 shows the results from the regression analysis which indicate that the coefficient of determination (R^2) value is 0.05 which means that the model explained 50.0 % of variation in voter behaviour in Kajiado North Constituency. The results from the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) indicate that the model is a good fit with a significance of 0.002 which is less than 0.05 which is statistically significant. The regression coefficients reveal that campaign goodies had the greatest effect on voter behaviour with a Beta value of 0.525, campaign promises with a Beta value of 0.357, and cash handouts with a Beta value of 0.460 and these were statistically significant.

Table 3: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate		
1	.224(a)	.050	.022	17.01659		
<i>ANOVA^(b)</i>						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	435.553	3	434.543	4.794	.002 ^(a)
	Residual	9475.536	318	246.521		
	Total	9902.079	321			

Coefficients (a)					
Variables	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error
(Constant)	5.391	1.857		7.687	.000
Campaign goodies	.525	.164	.257	3.027	.003
Campaign promises	.357	.243	.132	1.312	.020
Cash handouts	.460	.142	.127	-.330	.042

a Predictors: (Constant), Campaign goodies, Campaign promises, Cash handouts

b Dependent Variable: Voter behaviour

Source: Field data, 2019

The findings show that campaign goodies and cash hand out are a prominent method used by political parties and candidates to influence voter behaviour. Campaign goodies have been used in the past as noted by Oucho (2010), that creation of new districts was one of the goodies former Presidents Moi and Kibaki gave to particular districts which they favoured or wished to woo their votes. Moreover, Carrier and Kochore (2013), pointed the role that goodies were used in the 2013 general elections. This phenomenon is not unique to Kenya, In India, one of the big question for some voters wasn't who will win, but how much candidates will dole out in cash, alcohol and other goodies to bag their support in the 2014 general election (Heath & Tillin, 2018).

1.10 Conclusion

The study concludes that provision of campaign goodies and cash handouts were the most significant variable of campaign practices to influence voter behaviour in Kajiado North Constituency while campaign promises showing the least effect. The study therefore concludes that voter behaviour and presidential election outcome in Kajiado North Constituency in the 2017 general election were influenced by goodies and cash hand outs provided by political parties and candidates. The study also concludes that campaign promises had the least effect on voter behaviour and presidential election outcome

1.11 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations based on the findings of the study; First, there is need for more avenues for civil society and citizens' movements to fully participate in voters' education, poll observation and monitoring of election crimes and offences. Secondly, electoral laws should be enforced to reduce the level of malpractices during the campaigning period right before the elections and after which is often done with a view to change the voter choice for a particular candidate or party.

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