

**INFLUENCE OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO ON WOMEN VOTERS' POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 GENERAL ELECTION IN KAKAMEGA COUNTY,
KENYA**

BY

THOMAS IBRAHIM OKINDA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA
STUDIES**

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

MASENO UNIVERSITY

©2023

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented to any other university for the award of a degree.

Signature: Date:

Thomas Ibrahim Okinda

PG/PHD/00047/2012

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

Signature: Date:

Dr. Charles Ongadi Nyambuga

Department of Communication and Media Technology

Maseno University

Signature: Date:

Professor Benson Oduor Ojwang

Department of Languages and Literature

Kaimosi Friends University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Charles Ongadi Nyambuga and Professor Benson Oduor Ojwang, for their invaluable academic guidance and support throughout this long-term research journey. They offered insightful feedback, scholarly guidance, cooperation and inspiration that were instrumental in helping me complete this study.

I am sincerely grateful to the women voters from Kakamega County who willingly participated in this research. They sacrificed their valuable time, cooperated and provided appropriate responses during data collection. Without their responses, this study would not have been completed. I would also like to thank my team of dedicated research assistants, led by Rodgers Otieno, for their invaluable help in data collection. My deepest gratitude goes to Peter Omondi for his assistance in reviewing the research questionnaire, data coding and analysis. I would also like to thank Dorcas Lubembe and Andrew Lubembe for translating the questionnaire, focus group discussion moderator's guide and transcripts from English to Kiswahili and vice-versa.

Special thanks go to my colleagues at Moi University, Professor Daniel Chebutuk Rotich, Sirma Kipkosgei Arap Buigutt and Gilbert Lang'at, for motivating me to continue with this academic journey. Further appreciation goes to my friends, Dr. Evans Kwendo and Milton Utwolo Alwanga. You provided me with the motivation needed in this long, lonely, but ultimately fulfilling research journey.

Finally, I want to thank my family for their prayers, encouragement and support throughout my academic journey. I am deeply grateful for your love and understanding during my busy schedule when undertaking this research.

DEDICATION

To the memory of my late cherished wife, Rebecca Wangui Ngunjiri, loving father, James Okinda and my brother, Meshack Alumera Musita Okinda. Although your deaths affected my academic journey and personal life, I kept my faith in fulfilling your desire that I complete my doctoral studies.

ABSTRACT

An informed citizenry and effective political participation are key pillars of democracy. In developing democracies such as Kenya, radio is a major source of political news that serves as a key resource for women's electoral participation. Despite women's exposure to radio, through which they can access political news, their scope of political participation in Kakamega County is limited, which has marginalized this large population of the electorate in this area. In 2013, women constituted 50.6% of the 568,151 registered voters in Kakamega County, which has a higher female population than males in Kenya. As a county with high radio reach and listenership, there is a need to investigate the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and their political participation. Thus, the aim of this research was to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County. The specific objectives of the study were to: establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation; assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation; determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation; and examine the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Guided by a conceptual framework anchored on political mobilization and uses and gratifications theories, the study variables were exposure to the radio as a predictor, political knowledge and attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions as mediators and political participation as an outcome variable. This study used an explanatory sequential mixed-methods research design. Multi-stage sampling and Yamane's sample size formula were employed to select 400 of the 287,325 female voters in Kakamega County. Data were collected using a questionnaire, focus group discussions (FGDs) and document reviews. Quantitative data analyzed by SPSS version 21.0 and PROCESS Macro for SPSS version 3.2.01 using descriptive and inferential statistics are presented in tables and bar charts. Qualitative data from the FGDs was thematically analyzed and presented in narrative descriptions and verbatim quotes. The quantitative results established a statistically significant low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. This correlation was positively mediated by political knowledge. It was further determined that political interest and not internal political efficacy intervened in this relationship. The frequency of interpersonal political discussions played no mediating role in this correlation. These findings were corroborated and enriched by the qualitative results from the FGDs. The study concludes that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation is both direct and indirect, with the latter pathway mediated by political knowledge and interest. The study recommends that radio stations continually broadcast civic, voter and political education programmes tailored to women voters' information needs, schedules and political attitudes to promote their political participation throughout the country's five-year electoral cycle. The results of this study may be used to develop national policies on broadcasting, media and information literacy in government efforts to promote women's political participation in Kenya. The findings also provide insights that can enrich editorial policy guidelines and programming strategies for civic and voter education and election coverage on radio targeting women voters in Kenya.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	xiii
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xvi
LIST OF TABLES	xix
LIST OF FIGURES	xxii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	14
1.3 Research Questions	15
1.4 Objectives of the Study	16
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	17
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	18
1.7 Conceptual Framework	22
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	36
2.1 Introduction	36
2.2 Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women’s Electoral Participation.....	36
2.3 Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women’s Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in Elections.....	71
2.4 Intervening Effect of Political Attitudes on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women’s Electoral Participation	82

2.5 Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women’s Exposure to Radio and Electoral Participation	97
2.6 Summary of Gaps in Literature	112
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	113
3.1 Introduction	113
3.2 Research Design	113
3.3 Study Area	116
3.4 Study Population	119
3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size	120
3.5.1 Quantitative Phase	120
3.5.2 Qualitative Phase	127
3.5.3 Sample Size	128
3.6 Methods of Data Collection.....	129
3.6.1 Questionnaire.....	130
3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions	133
3.6.3 Document Reviews.....	134
3.7 Research Reliability and Validity.....	135
3.7.1 Reliability and Validity in the Quantitative Phase	136
3.7.2 Trustworthiness in the Qualitative Phase	138
3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation	141
3.8.1 Quantitative Data.....	142
3.8.2 Qualitative Data.....	149
3.8.3 Data Presentation.....	151
3.9 Ethical Considerations.....	152

CHAPTER FOUR: DIRECT EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO ON	
WOMEN VOTERS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS	153
4.1 Introduction	153
4.2 Response Rate	153
4.2.1 Survey Response Rate	153
4.2.2 Response Rate in the Focus Group Discussions.....	154
4.3 Study Participants' Characteristics	155
4.3.1 Survey Respondents' Socio-demographic and Political Orientation.....	155
4.3.2 Profile of the Focus Group Participants	158
4.4 Quantitative Findings on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women	
Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	160
4.4.1 Respondents' Exposure to Radio and Use of Other News Media.....	160
4.4.2 Gratifications Sought by Women Voters from Exposure to Political News	
on Radio.....	165
4.4.3 Preferred Radio Stations and Programmes for Political News on the 2013	
Kenya General Election.....	168
4.4.4 Direct Nexus Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political	
Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	170
4.4.4.1 Media Monitoring Data on Radio Coverage of the 2013 Kenyan Polls....	173
4.4.4.2 Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Forms of	
Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	179
4.4.4.3 Multiple Regression Results on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio	
on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	184
4.5 Qualitative Findings on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women	
Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	195

4.5.1 Women Voters’ Exposure to olitical News Exposed to on Radio During the 2013 Kenya General Election.....	196
4.5.2 Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Kenya General Election in Kakamega County.....	211
4.6 Objective 1: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings	218
CHAPTER FIVE: MEDIATING ROLE OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE CORRELATION BETWEEN WOMEN VOTERS’ EXPOSURE TO RADIO AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS ..	
5.1 Introduction	222
5.2 Quantitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge.....	222
5.2.1 Women Voters’ Political Knowledge about the 2013 Polls in Kenya	222
5.2.2 Political Knowledge as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	225
5.2.2.1 Correlation Between the Main Variables in Simple Mediation Analysis .	225
5.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation In Kenya’s 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge.....	227
5.3 Qualitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge.....	233
5.3.1 Political Knowledge Acquired from Radio About the 2013 Polls in Kenya	233
5.3.2 Influence of Political Knowledge Acquired from Radio on Women Voters’ Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	245
5.4 Objective 2: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings	251

CHAPTER SIX: INTERVENING EFFECT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE INFLUENCE OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO ON WOMEN VOTERS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS .	256
6.1 Introduction	256
6.2 Quantitative Results on the Intervening Effect of Political Attitudes on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	256
6.2.1 Political Attitudes of Women Voters in Kakamega County During the 2013 General Election	257
6.2.2 Political Attitudes as Mediators in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	258
6.2.2.1 Correlation Between Variables in Parallel Multiple Mediation Analysis .	259
6.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes	260
6.3 Qualitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Attitudes.....	268
6.3.1 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Interest	268
6.3.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Internal Political Efficacy	275
6.4 Objective 3: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings	285

CHAPTER SEVEN: MEDIATING ROLE OF THE FREQUENCY OF INTERPERSONAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE CORRELATION BETWEEN WOMEN VOTERS' EXPOSURE TO RADIO AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS.....	290
7.1 Introduction	290
7.2 Quantitative Results on the Mediating Role of the Frequency of Face-to-Face Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	290
7.2.1 Frequency of Face-to-Face Political Discussions about the 2013 General Election Campaigns Among Women Voters in Kakamega County	291
7.2.2 Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	292
7.2.2.1 Correlation Matrix for the Simple Mediation Model	292
7.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Face-to-Face Political Conversations	293
7.3 Qualitative Results on the Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County ..	300
7.3.1 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions During the 2013 Polls	301
7.3.2 Influence of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	305
7.4 Objective 4: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings	310

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND

RECOMMENDATIONS313

8.1 Introduction 313

8.2 Summary of the Findings 313

8.3 Conclusions 321

8.4 Recommendations 323

8.5 Suggestions for Further Research..... 325

REFERENCES 328

APPENDICES..... 347

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
AUC	African Union Commission
BOOTLLCI	Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval
BOOTULCI	Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval
BPfA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
CAK	Communications Authority of Kenya
CAW	County Assembly Ward
CI	Confidence interval
CNEP	Comparative National Election Project
CORD	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
DK	Don't Know
ICC	International Criminal Court
EUEOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FIDA-Kenya	Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers- Kenya
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
FRCN	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
GLES	German Longitudinal Election Study
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEBC	Independent Election and Boundaries Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KARF	Kenya Audience Research Foundation

KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNDR	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
LLCI	Lower Level Confidence Interval
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
MIL	Media and Information Literacy
MMR	Mixed-Methods Research
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MSD	Media System Dependence
MUERC	Maseno University Ethics Review Committee
NARC-K	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya
National ID	National Identification
NR	No Response
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OMA	Opportunity, Motivation and Ability
PIE	Political Information Efficacy
SD	Standard Deviation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SE	Standard Error
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SMS	Short Message Service

SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TNA	The National Alliance
UDF	United Democratic Forum Party
UGT	Uses and Gratifications Theory
ULCI	Upper-Level Confidence Interval
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
WMNA	Woman Member of the National Assembly

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Exposure to radio: Estimated number of hours within a typical seven-day week that a woman voter spent listening to radio broadcasts to access or obtain political news on the 2013 Kenya general election.

Frequency of interpersonal political discussions: The regularity of a woman voter's ordinary face-to-face political conversations with her family or friends concerning the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns.

Influence of exposure to radio: The power to affect women voters' political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County.

Internal political efficacy: A woman voter's perceived ability or competence to comprehend and effectively participate in politics during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Partisanship: The level of loyalty or support that a woman voter had towards a specific political party affiliated during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Political attitudes: A woman voter's beliefs or values regarding political issues or activities that can affect her decision to participate in elective politics. In this study, this variable is restricted to a woman voter's level of political interest and internal political efficacy during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Political interest: The degree to which a woman voter paid attention to or was curious about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns.

Political knowledge: The level of political understanding and awareness of a woman voter measured by the number of accurate responses provided to six open-ended factual-based questions regarding constitutional provisions, candidates, political parties and coalitions, election campaign promises and Kakamega County political units relevant to the 2013 Kenya general election.

Political orientation: A woman voter's expression of her political party affiliation and her strength or intensity of loyalty or support to it during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Political participation: A woman voter's indication of voluntary involvement in eight targeted or predefined legal non-professional political activities during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. These activities are: (1) rallying up voters to try to get them to turn out and vote; (2) canvassing for votes; (3) attending political and campaign meetings and rallies; (4) political volunteerism as a leader or member of an election campaign team or political party or coalition support group; (5) distributing election campaign literature or materials; (6) displaying or wearing election campaign materials; (7) financing or monetary contribution to a political party, coalition or leader, candidate or an election campaign; and (8) voting on Election Day on March 4, 2013.

Political party affiliation: The political party that a woman voter expressed her support for or closely identified or associated with during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Socio-demographics: The social and demographic characteristics indicated by a woman voter focusing on her age, marital status, level of education, estimated household total monthly

income and residential location (rural or urban) at the time the general election was held in Kenya on March 4, 2013.

Use of other news media: Estimated number of hours within a typical seven-day week that a woman voter spent using each of the other news media besides radio (that's TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones) to access or obtain political news on the 2013 Kenya general election.

Women voters: Females registered by the Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to vote in Kakamega County during the March 4, 2013, Kenya general election.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Electoral Units in Kakamega County in 2013	117
Table 3.2: Sample Size Distribution	129
Table 3.3: Reliability Analysis	137
Table 4.1: Survey Response Rate	154
Table 4.2: Response Rate in Focus Group Discussions.....	154
Table 4.3: Respondents’ Exposure to Political News on Radio and other News Media during the 2013 Kenya General Election.....	164
Table 4.4: Gratifications Sought by Women Voters from Exposure to Political News on Radio	166
Table 4.5: Respondents’ Preferred Radio Stations and Programmes for Information on the 2013 Kenya General Election	168
Table 4.6: Women Voters’ Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	171
Table 4.7: Distribution of Broadcast Airtime Among Political Coalitions or Parties in News Programmes on Selected Radio Stations in Kenya.....	174
Table 4.8: Radio Coverage of Political Alliances and Parties in Kenya during the Months of January to April 2013	175
Table 4.9: Cross Tabulation of Women Voters’ Political Participation by Socio-demographics and Political Affiliation during the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	185
Table 4.10: Pearson Correlation Statistics for Selected Control Variables and Political Participation.....	187
Table 4.11: Model Summary for Multiple Regression of Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls	189

Table 4.12: ANOVA Results on Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	191
Table 4.13: Regression Coefficients for Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	192
Table 4.14: Triangulated Results on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County	219
Table 5.1: Correlation Matrix of the Variables in the Mediation Model on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation Via Political Knowledge.....	226
Table 5.2: Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	231
Table 5.3: Triangulated Results on Political Knowledge as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	252
Table 6.1: Correlation Matrix for the Main Variables in the Parallel Multiple Mediation Model.....	259
Table 6.2: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes.....	263
Table 6.3: Triangulated Results on Political Attitudes as Mediators in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	286
Table 7.1: Correlation Matrix of the Variables in Simple Mediation Model for the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions	293
Table 7.2: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions	295

Table 7.3: Triangulated Results on the Frequency of Interpersonal Political
Discussions as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to
Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County311

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework.....	33
Figure 3.1: Explanatory Sequential Mixed-Methods Research Design.....	116
Figure 3.2: Conceptual Diagram for Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via Political Knowledge.....	146
Figure 3.3: Conceptual Diagram for Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions.....	147
Figure 3.4: Conceptual Diagram for Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via Political Interest and Self-Efficacy.....	148
Figure 4.1: Survey Respondents' Distribution by Age and Marital Status.....	155
Figure 4.2: Respondents' Education and Monthly Household Income.....	156
Figure 4.3: Participants' Political Orientation Characteristics During Kenya's 2013 Polls.....	157
Figure 4.4: Preferred News Media for Obtaining Political News on the 2013 Kenya General Election Among Women Voters in Kakamega County.....	161
Figure 4.5: Respondents' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.....	172
Figure 5.1: Levels of Political Knowledge about Kenya's 2013 Polls Among Women Voters in Kakamega County.....	223
Figure 5.2: Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls.....	230
Figure 6.1: Intervening Effect of the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes.....	262

Figure 7.1: Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions
in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political
Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County294

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation is anchored on the foundation that media is "the fourth pillar of democracy" (Bosire & Lardner, 2022). Radio is part of the political media ecosystem that drives democracy. According to Edegoh, Ezeh and Anunike (2015), radio which is the dominant news medium in Africa, is considered a pillar of democracy as it informs, educates and mobilizes citizens for political participation. Exposure to radio is, therefore, useful for building and sustaining democratic political participation on the continent. For instance, exposure to radio directly promotes citizens' political participation in Africa (Heywood, 2020; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2005, 2011). This is made possible through citizens' access to and use of political news broadcast on radio.

Andersen et al. (2020) observe that exposure to political information in the media also promotes citizens' political participation by fostering their political knowledge, interest and efficacy. In addition, information from radio is a major source of political knowledge for women in Africa (Heywood, 2020; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). According to Trip, Lott and Khabure (2014), the news media are also influential gatekeepers for women in politics as they predict their political attitudes and participation. Political knowledge, interest and self- efficacy are thus expected to drive women voters' political participation. In this study, political knowledge and attitudes were considered drivers of women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 Kenya general election. Information obtained from news media is further used in interpersonal political discussions, which promote political participatory behaviour (Cho, Shah, McLeod, Scholl & Gotlieb, 2009; Jung, 2010). Against this background, the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega

County in Western Kenya was expected to be mediated by political knowledge and attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions.

This research was anchored on the concept of political media consumption, which is expected to influence electoral participation. This form of media consumption focuses on the use of different news media for the acquisition of political information (Andersen et al., 2020; Himmelroos & von Schoultz, 2023). In support of this, other scholars note that media researchers should focus on political news use rather than any other (more entertaining) content (for example, Prior, 2007; Rittenberg, Tewksbury & Casey, 2012). This concurs with the perspectives of uses and gratifications theory (UGT). The theory notes that individuals who use news media to seek information report higher political engagement than those who seek to entertainment-related motivations (Chang, 2007; Kim & Kim, 2007). Considering the foregoing, this study operationalized exposure to radio in terms of political news use. For parsimony, the research uses the more general term ‘exposure to radio’ to refer to exposure to political news on radio.

One of the targets of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Number 5 is to ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life (United Nations [UN], 2015). As Bouka, Berry and Kamuru (2019) acknowledge, a well-functioning democracy requires equal political participation for women and men. Despite this, women, who constitute more than half of the world’s population, remain politically marginalized (Heywood, 2020; Shojaei, Ku Samsu & Asayeseh, 2010). One way of addressing women’s political marginalization was put forward in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) resolution adopted at the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. The resolution recognized the

critical role that news media can play in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment by influencing their public perceptions and roles in society (UN, 1996). However, a review of past studies in Nigeria by Didiugwu, Ekwe, Apeh and Odoh (2014) found that exposure to political news on radio may be inadequate in promoting women's political participation. This challenges the effectiveness of radio in facilitating women's political participation in Nigeria.

During elections, radio and other news media disseminate voter information (Media Council of Kenya [MCK], 2021; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). In Africa, radio is considered a viable news medium for politicking (Isaksson, Kotsadam & Nerma, 2012, Sale, 2017). A majority of the women in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) use radio (Asiedu, 2012). A study in the SSA region by Sibanda (2001) revealed that 91.1% of the female respondents reported listening to radio. The dominance of radio in Africa's news media ecosystem emanates from its pervasiveness, affordability, ease of operation, portability and ability to overcome language barriers because it can serve both literate and illiterate people (Asiedu, 2012; Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo, 2012; Suemo, Okonkwo & Dogo, 2021). Although listening to radio in Kenya is mainly via a radio set, media convergence has enhanced access to it through mobile phones, smart or digital TV sets and online streaming (Communications Authority of Kenya [CAK], 2022). Despite the dominance of radio in Africa, research on the effects of exposure to this news medium on citizens' political participation is scarce (Conroy-Krutz, 2018). This is the research gap that this study sought to bridge by examining the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, Kenya.

According to Okoth (2015), radio transmission in Kenya began in 1927 to serve colonial masters and Asians. Okoth adds that in 1953, the African Broadcasting Services was formed to exclusively broadcast to the local communities in the country. Since then, the radio sub-

sector in Kenya has grown with greater developments occurring when the broadcasting sector was liberalized in the 1990s (Okoth, 2015). A report by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics [KNBS] (2021) indicates that there are approximately 204 radio stations in Kenya, with 127 (62.3%) broadcasting in English and Kiswahili and 72 (37.7%) in vernacular languages. Radio stations in Kenya are grouped into three categories, namely public, commercial and community broadcasting services (CAK, 2022; Oriare, Ugangu & Okello-Orlale, 2010). Among these categories, commercial radio stations dominate the broadcasting sector in Kenya.

A study by Gillwald, Milek and Stork (2010) established that women's radio ownership and listenership in Kenya stood at 82% and 88%, respectively. It was further found that the average hours that women and men spent listening to radio per day were 5.3 and 4.4, respectively. Another study by Ipsos Synovate (2013) determined that on average, a female listener in Kenya spent approximately 33 hours per week listening to radio. During the 2013 polls in Kenya, radio was identified as the main source of political news and knowledge (Schulz-Herzenberg, Aling'o & Gatimu, 2015a). Despite this, there is a dearth of research on the role of radio in political mobilization in Kenya (Yankem, 2015). This is a knowledge gap that the study sought to bridge by focusing on radio.

During the 2013 Kenya general election voter registration exercise, women constituted 51.3% of the persons in the voting age bracket of 18 years and above and 49.1% of those who registered as voters (Independent Election and Boundaries Commission [IEBC], 2013). In the 2013 Kenya general election, women's voter turnout was high, but their participation in other electoral activities was low (Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers- Kenya [FIDA-Kenya], 2013; European Union Election Observation Mission [EUEOM], 2013a). Overall, the scope and level of women's political participation in the country are low (Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha,

Mbugua & Murunga, 2013). According to Kasomo, this situation coupled with the marginalization of women in academic research in Kenya, necessitates further research on women's political participation.

Research on political participation uses sociological, psychological and communication approaches (Jung, 2010). The majority of past studies have adopted a sociological approach that focuses on socio-demographic and cultural determinants of political participation (Jung, 2010). In this study, socio-demographic characteristics, including age, marital status, level of education, household monthly income and residential location (rural or urban), were used as control variables. Research adopting a psychological approach leans towards the drivers of political participation, such as political attitudes. This study considered political interest and self-efficacy as mediating variables. Finally, communication researchers focus on the effect of the use of news media and interpersonal sources of information on political participation. In the communication approach to political participation, some studies perform content analyses of news media coverage of elections. For instance, using content analysis, MCK (2013) found inadequate and stereotypical radio coverage of female candidates during the 2013 Kenyan polls. Such coverage is likely to lead to women's political invisibility in Kenya.

Past studies on the effects of news media use on political participation have included socio-demographics such as gender, age, marital status, educational level, income and residential location as control variables (Early, Smith & Neupert, 2022; Ndubi, 2019; Pang, 2020; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Residential location or place of domicile (rural or urban) also contributes to differences in political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) observe that those who live in areas at the centre of political activity or reside in politically sensitive areas (such as urban areas) can be more politically active than those from other areas (such as rural areas). Voters' political

participation is also influenced by their political orientation characteristics, such as political party affiliation and partisanship (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Jung, 2010; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011). This research focused on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation while considering, political knowledge, attitudes and discussions as mediators and socio-demographics as control variables. This study, therefore, used a combination of sociological, political communication and psychological approaches to political participation.

Uwem and Opeke (2015) acknowledge the need to analyze women's political information-seeking environment when strategizing on how to promote their political participation. The current research used a media-centric approach to political communication research to unravel the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation. This approach, as opposed to a politics-centric approach, focuses on news media and their effects on political participation (Strömbäck, 2021). Studies conducted in Africa reveal that exposure to radio can directly contribute to women's electoral participation (for example, Heywood, 2020; Isaksson et al., 2012; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011; Muriithi & Page, 2013). However, this contribution is considered minimal, as a review of past research from Nigeria established that the political news that women were exposed to on the radio did not sufficiently promote their electoral participation (Didiugwu et al., 2014). This challenges the effectiveness of radio in promoting women's political participation.

Hall (1980, as cited in Myers, 2009) notes that access to, consumption and interpretation of media messages are affected by the prevailing social, economic and cultural norms. For instance, some of the cultural barriers impeding women's political participation such as patriarchy, are perpetuated by the news media through limited and stereotypical coverage

(Myers, 2009; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Such coverage limits women's political visibility in the media, their presence in public discourse and their political self-efficacy. During the 2013 Kenyan polls, news media coverage of female candidates and a focus on promoting women's leadership and gender equality was inadequate (The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013; Kenya Human Rights Commission [KHRC], 2014). Political media use also reflects gender disparities as women consume less political news than men (Benesch, 2012; Gillwald et al., 2010). Furthermore, access to radio and the choice of programmes to tune into at a household level is predominantly determined by male members (Gillwald et al., 2010). Male members of the family may thus determine when the radio is switched on and which radio stations and programmes to tune to. Overall, although minimal, the gender gap in radio use in Kenya still puts the female audience behind the male audience (CAK, 2022; KARF, 2020; MCK, 2021). Thus, these gender dynamics put women at a disadvantage in radio use.

Gender differences between women and men also exist for the mediating variables considered in this study, namely political knowledge and attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal discussions. Women, as compared to men, are less politically knowledgeable, interested and efficacious, and this has consequences on their political participation (Benesch, 2012; Logan & Bratton, 2006; Verba, Burns & Schlozman, 1997). In Africa, women are also less likely to discuss politics with their family or friends (Afrobarometer, 2014, 2016, 2019; Logan & Bratton, 2006). This is despite the observation by Myers (2008) that in-person political conversations are relevant in Africa as they blend with the oral culture that is extended by radio.

Globally, women's political participation, although slightly improving, remains insignificant as gender gaps between females and males persist (Mvukiyehe, 2017; Sadie, 2020). According to Liu (2020), affirmative plans have led to some progress in closing the gender gaps across

various forms of political participation in Western democracies. However, significant differences between females and males remain in Asia and Africa. One form of political participation in which gender gaps are closing in both developing and developed democracies is voting. In some countries, voter turnout is even higher among women than men (Stefani et al., 2021). Political participation by voting, though important, is just one of the many other forms of electoral activities that a person can engage in (Early, Smith & Neupert, 2022). Despite this, several studies have focused on political participation through voting (Early et al., 2022). To bridge this gap, this study considered women voters' political participation via both election campaign activities and voting.

Gender inequalities in political participation can also be attributed to resource constraints in terms of education and income and gendered roles in society (Stefani, et al., 2021; Verba et al., 1997). In addition to resource constraints, Stefani et al. (2021) consider the burdens of housework and caregiving for the family to be a constraint to women's political participation. For instance, women are less likely than men to attend political campaign meetings and rallies because of time constraints arising from their being engaged in domestic chores (Stefani et al., 2012). Other scholars have identified an inhibiting political environment in Kenya that makes men dominate politics (Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha et al., 2013; Okello, 2010). Therefore, women's political marginalization is an ongoing worldwide problem (Sadie, 2020). According to Stefani et al. (2021), this deters equality in democratic political participation. This, therefore, calls for concerted efforts to address women's political marginalization.

The 2023 global gender gap report notes that with the progress made over the 2006-2023 period, it will take 162 years to close the gender gap in political empowerment. This report ranked Kenya's gender gap in political empowerment between men and women at number 75

of 146 countries (World Economic Forum, 2023). The role, scope and quality of women's participation in elective politics in Kenya have been lower than that of men since the country's independence in 1963 (Okello, 2010). In agreement, Bouka et al. (2019) note that women's underrepresentation in political life in the country remains despite the principle of gender equality and the devolved political system advocated for in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya.

This research targeted various forms of political participation that occur in elective politics. For instance, financial contributions to political campaigns, canvassing for votes, attending political or campaign meetings and rallies, distributing election campaign literature or materials and voting. Women's financial contributions to political campaigns in Kenya are often hindered by their poverty levels which means they do not have funds to support them (Kenyatta, 2023). Women's political participation in other forms of electoral activities in the country is also limited. For instance, political participation through attending election campaign meetings or rallies (Schulz-Herzenberg, Aling'o, & Gatimu, 2015a) and political volunteerism (Mbeke, 2010). According to Gitonga (1991), the distribution of election campaign literature is not a major form of political activity in Kenya. This suggests that voters' engagement in this form of political participation in Kenya may also be limited. However, women's participation in Kenya through voting is high (FIDA-Kenya, 2013; Okello, 2010). Kenyatta notes that various social, political and economic barriers contribute to women's low political participation across the 47 devolved governments in Kenya.

The gaps in empirical literature motivated the researcher to conduct this study. First, studies on the effects of news media use on political behaviours, which have been ongoing since the 1940s, have yielded mixed and inconclusive findings (Chang, 2017; Kipkoech, 2019; Mbeke, 2010; Pang, 2020). Second, the majority of the studies on the influence of news media use on

political participation emanate from Western democracies, especially in the USA and Western Europe (Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019; Kipkoech, 2019). Third, with rapid changes taking place in the news media industry, it is necessary to examine the effects of the use of specific news media (such as radio) on political participation (Andersen et al., 2020; Miao, 2019). However, as Yankem (2013) notes, the influence of radio on political participation in developing democracies such as Kenya is an under-researched topic. Fourth, Kasomo (2012) observes that there is limited academic research on women's political participation in Kenya. This is despite women being over half of the country's population and forming a critical segment of the population for building a democratic society.

Fifth, Rapeli (2022) acknowledges that past studies have mostly conceptualized political knowledge as either a predictor or an outcome variable when examining the effect of news media use on political participation. The current research deviates from this approach as it conceptualizes political knowledge as a mediating variable. Sixth, a quantitative approach dominates the influence of the use of news media and campaign communications on political attitudes and behaviours. This excludes the voice of the participants, which is best expressed through qualitative data (Karpf, Kreiss, Nielsen & Powers, 2015). To overcome this limitation, the study followed the recommendation by Karpf et al. and used a mixed-methods research (MMR) design in which results from quantitative data were corroborated or explained with those from qualitative data.

Finally, there is limited academic research in developing democracies using the indirect effects research paradigm to investigate how news media use relates to political participation through the mediating roles of political interest and self-efficacy (Alami, 2017; Jung, 2010; Levy & Akiva, 2019). This is despite empirical evidence that exposure to news media such as radio can

indirectly influence voters' electoral participation via political attitudes (Heywood, 2020; Santas, Asemah & Jumbo, 2020). As part of enhancing political communication research in Kenya, Kipkoech (2019) and Mbeke (2010) suggest further studies on the influence of the use of news media on political participation in the country to consider political attitudes as mediating variables.

This research sought to disentangle the direct and indirect effects of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. To establish the indirect, mediating or intervening effects, statistical mediation analysis was performed. This analysis is used when examining the how and why of news media effects (Valkenburg, Peter & Walther, 2016). This is necessary to build a corpus of knowledge on the processes and effects of news media use and communication in everyday life (Chan, Hu & Mak, 2020). Despite this, Chan et al. note that there is limited academic research that applies the statistical mediation approach. Using this approach, this study bridged this research gap by considering political knowledge, attitudes and discussions as mediators.

This study focused on the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County. A total of 287,325 (50.6%) of the 568,460 voters enumerated using Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) technology in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County were female (IEBC, 2013). The use of the BVR was deployed for the first time in Kenya during the 2013 polls. Radio reach and household ownership in Kakamega County are both high, making this news medium a major source of information in the region (County Government of Kakamega, 2018). According to a report for January 2020 by the Kenya Audience Research Foundation [KARF], 41 radio stations were reaching the western region in which Kakamega County is categorized.

Despite women's numerical strength and their exposure to radio in Kakamega County, their scope of political participation is low. According to Tundi (2018), women's political participation and representation in Kakamega County, just as it is in the rest of Kenya, is low as men dominate the economic, social and religious spheres of life. Focusing on the Kakamega Central district in Kakamega County, research by Barasa, Toili and Runaku (2017) established similar findings. It was found that women's political participation in the district was limited because of inadequate awareness, cultural beliefs and traditions that promote a patriarchal society. Despite the foregoing, there is scant information on the influence of exposure to radio on women's political participation in Kakamega County. To bridge this research gap, this study focused on women voters' political participation in the general election held in Kenya on March 4, 2013.

The 2013 Kenya general election was the tenth since the country's independence in 1963 and the fifth since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1991. The general election was conducted under a new constitutional, legal, institutional, media and politically competitive environment. First, the general election provided an initial test for the implementation of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya and electoral laws enacted thereafter (FIDA-Kenya, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; Shilaho, 2019). This Constitution provides for the freedom of expression and the media, political rights, affirmative action towards women's political participation and a devolved political structure encompassing the national government and 47 counties. According to Bouka et al. (2019) and Kenyatta (2023), there is a need to understand women's political participation under a devolved political structure. Second, the 2013 general election was the first under six elective posts comprising the president, county governor, three positions for Members of the Parliament of Kenya and Members of the County Assembly (MCAs). The Parliament of Kenya is bi-cameral with two chambers, namely the Senate and the National

Assembly. The elective posts for Members of Parliament (MPs) are Member of the National Assembly (MNA) and County Woman MNA [WMNA] who are MPs elected to represent a constituency and county, respectively in the National Assembly. The other elective post for the Parliament in Kenya is Senator, an MP elected to represent a county in the Senate. This contrasts with the past general elections in the country in which the three elective posts contests were for the president, MNA and councillor. IEBC (2014) data indicates that 1, 882 posts were contested in Kenya during the 2013 general election.

Third, the 2013 Kenya general election was the first after the large-scale 2007/2008 post-election violence in the country (FIDA-Kenya, 2013). This violence led to more than 1,000 people being killed and several thousands displaced (African Union Commission [AUC], 2013). News media, especially vernacular radio stations, were directly and indirectly implicated in the post-election violence in Kenya (Galava, 2018; Independent Review Commission on the General Elections held in Kenya on 27th December 2007, 2008). Fourth, media reportage of the 2013 polls was geared towards peace advocacy, a departure from the watchdog role of journalists in political news coverage (Galava, 2018; Weighton & McCurdy, 2017). The Media Council Act legislated in 2013 led to the establishment of the MCK to regulate the practice of journalism and media organizations (Weighton & McCurdy, 2017). The MCK developed and adopted the 2012 guidelines for effective election coverage (MCK, 2012). According to Weighton and McCurdy, these guidelines helped media firms re-examine their in-house election coverage practices and policies.

Finally, extensive political campaigns preceded the highly competitive 2013 Kenya general election (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; Shilaho, 2019). This election had the highest-ever recorded voter turnout of 85.8% and 85.7% for the parliamentary and presidential elections in

Kenya, respectively (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA], 2021). Fifty-nine political parties and four political coalitions (Coalition for Reforms and Democracy [CORD], the Jubilee Alliance, Amani Coalition and Eagle Coalition) participated in the polls (Wanyama, Elklit, Frederiksen & Kaarsholm, 2014). Therefore, the 2013 Kenya general election was conducted under a new constitutional, legal, political, institutional, media and competitive environment. In this environment, radio as part of the political news media outlets was expected to promote citizens' democratic electoral participation in the polls. The 2013 polls, therefore, provided a research setting distinct from Kenya's 2007, 2017 and 2022 general elections.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The 2013 Kenya general election conducted under the country's 2010 Constitution presented greater opportunities for women's political participation. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya provides freedom of the media, citizens' political rights, gender equality in political participation and a devolved political structure comprising 47 county governments. Despite this, and the efforts by the government, news media and other stakeholders to promote gender equality in politics, the electoral participation of women remains a challenge as they are politically marginalized despite forming a significant voting bloc in Kenya.

Limited access to and use of political information are some factors that can deter women voters' political participation. To address this, the 1995 BPfA resolution advocates for the news media to play a critical role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment by providing them with the required political information. Radio, a dominant news medium in Kenya, is thus expected to contribute to women voters' political participation by providing them with

information that can increase their electoral participation under the country's devolved political system of 47 counties.

The 2013 IEBC report on voter registration indicates that 50.6% of the 568, 460 voters enumerated in Kakamega County through BVR were females. The 2013 Kakamega County Development Profile notes that radio reach and listenership in the county are both high, making this news medium a major source of information in the area. Furthermore, the 2020 audience survey by KARF established that radio listenership in the western region under which Kakamega County falls was 74.9% compared with 63.6% nationally. Therefore, radio has the potential to influence women voters' political participation in the county.

Despite the expectation that exposure to political news on radio can increase women voters' political participation, their scope of involvement in electoral activities in the county is limited, potentially marginalizing this significant segment of the population in the region. Thus, there was a need to determine whether there could be a disconnect between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in Kakamega County. This study adopted a direct and indirect effect research approach, considering political knowledge, attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions as potential mediating variables.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions that guided this study were as follows:

- (i) What was the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?

- (ii) What was the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?
- (iii) What was the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?
- (iv) What was the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County. The specific objectives of this research were to:

- (i) Establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.
- (ii) Assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.
- (iii) Determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.
- (iv) Examine the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Despite the adoption of affirmative action, a diverse and vibrant news media industry for politicking and a devolved political system in Kenya, there are challenges in the realization of the principle of gender equality in political participation in the country. The outcomes of this study may thus inform the efforts of the government, media, civil society and other actors in promoting women voters' electoral participation through civic, voter and political education on radio in Kenya. To the academic community, the results of this research contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the direct and indirect influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in a developing democracy under a devolved political structure. This adds to the body of knowledge on the effects of news media use on political participation among the large but politically marginalized population of women.

The findings of this study provide insights that can guide the Government of Kenya, media regulatory agencies in the country, such as the CAK and MCK, as well as radio station managers. The government and management of radio stations can use the results of this study to deepen their understanding of the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. These insights can inform policies promoting women voters' electoral participation, such as national broadcasting, media and information literacy (MIL) policies. Such policies can enhance the role of radio in women voters' participation in elective politics in Kenya.

The results of this study can also inform the revision of the guidelines for election coverage by MCK. Since 2012, these guidelines have often been revised and released one year before a general election is held in Kenya. The findings of this research further provide insights that can inform radio stations' editorial guidelines for election coverage and programming strategies

for promoting women voters' political participation in Kakamega County. Political communication strategists, IEBC, political parties and politicians can also use the results of this study to assess if radio can be used to reach out to and mobilize women voters for political participation in Kakamega County. The findings can also be used in promoting women voters' participation in elections by enriching their understanding of the role of radio in promoting their political engagement.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was confined to Kakamega County in Western Kenya. The county is the most populous in this region and its choice as the study area was informed by several reasons, as discussed in Section 1.1 of this research. For instance, women constitute a key voting bloc in the county (IEBC, 2013). The county has high radio reach and ownership, making radio a major source of information for its residents (County Government of Kakamega, 2018). The Luhya tribe dominates Kakamega County. This ethnic group is the second largest in Kenya and it has 18 sub-tribes (KNBS, 2019). Some of the dominant Luhya sub-tribes in the county are Batsotso, Wanga, Idakho, Isukha, Kabras, Kisa, Marama, Banyala, Bukusu, Maragoli, Banyole and Tachoni (County Government of Kakamega County, 2023). According to Were (1967, cited in Wanyama et al., 2014), the Luhya sub-tribes have diverse social and political organizations. The voting bloc of the Luhya tribe is thus not homogenous. Kakamega County is, therefore, considered a politically active region for vote hunting by candidates running for both local and national elective positions.

This study focused on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation through election campaign activities and voting in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The research further considered women voters' socio-demographic and

political orientation characteristics as control variables. This research focused on the 2013 Kenya general election. The election was held under a new constitutional, legal, political, institutional and media environment that provided a research setting that was distinct from past elections and the ones held in 2017 and 2022 in Kenya. This study further focused on self-reported measures of women voters' exposure to radio, political knowledge, political attitudes, frequency of interpersonal political discussions and political participation. The research adopted an MMR design that combined a survey, focus group discussions and a review of documents.

The limitations underpinning this research emanate from its methodological design. First, the study was conducted among women who were eligible to vote in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Therefore, this research did not address the ethnic nature of Kenya's political mobilization because one tribe, the Luhya, dominates Kakamega County. Furthermore, the socio-economic, cultural, political and mass media environments in Kakamega County may be different from those in other counties in Kenya. The findings of this study may thus not be generalizable to the entire population of women voters in Kenya. Factors such as ethnicity, socio-cultural, economic and political environment variations and differences in news media access distinguish counties in Kenya and can thus shape women voters' political participation in the country. Any generalizations made from the results of this study are thus confined to Kakamega County.

Second, the use of cross-sectional survey data collected only at one point in time and the correlational analysis strategy used in this research could not establish chain causality between the study variables. Correlational research establishes the presence or absence of associations between variables but does not imply causality. Furthermore, the research did not focus on

reciprocal effects for the study variables. For instance, the correlation between exposure to radio and political interest and vice-versa or between political knowledge and participation and vice-versa.

The third methodological limitation of this research arose from the use of self-reported measures in data collection. Such measures can result in social desirability bias in which respondents may underreport or over-report their exposure to radio and electoral participation. This study considered women voters' approximate weekly exposure to political news on radio during the 2013 Kenyan polls. To mitigate the shortcomings of the self-reported measures, the researcher applied Northrup's (1997) suggestions. First, voluntary participation was sought from the respondents. The participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. Second, the research assistants encouraged the participants to express their views without fear of providing correct or incorrect answers. The researcher used a face-to-face approach to collect data via a survey questionnaire and FGDs. The questions posed to the respondents when collecting data were direct. These approaches helped minimize the propensity of the participants to provide socially-desirable responses. The study also used multiple methods of data collection, including a survey questionnaire, FGDs and document reviews.

The survey questionnaire and FGD guide were also developed in English and Kiswahili to make them easily understandable to the participants so that they could give appropriate responses. The data collection tools were also piloted to ensure that the questions developed were clear, understandable and not biased. To improve recall, the researcher used memory aids to assist the respondents in remembering past events. These measures helped reduce errors in the participants' responses. Notwithstanding their limitations, the use of self-reported measures in large-scale quantitative surveys in media studies such as the current one is supported by

various scholars (for example, de Vreese & Neijens, 2016; Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974). The quantitative phase of this study was based on a cross-sectional survey conducted using self-reporting measures in the questionnaire.

The study did not conduct a content analysis of election coverage on radio as its primary focus was on individual women voters' perspectives on exposure to radio and its influence on their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This was done through self-reported survey responses in a questionnaire and through the voice of the participants in the FGDs. It was also difficult to obtain recorded radio programmes covering the politically active period before, during and after March 4, 2013. This was because of difficulties in obtaining permission or access to proprietary broadcasts on the radio stations. Finally, resource constraints also contributed to the researcher not performing a content analysis of election coverage on radio. For instance, acquiring back-issues of radio broadcasts is expensive as some radio stations charge a fee to obtain them.

To mitigate the foregoing limitation, the researcher used secondary data from media monitoring reports of the 2013 Kenya general election coverage to gauge to some extent the political news that women voters could have been exposed to. Furthermore, political knowledge was used to measure women voters' reception of political news from radio and its subsequent effect on their electoral participation. Related past studies have relied on survey responses without content analysis of election coverage (for example, Edegoh et al., 2015; Jung, 2010; Kalyango, 2009; Kamau, 2013; Mbeke, 2010; Yankem, 2015). Finally, selected socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media were controlled in the multivariate analysis. This is because, as McQuail (2010) notes, researchers cannot consider all the possible psychological, social and cultural factors that shape media content and effects.

This implies that there may be other control variables that may not have been accounted for in this research.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in Figure 1.1 describes the relationship among the independent, mediating, dependent and control variables considered in this study. Through the conceptual framework, the researcher aligned its design and findings to the specific study objectives and context. This was due to the realization that no single theory could explain the mechanisms underlying the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. This study's conceptual framework was developed using an eclectic approach based on a synthesis of political mobilization theory (Flanagan, 1996, Norris, 2000) and UGT (Katz et al., 1974). The use of political mobilization theory and UGT offered guidance to this research through the identification of the study variables and interpretation of the findings on the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.

The conceptual framework that guided this study was based on political mobilization and UGT. Through these theories, the research was able to identify various variables and explanations underlying the mechanisms under which the influence of exposure to radio was exerted on women voters' political participation. As noted by Cho et al. (2020), this approach is useful for building knowledge on the processes and effects of media use and communication. This formed the basis for the researcher to make recommendations on harnessing the power of radio on women voters' political participation by considering the mediating variables. The power of radio on women voters' political participation was expected to be generated through the gratifications that they were seeking from radio as anchored on the foundations of UGT. The

recommendations made on the linkages between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation via mediating variables were anchored on political mobilization theory.

Political mobilization theory is anchored on the work of Scott Flanagan (Mbeke, 2010). The theory emerged as a challenge to the media malaise phenomenon, which denotes the demobilization effect of the use of news media on political participation. The media malaise thesis posits that exposure to political news media that overemphasizes infotainment, dramatic news, political conflicts and negative frames of politics and politicians increases political cynicism and distrust and reduces political participation (Flanagan, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000). However, political mobilization theory indicates that news media use promotes and maintains political participation (Flanagan, 1996; Norris, 2000). This underscores the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation.

Political mobilization theory further posits that news media exposure has limited direct effects on political participation but it has strong indirect relationships. For instance, the news media generates less obvious direct effects on politics through agenda-setting and political mobilization (Flanagan, 1996). Anchored on this tenet of political mobilization theory, the first objective of this study was to examine the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. The theory also postulates that news media exposure has a strong indirect effect on political participation because it increases an individual's level of political knowledge and stimulates psychological involvement or resources such as political interest and efficacy (Flanagan, 1996). Guided by this tenet, the second objective of this study was to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. Further, anchored on this tenet, the third objective of this

study addressed the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Political mobilization theory further postulates that news media use indirectly influences people's political participation as it increases their inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996). Aligned to this tenet, this study sought to determine the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This research, therefore, expected that women voters can frequently engage in political discussions with their family or friends using the political news that they are exposed to on the radio. According to Eveland (2004), interpersonal political conversations among ordinary citizens are not only sources of political information through the word of mouth but also channels through which political news obtained from the news media is shared among social network members.

Through the tenets of political mobilization theory, the researcher has demonstrated its relevance to this study. Despite this, there is a need to explain the weaknesses of this theory in relation to this study. First, although the theory postulates the direct and indirect effects of news media use and political participation, it does not explore audience gratifications sought from news media use. However, as Staples (1998) notes, to understand the effects of media content, it is necessary to find out why people use it. Cognizant of this shortcoming, this study applied UGT to determine the gratifications that women voters sought from exposure to radio. The data collected on these gratifications during the survey phase of this study were used in interpreting the results. This was important in linking the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. As such, UGT had relevant application in this study.

Second, political mobilization theory considers media effects on political participation at an individual level, making it difficult to fully account for socio-cultural and societal differences that could affect the relationship between exposure to news media and political participation. To explore the correlation between exposure to radio and political participation, those who took part in the FGDs in this study were interrogated on societal impediments such as gender dynamics underpinning the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation.

Finally, political mobilization theory assumes that individuals are straightforwardly exposed to the news media and that political media content has a uniform effect on all of them. Hart et al. (2009) discount this by raising the issue of selective exposure to information. Selective exposure in this case implies that individuals seek out news media content aligned with their existing beliefs and values, limiting the potential mobilizing effects of news media. In politics, this may imply that women voters listen to political news that is aligned with their political party affiliations. To control for this effect, this study conceptualized political orientation characteristics as control variables.

Despite the aforementioned flaws, the use of political mobilization theory in this study finds support in its application in previous research. For instance, Canayaz (2015) and Mbeke (2010) used political mobilization theory to investigate the effects of mass media exposure on political participation in the elections of the European Union Parliament and the 2007 general election in Kenya, respectively. Canayaz's research focused on 27 member states during the 2009 European Union Parliament elections in 27 member states. Mbeke focused on Nakuru district (now Nakuru County) in Kenya. Political mobilization theory was applied in the current research to examine the possible effects of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral

participation. Specifically, the theory was used to explicate the direct influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Furthermore, the theory was used to assess the mediating effects of political knowledge and attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Staples (1998) observes that "researchers following the uses and gratifications perspective argue that to understand the effects of media content, we must understand why people use it" (p.1). Therefore, this study applied UGT advanced by Katz, et al. (1974). UGT is an audience behaviour theory arising from a functionalist paradigm and originating from communication research focused on why stay-at-home female spouses were listening to radio soap operas (Katz et al., 1974). The theory considers the use of news media as a function of the gratification of an individual's social or psychological needs (Baran & Davis, 2020; Katz et al., 1974). Historically, UGT has been used to explain people's exposure to the news media to satisfy their political gratifications relating to information seeking, surveillance, guidance, social utility, entertainment and excitement (Idid & Dhaha, 2013; Kim & Kim, 2007). For instance, women voters might desire to be exposed to news on the radio to be informed on what is happening within their political environment (surveillance gratifications).

Women voters can also use the news that they are exposed to on the radio in their face-to-face political discussions within their social networks (social utility gratification). According to Benesch (2012), entertainment gratifications can be achieved through political gossip, entertaining campaign materials and two-horse race reporting in elections. Individuals who report information-seeking or surveillance gratifications show higher political involvement than those who seek entertainment-related motivations from exposure to news media (Kim &

Kim, 2007; Shah, McLeod & Yoon, 2001). UGT identifies three sources of audience gratifications sought from the use of news media. These sources are content, exposure to news media and the social context in which exposure to news media occurs (Katz, et al., 1974). This research focused on women voters' exposure to radio as a source of political news for satisfying their radio audience's gratifications towards their electoral participation.

The application of UGT in this study is anchored on five assumptions. The first postulation is that the "audience is conceived as active" (Katz et al., 1974, p. 15). The use of news media is thus goal-directed as individual audience members seek out media sources and content that best fulfil their needs. In the context of this study, this implies that an individual woman voter can listen to the radio for a specific reason, such as, to stay informed about election campaigns, while another may seek entertainment through political gossip broadcast on radio. Second, audience members have media choices to satisfy their needs and being aware of this, they make their own picks on which news medium to select among those available to them (Katz et al., 1974; McQuail, 2010; Shaker, 2009; West & Turner, 2007). These two tenets of UGT have implications for women voters' radio use and political participation.

The implications of the foregoing first two tenets of UGT are five-fold. First, people have different information needs that motivate them to use radio (Suemo et al., 2021). This study considers the search for political news as a need that drives women voters to listen to radio. Second, Norris (2000) notes that members of the audience choose media sources and content that are often in tune with their expectations and thus exposure to the news media tends to reinforce rather than change political attitudes. Third, the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation depends not only on access to political news on radio but also on its use when opportunities arise for them to engage in participatory behaviour within

their political environment. Exposure to radio may thus create awareness of the available opportunities for political participation for women voters to engage in. However, women voters should make deliberate efforts to engage politically.

Fourth, as active radio listeners, women voters can select which radio stations and programmes to listen to in their efforts to satisfy their political gratifications during elections. This is grounded in the idea that several radio stations with different programmes reach the electorate. Finally, a woman voter can choose which of the political content obtained from radio can influence her political participation. From the foregoing, Ndubi (2019) considers UGT as a limited media effects theory that considers audience members' selectivity in the use of news media. According to Hart et al. (2009), selective exposure implies that individuals seek out news media content aligned with their existing beliefs and values. This limits the potential mobilizing effects of news media such as radio as the audience is not exposed to divergent political news.

The third tenet of UGT postulates that "the media compete with other sources of need satisfaction" (Katz et al., 1974, p. 16). This reflects competition for audience attention and time for radio and other news media and non-mediated related sources of information in satisfying their gratifications (West & Turner, 2007). This study considered the use of other news media, namely: the TV, newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via short message service (SMS) or calls, as control variables, not competing with radio for women voters' political news seeking. This implies that radio may compete with non-mediated sources of political information, such as interpersonal sources. However, this research conceptualized the frequency of face-to-face political discussions as a mediator and not as a competitor to radio.

Interpersonal political conversations are considered avenues through which political news acquired from radio can be shared and elaborated.

The fourth assumption of UGT is that “in the mass communication process much initiative in linking need gratification and media choice lies with the audience members” (Katz et al., 1974, p.16). According to West and Turner (2007), only an audience member is capable of assessing the quality of the news media content. Suemo et al. (2021) add that the influence of the news media is limited to what the audience members allow it to do as they selectively use the media content for political gratifications. Thus, the influence of exposure to radio on political outcomes may not be equal among women voters. Finally, UGT postulates that “many of the goals of media use can be derived from data supplied by individual audience members themselves” (Katz et al., 1974, p.17). Given their awareness of their media-related needs, members of the audience can self-report their media choices, use and influence when asked to respond (McQuail, 2010; West & Turner, 2007). In data collection, this research used self-reporting measures complemented by document reviews.

Through the tenets of UGT, the research has demonstrated the relevance of this theory to this study. Despite this, the theory has some flaws. First, the theory is considered to be too individualistic-focused, making it difficult to explain beyond those participating in a study or to consider the societal implications of news media use (Baran & Davis, 2020; McQuail, 2010). Focusing on individual-level factors may not be adequate in capturing the broad social and structural influences that shape the correlation between exposure to the news media and political participation. This shortcoming comes against the backdrop of the observation by Hall (1980, as cited in Myers, 2009) that access to, consumption and interpretation of media messages are affected by the prevailing social, economic and cultural norms. For example,

some cultural barriers that can impede women's political participation, such as patriarchy, are perpetuated by the news media (Myers, 2009, van Zoonen, 1994). This study used focus group discussions to explore factors at the individual or societal level, such as gender dynamics, that can influence women voters' radio use and political participation. Second, although UGT focuses on audience members' active role in media consumption, it does not fully address the issue of media effects on individuals or society (Baran & Davis, 2020). The study's application of political mobilization theory was geared towards addressing this shortcoming of UGT. Political mobilization theory was used in this study to explore the potential effects of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation.

Finally, UGT and studies aligned to it assume active audience members who purposely go out seeking media content that satisfies their needs. This is not always the case, as passive media consumption is possible, whereby individuals may be influenced by the media without consciously seeking specific gratifications (Baran & Davis, 2020; McQuail, 2010). Supporting this, Tewksbury, Weaver and Maddex (2001) identify the phenomenon of incidental exposure to represent unintentional encounters with news or public affairs content.

Despite the foregoing weaknesses of UGT, the theory is relevant and important in studying audience members' choices and use of news media and the effects thereof (Alami, 1997). In addition, the identification of audience gratifications from exposure to media helps in analyzing the influence of news media use on political participation actions. It also offers explanations of what psychological needs the audience relies on to perform political activities (Pang, 2020). Various past related studies have used UGT when examining the link between exposure to the news media and political participation (for example, Alami, 2017; Idid & Dhaha, 2013; Kim

& Kim, 2007; Mbeke, 2010; Ndubi, 2019; Pang, 2020). Therefore, UGT was useful in the study of the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation.

The use of UGT in this study emanates from its focus on exposure to radio. UGT forms the basis for understanding women voters' exposure to radio in this study. From the perspectives of UGT, a woman voter's choice of radio and the time spent on it may be informed by her desire to satisfy her political information needs during the elections. Furthermore, the gratifications that women voters seek from exposure to radio are crucial in explaining its effects on their political participation. For instance, in this research, it was expected that women voters' exposure to radio to gratify their political news or information needs would potentially positively influence their electoral participation. Therefore, the variable of exposure to radio in the conceptual framework in Figure 1.1 is anchored on women voters' use of radio to access political news. The news accessed by women voters during the 2013 Kenya general election was expected to influence their political participation. As such, exposure to radio was considered as a predictor in this study.

The determination of the level of women voters' exposure to radio is anchored on the idea of UGT that individual audience members of a news medium can self-report their media choices and use. Exposure to radio as an independent variable in this study was anchored on women voters' choice of radio as one of their main media sources of political news during the 2013 polls. As explained under the five tenets of UGT, motivations or gratifications drive an individual to decide to use a news medium, such as radio. Women voters' choice of radio for political news consumption as driven by their gratifications, was anticipated to contribute to their political participation. Identifying women voters' motivations or gratifications sought from exposure to radio thus provided underlying reasons for interpreting the results on the

influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political outcomes. The gratifications sought from exposure to radio provide the motivations for an individual to use radio. In this respect, motivations for using radio to fulfill political gratifications were expected to promote women voters' electoral participation.

The variables of primary interest in this study are presented in the conceptual framework in Figure 1.1. The first variable is exposure to radio, which is the independent or predictor variable. In media effects research, news is considered the main means of disseminating political information (Pike, 2014). Political news use rather than general media use is considered when examining the influence of news media on political participation (Pang, 2020). Therefore, the operationalization of exposure to radio in this study focused on women voters' exposure to or the consumption of political news on the 2013 Kenya general election on radio. Using this approach, questions in the survey questionnaire in Appendices I and II and the FGD moderator's guide in Appendices VII and VIII focus on exposure to radio.

The second variable in the conceptual model in Figure 1.1 is political attitudes comprising political interest and internal political efficacy as mediating, intervening or intermediary variables. In this study, political interest focuses on women voters' interest in the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. Internal political efficacy and political self-efficacy are used interchangeably. The third variable in the conceptual framework in Figure 1.1 is the frequency of interpersonal political discussions. This variable which was conceptualized as a mediating variable is used synonymously with interpersonal political conversations or talk. It is also used interchangeably with face-to-face political discussions and face-to-face conversations or face-to-face talk. The dependent variable in Figure 1.1 is political participation, which in this research is used synonymously with electoral participation.

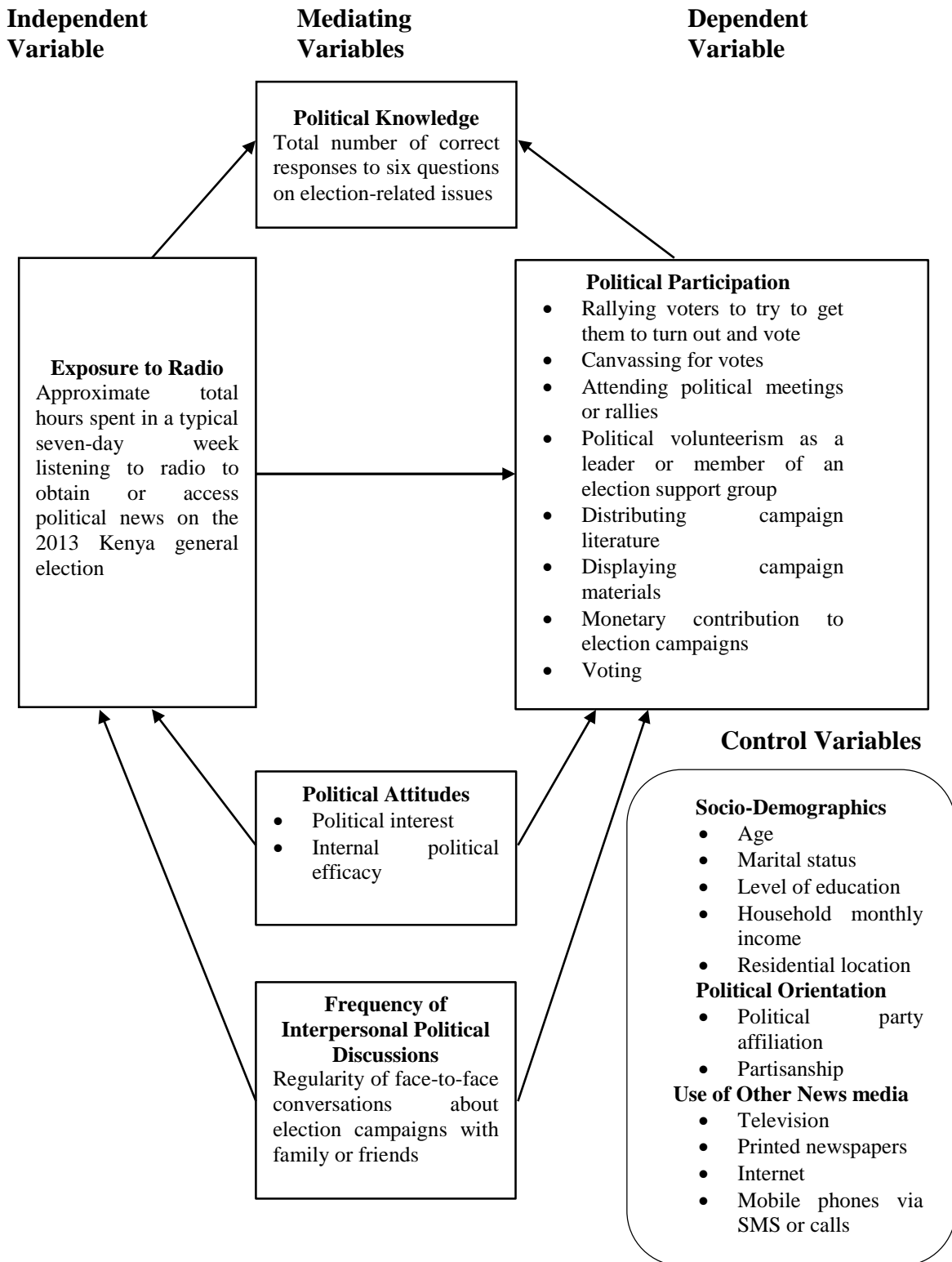


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in Figure 1.1 further incorporates various control variables. Various scholars have identified age, marital status, level of education, income and residential location

as socio-demographic determinants of women's political participation (for example, Dim & Asomah, 2019; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011; Rai, 2011). Another control variable is political orientation, which encompasses political party affiliation and partisanship that past studies have found to contribute to electoral participation (Dim & Asomah, 2019; Finkel & Opp, 1990; Jung, 2010). Finally, the research controlled for the effect of the use of other news media besides radio.

The conceptual framework in Figure 1.1 indicates four key pathways on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. First, exposure to radio was modelled to directly influence women voters' political participation. This pathway focuses on the first research question of this study: What was the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County? In this research question, the study sought to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation by considering socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media as control variables.

Second, the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was expected to pass through political knowledge. This pathway focuses on the second research question of this study: What was the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

Third, exposure to radio was expected to influence women voters' political participation through political attitudes, including political interest and self-efficacy. This indicates an indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation via these political

attitudes. This is the anchor pathway for the third research question: What was the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?

Finally, in this study, exposure to radio was modelled to indirectly influence women voters' political participation via their frequency of interpersonal political discussions. This underpins the final research question of this study: What was the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on the influence of exposure to radio on women's political participation in elections as guided by the research objectives. The literature review is presented in various sections aligned to the objectives of the study. First, is the direct effect of exposure to radio on women's electoral participation. Second, the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women's exposure to radio and political participation in elections. Third, the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women's electoral participation. Last, this chapter reviews the literature on the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women's exposure to radio and political participation in elections. The chapter culminates with a summary of the research gaps.

2.2 Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women's Electoral Participation

This study is situated within the broad research area of examining the nexus between political media consumption and participation. Explanations of the terms 'exposure to radio' and 'political participation' representing the independent and dependent variables in this study are thus important. According to Slater (2004: 168), media exposure refers to "the extent to which audience members have encountered specific messages or classes of messages/media content". The media content considered in this study is political news broadcast on radio. This research, therefore, focused on exposure to political news on radio. According to Andersen et al. (2020), political news exposure signifies the frequency of exposure to political information or content in the news media. Specifically, the research concentrated on political news broadcast

on radio about the 2013 general election in Kenya as such information was expected to influence women voters' political participation.

Andersen et al. (2020) recommend studies on the effects of political media operationalize exposure to news media by focusing on the accessibility to and use of media content with political relevance and not just any other content. This approach is consistent with the perspectives of UGT, which assert that individuals who report information-seeking show higher political involvement than those who seek to meet entertainment-related motivations from exposure to news media (Kim & Kim, 2007; Shah et al., 2001). Entertainment information is considered demobilizing (Chang, 2007). By focusing on exposure to political news on radio, this study sought to examine the influence of political content on women voters' electoral participation. Andersen et al. observe that media coverage of the elections heightens as the polls draw closer. This means that during such times, voters' exposure to political news focusing on the elections is expected to be higher than during other times.

Political news is used interchangeably with political information or content in this study. Such news focuses on political activities and constitutional matters considered important for civic education (Rittenberg et al., 2012). According to Uwem and Opeke (2015: 9), political information refers to "any information which is aimed at informing on political matters." This is backed up by Andersen et al. (2020), who acknowledge that "political information in the media refers to information that covers the political process" (p. 13). This study, therefore, focused the 2013 Kenyan polls' election-related information broadcast on radio.

Political participation, which is this study's outcome variable is considered to be at the heart of democracy (Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995). According to Verba and Nie (1972), political

participation refers “to those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions they take” (p. 2). Verba et al. describe political participation as activities that “have intent or effect of influencing government actions - either directly by affecting public policy-making or indirectly by influencing the selection of policymakers” (p. 38). According to Brady (1999), political participation refers to the “action[s] by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes” (p. 737). This study, therefore, focused on women voters’ engagement in voluntary, legal non-professional political participation in election campaign activities and voting. Verba et al. consider the use of an additive scale involving a predefined list of political participation activities to be ideal in political studies research. This study thus adopted this view and focused on eight targeted non-professional political activities as listed under the operational definition of terms in this thesis. For example, canvassing for votes, attending political meetings or rallies, political volunteerism in election campaigns, financial support for political campaigns and voting.

Himmelroos and von Schoultz (2023: 47-48) assert that “information is key to political mobilization and participation in elections. Such information helps voters discover politically relevant issues and problems and identify their personal political preferences and interests. In agreement, Andersen et al. (2020) consider political participation as a potential outcome of exposure to political information in the news media. Radio is a key source of information in the Global South. Africa is part of the Global South and 80% of its population listens to radio (Heywood, 2020). This explains why radio is considered ‘Africa’s medium’ (Gunner et al., 2012). Exposure to the news media contributes to political participation among people (Canayaz, 2005; Early et al., 2022; Mbeke, 2010; Uwem & Opeke, 2015; Weaver, 1996). It is thus critical that researchers explore if and how this occurs when targeting a specific news

medium and audience. This study sought to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

By providing political news to the electorate and as a public campaign platform for politicians, radio is considered a viable news medium for politicking in Africa (Isaksson et al., 2012; Edegoh et al., 2015; Sale, 2017). For instance, studies conducted in Kenya by Mbeke (2010) and Kamau (2013) established the role of radio in voter and civic education and election campaigns in the country. This suggests that by listening to radio, women voters can get exposed to political news needed for their electoral participation. This may explain why radio, as the main source of news in Kenya, was considered a key resource in the 2013 polls in the country (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). There is a need to find the direct influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in Kenya.

In Kakamega County, there is a high radio listenership and radio is a major source of information in the county (County Government of Kakamega, 2018; KNBS, 2010). The 2013/14 Kakamega County MICS final report reveals that 73% of the households in the county own a radio receiver and 75% of the female respondents aged 15-49 years listened to radio at least once a week (KNBS, Population Studies and Research Institute & United Nations International Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2016). This indicates the potential of radio as a major source of political news in Kakamega County. Despite this, there is a paucity of data on the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the county. This is a gap that this research sought to bridge.

Another dimension of media use that is relevant to electoral participation is the exposure to or consumption of news programmes, since they are the chief means for disseminating political

news in the mass media (Pike, 2014). In agreement, Pang (2020) adds that political media use, as opposed to general media use, influences electoral participation. From this perspective, the study considers political news focusing on the 2013 Kenyan polls to include, information that relates to election laws, electoral rights and responsibilities, voter registration processes, voting procedures, time, venues and results of elections. It also covers names of political candidates and parties and their policies, manifestos, strengths and weaknesses.

In measuring an individual's level of exposure to a particular news medium, respondents are often asked how many hours per day or week or days per week they use it (Pike, 2014). This approach assumes that an individual uses each news medium approximately for the same number of days or hours per week. This, therefore, helps in computing the approximate hours per week an audience member uses radio. The foregoing results in reliable responses in audience surveys when exposure to radio is conceptualized based on the time spent listening to it based on a typical seven-day week (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2007; Pike, 2014). This research operationalized exposure to radio based on the estimated total hours that a woman voter spent in a seven-day typical week listening to radio to get political news on the 2013 Kenyan polls. The present study considered the number of days and then the approximate number of hours per day that a woman voter spent listening to radio to get political news during the 2013 polls in Kenya. These two were computed to arrive at the approximate total hours spent per week for each study participant.

Various audience surveys conducted in Kenya reveal high radio listenership and time spent on radio news among women (for example, Gillwald et al., 2010; Ipsos Synovate, 2013; Koech, 2017). The focus of these surveys was on determining the patterns of the use of news media, as opposed to this study that examined exposure to radio and its direct effect on political

participation among women voters in Kakamega County during the 2013 general election. A nationwide survey conducted in Kenya by Gillwald et al. (2010) as part of a large 17-country study in Africa established that 81% of females aged 16 years and older listened to radio and they spent a daily average of 5.5 hours tuned to it. This contrasts with 87% and 4.4 hours for male respondents. The survey established that political programmes were more favoured by men than women. A countrywide survey by Ipsos Synovate (2013) determined that on average, a female listener in Kenya tunes to about three radio stations and spends almost 33 hours listening to radio per week.

Koech (2017) conducted an audience survey on women at a sub-county level in Kenya. Focusing on Kipkelion West Sub-County in Kericho County, the survey established that the majority of the respondents were listening to radio daily for approximately one to nine hours per day. From the FGDs, it was established that some of the women even carried their radio receivers to the farms so that as they worked, they could listen to the programmes broadcast. Further, the respondents noted that vernacular radio informed and educated them on various topics, including politics. This audience survey demonstrates the place of radio in Kenya's news media ecosystem and its potential to influence women.

Pang (2020) argues that research on media effects on political participation needs to consider media use for news because it influences political participation as opposed to general media use. Past studies conducted in Nigeria identified radio as the topmost news medium for obtaining political news among women (for example, Didiugwu et al., 2014; Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013; Santos et al., 2020). Similarly, research by Schulz-Herzenberg et al. (2015a) and Yankem (2015) identified radio as the main source of political news during the 2013 general election in

Kenya. This underscores the importance of radio in politics in Kenya and the need for research to focus on radio as a tool of political information dissemination.

Previous studies, which often have measured exposure to radio in media effects research in general or radio studies in particular within the field of political communication, have considered the frequency of access to political news or political programmes on radio (for example, Ahmed, 2011; Didiugwu et al., 2014; Edegoh et al., 2015; Kim & Kim, 2007; Pang, 2020; Sale, 2017; Santas, et al., 2020). In addition, a survey conducted by Mbeke (2010) on the nexus between media exposure and political participation among youth in the 2007 general election in Kenya considered questions focusing on the use of news media to get political information about the election campaigns. From the foregoing, this research operationalized exposure to radio by considering the frequency of radio use based on the approximate amount of time (hours) within a typical seven-day week that a female voter spent listening to radio to access or obtain political news during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Edegoh et al. (2015) conducted a study on the 2015 Nigerian general election among 200 rural residents drawn from Idemili North and South local government areas in Anambra State. The research reveals that the political news that the respondents received from radio focused on voter education, permanent voter cards, candidates' political schedules and election dates. This study deviates from the current one because it focused on both male and female rural dwellers within the identified research sites in Nigeria. However, the current research is confined to women voters in both rural and urban CAWs in six constituencies in Kakamega County.

Other studies conducted in Nigeria identify radio as women's topmost news medium for obtaining political news during elections at the local level in Enugu State (Didiugwu et al.,

2014), Ado-Odo/Ota area of Ogun State (Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013) and Lafia in Nasarawa State (Santas et al., 2020). States in Nigeria can be considered the equivalent of counties in Kenya. Using descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses, these studies reveal a positive but limited contribution of radio to women's political participation within the research sites in Nigeria. However, the use of bivariate analysis was limiting as it could not be explicitly determined if women's political participation could be directly linked to their use of radio. In addition to using bivariate correlation analysis, the current study fills the foregoing research gap through the adoption of hierarchical multiple regression. This form of multivariate analysis was used to assess the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

Similar to the results from the aforementioned studies from Nigeria, an Afrobarometer survey conducted in Kenya reveals high radio listenership among female respondents. The study participants also identified radio as their main source of information on political issues and current affairs (Afrobarometer, 2016). These findings are in tandem with those from other past studies in Kenya that identified radio as the main source of political news during the 2013 general election (for example, Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015a; Yankem, 2015). However, the data in these studies on the 2013 Kenya general election was not gender-disaggregated, making it hard to determine the level of exposure to radio by gender.

The foregoing review of the literature points to radio being a dominant news medium for women's access to political information in Kenya. Nevertheless, there is scanty data on the nexus between women's exposure to radio and electoral participation in Kenya and Kakamega County in particular. This is a research gap that this study sought to address by seeking to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the

2013 polls in Kakamega County. The focus of this research on women voters arises from Kasomo's (2012) observation that women are marginalized both in politics and academic research in Kenya.

Various past studies have relied on self-reported responses from participants without content analysis of election coverage in the news media (for example, Edegoh et al., 2015; Jung, 2010; Kalyango, 2009; Kamau, 2013; Mbeke, 2010; Yankem, 2015). This study took a similar approach, as it did not conduct a content analysis of election coverage on radio. Reliance on self-reported measures in this study is anchored on UGT which assumes that "many of the goals of media use can be derived from data supplied by individual audience members themselves" (Katz et al., 1974, p. 17). However, this research used secondary data from media and election observer missions' monitoring reports to get a preview of the coverage of the 2013 Kenya general election in the news media.

During the 2013 polls in Kenya, EUOEM (2013b) monitored news media election coverage in the period between January 31 and March 2, 2013. The media monitoring report focused on 20 outlets covering both the print and broadcast media sectors. However, only the results focusing on the 13 radio stations monitored are presented in this literature review. The national broadcasting radio stations monitored were KBC Radio Taifa, Radio Citizen, Q-FM, Milele FM and Kiss FM. Vernacular radio stations monitored were Egesa FM broadcasting in Kisii, Inooro FM and Kameme FM broadcasting in Gikuyu, KASS FM, Mbaitu FM, Mulembe FM, and Ramogi FM broadcasting in Kalenjin, Kamba, Luhya and Luo, respectively. In addition, Pamoja Radio, a community radio station based in Nairobi's Kibera, was monitored for three weeks before March 4, 2013. EUEOM media monitors focused on the distribution of time

among political parties or alliances in daily news programmes aired between 6.00 a.m. and 10.00 a.m. and the main evening newscasts (7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.).

Some of the radio stations, such as Radio Citizen, Radio Milele and Mulembe FM covered in the EUOEM (2013b) media monitoring report are among the 10 top-most listened-to radio stations in the western region of which Kakamega County is a part (KARF, 2020). The coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance on KBC Radio Taifa was at 66.6% of all the radio programmes analyzed, this was followed by 64.3%, 62.6% and 59% for Radio Milele, Radio Citizen and Mulembe FM, respectively (EUOEM, 2013b). These data demonstrate how election coverage on the radio stations monitored favoured CORD and the Jubilee Alliance.

From the results from the EUOEM (2013b) media monitoring report, it can be inferred that those who listened to the radio stations sampled were more likely to be exposed to political information on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance. Radio coverage of the 2013 polls in Kenya as revealed by EUOEM reflects two-horse race reportage of the general election. In this approach, the news media deliberately focus on reporting the two leading candidates or political parties or coalition. In the 2013 polls, the leading presidential candidates were Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta who were affiliated with CORD and the Jubilee Alliance, respectively. The two-horse race reportage may have minimized women voters' exposure to political information on radio relating to other political parties and coalitions during the 2013 polls.

Two-horse race reporting in election coverage fits within the agenda-setting theory advanced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. The theory advances the agenda-setting function of the mass media by telling the public what they consider to be important (Wanta, 1997). Through the news media, the relative importance and reinforcement of issues to public

awareness is made possible (Baran & Davis, 2020; Wanta, 1997). In agreement, Lambon (2021) and McQuail (2010) acknowledge the power of the mass media in indicating or telling the public what the main issues of the day are and through this, the public perceives these issues as the main topics at the time. This means that exposure to radio during the electioneering period can make woman voters consider them to be important and this has implications for their political decision-making process. One way in which the news media such as radio can set the agenda during the elections is through the two-horse race reportage phenomenon. Radio can put certain candidates, political parties and coalitions high up in their election coverage agenda. Further, election coverage on radio can put certain issues in an election high up in their order of news and devote more time to particular electoral issues. Such election coverage can make the electorate perceive certain candidates, political parties and coalitions and issues as being more important than others.

A media monitoring report compiled for Internews by Ipalei (2013) provides findings on the coverage of the 2013 polls in Kenya on selected radio stations. Fifty citizen watchdog media monitors covered the period between November 2012 and April 2013. The following five radio stations were targeted for monitoring: KBC Radio Taifa (a national public broadcaster using Kiswahili), KASS FM, Ramogi FM and Kameme FM which are all privately-owned and broadcasting in Kalenjin, Dholuo and Gikuyu, respectively. Radio Salama, a privately-owned radio station broadcasting in the coastal region of Kenya using Kiswahili was also monitored. KBC Radio Taifa focused on in the Internews media monitoring report is among the top-10 most listened to radio in Kakamega County (Ipsos Synovate, 2012a; KARF, 2020). Ten monitors were assigned to each radio station to scrutinize prime-time news bulletin (aired at 7.00 a.m., 10.00 a.m., 7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.) and political talkshows. The media monitors focused on dangerous hate speech in the selected radio stations and also an appraisal of their

general performance in terms of gender balance, fairness, accuracy, balance and issue-based coverage of the 2013 Kenya general election. A total of 6,695 news reports and political talk shows were monitored.

The Internews media monitoring report reveals that the election coverage on the selected radio stations focused on election campaigns and election-related issues for the 2013 polls in Kenya. This was followed by security, political administration and processes, constitutional implementation and national cohesion, respectively (Ipalei, 2013). After the March 4, 2013 polls, the election coverage on the selected radio stations focused on the tallying of the results, the failure of IEBC's electronic system and the Presidential Election Petition of 2013 at the Supreme Court of Kenya. After this, radio coverage shifted to the matter of devolution. This particular issue was important as the 2013 polls ushered in a devolved political system comprising 47 county governments. Ipalei notes that the results from the FGDs with the citizen watch media monitors revealed that radio played a crucial role in peace advocacy before, during and after March 4, 2013. However, they were of the view that the media failed to address its role as a watchdog by asking critical questions about the election. The media monitors also noted the voter education role of the radio stations in mobilizing the electorate for voting on March 4, 2013.

The political coverage of the 2013 polls in Kenya, as noted by Ipalei (2013), reveals that the Jubilee Alliance and CORD dominated the radio stations monitored in the Internews research. This is in tandem with the two-horse race reportage of the polls on radio stations covered in the media monitoring results by EUOEM (2013b). After the political party nominations of candidates for the March 4, 2013 polls, political talkshows on radio focused on politicians discussing political parties and their election campaign manifestos. Also, experts on devolution

were invited to educate the electorate. The Internews report by Ipalei also reveals that women were underrepresented in terms of being studio guests and radio presenters. In the radio stations monitored in the Internews research, it was found that women received minimal coverage of between 2% and 5% during the period between November 2012 and April 2013.

The results from the FGDs with media monitors in the Internews report by Ipalei (2013) justify this underrepresentation of women in radio broadcasts from a gendered perspective. They considered the patriarchal nature of society to impede the representation of women in political discourse. It was noted that traditionally, culturally and politically, women are perceived to be less informed and inarticulate on political issues. It was noted that culturally, the place of a woman was at home and the majority of women lack the confidence to express their views in public. This lack of confidence limits women's political self-efficacy and can have consequences for their electoral participation in public activities such as attending political campaign rallies or meetings.

An indication of the likely political news that the electorate was exposed to during the 2013 polls can also be discerned from a study by MCK (2013). The research focused on the Kenyan media coverage of the presidential candidates in the 2013 general election. In these polls, there were eight presidential candidates, namely: Martha Karua, Mohammed Dida, Musalia Mudavadi, Paul Muite, Peter Kenneth, Professor James Ole Kiyapi, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. In the period between January 23 and 30, 2013, MCK monitored the presidential election coverage content from Kenya's print and broadcast media. For the current study, the literature review from the 2013 media monitoring report by MCK focused on radio content analysis. Six vernacular radio stations sampled in the research were Kameme FM, Radio Salaam, KASS FM, Mulembe, Egesa FM and Nam Lolwe FM broadcasting in Gikuyu,

Kiswahili, Kalenjin, Luhya, Ekegusii and Dholuo languages, respectively. The content analyzed was from the radio stations' morning programmes (6.00 a.m.–10.00 a.m.) and late night talk-shows (10.00 p.m.-12.00 a.m.), 1.00 p.m. and 7.00 p.m. news.

The results of radio analysis by MCK (2013) revealed that Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga contesting for the presidency on the Jubilee Alliance and CORD dominated the election coverage on the radio stations. The same applies to the running mates of these presidential candidates, William Samoei Ruto and Kalonzo Musyoka were the running mates for Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga, respectively. These findings are in tandem with the results from other media monitoring reports on the 2013 polls (for example, EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013). It was also established that the radio stations focused on the results of opinion polls for the presidential candidates. The findings from radio content analysis by MCK indicate a personality-oriented news presentation rather than issue-focused coverage. Despite this, MCK notes that the presidential candidates focused on various election campaign issues such as youth employment, security, land, agriculture, education and the International Criminal Court (ICC) cases.

The ICC prosecution over the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya was against Uhuru Kenyatta (then Deputy Prime Minister in the Republic of Kenya), William Ruto (then a Cabinet Minister in the Republic of Kenya) and Francis Muthaura (Secretary to the Cabinet of the Republic of Kenya). The others who were prosecuted were Major General Muhammed Hussein Ali (then Police Commissioner in the country) and Joshua Arap Sang (Radio journalist in Kenya). The ICC cases became a campaign issues in the 2013 Kenya general election since two of those prosecuted, namely Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto were contesting for the presidency comprising the post of the president and the deputy president as a running mate.

On gender disparities, MCK (2013) found that women were underrepresented in radio broadcasts. Further, male sources, as opposed to female ones, dominated the news media coverage. This inadequate coverage of women on radio goes against MCK's guidelines for election coverage and the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya. The foregoing finding indicates women's political invisibility in the media election coverage of the 2013 polls. This is in tandem with the results from other media monitoring reports on these polls (for example, EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013). This type of election coverage that marginalizes women can deter their political participation.

One of the radio stations covered in the MCK (2013) study is Mulembe FM. This radio station broadcasts in Luhya, a local or vernacular language that is dominant in Kakamega County (KNBS, 2019). Mulembe FM is among the 10 top-most daily listened-to radio stations in the western region, in which Kakamega County falls. According to the 2013 MCK media monitoring study, what was dominantly covered on Mulembe FM were the preparations for the presidential candidates' live TV debate, education and agriculture. Two presidential debates were organized, with the first one held on February 14, 2013. The second one was held on February 25, 2013. The debates were broadcast on 32 radio stations and eight TV stations in Kenya (The Carter Centre, 2013). The election coverage of the 2013 polls on Mulembe FM during the period under review by MCK was predominantly issue-based rather than personality-based. The foregoing suggests that women voters in Kakamega County who tuned to Mulembe FM were more likely to have been exposed to its political messages about the 2013 Kenyan polls.

During the 2013 general election in Kenya, the media, of which radio is a part, covered information on the constitution, citizens' political rights and responsibilities, voter registration,

voting procedures, elective posts and their requirements. The media also provided information on election preparations and processes, preparedness of the IEBC, opinion polls, policies, manifestos, strengths and weaknesses of political parties, coalitions or alliances and candidates, vote tallying and election results (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013; Muriithi & Page, 2013). Radio coverage of the 2013 Kenya general election before, during and after March 4, 2013, was robust, with special programmes focusing on discussion of political parties and candidates and their positions (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). The Kenyan media organized two presidential debates which were held on February 11 and 25, 2013 and broadcast on 32 radio stations and eight TV stations (The Carter Centre, 2013). An Ipsos Synovate poll (2013) established that 93% of the registered voters participating in the study considered the presidential debates beneficial to their voting decisions.

Reports of election observer missions on the 2013 polls in Kenya also revealed inadequate news media coverage of women candidates, promoting women's leadership and gender equality (for example, The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; KHRC, 2014). A report by FIDA-Kenya (2013) indicates that during the 2013 general election in Kenya, women candidates received less election media coverage compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, there was less coverage focusing on promoting women's leadership. The FIDA-Kenya report further notes that such underrepresentation reduces the political visibility of female candidates in the news media. Verba et al. (1997) add that political coverage contributes to gender stereotypical narratives such as politics being a 'man's game.' This makes some women consider politics to be the reserve of men.

According to The Carter Centre (2013), the 2013 Kenya general election coverage in the news media was skewed towards the two leading political coalitions, namely the CORD coalition

and the Jubilee Alliance. This concurs with the evidence from the media monitoring reports reviewed in this study (for example, EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013; MCK, 2013). The 2013 Carter Centre report notes that the national media focused on the presidential elections. This left out other elective posts involving candidates for the positions of county governors, MPs and MCAs. The Carter Centre report further acknowledges that media coverage was focused on spreading peace messages before, during and after the 2013 Kenya general election. The report reiterates the voter education role of the media, especially radio, in informing the electorate on the need to register as voters and turn out to vote in the polls on March 4, 2013.

A report by the Commonwealth Observer Group on the 2013 polls in Kenya indicates that the general election was competitive and that there was extensive use of advertisements on radio, TV and in newspapers (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). The election and its media coverage focused on various campaign issues raised by the candidates. Some of these issues were job creation, infrastructure and devolution of powers, security, education and health. This is in tandem with the media monitoring reports by Ipalei (2013) and MCK (2013) that established the campaign issues raised by the candidates and covered by the media during the electioneering period.

The foregoing suggests that women voters exposed to radio were more likely to access information on 2013 election campaign issues. In particular, the 2013 Commonwealth Observer Group report notes that radio provided robust coverage of the election before, during and after the March 4, 2013 polls. This implies that through radio, women voters could access political information about the polls and this had implications for their electoral participation. Question 1(b) in the focus group moderator's guide (Appendix VII) probed the participants on

the political news that they obtained from radio that they considered influenced their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

A report by AUC (2013) notes that the media provided a platform for the candidates to debate and defend their campaign agenda to the public during the 2013 polls in Kenya. On the 2013 presidential debate aired on radio and TV stations, the AUC report observes that it allowed the candidates to discuss contentious campaign issues. For example, corruption, the economy, ethnicity, governance, land ownership and the ICC case. The AUC report also noted that the media coverage of the 2013 polls was skewed in favour of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance. This implies that the other political parties and coalitions contesting the polls received minimal coverage. Further, female candidates received relatively little media coverage compared to their male counterparts. By inadequately covering other political parties or coalitions and female candidates, the news media contributed to the political invisibility of the contestants besides those that were from dominant political parties and coalitions in Kenya in 2013. This implies that the electorate was less exposed to political news about these contestants, political coalitions and parties that were less dominant.

The direct effect of exposure to radio on women's political participation emanates from the wider role of the news media as disseminators of political news, especially, in electioneering periods. Staples (1998) says that "researchers following the uses and gratifications perspective argue that in order to understand the effects of media content, we must understand why people use it" (p. 1). Corroborating this, Idid and Dhaha (2013:2) state that "political information seeking studies attempt at understanding why people seek information on politics from the traditional and new media." In the current study, which is anchored on UGT, political

gratifications were identified and used in the interpretation of the results on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation.

Media audience members have different uses and gratifications (Katz et al., 1974). Some of the gratifications that the audience seeks from the media, such as radio, relate to information seeking or surveillance, guidance, social utility and entertainment (Kim & Kim, 2007). Data on these gratifications was gathered in this study (Question 12 in Appendix I). Ahmed (2011) notes that political media is used to get information and orientation to take certain political actions, such as voting. This suggests that women's exposure to radio can influence their voter turnout and who to vote for in an election. A study focusing on Malaysian voters identified vote guidance as one of the motives for political information seeking (Idid & Dhaha, 2013). In addition, Baran and Davis (2020) note that the media give people more reasons for choosing a candidate that they already favour. Thus, the media may be reinforcing voting choices that have already been made. However, the majority of people in Kenya make their voting decisions earlier than before election campaigns commence. Such decisions are mainly based on ethnic-inclined political party support (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; Kamau, 2013; Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015b). This suggests that party support is based on ethnicity rather than being driven by voters' persuasions from, among others, radio.

The news media audience also uses political media due to their desire to stay abreast of the issues in their socio-economic and political environment. This helps them fulfill surveillance gratifications (Ahmed, 2011; Katz et al., 1974; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). Another motivation for media use is social utility gratification. This relates to people getting and retaining mass media political news so that they can use it in discussions with others (Ahmed, 2011; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). In this study, the frequency of interpersonal political

conversations was considered a mediator in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.

Media audience members also seek to get entertained through mediated content such as political gossip, entertaining campaign materials and two-horse race reporting in election coverage. This news content helps the audience fulfil their entertainment gratifications (Benesch, 2012). Two-horse race reportage of election campaigns is entertaining and this makes it interesting to follow political news on radio. The two leading presidential candidates in the 2013 Kenya general election, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta and their two political coalitions, CORD and the Jubilee Alliance, respectively were extensively covered in the news media (The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a, 2013b). This may have deepened voters' partisanship with these political coalitions and their candidates. Voters who report political news gratifications show higher political involvement than those who seek to satisfy their entertainment-related motivations from exposure to news media (Kim & Kim, 2007; Shah, McLeod & Yoon, 2001). This suggests the importance of political news seeking gratifications over entertainment-related motivations for exposure to radio and other news media.

In this research, it was anticipated that women voters may have exposed themselves to radio to satisfy their political information needs for their electoral participation. During elections, radio and other news media disseminate political news on a wide range of issues. For example, electoral laws, voter registration, the voting process, time and venues, election campaign issues, political parties and candidates, safety and security (Bosire & Lardner, 2022; MCK, 2021; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Acknowledging the role of radio in this, Edegoh et al. (2015) argue that radio provides information that is relevant to politics and civic education and it is thus a

vital pillar of democracy in Africa. This underscores why this study focused on exposure to radio.

A study by Santas et al. (2020) sought to explore the place of news media in women's political mobilization during the 2019 gubernatorial election in Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria. The research established that the voter education efforts of the news media mobilized women to participate in the election. Just like the study in Nigeria focused on a state (the equivalent of a county in Kenya), the present one was confined to Kakamega County. However, the research in Nigeria was restricted to one local area (Lafia) within Nasarawa State. This differs from the current research, which was conducted in half of the 12 constituencies in Kakamega County. Further, the current study focused on political participation through election campaigning and voting for six elective posts during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. This contrasts with the research in Lafia that focused on the gubernatorial post only.

Two studies conducted using secondary data from Afrobarometer, a non-partisan pan-African research network, found a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and voter turnout in Africa (Kuenzi & Lambright, 2005, 2011). These findings are consistent with those of Vergne's (2011) research spanning 1980 to 2005 and involving 60 developing countries. Vergne's study concluded that radio was the best news medium for citizens' acquisition and processing of information needed to decide how to vote in developing countries.

Kuenzi and Lambright's (2005) study in Africa, which included Kenya, justifies its findings of a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and voter turnout in Africa on two grounds. First, radio news programmes are extremely important as sources of

information on the continent. This is more so in rural and poor urban areas, where a majority of people have low levels of literacy. Second, radio provides important political news on the candidates, when and how to vote. These reasons are consistent with those advanced by Canayaz (2005). From the perspective of mobilization theory, Canayaz notes that the news media provide information that helps decrease the cost of voting, which is likely to increase voter turnout. Further, Canayaz notes that based on the rational choice theory of voting, election-related news provided by the media focuses on the importance of the polls, which can mobilize citizens towards voting.

Contrary to the findings in the aforesaid study by Kuenzi and Lambright (2005), which used secondary data from Afrobarometer surveys, this research relied on primary quantitative and qualitative data gathered from a questionnaire and FGDs, respectively. In addition to voting, which was the focus of the research by Kuenzi and Lambright, the current study examined political participation through various election campaign activities. For instance, distributing election campaign literature, wearing and displaying campaign items, canvassing for votes, attending political rallies and meetings, political volunteerism and donating to political campaigns. However, Gitonga (1991) notes that, compared to Western democracies, the distribution of election campaign literature is not a major form of political activity in Kenya. He opines that politicians in the country commonly use old and new media and face-to-face campaign activities. This suggests that opportunities for women voters in Kakamega County to participate in the distribution of election campaign literature during the 2013 polls may have been limited.

Prior research reveals a link between exposure to the news media and engagement in various forms of electoral participation. For instance, Weaver (1996) observes that the use of news

media provides citizens with information on donating money to political parties and candidates. Focusing on both male and female youth, Mbeke (2010) provides empirical evidence of a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and political participation in the 2007 Kenyan polls in Nakuru District (now Nakuru County). This is relevant to this research given that in the 2013 general election, 42.5% of the registered voters in Kakamega County were female youth aged 18-35 years old (IEBC, 2013). This study focused on both young and old women who were registered voters.

The political mobilization role of radio during the 2013 general election in Kenya is reported in a study by Yankem (2015). The research conducted using the survey method focused on both male and female registered voters in Riruta CAW in Dagoreti Constituency in Nairobi County. The study gathered quantitative data from registered voters in the constituency using a questionnaire. Qualitative data were collected from key informants drawn from selected radio stations in Nairobi County. The research established that the majority (76%) of the survey respondents were listening to radio during the 2013 general election campaign period. In descending order, the 10 most preferred radio stations during the 2013 polls as identified by the respondents were Radio Citizen, Classic FM, Capital FM, Radio Maisha, Easy FM, Radio Jambo, KISS FM, Hope FM, QFM and KBC Radio Taifa. The majority of these radio stations broadcast in Kiswahili, a national language in country.

Yankem's (2015) study in Kenya found that political messages about the 2013 Kenyan polls that were broadcast on radio stations were in news programmes, political talk shows and advertisements. This research further established that among those who tuned to radio, 42% and 41% preferred listening to news and entertainment content, respectively. Fifteen percent preferred listening to political talkshows. The research concludes that radio mobilized the

electorate into political participation by voting in Rirura CAW during the general election held on March 4, 2013. This study and the one by Yankem focused on the 2013 general election. However, they differ in several respects. Yankem's research was focused on political participation via voting among both male and female respondents. This study considers political participation through both election campaign activities and voting among registered women voters in 12 CAWs within six constituencies in Kakamega County. In addition to the use of descriptive data, the research applied inferential statistics for quantitative data analysis. In Yankem's study, the qualitative data were collected through key informant interviews. This is distinct from this research, in which qualitative data were gathered from female voters using FGDs.

The empirical literature reviewed in this research indicates that radio is an important source of political news and a driver of electoral participation among voters. However, some other studies reveal contradictory findings. For instance, Kipkoech's (2019) nationwide survey on the relationship between news media consumption and Kenya's political culture. The research was based on 206 respondents, comprising 76.7% males and 22.8% females. The study used bivariate analysis based on Pearson's product-moment correlation (r). From the findings of the study, it was established that there was no statistically significant association between the frequency of listening to radio and political participation among the 206 research participants.

The current study deviates from the foregoing research conducted in Kenya by Kipkoech (2019) as it went beyond bivariate analysis. The current research employed hierarchical multiple regression and statistical mediation analyses of the quantitative data, as detailed in Section 3.8.1 of this thesis. In addition, the study focused on the specific general election of 2013 and women voters within one county (Kakamega County). The difference between the

results in Kipkoech's research and other past studies reviewed in this study is a pointer to mixed results on the influence of the use of radio on voters' participation in elections in Kenya.

The conflicting results established in Kipkoech's (2019) research fit into the wide sphere of studies on the effects of the use of news media on political behaviours. Studies have yielded mixed and inconclusive findings since the 1940s (Chang, 2017; Mbeke, 2010; Pang, 2020). This calls for further academic research to build up the empirical literature on the correlation between exposure to radio and political participation. Kipkoech justifies the contradictory findings established in his study by identifying various reasons, such as political disinterest and the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of listening to radio. The researcher notes that the survey participants might have been politically disinterested. Despite this assertion, the study did not fully explore this finding. In this research, political interest is considered a mediator between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.

Kipkoech (2019) further notes that listening to radio may just be a theoretical construct that does not positively or negatively predict political participation behaviours in Kenya. He further argues that the world over, the public complains of media bias. This public perception probably applies to Kenya, where citizens are aware of the influence that radio has on their political lives and thus do not want to succumb to it. The contradictory results in the study by Kipkoech provided the impetus for conducting this research. In this case, this study considered political interest as one of the mediating variables under political attitudes.

Conflicting results on the nexus between exposure to radio and political participation in Kenya are also reported in a study by Adegbola and Gearhart (2019). The research focused on the correlation between the use of news media and political engagement in three countries, namely,

the USA, Kenya and Nigeria. The study established that the use of radio predicted political participation among the respondents from the USA but not those drawn from both Kenya and Nigeria. Advancing four reasons, Adegbola and Gearhart justify their conflicting research outcomes. First, prior studies that have established a positive correlation between the use of radio and political participation in Africa use small case studies. This limitation contributes to the findings of a positive correlation between the use of radio and political involvement. Second, cross-cutting patterns in the use of news media in Africa may also be hindering political participation. Adegbola and Gearhart note that the differences in radio news listeners' political behaviours may thus be shaped by their news media consumption patterns.

A third reason considered for the failure of radio use to positively correlate with political participation is that the nexus between these two variables might be indirect because it could be shaped by mediators (Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019). The research by Adegbola and Gearhart only considered a direct correlation between the use of news media and political participation within a target population of both males and females. Similarly, the first objective of this study sought to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The research then focused on the mediating effect of political knowledge and attitudes and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. This implies that the current study adopted a direct research paradigm just like the one by Adegbola and Gearhart but also went further to apply the indirect effects paradigm, taking mediators into account.

Finally, Adegbola and Gearhart (2019) argue that government media ownership and control in many African countries can lead to citizens' distrust of the news media and consequently

impact citizens' political participation. While private commercial radio stations dominate the news media scene in Kenya, the majority of them are owned by politicians or their associates (Nyanjom, 2012). This can contribute to political manipulations and it promotes biases in their political coverage, subsequently leading to media distrust by the public. The need for conducting this research arises from the existing contradictions and scanty literature on the research topic and site.

Other scholars discuss additional reasons that could be contributing to the mixed results on the nexus between exposure to radio and political participation. For instance, Sood (2018) argues that news media effects can be positive or negative, abrupt or gradual, short-term or long-term. Sood also argues that the effects of news media use on audience members are dependent on such factors as audience demographic and psychological characteristics. In agreement, Staples (1998:15) states that "listening to the radio is an individual experience. So individual characteristics such as socio-demographics, social and psychological factors influence a person's motivation to use the radio." This underscores why some of these factors were considered in this research. In this study, political interest and self-efficacy were included as intervening variables, while socio-demographics were considered control variables. The study's inclusion of these variables was considered useful in examining the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation.

In related past studies on media use effects on political participation, some socio-demographics and political orientation have been used as control variables. Some of these socio-demographics are gender, age, marital status, levels of education and income and residential location (Early et al., 2022; Ndubi, 2019; Gillwald et al., 2010; Pang, 2020; Rai, 2011; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Other scholars also acknowledge that the correlation between the use of news

media and political participation is influenced by voters' political orientation (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Flanagan, 1996; Jung, 2010; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011). A study conducted in Nigeria using Afrobarometer 2013 survey data revealed that socio-demographics such as education, place of residence (rural or urban) and political party affiliation were significant predictors of women's political participation in the country (Dim & Asomah, 2019). This research considered women voters' socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics as control variables. Socio-demographics considered in this study were: age, marital status, level of education, household monthly income, and residential location (rural or urban). Political orientation characteristics controlled in this research were political party affiliation and partisanship. The use of other news media (TV, newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls) was also applied in this study as a control variable.

McQuail (2010) identifies a lack of unanimity on the nature and extent of media effects that mass communication studies assume to exist. The author adds that researchers cannot consider all the possible psychological, social and cultural factors that shape media content and effects. For instance, this study focused on selected socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics as control variables, political knowledge and attitudes as mediators. McQuail further argues that the news media cover what 'comes from society' and what it produces is simply 'sent back'. This indicates that what we know as media effects denotes the consequences of what the media do, whether this is intended or not. For instance, exposure to political news on radio depicting electoral violence and undermining women in politics can unintentionally negatively influence their political participation.

Women's political participation in Africa is hindered by the risks involved in it, such as political violence and intimidation during elections (International Institute for Democracy and

Electoral Assistance [IDEA], 2021; Bouka et al. 2019; Ndubi, 2020; Trip et al., 2014). News media, especially vernacular radio stations, were directly and indirectly blamed for propagating hate campaigns and messages that inflamed the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya (Galava, 2018; Independent Review Commission on the general elections held in Kenya on 27th December 2007, 2008). Reporting on electoral violence, though well-intended to update people on what is happening in their political environment, might deter women from electoral participation. Gerbner and Gross (1976), in their cultivation theory, note that media representations shape people's views and beliefs about the world around them. More radio coverage of electoral violence can thus make women believe that the environment is dangerous for them to engage in politics. According to Kenyatta (2023), gendered violence during politics is commonplace in Africa, as women are more affected than men.

Media coverage denoting political conflicts and negative frames of politics and politicians reduces political trust and participation (Flanagan, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000). The effect of negative frames of politics denoting violence aligns with the aspect of affective effects advanced in the media system dependency (MSD) theory anchored on UGT and advanced by Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Defleur. According to Ball-Rokeach and Defleur (1976), affective effects result from fear or anxiety due to exposure to media content depicting a likelihood of violence occurring. For instance, radio content that shows the likelihood of violence occurring during a campaign rally. Such coverage is likely to hinder women from attending political activities such as election campaign meetings and rallies. As discussed in Section 1.6 in Chapter One, this study didn't perform a content analysis of election coverage on radio. This research, therefore, does not link election coverage content on radio with the survey results on media effects on political participation. However, the research used FGDs to

probe participants on how such election reportage on radio could have influenced their political engagement in the 2013 polls in Kenya.

Myers (2009) acknowledges that media content is “created and consumed in a social and cultural context” (p. 9). The present research focused on the nexus between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Hall (1980, as cited in Myers, 2009) indicates that access to, consumption and the interpretation of media messages are also affected by the social, economic and cultural norms of the audience. Anchored on this, the study considered socio-demographics as control variables. Feedback from the FGDs on election content consumed from radio and women’s political news consumption was used to explain the quantitative results.

According to Kenyatta (2023), women’s political participation in Kenya is impeded by the gendered nature of society and politics in particular. She notes that the language used towards women candidates during elections is gendered and dismissive. Further, Kenyatta acknowledges that cultural beliefs tend to be cruel towards women as they are placed on a different level of measurement compared to their male counterparts. For instance, to be selected for elective posts, women are expected to show that they are good spouses and housekeepers. This does not apply to male candidates. Kenyatta argues that the socialization of women makes them regard men as leaders and themselves as helpers. Women thus tend to vote for men and, in some cases, against female candidates. Women’s numerical strength as voters, therefore, ends up not translating into greater political representation for them in Kenya.

Cultural barriers such as patriarchy that impede women’s political participation are perpetuated by the news media. This is done by underrepresenting and stereotypically covering women in

the news media (Myers, 2009; Shojaei et al., 2010; Trip et al., 2014; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Gender stereotypical narratives such as politics is a 'man's game' (Verba et al., 1997) and politics is not for women (Oduol, 2008, as cited in Mbeke, 2010). These narratives deter women's political participation. Feminist media theory recognizes that the media discriminate against women through their dissemination of stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity (van Zoonen, 1994). This type of media coverage reinforces societal views (van Zoonen, 1994). The effect of this is demonstrated by Gerbner and Gross (1976) through cultivation theory. The theory postulates that news media representations shape people's reality and views of the world around them. This implies that stereotypical coverage of women can influence how society views them and their participation in politics. In addition, Uwem and Opeke (2015) argue that such media coverage exposes women to inaccurate and stereotypical political information.

Inadequate and stereotypical coverage of women on radio and other news media, as explained in the foregoing discussion, goes against the guidelines of election coverage (MCK, 2021) and the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya. This coverage may thus deter women's electoral participation. For instance, it discourages women from attending political campaign meetings in Kenya (Oduol, 2008, as cited in Mbeke, 2010). Given the limited use of a qualitative research approach in studies on the influence of news media use on political participation globally and in Kenya in particular, such underlying reasons cannot be easily established. This study, therefore, adopted an MMR design.

The nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation is also affected by the gendered nature of media access and use. This explains why Benesch (2012) advocates for the study of the gender gap in news consumption when researching political participation.

The findings from a study in the USA by Benesch (2012) and a 17-nation survey in Africa by Gillwald et al. (2010) determined that women consumed less political news compared to men. In its 2020 annual national media status report, MCK (2021) notes that radio listenership is higher among males compared to females. Gillwald et al. argue that although women may be at home more than men, they spend less time on radio. This is attributed to women's marital or family responsibilities that limit the time available for them to listen to radio and engage in politics. This suggests the need for scheduling strategies for radio programmes that consider the situations in which women operate at home. For instance, having repeat programmes so that they are not just broadcast once.

An audience survey by Koech (2017) focusing on Kipkelion West Sub-County in Kericho County, Kenya, identified the times of the day when the women were mostly listening to radio. The study found that a majority of women listened to radio mostly in the mornings (6.00 a.m. to 10.00 a.m.) and evenings (6.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m.) hours. The researcher justifies these results by acknowledging that morning hours may be appropriate for women. At this time, they might not be busy with their domestic chores. Furthermore, evening hours have fewer economic activities and thus people retreat to their homes, from which they can have time to listen to radio. Radio is a secondary medium that one can listen to even when engaged in other activities. Further, radio broadcasts can be received through a variety of devices, including those that are portable, such as mobile phones. From the FGDs, Koech established that some of the women even carried their radio sets to the farms so that as they worked, they could listen to the programmes broadcast.

The findings in the study by Koech (2017) are corroborated by Mogambi's (2011) research conducted in Kenya's Ndanai and Ndia divisions of Bomet and Kirinyaga Counties,

respectively. The researcher established that early morning and evening hours were the preferred radio listening sessions for most people in the two divisions. Early mornings and evenings were considered ideal before people began and after completing their daily activities, respectively. The popularity of audience preferences for listening to radio programmes broadcast in Kenya during the morning and evening hours is also reported in a study by Yankem (2013). The research focused on the role of radio as a tool of political mobilization in Riruta CAW in Nairobi County during the 2013 Kenya general election.

The research by Mogambi (2011) further found no major differences between the total hours people were listening to radio during weekdays (Monday to Friday) and weekends (Saturday and Sunday). It was established that women spend an average of 6.2 and 6.4 hours listening to radio on weekdays and weekends, respectively. Mogambi's study further found that female listeners were tuned to radio when they were at home. It was noted that at the household level, females listened to radio more than their male counterparts. The research was focused on both male and female respondents. However, its gender-disaggregated data reveal the radio listening habits of male and female respondents.

Contrary to Mogambi's focus on the patterns of production and consumption of local language radio content in Kenya among rural audiences, this study covers political news consumption on radio among both rural and urban women voters. It further examined whether and how exposure to political news on radio could have influenced women's political participation. The first objective of this study examined the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The foregoing findings concur with the second quarter (October to December 2019) national audience survey report by CAK (2020). The report reveals that in Kenya, 69.7% of both male and female respondents tuned to radio at the prime time of 6.00 a.m. to 10.00 a.m., 27.2% listened to radio at the prime time of 3 p.m. to 8 p.m., while the other programming time blocks were apportioned to 54.2% of the respondents. From these findings, CAK concludes that the prime time for listening to radio is the morning hours. This is supported by the findings in the studies by Koech (2017) and Mogambi (2011) that identified the morning and evening hours as the most preferred times for listening to radio. However, some women might miss out on their preferred radio programmes aired at these hours and others may pay less attention to them due to their busy schedules. Consequently, this has impact on their radio listening and exposure to the information broadcast.

Another gendered dimension that causes gaps in news consumption is the patriarchal nature of society. Men, as heads of households, have power over radio access. Gillwald et al. (2010) note that access to a radio and the choice of programmes to tune to are often determined by the male members of the household when present. This illustrates how patriarchy can account for limited women's access to radio and choice of radio programmes to listen to. This, in effect, makes women less politically informed and engaged (Benesch, 2012). Responses from the participants in the FGDs in the current study helped identify some of the reasons underpinning the gendered nature of access to and use of radio. This was considered useful in the interpretation of the statistical findings on the nexus between women voters' exposure and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The motivations for exposure to radio can also account for its influence on political participation. Audience use of news media can be intended or incidental (Valkenburg et al.,

2016). Those who intentionally seek political information from the news media are more likely to be influenced by it than those whose access is incidental. According to Tewksbury, et al. (2001), incidental exposure refers to unintentional encounters with news or public affairs content. Incidental exposure denotes an individual's access to information by chance. This is in contrast to UGT, in which the use of news media is considered to be goal-directed. Audience members seek out media sources that best fulfill their needs and they have choices to satisfy these needs (McQuail, 2010; West & Turner, 2007). Contributing to this, Jung (2010:29) asserts that the motivations of the audiences "at the time of news exposure may not be sufficient enough to trigger subsequent elaboration on news content." This may result in inadequate or no political participation.

Accessibility to and the use of information from the news media is enhanced through MIL. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] (2013), inadequate MIL hinders the accessibility and use of information from the news media. This is supported by Ojebuyi and Salaw (2015), who acknowledge that MIL helps individuals access, utilize and interpret media messages and take actions that can promote their political participation. This suggests that MIL skills can enhance access to political news, which can lead to an informed electorate. They can also aid voters in deciphering and using the political news that they receive from the news media, such as radio. According to Oriare et al. (2010), media literacy in Kenya is low. Despite this, Kenya has no national MIL policy. This is evidenced by the partnership efforts put in place by MCK and UNESCO in 2013 to develop a national MIL policy for Kenya (MCK, 2023). The development of this policy will help address MIL issues and challenges in the country.

The mixed findings from the literature reviewed in this section of the thesis suggest the complexity of the connection between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. There is a need to conduct further research on this correlation to develop and implement interventions on radio that can promote women's political participation. This is crucial given the need to attain gender equality in elective politics in Kenya. Further, there is a paucity of literature on the correlation between women's exposure to radio and political participation in Kenya and the research site in particular. This is a knowledge gap that this study sought to bridge by establishing the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

2.3 Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women's Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in Elections

Barabas, Jerit, Pollock and Rainery (2014) consider political knowledge as a good measure for determining the effects of media content reception on the audience. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) note that individuals who are more politically knowledgeable tend to participate in elections than those who are less knowledgeable. In Section 2.2 of this research, the definitions of exposure to radio and political participation were examined. Before focusing on the literature on the correlation between women's exposure to radio and political participation via political knowledge, there is a need to define this mediating variable.

According to Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996), political knowledge refers to "the range of factual information about politics that is stored in long-term memory" (p. 10). Zaller (1992) adds that political knowledge questions demonstrate how much information respondents can remember. These definitions imply that political knowledge relates to knowledge about politics that can be recalled by an individual. Andersen et al. (2020) identify two categories of political

knowledge. First, knowledge about the political system, which is largely acquired through formal education. Second, current political affairs knowledge, which is mainly acquired through exposure to the news media. Barabas et al. (2014) note that current political affairs knowledge focuses on current happenings in politics and society. Rapeli (2022) adds that in measuring political knowledge, researchers almost exclusively rely on survey data using factual political knowledge questions. Such questions have clearly defined correct and incorrect answers. Responses to such questions are mostly sourced from the news media. As defined under the operational definition of terms in this research, the study focused on factual political knowledge. However, for the sake of parsimony, it uses the term ‘political knowledge’.

Informed electoral participation depends on citizens being politically knowledgeable to a certain extent (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). In concurrence, Slater (2004) notes that political knowledge, which denotes the processing and recall of the political news one has been exposed to in the media, is considered a key driver of political participation. This suggests the significance of exposure to radio in enhancing women’s political knowledge as a pathway to their electoral participation. Uwem and Opeke (2015) note that “utilization of political information translates to proper understandability of the resources and situational impediments facing women in politics and transforming the knowledge into a workable vision” (p. 11). This suggests that through exposure to radio, women get can get educated on politics and the political environment and using the knowledge acquired, they can participate in elections.

In this study, exposure to radio was considered one of the means through which women voters accessed political news, which is considered a source of women voters’ political learning or knowledge. Beyer, Knudsen, Andersen and Shehata (2021:350) assert that “as most citizens

experience politics through the media, the media play a central role for citizens' learning about politics and current affairs." Radio is regarded as a key knowledge resource for women's political participation because it empowers them by providing information that leads them to political learning, which stimulates them towards action (Heywood, 2020; Mbewe, 2019). This implies the mediating role of exposure to radio on women's political participation.

According to Rapeli (2022), the majority of past studies have conceptualized political knowledge as either a predictor of political participation or as an outcome variable when examining news media use. However, Shaker (2009) notes that fundamentally, the use of news media predicts political knowledge and posits that theoretically, this knowledge stimulates citizens' better political behaviours that reflect their interests. This postulation demonstrates the need to focus on political knowledge as one of the key variables in voters' electoral participation. Given Rapeli's observation, there is limited literature that directly addresses the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women's exposure to news media (radio in particular) and political participation. The present study deviates from the conceptualization of political knowledge in past research and takes an indirect effects research paradigm. Therefore, in the conceptual framework of this research in Figure 1.1 in Chapter One, political knowledge is considered a mediator.

As Dimitrova, Shehata, Strömbäck and Nord (2014) acknowledge, questions on new political information, which is largely sourced from the news media, are asked when measuring political knowledge gains during election campaigns. This denotes surveillance-based political knowledge questions. Dimitrova et al. add that this is distinct from general political knowledge that may be acquired earlier in one's life. Surveillance-based political knowledge questions focused on in this study were expected to be largely learnt through exposure to radio and other

news media. To isolate the effect of exposure to radio in this regard, the research considered the use of other news media besides radio as control variables. In surveys on media effects on political participation, the measurement of political knowledge is often based on self-reported answers to open-ended objective surveillance facts-based questions on the names of public officials, politics and government (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2007; Andersen et al., 2020; Lupia, 2015; Muriithi & Page, 2013; Verba et al., 1978; Verba, Scholzman & Brady, 1995). This study adopted this approach in formulating the political knowledge questions.

The use of factual questions on current affairs in measuring political knowledge is consistent with surveillance gratifications in UGT (Katz et al., 1974; McQuail; 2010; Zaller, 1992). Surveillance gratifications pertain to seeking information on what is currently happening in the political environment. According to Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996), five questions are sufficient for measuring an individual's level of political knowledge. Focusing on the 2013 Kenyan polls, this study measured political knowledge using six questions on current constitutional provisions, candidates, election campaign promises and Kakamega County.

Various studies have been conducted linking radio use and political knowledge (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Didugwu et al., 2014; Mbewe, 2019). The research by Conroy-Krutz (2018) sought to examine the role of radio in citizens' acquisition of political knowledge in Uganda. The study was based on secondary data from an Afrobarometer survey conducted shortly before the June 29, 2000, referendum on restoring multi-party democracy in Uganda. This research reveals a positive correlation between citizens' frequency of listening to radio and political knowledge in the country in the period preceding the national referendum. The research by Conroy-Krutz and the current one differ as the latter relied on both primary and secondary data and focused on a specific general election conducted in 2013 within the setting

of one county in Kenya. Further, the research gathered both quantitative and qualitative data. Conroy-Krutz's study focused on both male and female respondents. However, this study's target population was women voters in Kakamega County during the 2013 general election. Despite the differences between Conroy-Krutz's study and the present one, its results illustrate the significance of radio in citizens' political participation in Uganda. The research concludes that by listening to radio, people learn about how to participate in politics, leading to their political engagement. From this, an inference could be drawn that political knowledge acted as a mediator between citizens' use of radio and political participation in Uganda.

Research conducted by Didugwu et al. (2014) using an explanatory MMR design demonstrates the contribution of radio to women's acquisition of voter knowledge and political participation in Enugu State, Nigeria. The research focused on the role of NNọKO Umunwanyi, a gender empowerment programme aired on the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) radio station in the rural state of Enugu, Nigeria. In the study, quantitative data were collected using a survey questionnaire, while qualitative data were gathered using FGDs. It was established that women in Enugu State were exposed to NNọko Umunwanyi to a large extent and over half of them (54.5%) reported that the radio programme was a source of their political knowledge. The majority of radio listeners exposed to NNọKO Umunwanyi indicated that they moderately increased their political knowledge. The research by Didugwu et al. and the current one both used an explanatory sequential MMR design based on a survey questionnaire and FGDs. However, the study conducted in Nigeria was anchored on the direct effects political communication research paradigm. The research focused on rural women and used descriptive statistics. The present study examined both the direct and indirect influence of exposure to radio on rural and urban women voters' electoral participation via political knowledge.

Mbewe (2019) conducted a descriptive survey that explored the role of radio in raising political awareness for women in the Solwezi district of North-Western Province in Zambia. Data were collected via questionnaires, interviews, and document reviews. In the study, radio was identified as one of the major news sources for the respondents' awareness of political events in Zambia. However, it was revealed that though a majority of the women indicated listening to radio daily, this did not greatly raise their political awareness. This challenges the effectiveness of exposure to radio on women's political learning. The study by Mbewe and the current one are related as they both focused on the acquisition of political knowledge from listening to radio among women at a local level. Mbewe's research was confined to Solwezi district, while Kakamega County is this study's research site. In addition to using a survey questionnaire, as was the case in the Zambian study, the present research used FGDs. Quantitative data analysis in Mbewe's study involved descriptive statistics, while the present one uses both descriptive and inferential statistics. The use of inferential statistics made it possible for this research to isolate the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation after considering control variables.

A positive link between political knowledge and electoral participation is noted by various scholars. For instance, Verba et al. (1995) note that there is a positive correlation between citizens' political knowledge and participation in electoral activities such as political volunteerism. In the current study, one of the forms of election campaign participation focused on is political volunteerism as a leader or member of an election campaign support team. Moreover, Anduiza, Gallego and Jorba (2012) argue that political knowledge enables citizens to evaluate the government and policies of those in power and this influences their voting choices. Delli Carpini (2000) adds that political knowledge of the candidates and campaign issues predict the diminishing voter turnout among the youth in developed democracies.

However, there is a paucity of data on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in Kenya via political knowledge. This underpins the focus of this study on political knowledge as a mediating variable. Studies using statistical mediation analysis seek to answer the how and why of media effects.

Despite the literature reviewed demonstrating the significance of political knowledge in electoral participation, the majority of people are less politically knowledgeable (Anduiza et al., 2012; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Reichert, 2016). However, compared to men, women are less politically knowledgeable (Benesch, 2012; Bennet & Bennet, 1989; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Digiugwu et al., 2014; Flanagan, 1996; Shojaei et al., 2010). A survey conducted before the 2013 Kenya general election also established that female respondents, compared to their male participants, had low political knowledge about various requirements for elections in the country's 2010 Constitution (Ipsos Synovate, 2012a). This points to gender disparities in this aspect of political knowledge.

The foregoing findings are in tandem with the survey by KHRC (2014). The survey established that by the end of 2012, a majority of Kenyans were insufficiently aware of the various elective posts and their functions, procedures and mechanisms for voting under the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. These results are consistent with those from a national survey conducted in December 2012 by the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Monitoring Project. The findings reveal that only 39% of the 2,500 respondents strongly agreed that they had enough information to enable them to vote in the 2013 Kenya general election (KNDR Monitoring Project, 2013). This suggests inadequate exposure to voter information among the respondents.

A presidential winner in a general election in Kenya must obtain more than half of all the votes cast (“50% + 1 rule”) and at least 25% in more than 23 out of the 47 counties in the country (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). A national survey by Ipsos Synovate (2012b) found that 52% of the respondents were aware of the “50% + 1 rule.” The findings further reveal that in Western Kenya, where Kakamega County is located, respondents’ awareness of the “50% + 1 rule” was below 30%. In the current study, respondents were asked this same question on the “50% + 1 rule” (Question 24 in Appendix I). The empirical literature reviewed in this study demonstrates poor citizens’ political knowledge during Kenya’s 2013 general election. However, the nationwide surveys reviewed as opposed to this study did not examine political knowledge as a mediating variable.

Women’s limited political knowledge is attributed to several factors. For example, their low use of news media. Benesch (2012) conducted a study in the USA using survey secondary data. It was found that women consume less political news from radio and other media compared to men. Benesch further notes that this may be impeding women’s acquisition of political knowledge and underrepresentation in the political process. Limited citizens’ acquisition of political knowledge from the news media can also be constrained by their low levels of education, which impact their motivation and cognitive abilities to understand and organize political news (Benesch, 2012; Luskin, 1990; Jung, 2010). Further, McQuail (2010) argues that people may lack specific motivation and could have low levels of attention to broadcast news. Without being attentive to the information exposed in news media, a person cannot become politically knowledgeable and competent enough to engage in politics (Lupia, 2015). From the FGDs, this study obtained data on how some of the aforementioned factors affected the nexus between exposure to radio and political participation via political knowledge.

A survey conducted by Ipsos Synovate (2012b) before the 2013 general election reveals that socio-demographics are significant predictors of the differences in citizens' levels of political knowledge in Kenya. In this national survey, young respondents (18-34 years) and those residing in urban areas were more politically informed regarding constitutional requirements on general elections in Kenya than those who were old (45 years and older) and residing in rural areas in the country. This could be attributed to higher access to information among the youth and urban residents compared to the elderly and those residing in rural areas (Ipsos, 2013; Mbeke, 2010). Cognizant of this, the current study sampled CAWs from both rural and urban settings.

A descriptive survey by Olaniru, Olatunji, Ayandele and Popoola (2019) found that radio was the foremost source of political knowledge among undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. Based on this, the researchers advocate for the power and twin functions of media involving socialization and enlightenment to be used to counter negative women's socialization. Olaniru et al. further argue that these twin functions of the news media contribute to political knowledge gains, which is a key resource for electoral participation. Despite the foregoing, the level of political knowledge among women is generally low. One of the factors contributing to this is women's low SES, upon which the knowledge gap theory hypothesizes that:

As the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status [SES] tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease (Tichenor, Donohue & Olien, 1970: pp. 159–60).

Persons with higher SES differ from those from the lower SES segment in terms of learning habits, information-processing and communication skills, social networks, and perceived relevance, leading to selective exposure (Tichenor et al., 1970). Finally, news media coverage is “geared toward people with high SES, with the result that low SES may have difficulty

understanding the news” (McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis & Wanta, 2011, p. 94). According to Beyer et al. (2021), this leads to a ‘Matthew Effect’. Under this effect, “the rich get richer and the poor get poorer in terms of political knowledge” (Beyer et al., 2021, p. 350). This study considered socio-demographic characteristics as control variables.

The acquisition of political knowledge is also constrained by the packaging of information in the news media as well as its consumption (Anduiza et al., 2012). For instance, Luskin (1990: 335) asserts that broadcast news is too “brief and shallow” to enrich the political knowledge of its audience. In agreement, Newton (1999) notes that political news media coverage is brief and superficial and this can increase audience members’ political apathy, confusion, alienation, distrust, cynicism, disillusionment, fear and participation. Perloff (2014) adds that political news focuses on facts and figures and may contain jargon that makes it hard for people to understand it. This suggests that poor packaging of radio broadcasts can impede women’s acquisition of political knowledge and this can have negative implications for their electoral participation. McQuail (2010) further argues that news is not intentionally set for learning but as a means of fulfilling the surveillance function of the mass media. The news media, therefore, disseminates a wide range of information so that audience members select the content that satisfies their political gratifications.

Hendricks Vettenhen, Hagemann and van Snippenburg (2004) note that the degree to which media content elaborates on politics shapes the correlation between media consumption and political knowledge. These authors acknowledge that the news media presentation of information in a context familiar to the audience can improve their political news processing and learning. McQuail (2010) observes that news media use may not translate into greater political knowledge due to an audience member’s failure to pay attention to, understand and

recall the content to which they are exposed. The positive impact of using the news media on political knowledge is also diminished when people are exposed to inaccurate information (Larkin & Were, 2013; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). In new media studies can be construed as political misinformation and disinformation.

Uwem and Opeke (2015:12) acknowledge that “the challenge of why women population power has failed to translate to political strength could be that the right information is not provided, understood, accessed, analyzed, used or adapted.” Contributing to inaccurate media coverage of elections is the inadequate and stereotypical coverage of female politicians (Heywood, 2020; Shojaei et al., 2010; Trip et al., 2014; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Overall, the UN (1996) notes that the news media portray women stereotypically. If women are exposed to such stereotypical election coverage, then it is likely that it will negatively impact their political participation. In this regard, Heywood (2020) points out that information disseminated via news media such as radio can be useful if it is presented in a manner that facilitates women’s empowerment and best represents them to the audience.

The review of literature in this section has demonstrated the correlation between women’s exposure to radio and political knowledge. It has also discussed how political knowledge correlates with women’s electoral participation. Lupia (2015) observes that there is a link between political news, knowledge and competence. The author notes that “information is what educators can convey to others directly” (Lupia, 2015, p. 25). Therefore, to acquire political knowledge, a person needs information.

Lupia (2015) considers an individual’s political knowledge to be derived from processing the information received from the news media. It is, therefore, expected that radio stations

broadcast political news to the electorate as part of fulfilling their informational and educational roles in building democracy. This implies that radio conveys political news to the electorate, who then processes it, leading to the acquisition of political knowledge. Subsequently, the political knowledge acquired may enable a voter to be competent to engage in political activities. This suggests the mediating effect of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.

Jung (2010) notes that though political knowledge is considered an important variable in political communication and science research, little is known about whether political knowledge facilitates electoral participation and, if so, how the two are connected or linked. In other words, the mediating effect of political knowledge on the nexus between the use of news media and electoral participation is understudied. This is evidenced in previous political communication and science studies reviewed in this research. The studies, which have tended to be quantitative, have adopted a one-path analytical strategy involving correlating radio use and political knowledge and then political knowledge and participation. To bridge the existing research gaps, this study adopted MMR design and statistical mediation analysis approaches.

2.4 Intervening Effect of Political Attitudes on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women's Electoral Participation

This study focused on two political attitudes, namely political interest and self-efficacy. According to Flanagan (1996), political interest and efficacy constitute some of the psychological resources shaping the nexus between the use of the news media and political participation. Andersen et al. (2020) consider political interest as “a psychological state of mind referring to a person's curiosity about politics” (p. 38). On the other hand, Pang (2020:25) defines political interest as “people's interests in politics-related issues, from political news to

political events, organizations, and many more aspects.”. These definitions are consistent with Zaller (1992), who asserts that political interest is a subjective term denoting “attentiveness to politics” (p. 18). In this research, political interest focused on the degree to which a woman voter paid attention to or was curious about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns and outcomes of the polls. According to Rai (2011), exposure to the news media predicts political interest, which leads to women’s political participation. This suggests that political interest can mediate the correlation between women’s exposure to radio and political participation.

According to Rasmussen and Nørgaard (2017:26), political efficacy is “a perceptual, subjective and psychological construct that predicts political engagement.” Political efficacy is classified into two categories: internal political efficacy and external political efficacy (Heger & Hoffman, 2019; Niemi, Crag & Mattei, 1991). Internal political efficacy refers to “beliefs about one's competence to understand and to participate effectively in politics” (Niemi et al., 1991, p.1407). On the other hand, external political efficacy denotes an individual’s “beliefs about the responsiveness of governmental authorities and institutions to citizen demands” (Niemi et al., 1991, p. 1408).

The distinction between internal and external political efficacy is elucidated by Heger and Hoffman. Internal political efficacy focuses on an individual’s perceived ability to understand politics and influence political participation. External political efficacy is concerned with the perceived responsiveness of the political system to citizens’ demands, which ultimately affects their perceived ability to influence political processes. This research focused on internal political efficacy, as an intervening variable. Niemi et al. (1991) note that political self-efficacy is enhanced by longer-time repeated exposure to the news media, as it makes individuals familiar with the political actors and builds confidence in them to compare different candidates.

In agreement, Park (2014) argues that political self-efficacy positively correlates with news consumption. Kaid, McKinney and Tedesco (2007) add that political self-efficacy is linked to political information efficacy (PIE), which denotes an individual's confidence that the political knowledge possessed is adequate for him or her to participate in politics. Jung (2010) observes that political efficacy mediates the correlation between the use of the news media and political participation. Given the foregoing background, this study focused on political self-efficacy and not external political efficacy.

The intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on electoral participation is anchored on political mobilization theory. The theory identifies strong indirect relationships between using the news media and political participation as stimulated by political attitudes (Flanagan, 1996). Political communication studies grounded in this indirect media effects paradigm assess the mediating role of political attitudes in the correlation between news media use and political participation (Chang, 2017; Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014; Jung, 2010; Shah, Cho, Eveland & Kwak, 2005; Shah et al., 2017). This suggests that the effect of the use of news media on political participation can be transmitted via political attitudes. Using this approach, the study considered both the direct and indirect effects of exposure to radio on political participation via political interest and self-efficacy.

The intervening effect of political attitudes in the relationship between women's exposure to radio and political participation is noted by Heywood (2020). The author observes that radio disseminates information that can positively contribute to women's empowerment by shaping their beliefs and practices. This concurs with the argument in MSD theory that cognitive effects occur after media use. These effects denote a shift in attitudes, beliefs and values of the audience after media use (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976). In this research, political attitudes

and participation constitute such beliefs and practices, respectively. Contributing to this, Andersen, Bjanoe, Albaek and de Vreese (2016) acknowledge that election campaign settings are ideal for the use of news media and political participation, with the possibility of affecting the psychological processes that connect these two activities. The present study was situated in such settings as it focused on activities that occurred at the time the 2013 polls were held in Kenya.

According to Flanagan (1996), political interest and self-efficacy shape the nexus between the use of the news media and political participation. This theoretical assumption has been tested in various studies. For instance, Kalyango (2009) conducted research that examined the role of radio during the democratization process in Uganda. The study used public opinion data from the 2005 Afrobarometer survey in Uganda. The research concluded that “the more Ugandan voters access news coverage of political news on independent radio accounting for their interest in politics, the higher their support for democracy” (Kalyango, 2000, p. 212). The use of radio was thus determined to be a contributor to citizens’ political interest, which in turn led to their support for democracy in Uganda. However, there is a paucity of research on the mediating role of political interest and self-efficacy in political participation in Kenya. To fill this knowledge gap, this research sought to determine if and how political interest and self-efficacy concomitantly may have intervened in the correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Besides political mobilization and resources, political interest is considered a key determinant of voters’ political participation, especially during elections (Verba et al., 1978; Verba et al., 1995). According to Pang (2020), exposure to political news in the media but not general media use promotes political interest. Pang adds that such exposure arouses more political interest in

citizens, which motivates them to participate in political activities. Corroborating this, Moehler and Conroy-Krutz (2016) acknowledge that exposure to the news media to obtain political news increases political interest and motivation and, subsequently political participation. Despite the foregoing, Pang notes that academic research on media effects on political participation often conceptualizes political interest as either a control or dependent variable. This leaves out its mediating effect. This research gap underpins this study's conceptualization of political interest as an intervening variable in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.

Jung (2010) recommends focusing on election campaign interest, as it mainly results from the use of news media. In agreement, Guo and Moy (1998) acknowledge that using the news media predicts election campaign interest, which subsequently leads to political participation. Verba et al. (1995) add that election campaign interest is significantly positively related to political participation. The operationalization of political interest in this research is narrowed down to women voters' interest in the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. In measuring political interest, previous studies have relied on asking respondents a single-item question (for example, Alami, 2017; Jung, 2010; Dimitrova et al., 2014; Guo & Moy, 1998). This research, therefore, considered political interest as women voters' rating of their interest in the campaigns for 2013 polls based on a four-point Likert scale ranging from (1) not at all interested to (4) very interested (Question 29 in Appendix I).

The review of the literature in this chapter has demonstrated that exposure to radio contributes to women's political interest, which, in turn, influences their electoral participation. However, prior studies reveal low political interest among the majority of women (Carreras, 2018; Rai, 2011; Sańchez-Vi'tores, 2019). Similar results are also evident in studies in Kenya. For

example, the 2013 post-election survey under the Comparative National Election Project (CNEP) in Kenya found that a slim majority of male and female respondents were politically interested. This national survey was conducted among 1,200 respondents drawn from 30 (10 urban and 20 rural) constituencies across Kenya. Almost half (48%) of the respondents in the survey indicated that they were not very interested or not at all interested in politics (Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015b). The weakness of this survey was that it did not disaggregate data by gender, making it hard to distinguish the level of political interest among women and men.

Various factors contribute to women's low political interest. First, gendered social processes do not promote a political culture among women, as they emphasize a private life for them at home (Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Sa'nchez-Vi'tores, 2019). Second, the gendered socialization of women makes them take on domestic or household responsibilities, which diminishes their time for adequate political information-seeking and participation (Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Sa'nchez-Vi'tores, 2019). The third contributing factor to women's low interest in politics is their lack of the necessary socio-economic resources needed for political participation (Bennet & Bennet, 1989; Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Verba et al., 1978; Verba et al., 1995). Without these enabling resources, women feel that they have limited influence on the male-dominated political landscape.

The positive correlation between exposure to radio and political interest is further challenged by media malaise theorists, who argue that "entertainment media and/or certain news media (for example, TV news) diminish political interest and increase political cynicism" (Ha et al., 2013, p. 4). Media malaise theorists contend that the time spent on using media displaces or diminishes the time available for people to engage in politics. Baek (2009) argues that this contributes to low political interest and participation among women. The limited political

interest among women may also be attributed to the negative media framing of politics and politicians, inadequate and stereotypical news media coverage of female political actors (Jung, 2010; Shojaei et al., 2010). To gain insights into how radio coverage of the 2013 Kenyan polls might have affected women voters' electoral participation via political interest, this study relied on the primary and secondary data in FGDs and document reviews, respectively.

Despite the positive correlation between the use of radio and political interest as established in the literature, some studies reveal contradictory findings. For instance, a field experimental study on the effects of news media use on the 2012 Ghana election campaign participation (Moehler & Conroy-Krutz, 2016). The research compared partisans listening to like-minded, cross-cutting or neutral radio to partisans not listening to radio. It was established that though the respondents' exposure to both partisan and non-partisan media content resulted in greater political interest, this did not correspondingly increase their political participation. Moehler and Conroy-Krutz's research established that partisan media simultaneously stimulated respondents' political interest but discouraged their participation in election campaigns.

The foregoing study by Moehler and Conroy-Krutz (2016) was based on an experimental research design focusing on both male and female respondents within Accra, an urban area in Ghana. The current research used an explanatory sequential MMR design. In this research approach, quantitative data were collected and analyzed first. This was followed by gathering and analyzing qualitative data. Thereafter, the results from the quantitative and qualitative phases were triangulated.

Chang (2007) conducted a study on the mediating effect of politically mobilizing vs. demobilizing media in Taiwan. This means that the research was anchored on an indirect media

effects approach. The researcher used Taiwan's Social Change Survey data collected in 2003 and released in 2004. News media that provided issue-oriented information that could boost political knowledge and entertainment content were considered to be mobilizing and demobilizing, respectively. The research established that political interest mediates the correlation between the time spent on mobilizing media and electoral participation. This implies that the use of mobilizing media predicted the respondents' political interest which subsequently contributed to their political participation. The research further found that there was a negative correlation between demobilizing media and political engagement. The use of FGDs in this research was adopted to validate the results from the quantitative data on the link between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation via political interest. The triangulation of the quantitative data from the survey questionnaire and the qualitative data from the FGDs contributed to the reliability of the study findings.

Despite the foregoing, Pang (2020) acknowledges that there is inadequate academic research on the mediating effect of political interest on the correlation between the use of the news media and political participation. He further observes that a majority of past studies conceptualize political interest as either a control variable or a dependent variable. This is a research gap that this study sought to address using a statistical mediation approach to unravel the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation through both political interest and self-efficacy.

Mvukiyehe (2017) conducted a study in Liberia focusing on the impact of exposure to electoral programmes on radio on political behaviours and attitudes during the 2011 general election in the country. Broadcast five weeks before the general election, these programmes which had politically relevant information, were aired on the UN Mission in Liberia radio. The research

used experimental and survey designs focusing on rural women in Liberia. This is distinct from this study, as it focused on both rural and urban women voters. Mvukiyehé's research combined both internal and external political efficacy, making it hard to isolate the contribution of each form of political efficacy. The present study did not focus on external political efficacy but rather considered only political self-efficacy.

The study by Mvukiyehé (2017) on the 2011 general election in Liberia established a positive correlation between exposure to electoral programmes broadcast on radio and women's political participation. This correlation was mediated by political efficacy, especially on matters related to the electoral process and the willingness of women to uphold the integrity of the electoral process. The research considered both electoral and non-electoral (civic engagement) forms of political participation, while the present one restricted itself to specific forms of electoral participation. Some of the forms of electoral participation considered in Mvukiyehé's study are similar to the ones adopted in this research. For example, voting, contributing financially to election campaigns and attending political rallies. Civic engagement activities considered in Mvukiyehé's research included contacting political and traditional leaders, sending cards to leaders, attending and speaking at community meetings. This suggests that this study's conceptualization of political participation differed from the one in Mvukiyehé's research, as it did extend to civic engagement.

The distinction between the research by Mvukiyehé (2017) and the present one further lies in the latter study's use of an MMR design involving a survey questionnaire and FGDs. Karpf et al. (2015) advocate for the use of a qualitative research approach in addition to the quantitative method, as it is considered to be useful for developing new theoretical understandings in political communication. Karpf et al. further observe that responses to open-ended questions

in qualitative data provide evidence of the conclusions reached in a study. This research, therefore, adopted the MMR design to develop statistical mediational models incorporating political interest and self-efficacy using quantitative data gathered from the survey questionnaire. Qualitative data gathered from the FGDs were then used to explain the statistical results from the parallel multiple mediators' model.

The positive correlation between exposure to the news media and political self-efficacy is justified by some scholars. For instance, Heywood (2020) notes that radio, through non-stereotypical coverage and positive frames of women, can boost their capabilities and image among men, who, due to patriarchy, are key decision-makers in society. Another factor identified by Kaid et al. (2007) is inadequate PIE. Political self-efficacy is linked to PIE as it demonstrates an individual's confidence that the political knowledge possessed is adequate for him or her to participate in politics. Against this background, it is most likely that women's exposure to stereotypical news media political content and their inadequacy in PIE may negatively impact their political self-efficacy.

From the empirical literature reviewed in this study, it is evident that there is a paucity of academic research applying statistical mediation analysis in political communication research in Kenya. However, a study by Ndubi (2019) used a simple statistical mediation model to explore how the use of social networking sites among Kenyan youth (18-35 years) relates to their online and offline political participation. This web-based survey used a convenient sample of both male and female youth. The research used the PROCESS Macro for a simple mediation model to test its premise that "social media use exerts an effect on offline political participation via online political participation (intervening/mediating variable)" (Ndubi, 2019, p. 21). The study established that online political participation mediated the effects of the rate of use of

social networking sites on offline political participation. This means that the effect of the rate of use of social networking sites on offline political participation among the study respondents was transmitted via online political participation.

The study by Ndubi (2019) suggests the relevance of using statistical mediation analysis in political communication research. This is important given that statistical mediation analysis seeks to explain how the influence of a predictor on a criterion passes through a mediator or mediators. This approach fits into the theoretical underpinnings of communication science and is useful for building knowledge of the processes and effects of media use and communication in everyday life (Chan et al., 2020). This indirect effects research paradigm thus denotes the how and why of media effects (Chan et al., 2020). In the current study, political interest and self-efficacy were concomitantly tested through a parallel multiple mediators' model.

This research, though focused on exposure to radio and not social networking sites, applied the simple mediation model used in Ndubi's (2019) study. This model was used to assess the mediating role of (1) political knowledge and (2) the frequency of interpersonal political discussions on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In addition, the current study used the PROCESS Macro by Hayes (2022) for a parallel multiple mediation model to examine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. PROCESS Macro statistical mediation models used in this study are discussed in Section 3.8.1 of this thesis. The statistical mediation models relate to the intervening role of political knowledge, interest and self-efficacy and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. In this models, it was envisaged that the influence of

exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was expected to be transmitted via the mediating variables.

Despite the empirical evidence reviewed in this research on the positive link between the use of news media and political efficacy, some scholars and studies reveal contradictory views and results (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Idid, Ahmed & Souket, 2017; Sale, 2017). Using secondary data from an Afrobarometer survey conducted shortly before the June 29, 2000, referendum in Uganda, Conroy-Krutz found no evidence that listening to the radio was associated with greater internal and external political efficacy. Similarly, conflicting findings are established in a study by Idid et al. (2017) conducted in Malaysia among registered voters aged over 21 years. It was determined that the use of radio and TV negatively contributed to voter efficacy. This indicates that the higher the level of use of radio and TV, the lower the respondents' voter efficacy. The research was based on radio and TV and both internal and external political efficacy, as opposed to the current one, which focused on exposure to radio and internal political efficacy. This study conceptualized TV use for political information seeking as a control variable.

The research by Idid et al. (2017) provides evidence of a situation in which a negative correlation exists between radio and TV use and voter efficacy. The failure of the use of the news media to sufficiently change people's political attitudes and participation in elective politics can be attributed to various factors (Sale, 2017). For instance, media malaise theorists argue that the news media coverage of politics that lacks substance (not issue-oriented), focusing on negativity, conflict and violence, contributes to mistrust in politics and weakens political efficacy (Strömbäck & Shehata, 2010). This suggests that women voters' exposure to

political news packaged using such frames can decrease their political self-efficacy and, consequently their electoral participation.

From the empirical literature reviewed in this research, it is evident that political self-efficacy is a key determinant of political participation. However, as noted in previous studies, women consider themselves less politically efficacious (for example, Carreras, 2018; Shojaei et al., 2010; Wainaina, 2013). According to Conroy-Krutz (2018), a positive correlation between political self-efficacy and political involvement occurs if there are no resource limitations or institutional constraints to their political participation. The resource constraints identified by Conroy-Krutz include poverty, low levels of education and a lack of political information. Inexperience with democratic institutions was also identified as another constraint. On socio-demographics, Stefani et al. (2021) agree that women's limited political participation may be attributed to their low resource base in terms of education and income and their burdens of housework and caregiving for the family.

The challenge of housework or family responsibilities and other constraints on political self-efficacy is supported by Marshall, Thomas and Gidengil (2007). These authors identify barriers to women's political self-efficacy as inadequate time due to family and work-related responsibilities, insufficient political knowledge, inadequate partisan identification and SES constraints. Marshall et al. add that women's low political self-efficacy, which is an indicator of them feeling less confident in their political abilities compared to men, persists despite the gains made since second-wave feminism. Related to political self-efficacy is PIE. Kaid et al. (2007) note that PIE helps build political self-efficacy. An individual who has a low PIE is thus likely to perceive himself or herself as less politically efficacious, even after exposure to

political news on radio. This can then negatively impact on the political participation of the individual.

Finally, inadequate and stereotypical media coverage of women in the public sphere, particularly in politics and the negative framing of politics contribute to women's low political self-efficacy (Marshall et al., 2007). This was also experienced in Kenya, where there was inadequate media coverage of women candidates, in promoting women's leadership and gender equality before the 2013 general election (MCK, 2013). This suggests the need for radio to empower women's political participation by raising their political self-efficacy through positive coverage of politics, especially for female leaders.

Inadequate political self-efficacy can thus impede women's political participation. For instance, the baseline survey by the Centre for Multiparty-Democracy-Kenya (2015) identifies a lack of political efficacy as a contributor to young people's low attendance in election campaign meetings or rallies in Kenya. Despite this, there is a dearth of academic research on how political self-efficacy mediates the correlation between women's exposure to radio and political participation in Kakamega County. This is a gap that this study sought to fill by conceptualizing political self-efficacy as a mediating variable.

Research conducted by Adegbola and Gearhart (2019) resulted in conflicting results with those already established in the foregoing literature review. The comparative study conducted in the USA, Kenya and Nigeria revealed differences in the extent of the influence of political efficacy on political participation. It was established that political efficacy predicted political participation among respondents from the USA but not in Kenya and Nigeria. The researchers note that individuals with higher political self-efficacy recognize their ability for political

participation and that American citizens have greater perceived political self-efficacy than individuals from Kenya and Nigeria. These contradictory results are consistent with those of Tully and Vraga (2018), who acknowledge that prior research shows that the influence of the use of news media on internal political efficacy is mixed. In this research, political interest and self-efficacy were conceptualized as mediators.

Findings on minimal and negative effects on the correlation between political efficacy and political participation are justified by scholars. For instance, Baek (2009:9) states that “the classical view in political science is that the media have minimal persuasive effects on people’s political attitudes and voting decisions.” In agreement, Jung (2010) argues that news stories provide information but are not persuasive enough to encourage the audience to engage in politics. Further, Didiugwu et al. (2014) acknowledge that political messages broadcast on radio may not be packaged in clear and persuasive ways to facilitate women’s participation in elective politics. Political messages on radio that are clear and persuasive help voters understand politics and mobilize them for political participation. This suggests that political news packaging on radio might limit its power in promoting women’s political self-efficacy, subsequently, this can impede their electoral participation.

Kuenzi and Lambright (2005) conducted a 10-nation study in Africa and identified a negative correlation between political self-efficacy and participation. It was found that political self-efficacy was negatively related to voting in Africa. The research justifies this on the basis that voting on the continent is mainly shaped by considerations of patronage and mobilization agents. This suggests that women’s political self-efficacy may be important for their electoral participation. These negative results come against the backdrop that voting favours women

because it involves very limited resources (Carreras, 2018). However, voting is just one of the many forms of electoral activities that women voters can engage in.

The inclusion of political attitudes in further studies on the influence of news media use on political participation in Kenya is suggested by Kipkoech (2019) and Mbeke (2010). The researchers acknowledge that their inclusion is important in improving the results of political communication research. This is a research area dominated by the study of sociological and communication variables and not psychological resources such as political attitudes. Generally, there is limited academic research that concomitantly assesses the effect of political interest and efficacy on political participation (Alami, 2017; Levy & Akiva, 2019). Motivated by the foregoing, this study conceptualized political attitudes comprising political interest and self-efficacy as intervening variables.

According to Chan et al. (2020), the identification of potential mediators in media and communication research is based on theory and logical reasoning. The conceptual framework guiding the present study is based on political mobilization theory, which identifies political interest and self-efficacy as potential mediators. However, there is limited academic research that concomitantly assesses the effect of these two variables on political participation (Alami, 2017; Levy & Akiva, 2019). This study thus sought to address this research gap using Hayes (2022) parallel multiple mediators' model.

2.5 Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women's Exposure to Radio and Electoral Participation

Within the conceptual framework of this study, the frequency of interpersonal political discussions is considered a mediator in the correlation between women voters' exposure to

radio and electoral participation. According to Kim, Wyatt, and Katz (1999: 362), interpersonal political discussions denote “political talk, discussion, or argument as long as they are voluntarily carried out by free citizens without any specific purpose or predetermined agenda.” This suggests that face-to-face political conversations occur among ordinary citizens, not elite members of the political community.

This research considered women’s frequency of interpersonal political conversations in their ordinary lives as voters. The use of news media increases a person’s inclination to discuss politics with others within their social networks (Alami, 2017; Flanagan, 1996; Jung, 2010; Southwell & Yzer, 2007). This justifies the conceptualization of interpersonal political discussions as a mediator in media effects research (Cho et al., 2009). It is on this basis that this study conceptualized the frequency of interpersonal political discussions as a mediating variable.

In-person political discussions are relevant in Africa as they blend with the oral culture that dominates the continent and is extended by radio (Myers, 2008). The Pew Research Centre’s (2019) global survey in 11 countries, including Kenya, reveals that 72% of the respondents from the country reported that they were comfortable discussing political issues through face-to-face interactions. Despite this, it is unclear how exposure to radio facilitates women’s frequency of interpersonal political discussions and, subsequently, whether it influenced their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Didiugwu et al. (2014) argue that the agenda-setting function of the news media demonstrates how they determine the topics for political debate and discussion in society. This implies that the news media, such as radio, can set an agenda that is likely to be followed up by their

audience members when they meet in person to discuss current political issues and events. The agenda-setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972) is relevant in this context. Through the news media, the relative importance and reinforcement of issues for public awareness are made possible (Baran & Davis, 2020; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McQuail, 2010; Wanta, 1997). From the perspective of the agenda-setting theory, Lambon (2021), points out that the news media has the power to influence the public agenda by emphasizing specific issues, persons or subjects. As such, the media helps build a public agenda, which then shapes discussions in society. This concurs with Wanta, who notes that exposure to the key issues in the news media makes their audience consider them to be important. Consequently, these issues become part and parcel of face-to-face political conversations.

The significance of face-to-face political conversations in facilitating electoral participation is anchored on political mobilization theory and UGT. Political mobilization theory postulates that the use of news media indirectly influences people's political participation because it increases their inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996). This assumption is supported by the communication mediation model (Shah et al., 2017). In this model, interpersonal political discussion is considered a mediating variable between political news consumption and participation. The model 'places conversation in a mediating position between news consumption and civic engagement, theorizing that the use of informational media does not directly influence citizen learning and participatory behaviours, but rather works through political discussion' (Shah et al., 2017, p. 492). From the perspective of UGT, the use of news media helps the audience to fulfill their social utility gratifications (Katz et al., 1974; McQuail, 2010). These gratifications relate to people getting and retaining political news for later use in interpersonal political discussions (McQuail, 2010;

Morey & Yamamoto, 2019). This suggests that the political news obtained from radio can foster women voters' frequency of interpersonal political conversations.

Studies on interpersonal political communication often focus on face-to-face political conversations not just as a mere source of political news but rather as avenues offering opportunities for deliberations that can contribute to political participation (Southwell & Yzer, 2007). In agreement, Jung (2010) notes that interpersonal political discussions play a complementary role in the use of news media when examining its effects on political participation. This is the point of view that this study considered in conceptualizing the frequency of face-to-face political discussions as a mediating variable with the potential for facilitating political information sharing and elaboration.

Kim et al. (1999) argue that the elaboration of news content consumed, whether anticipated or discussion-generated, influences the understanding of mediated political information. This implies that face-to-face political discussions, though fueled by news media use, are important in elaborating on the information obtained from the media. This elaboration underpins this study's envisaged mediating effect of interpersonal political discussions on the influence of exposure to radio on electoral participation among women voters during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

A study by Koech (2017) established that the majority of women radio listeners in Kipkelion West Sub-County in Kericho County in Kenya discussed with others, the news that they obtained from radio. Although this study was not focused on political information seeking, it provides findings upon which the current research is premised. For the current research, it was envisaged that women voters' exposure to radio could contribute to their frequency of

interpersonal political discussions within their social networks. Eveland (2004) presents two possible reasons for the positive correlation between citizens' exposure to the news media and their frequency of engaging in interpersonal political discussions. First, a person exposed to political news might pass it on to others via interpersonal political talk. Second, there is 'anticipatory elaboration' for face-to-face political conversations when one is exposed to political news. Eveland notes that anticipatory elaboration implies that exposure to political news is informed by the motivation that people may use the information later on in their face-to-face political discussions with other individuals in their social networks.

The anticipatory elaboration motive for engaging in face-to-face political discussions envisaged by Eveland (2004) is consistent with UGT. In UGT, exposure and deeper processing of mediated political information are assumed to be driven by the need for people to use the information in future political discussions (Katz et al., 1974). Despite the foregoing links, there is limited data on whether and how exposure to radio influences women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions within the current research site. Given this, this study examined the mediating role of the frequency of face-to-face political discussions on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. It was assumed that women voters who frequently engaged in face-to-face political conversations could share and elaborate on the political news from radio.

The literature reviewed in this section positively links exposure to the news media with interpersonal political discussions. The questions to ask hereafter are two-fold. First, whom do people discuss politics with? Second, what is their frequency of engaging in face-to-face political conversations? In-person political conversations most often occur with people one is close to, especially family members and friends (Idid et al., 2017; Levinsen & Yndigejn, 2015;

Pennington & Winfrey, 2021; Pew Research Centre, 2014; Richardson; 2003; Zaller, 1992). Further, face-to-face political discussions mostly occur with those with whom one has stronger or closer ties due to shared partisan and political opinions (Pennington & Winfrey, 2021). In this situation, interpersonal political talk with such close contacts minimizes disagreement or exposure to opposing viewpoints (Pennington & Winfrey, 2021). People in the same social networks are likely to share common political inclinations, which minimizes differences among them during interpersonal political discussions. This suggests that the information shared by the respondents in face-to-face political discussions is not highly divergent.

Miao (2019) notes that interpersonal political discussions occur among family and friends. The current study, therefore, was confined to family and friends as members of social networks for discussing politics during the 2013 polls in Kenya. Family and friends form homogenous social networks. Disagreements in face-to-face political conversations are less likely to occur in such social networks. CNEP's post-election survey, focusing on Kenya's 2013 polls, examined social networks for political discussions. Respondents identified the following as their in-person political discussants: friends (68%), neighbours (59%), family (58%) and co-workers (22%) (Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015a). The CNEP post-election survey findings were not gender-disaggregated, making it hard to identify with whom female respondents discussed politics. For the present study, the target population was women voters registered in Kakamega County for the 2013 Kenya general election. As such, the data collected were focused on female voters.

In a survey conducted in the USA, the Pew Research Centre (2014) found that younger adults reported discussing politics with their parents and vice-versa. However, women aged 65 years and older were more likely to identify a child as their political discussion partner. The survey

also established a higher likelihood of young women reporting discussing politics with their parents than young men. Generally, it was established that women were less likely to discuss politics. However, as opposed to men, they were more likely to identify family members (parents, children and siblings) as their political discussants compared to non-family members. This study, therefore, focused on the frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns with family or friends.

Despite the significance of interpersonal political discussions, the surveys by Afrobarometer conducted in Kenya in 2014, 2016 and 2019 reveal that females are less involved in talking about political matters. The 2014 Afrobarometer survey established that 42% of the female respondents indicated that when they got together with their family or friends, they never discussed political matters (Afrobarometer, 2014). Forty-five percent said they occasionally discussed political matters and only 13% noted that they were frequently engaged in such political conversations. Similar trends continued in the 2016 Afrobarometer survey in Kenya. Forty-five percent of the female respondents indicated not being engaged in discussing political matters.

According to the survey by Afrobarometer (2016), 39% of the respondents were occasionally involved in such political discussions, while only 15% said that they frequently discussed political matters. In the 2019 Afrobarometer survey, 51.2% of the female respondents in Kenya indicated that they never discussed political matters when they came together with their friends or family. Those who occasionally and frequently indicated being engaged in interpersonal political discussions were 35.2% and 13.5%, respectively. Despite the availability of secondary data on Kenya from the aforementioned Afrobarometer surveys, little is known about the

correlation between female respondents' frequency of interpersonal political discussions and participation in elections in Kakamega County.

The measurement of the frequency of in-person political conversations in academic research is commonly based on a single-item question. According to Richardson (2003), respondents are asked how often they discuss politics in person with specific members of their social networks. For instance, the past studies conducted by Afrobarometer in Africa in 2014, 2016 and 2019 used a single question focusing on face-to-face political discussions with family or friends. Adopting this approach, this research asked respondents the following question: When you came together with your family or friends, how often would you say you were discussing the political campaigns in Kenya before March 4, 2013: (1) never, (2) rarely, (4) sometimes often or (5) always? (Appendix I: Question 31b).

Face-to-face political conversations provide the channels through which political news obtained from the media is shared among social network members (Eveland, 2004). This indicates that interpersonal political conversations act as a conduit for political news sharing and, thus a source of information. Face-to-face political discussions also facilitate participants' elaboration of the information obtained from the news media (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2007; Cho et al., 2009; Eveland, 2004; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2018; Jung, 2010; Miao, 2019; Park, 2014; Shah et al., 2017). The foregoing denotes the political news sharing and elaboration functions of face-to-face political discussions.

Scheufele (2002) argues that interpersonal political discussions contribute to the comprehension and retention of the political information obtained from the news media and its translation into meaningful individual political actions. Scheufele considers face-to-face

political discussions to play a reinforcing role in media effects. Sharing and elaborating on the political news obtained from the radio is expected to translate into political participation. Despite this, the correlation between exposure to news media and interpersonal communication is neglected in academic research (Miller, 1986; Southwell & Yzer, 2007). This is a knowledge gap that this research sought to bridge.

In-person political conversations can help translate mediated information into electoral participation. Jung (2010) notes that face-to-face political discussions help people retrieve campaign information that they have obtained from the news media. Once this information is recalled by the participants in face-to-face political discussions, they can share it during their conversations and use it to counter the points of view of those they are engaged with. This signifies the importance of interpersonal political discussions in electoral participation. In this context, these conversations can help women voters involved in them to share news obtained from radio and use it for countering the views expressed by others. Elaborating on this, Jung (2010) states as follows:

When talking about politics, people tend to retrieve campaign information obtained from news media, listen to others' opinions about campaign issues and candidates, generate and develop their thoughts on them, reflect their opinions against others, incorporate different aspects of agendas and constitute a new meaning with greater assurance. This series of interactive reasoning produces a wide range of political outcomes (p. 65).

The preceding statement by Jung (2010) concerning the significance of interpersonal political talk is consistent with the communication effects model. The model theorizes that face-to-face discussions constitute "reasoning" behaviours, in which content consumed from the media is elaborated on and collectively considered (Cho et al, 2009). The model considers this elaboration to be a critical condition for the use of news media to produce political outcomes.

Cho et al. argue that interpersonal political discussions enable people to express and develop views, as well as to make sense of and evaluate the information obtained from the news media.

Face-to-face political discussions act as a platform for political education and persuasion for those engaged in them (Morey & Yamamoto, 2019; Pennington & Winfrey, 2021). Supporting this, Conover, Searing and Crewe (2003) note that in-person political conversations provide avenues for people to express opinions, such as their political preferences. This means that people decide to engage in face-to-face political conversations as a way of expressing their political preferences, such as whom to vote for or which political party to support. Further, in-person political discussions promote electoral participation via canvassing for votes.

Morey and Yamamoto (2020) note that engaging in interpersonal political talk focuses on influencing others, as denoted by the desire to persuade and teach others. The desire to socialize with others is another motivation for people to engage in interpersonal political discussions. Socializing with others also involves passing time and starting interesting debates. Eveland, Morey and Hutchens (2011) note that socialization is one of the most common motivations for people to engage in face-to-face political discussions. Interpersonal political conversations help in developing, establishing, strengthening or maintaining social interactions with others. Given this, social networks act as socializing agents and they can influence the electoral participation of their members.

The literature reviewed in this section of this thesis indicates a positive correlation between the frequency of face-to-face political discussions and political participation. However, various factors shape this correlation. For instance, the nature of interpersonal political conversations. According to Mutz (2002), exposure to cross-cutting interpersonal communication can lead to

diminished levels of political participation. Mutz offers two plausible explanations for this. First, situations in which discussants' viewpoints are challenged by information that they disagree with, can result in interpersonal conflicts, which in turn could negatively impact political participation. Second, there is a fear among people of taking political actions that may threaten social relationships and harmony with those involved in interpersonal political discussions that occur within social networks. This situation suggests that individuals may not wish to make political decisions and take actions that may go against the will of a majority or the most influential members in their social circles. This suggests how membership in social networks can influence the political participation of individuals, especially if they are engaged in face-to-face political discussions.

The positive correlation between interpersonal discussions and behaviour change is challenged by Hornik and Yanovitzky (2003) by articulating factors that might negate or diminish this association. They acknowledge that health communication campaigns might not translate into immediate behaviour change due to deep-rooted social or cultural patterns that require repeated exposure before a change occurs. Also, behaviour change might not be as immediate, as opportunities to engage in the new behaviour might be delayed. This implies that although radio may create awareness of the need for women voters to be politically engaged, their electoral participation would only be realized if they got the opportunity to do so. The views of Hornik and Yanovitzky are anchored on health communication campaigns. This is in contrast to the political communication under which the current study falls. However, their results are still relevant to the current research as explained hereafter.

Women's marginalization in politics is deeply rooted in the social or cultural environment in Kenya (Kasomo, 2012; Kenyatta, 2023; Okello, 2010). This means that changing women's

attitudes towards engaging in politics by using the news media and interpersonal political conversations may take time to yield change. Second, even if mediated and interpersonal political communication leads to women getting informed about the need to participate in elections, the opportunities for this engagement might be limited or not there. This is likely to occur due to the dominance of men in elective politics in Kenya (Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha et al., 2013; Okello, 2010). This dominance reduces the opportunities that women voters can get within the political space during elections in Kenya.

As elucidated in the OMA framework, participation in a given behaviour is likely to occur when citizens get the opportunity to engage in it, their motivation and ability to participate are high (Luskin, 1990). This suggests that women voters are likely to engage in politics if they get the opportunities, are motivated to do so and can participate in them. Without such opportunities, motivations and abilities, women may not be able to translate their frequency of interpersonal political discussions into electoral participation. This study did not directly inquire about whether women voters had been given opportunities to participate in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. However, they were asked about whether they engaged in eight forms of political participation targeted in this study (Appendix I: Question 32). In addition, from the FGDs, sub-theme 4.3.1 under Question 4(b) in Appendix IX focuses on an inhibiting political environment characterized by the dominance of men in politics that impeded women voters from engaging in politics during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Miller (1986) argues that exposure to the news media can either spur or dampen conversations because it can provide the information needed for dialogue or affect an individual's conversational competency. Supporting this, Southwell and Yzer (2007) indicate that the effect of exposure to news media on interpersonal communication can occur when the contents have

personal utility and value in conversing with others or affect the perceptions of those individuals who can engage in the discussions. When the political information consumed has personal usefulness, it can facilitate, amplify, suppress or reverse media effects. What emerges from this is a counter challenge to the positive correlation between exposure to news media and engagement in interpersonal political discussions. This suggests mixed views on the influence of exposure to news media on engagement in face-to-face political talk, necessitating further academic research on it.

Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck (2012) present contrary findings to those that have established a positive correlation between interpersonal political talk and political participation via what they call the social logic of mobilization or demobilization. The results on these two phenomena were based on the results of a nationally representative pre-post panel survey of the voting-age population in the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) of the 2009 German Federal Election. From a social logic mobilization perspective, Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck acknowledge that in-person political conversations can have a mobilizing effect when they occur in the social networks of people intending to vote. Conversely, interpersonal political talk may also lead to the social logic of demobilization.

The social logic of demobilization in interpersonal political talk advanced by Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck (2012) is similar to the behavioural effect of media use advanced in MSD theory. Using MSD theory, Ball-Rokeach and Defleur (1976) argue that behavioural effects arising from media use can lead to deactivation and make people refrain from doing certain actions. In interpersonal political discussions, this suggests that female voters with intentions to participate in specific political activities might opt to abstain due to the sway exerted by members of their social networks in the course of their conversations.

Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck's (2012) research in Germany found that those who never discuss politics with anyone have a higher likelihood of voting when they talk about politics with a voter compared to talking to a person perceived as a non-voter. It was also found that frequent political discussions in social networks with "strong ties" among non-voters considered political experts deter citizens' political participation. Political experts, in this case, may be those members of the social networks that are considered valuable sources of political news, making them influential. This is in tandem with the two-step flow model of communication, in which such opinion leaders comprise individuals with greater SES and media access (Shah et al., 2017; Solovei & van den Putte, 2020). With this status, opinion leaders are likely to be more politically informed and influential among their followers. It is expected, therefore, that those who are politically informed are more politically knowledgeable and can influence the electoral participation of opinion followers during interpersonal political conversations.

Non-voting is considered contagious when it takes place with non-voters, as abstention occurs when people are engaged in social networks that do not stimulate turnout (Partheymüller & Schmitt-Beck, 2012). This finding indicates that exposure to demobilizing information within social networks discourages voter turnout. Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck further argue that frequent in-person discussions about public affairs with non-voters might lead to an individual's conviction that selecting the party to vote for is of little benefit. This creates a higher propensity for voter abstention, hence low voter turnout.

Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck (2012) also observe that individuals who have trust in their interpersonal political discussants are likely to take a cue from their political actions. This suggests that if a person has a lot of trust in a discussion partner and the individual considers

political participation less important, then there is a higher likelihood of the person abstaining from elections. The study by Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck, though based on voting intention as a form of political participation in the 2009 German Federal Election, provides important results useful in interpreting the current study's outcomes. The present research focused on actual political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The mediating role of face-to-face political conversations on the correlation between the use of news media and women's political participation is articulated in Mvukiyehe's (2017) research on the 2011 general election in Liberia. The study established a positive correlation between exposure to information on radio and women's political participation as mediated by group dynamics involving discussing politics. The current research focuses on exposure to radio and not news media use in general. It did not cover group dynamics as a mediating variable. However, the study by Mvukiyehe provides evidence of how the influence of news media use on women's political participation is transmitted via mediators.

Using the American National Election Studies data for the 2008 US presidential election, Jung (2010) found a very strong direct effect between in-person political discussions and political participation. The research found that interpersonal political conversations occur in social networks from which an individual's participatory behaviour is likely to be borrowed. In this study, a single mediator model was used to determine the indirect effect of in-person political talk on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. In such a model, it is expected that the independent variable influences the mediator, which consequently affects the dependent variable (Hayes, 2022; Chan et al., 2020). In this study, these variables were exposure to radio (independent variable), frequency of interpersonal political discussions (mediating variable) and political participation (dependent variable).

2.6 Summary of Gaps in Literature

The researcher identified four major gaps in the literature. First, there is inadequate academic research on the influence of exposure to radio on women's political participation in elections in developing democracies such as Kenya. Second, methodological gaps were identified from the prior studies reviewed in this thesis. The majority of the political communication studies reviewed in this research focused on exposure to radio, leaving out political knowledge, which denotes the reception of media messages. Further, they conceptualized political knowledge as either a predictor or outcome variable, limiting the study of the mediating role of political knowledge in the nexus between exposure to radio and electoral participation.

From a methodological perspective, it was also noted that there is a dearth of academic research in Kenya utilizing the statistical mediation analysis approach to determine how exposure to radio, indirectly influences women's political participation via mediating variables such as political knowledge, attitudes and discussions. The literature review established that there exist limited academic studies on the influence of exposure to radio on women's political participation that use MMR design. This is a gap that this study sought to fill by adopting an explanatory sequential MMR design involving a quantitative phase followed by a qualitative stage. Third, the researcher identified a population gap, as there is limited research on political participation targeting the voting bloc of women. Finally, the researcher identified a contradictory evidence gap in the past studies reviewed, as the results on the effects of news media use on political participation are mixed and inconclusive. This study, therefore, adopted an MMR design, descriptive and inferential statistics involving statistical mediation analysis to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used to achieve the objectives of the study. The chapter describes the research design, study area, population of the study, sampling procedure and sample size. Further, the chapter focuses on the methods of data collection, research reliability and validity. The chapter also discusses data analysis and presentation and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

An explanatory sequential MMR design encompassing both quantitative and qualitative approaches was used to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Political communication and participation are complex and multi-faceted phenomena involving various variables that need to be considered from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The variables considered in this study are exposure to radio, political knowledge and attitudes, frequency of interpersonal political discussions and political participation. In addition, socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media besides radio were as control variables in this research.

Through the explanatory sequential MMR design, the researcher first gathered and analyzed quantitative data. The data were used to gain a broader understanding of the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation by establishing emerging patterns, trends and relationships. From these findings, the researcher identified specific areas to be explored further through qualitative data. Thus, qualitative data were collected and

analyzed. The qualitative data gathered contributed to deepening the understanding of the correlations established between the study variables. The results from the quantitative and qualitative data were then integrated to generate a complete picture of the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

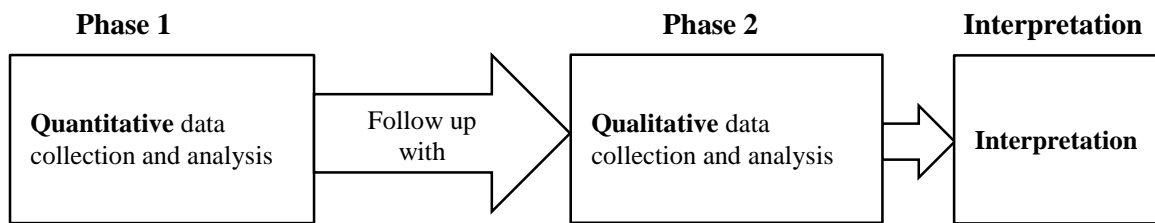
The use of an explanatory sequential MMR design in this study was informed by its advantages enumerated by Creswell and Plano Clark (2018). First, the design has a strong quantitative approach, which dominates this research. This approach dominates research on media effects on political participation (Karpf, et al., 2015). Second, the sequential nature of the research design makes it easy to implement as data is collected and analyzed in two stages, namely quantitative and qualitative phases. This was ideal for logistical planning in this study given the researcher's limited resources, which made it necessary for one set of data to be collected and analyzed at a time. Finally, an explanatory sequential MMR design helped the researcher in data triangulation involving collecting data through a survey questionnaire, FGDs and document reviews.

Qualitative data from the FGDs were used to explain the quantitative results. FGDs gave women voters a voice to explain their perceptions, experiences and practices regarding their exposure to radio, political knowledge and attitudes, interpersonal political discussions and political participation. In addition, the voice of the women voters was expressed through their explanations of the influence of exposure to radio on their political participation. This is crucial given that the voice of women is less heard due to their marginalization in politics and academic research in Kenya (Kasomo, 2012). Further, as noted by Uwem and Opeke (2015), women are underrepresented in news media coverage of politics.

The qualitative data gathered from the FGDs were instrumental in exploring the gender dynamics underpinning the study variables. The qualitative data enabled the researcher to explore the reasons and mechanisms underpinning the results from the quantitative phase. This helped contextualize the results on the patterns of and the correlation between the study variables emanating from the statistical data. The qualitative data obtained from FGDs offered insights that could not be drawn from quantitative data alone. This was important in explaining unexpected results from the statistical data. The triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data contributed to the validity and reliability of the findings of this study.

The two-stage approach adopted in the research design for this study summarized in Figure 3. 1 has two distinct phases for data collection and analysis, namely: quantitative (Phase 1) and qualitative (Phase 2). Data in both phases were collected from the same sample of the study population in Kakamega County. In the first phase of the MMR design, the researcher adopted a cross-sectional survey to collect descriptive quantitative data using a questionnaire. The data were then analyzed, presented and interpreted.

A cross-sectional survey was considered useful for this study because it was easy to implement. It also helped save on research costs and time in data collection within the widely dispersed and heavily populated Kakamega County. Quantitative data gathered from the survey was used to describe women voters' socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics, exposure to radio, use of other news media, political attitudes, frequency of interpersonal political discussions and political participation. The descriptive data were then used to predict the correlational and mediating effects between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation.



Source: Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark (2011).

Figure 3.1: Explanatory Sequential Mixed-Methods Research Design

As depicted in Figure 3.1, the quantitative stage was followed by the qualitative phase. The results from the quantitative stage were used in planning this phase, in which the researcher gathered qualitative data from participants through FGDs. The qualitative data were analyzed, presented, interpreted and used to substantiate and corroborate the results from the quantitative phase. The notation representing the MMR design for this research is thus written as follows: QUAN → qual = explain quantitative results. This notation indicates that the study used a predominantly quantitative approach, with the findings from the quantitative data stage being elaborated on by qualitative data from phase two. The data from the quantitative and qualitative phases were then integrated to show the links and disparities between them.

3.3 Study Area

This research was carried out in Kakamega County, one of the 47 counties in the Republic of Kenya. The county is located 30 kilometres north of the equator in western Kenya and covers an area of 3,051.3 Km². The county headquarters are in Kakamega town. The map of Kenya in Appendix III shows that Kakamega County borders Bungoma and Trans Nzoia Counties to the north, Vihiga County to the south, Uasin Gishu and Nandi Counties to the east, Siaya and Busia Counties to the west. As noted in Table 3.1, Kakamega County is divided into northern, central and southern regions. It has 12 constituencies sub-divided into 60 CAWs. A map of these political units is presented in Appendix IV. Urban areas in the county are Kakamega, Mumias, Malava, Butere, Lumakanda, Matunda and Moi's Bridge. Kakamega County has 274 sub-

locations (County Government of Kakamega, 2023). CAWs in which these urban areas are situated were considered in the study's sampling plan for electoral areas with urban settings.

Table 3.1: Electoral Units in Kakamega County in 2013

Constituencies	No. of CAWs	Estimated voting population	No. of registered voters		Total
			Female	Male	
Northern region					
Lugari*	6	77,862	28,854	27,975	56,829
Likuyani*	5	58,339	21,247	21,480	42,727
Sub-total	11	136,201	50,101	49,455	99,556
Central region					
Malava*	7	95,648	32,084	34,021	6,105
Lurambi*	6	74,699	29,751	31,728	61,479
Navakholo	5	63,946	20,480	20,959	41,439
Shinyalu	6	74,347	28,993	27,011	56,004
Ikolomani	4	48,797	19,812	17,372	37,184
Sub-total	28	357,437	131,120	131,091	262,211
Southern region					
Mumias West*	4	52,150	18,920	15,243	34,163
Mumias East	3	47,066	17,232	20,260	37,492
Matungu	5	68,328	22,799	23,170	45,969
Butere*	5	65,165	26,009	23,577	49,586
Khwisero	4	47,848	21,144	17,339	38,483
Sub-total	21	280,557	106,104	99,589	205,693
Total	60	774,195	287,325	280,135	567,460

Note: Researcher's compilation from IEBC data for Kenya's 2013 general election.

*Constituencies with both rural and urban areas.

Kakamega County has a population of 1,867,579 persons, comprising 970, 406 (51.9%) females and 897, 133 (48%) males (KNBS, 2019). With 73,273 more females than males, the county is the leading one in Kenya in having more women than men. In the 2019 national population census, Kakamega County was ranked the fourth most populous county in Kenya after Nairobi, Kiambu and Nakuru counties (KNBS, 2019). This makes the county the fourth most populous after Nairobi, Kiambu and Nakuru counties. In the population census conducted in 2009 before the 2013 general election, Kakamega County was ranked the second most populous county in Kenya (KNBS, 2010). The results of this population census were released after the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya and considered counties as units of the devolved political system.

The total number of registered voters in Kakamega County in 2013 was 568, 151, comprising 567, 460 (99.9%) and 619 (1%) enumerated through BVR technology and manually, respectively. It is the BVR data that is gender-disaggregated and thus the number of women identified as voters for the 2013 general election in Kakamega County was 287, 325. This represents 50.6% of the registered voters in Kakamega County (IEBC, 2013). Nationally, the county was ranked fourth after Nairobi, Kiambu and Nakuru counties, with more women registered voters (IEBC, 2013). In Western Kenya, the county was ranked number one. Women, therefore, form an important voting bloc in the county.

Kakamega County is dominated by the Luhya tribe, which encompasses various sub-tribes such as Batsotso, Wanga, Idakho, Isukha, Kabras, Kisa, Marama, Banyala, Bukusu, Maragoli, Banyole and Tachoni (County Government of Kakamega County, 2023). According to Were (1967, cited in Wanyama et al., 2014), the Luhya sub-tribes have diverse social and political organizations. The voting bloc of the Luhya tribe is thus not homogenous. This means that voters from this tribe have tended to support different political parties in past elections.

Radio is a major source of information in the county (County Government of Kakamega, 2018). A national media audience survey conducted in January 2020 established that 41 radio stations reached the western region, under which Kakamega County is clustered (KARF, 2020). The 10 top-most daily listened-to radio stations in this region are Radio Citizen, Jambo FM, Radio Maisha, Radio Milele, Mulembe FM, Nyota FM, Trace FM, KBC Radio Taifa, Sulwe FM and Radio Ingo (KARF, 2020). In a national audience survey conducted by Ipsos Synovate (2012a), Radio Citizen, Radio Milele, West FM, KBC Radio Taifa and Radio Jambo were identified as the top five radio stations in terms of audience share and time spent per week tuned to radio in the western region under which Kakamega County falls.

The choice of Kakamega County as the research site is attributed to three key reasons. Firstly, Kakamega County is dominated by the Luhya tribe, which has several sub-tribes. According to Were (1967, cited in Wanyama et al., 2014), the tribe is made up of 17 sub-tribes and this makes the voting bloc of the Luhya non-homogenous. Wanyama et al. note that the Luhya tend to be politically heterogeneous and they are relatively 'liberal' as they are affiliated with diverse political parties and coalitions. This means that voters from these sub-tribes of the Luhya have tended to support different political parties during general elections in Kenya. Therefore, Kakamega County was considered an important hunting zone for political parties and candidates seeking votes in Kenya during the 2013 polls.

Secondly, during the 2013 Kenyan polls, the county was ranked number one in terms of female-registered voters in Western Kenya. Further, it is the leading county in Kenya for having more women than men. However, although women form a significant voting bloc in Kakamega County, their scope of political participation is low (Barasa et al., 2017; Tundi, 2018). Finally, radio reach and household ownership in Kakamega County are both high, making this news medium a major source of information in the region (County Government of Kakamega, 2018). Radio ownership in households in Kakamega County stands at 77.8%, which is 3.8% above the national figure of 74% (KNBS, 2010). Further, as Simiyu (2010) notes, the county is located in Western Kenya, where residents have a keen interest in tuning into their favourite radio programmes.

3.4 Study Population

The target population of this study consisted of 287, 325 women registered as voters for the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The unit of analysis in this research was individual women voters registered to vote in the March 4, 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Various

reasons informed the focus of this study on women voters. In conformity with the SDGs, Kenya's Vision 2030 and the 2010 Constitution, the country has taken affirmative action toward promoting women's political participation. Despite these efforts, Tundi (2018) notes that though women are slightly over half of the registered voters in Kakamega County, their scope of political participation in the county is low. Registering as a voter suggests a person's sense of civic duty to vote and possibly engage in other political activities in a general election. By focusing on women voters, this study addresses the overarching research question on the influence of exposure to radio on their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The target population of this research was large and widely dispersed. This necessitated the selection of a few cases from the study population. Sampling enhanced data representativeness and minimized the costs and time of undertaking research. In line with the explanatory sequential MMR design used in this study, sampling was done at two different stages, namely, the quantitative and qualitative phases. The sampling procedure in each of these phases is discussed in the next two sub-sections.

3.5.1 Quantitative Phase

Women voters who participated in the quantitative phase of this study were selected from the target population using a multi-stage sampling method. Through this sampling technique, a sample was drawn from the study population, which was divided into multiple stages up to the household level within the research site. The multi-stage sampling technique was considered appropriate for this research due to its strengths in terms of cost and time effectiveness when conducting a face-to-face contact survey in a large and widely dispersed population such as

Kakamega County. The selection of a sample from the large population of women voters in Kakamega County through clusters and sub-groups at different stages of the process helped reduce the time and financial resources needed to conduct this study.

A five-step multi-stage sampling method was used to ensure the selection of a representative sample from the population of the study. In stage one of multi-stage sampling, the researcher considered the 12 constituencies in Kakamega County as the primary sampling units. These constituencies were then stratified by three broad geographical areas of the county, namely, the northern, central and southern regions, as depicted in Table 3.1. This stratification was adopted so that eligible women voters from the three regions of Kakamega County were represented in the study sample. Two constituencies were sampled from each of these three regions.

The researcher selected six constituencies in Kakamega County that have both rural and urban areas, as presented in Table 3.1. The identified urban areas were based on the categorization by the County Government of Kakamega (2013) as per the 2012 Urban Areas and Cities Act No. 13 of the Laws of Kenya. The inclusion of constituencies with both rural and urban settings aimed at enabling the researcher to capture a diverse range of voters with different socio-demographics and levels of political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) acknowledge the place of residence as a predictor of political participation.

Focusing on constituencies with both rural and urban areas further helped minimize the need for extensive travel and reduced logistical complexities and costs for the researcher. From the northern region of Kakamega County, all its two constituencies, namely Lugari and Likuyani, were selected. The other four constituencies sampled were Malava and Lurambi in the central region, Mumias West and Butere, located in the southern region of Kakamega County.

Step two of the multi-stage sampling procedure adopted in this research involved the selection of CAWs in each of the six selected constituencies from a 2012 list from IEBC based on stratified random sampling. This sampling technique was deemed useful in ensuring the representativeness of the first-stage samples by dividing the CAWs in each of the sampled constituencies into those in rural and urban areas. To ensure the representation of CAWs located in rural and urban areas, six CAWs in rural areas and six in urban areas were sampled. Using a table of random numbers, the researcher randomly selected six CAWs in each stratum. Random selection gave each CAW in the sampled constituencies an equal probability of being chosen.

The CAWs in rural areas sampled in this study were: Lugari and Sinoko from Lugari and Likuyani Constituencies, respectively, Manda-Shivanga and Butsotso-South from Malava and Lurambi Constituencies. Musanda and Marama South CAWs from Mumias West and Butere Constituencies were also selected, respectively. CAWs in which urban areas are located that were sampled were Lumakanda and Nzoia from Lugari and Likuyani Constituencies, respectively; Chemuche and Sheywe from Malava and Lurambi Constituencies, respectively. In addition, Mumias Central and Marama Central CAWs from Mumias West and Butere Constituencies were selected, respectively.

The 2013 general election voter registration statistics were gender-disaggregated up to the level of a CAW. Each CAW comprises sub-locations as identified by IEBC (2012). In step three of the multi-stage sampling procedure, the researcher, therefore, used simple random sampling method based on a table of random numbers to select one sub-location from each of the 12 CAWs sampled. The following sub-locations were sampled to represent the rural areas: Lugari in Lugari CAW, Mwiba in Sinoko CAW, Cheptuli in Manda-Shivanga CAW, Emukaya in

Butsetso-South CAW, Eshikalame in Musanda CAW and Shiatsala in Marama South CAW. For a representation of urban areas, the following sub-locations were selected: Munyuki in Lumakanda CAW, Moi's Bridge in Nzoia CAW, Isanjiro in Chemuche CAW, Township in Sheywe CAW, Mumias Township in Mumias Central CAW and Shirotisa in Marama Central CAW.

In step four of the multi-stage sampling process in this study, the researcher selected households. In the selection of the households, the researcher used the random walk sampling method. This technique, also known as the 'random route' or 'point and route' sampling method, is part of a multi-stage selection process extensively used in sampling households in face-to-face surveys (Bauer, 2014). In this sampling technique, the researcher selects a starting point, randomly chooses a direction to move in, selects households to sample and picks sample members until the desired sample size is reached.

Random walk sampling was used in this study due to its advantages, as advanced by Bauer (2014). First, through random walk sampling, a researcher can contact populations where there is no complete list of households. For this study, there was no prior listing of households in the sub-locations sampled. Second, the implementation of random walk sampling is fast and cheaper compared to a full household listing or tracking of participants using an existing list of households, especially when dealing with a dispersed population, as was the case in the current study. Finally, Bauer notes that non-response is avoided as the person collecting the data continues beyond non-responding households after the required number of calls is made.

Despite its advantages, the random walk sampling method can result in inconsistencies in sampling as enumerators might select different starting points and directions. Another

limitation of this sampling technique is that it is complex to implement. The method, therefore, requires careful planning and execution. To mitigate against these limitations, the research assistants were trained on this sampling procedure before fieldwork. In addition, a detailed guide for the use of the random walk sampling method in the selection of households was prepared for use by the research assistants (Appendix V). The researcher and the lead research assistant were also available to assist each of the 12 research assistants in making initial decisions (for example, selecting starting points and directions to take) at the beginning of the random walk.

Random walk sampling involves choosing a starting point and then selecting households from that point onward (Afrobarometer, 2017; Bauer, 2014). The starting points are identified by a fixed landmark such as a school, church, mosque, road junction or any other identifiable landmark within the study area. Out of the 906 polling stations in Kakamega County during the 2013 polls, the majority of them were primary schools (IEBC, 2014). These were the ones mostly used as fixed landmarks in this study. All the polling stations were selected as the starting points and numbered from 1 onwards. One of these numbers was then randomly chosen by the research assistant as the starting point within each of the sampled sub-locations.

From a polling station selected as the starting point, a research assistant started walking along a designated route based on specific random route instructions provided in Appendix V. Following the designated random route, a research assistant sampled households from which interviews were to be conducted. This was done considering a household interval of four (4) for urban areas and three (3) for rural areas between the sample points, following the instructions in Appendix V. The choice of these intervals was to ensure consistency in the selection of households by different research assistants. Appendix V further provides other

instructions that the research assistants were to follow when applying the random walk sampling technique to choose households in the selected sub-locations in Kakamega County.

The final step in the multi-stage sampling approach adopted in this study involved choosing individual respondents from each household in the selected sub-locations. Only one participant was contacted per household. Voters were selected proportionately based on the number of registered women voters in each CAW, using sub-locations as the strata for allocating this sample. Proportionate stratified sampling ensured that each person in the population under study had an equal chance of being selected. The Kish-grid technique was used to randomly select a respondent at the household level with more than one eligible woman voter. Eligible respondents to participate in this study were women voters registered to vote in the 2013 Kenya general election in the sampled CAWs in Kakamega County. The Kish-grid technique was used to give each eligible registered woman voter in a household a chance to participate in the research. This helped to avoid bias in the selection of study participants. In a household with more than one eligible female voter, the research assistants used the screening form in the Kish-grid (Appendix VI) to construct a numbered list of eligible women voters in the household, beginning with the oldest to the youngest.

Only one woman voter was selected in a sampled household. Where the selected participant was not available at the time of the first visit, two other visits were made in an attempt to find her. These other visits were made on two different days of the typical seven-day week and at different times of the day. One of these days was to be a weekend. The research assistants maintained diaries in which they indicated each household that they visited. They noted whether they were able to administer the questionnaire or not and any underlying reasons for failure to do so. The diary records were used by the researcher to monitor field data collection.

The use of the Kish-grid technique involved a four-step procedure as outlined in Appendix VI and hereby summarized. Step 1 involved listing all eligible female members of the household sampled, starting from the oldest to the youngest. This eligibility was established during the household listing process so that only those qualified within a household were transferred to the Kish-grid. In Step 2, the total number of eligible females in a household was recorded.

Step 3 of using of the Kish-grid technique entailed looking at the last digit of the questionnaire serial number on the cover page. This is the row number that a research assistant went to in the Kish-grid table. Finally, Step 4 involved checking the total number of eligible women voters from Step 2. This is the number of the column that a research assistant went to in the Kish-grid table. The number in the box where the row and the column intersect was taken as the number of the female voter to be sampled from the list compiled in Step 1 of the Kish-grid technique adopted in this research.

The foregoing steps for using the Kish-grid procedure in this research are illustrated here based on Appendix VI. If the questionnaire serial number was '035', the research assistant considered the last digital of this number and thus went to row '5'. If there were three eligible females in the household, the research assistant went to column '3'. The research assistant then followed row '5' and column '3' and noted the number in the box, which in this example was '2'. The eligible female voter to be approached for data collection, in this case, was the second one (number 2) on the list of eligible females in the household sampled. After completing the survey questionnaire during the quantitative phase of this study, respondents were asked if they would volunteer to participate in FGDs for the follow-up phase of data collection. The research assistants noted those survey respondents who indicated their willingness to participate in the

second phase of data collection involving FGDs. This is because the survey respondents were the same ones invited to participate in the FGDs.

3.5.2 Qualitative Phase

In the MMR design, such as the present one, Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) recommend the use of the same participants in both the quantitative and qualitative phases of data collection. This is done to make it easy to converge and compare the data. The sample for the FGDs was thus drawn from women voters who participated in the survey. During the phase for quantitative data collection, those who wished to participate in the second phase were asked to indicate their willingness to do so. From the six sampled constituencies in the survey, stratified purposive sampling was used to select one constituency from each of the three regions of Kakamega County. These three constituencies were: Lugari, Lurambi and Butere representing the northern, central and southern regions of Kakamega County, respectively.

The CAWs from the aforementioned three sampled constituencies for the qualitative data collection phase were then stratified into rural and urban areas. From each of these areas, a purposive sample of two CAWs was selected, ensuring regional balance in the total of the four that were chosen. Two CAWs were selected from rural areas and another two from urban areas. Lugari and Marama South CAWs in Lugari and Butere constituencies, respectively, were sampled from the rural stratum. Sheywe and Marama Central CAWs from Lurambi and Butere constituencies, respectively, were sampled under the urban stratum. The sub-locations from each of these CAWs that were selected during the survey stage were then sampled. From Lugari and Sheywe CAWs, Lugari and Township sub-locations were selected, respectively. In Butere constituency, Shiatsala and Shirotsa sub-locations in Marama South and Marama Central CAWs were sampled to represent rural and urban areas, respectively.

Women voters to participate in the FGDs were selected from among those drawn from four sub-locations sampled in the qualitative phase of this study. Purposive sampling was used to select women voters to participate in the FGDs, taking into account their ease of accessibility, geographical proximity and willingness to participate in the study. Focus groups are effective if they are composed of homogenous groups (Morgan, 1997). Homogenous groups facilitate easy interaction among participants. In this research, age was used to categorize members' composition in the FGDs. Focus groups 1 and 3 were for the participants within the age group of 18-35 years, those aged 36-50 years were in group 2 and group 4 constituted those aged 51-60 years.

3.5.3 Sample Size

The sample size for the quantitative phase of data collection in this study was 400 women voters drawn from six selected constituencies in Kakamega County, as presented in Table 3.2. For determining the sample size for the quantitative phase of this research, Yamane's (1973) formula stated below was used:

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

Where:

n = desired sample size

N = the finite size of the population

e = maximum acceptable margin error as determined by the researcher

1= a theoretical or statistical constant

The study population was 287, 325 registered women voters in Kakamega County. A five-percent (5 %) margin of error was considered in computing the sample size from this study population. The computation of the sample size was as follows:

$$n = \frac{287,325}{1+287,325(0.05)^2} = 400$$

Table 3.2: Sample Size Distribution

Regions	Constituencies	CAWs	No. of women voters	Sample size	%
Northern	Lugari	Lugari	5,226	31	7.8
		Lumakanda	5,840	35	8.8
	Likuyani	Sinoko	3,580	22	5.5
		Nzoia	4,923	30	7.5
Sub-total			19,569	118	29.6
Central	Malava	Manda-Shivanga	4,292	26	6.5
		Chemuche	5,042	30	7.5
	Lurambi	Butsotso South	3,264	20	5.0
		Sheywe	11,392	69	17.3
Sub-total			23,990	145	36.3
Southern	Mumias West	Musanda	5,046	30	7.5
		Mumias Central	6,262	38	9.5
	Butere	Marama South	3,683	22	5.5
		Marama Central	7,870	47	11.8
Sub-total			22,861	137	34.3
Total			66,420	400	100.2

Table 3.2 indicates that the sample size of 400 was distributed proportionately per the number of registered female voters in each of the 12 CAWs under study. A CAW with a large number of female voters, such as Sheywe with 11,392, had a sample of 69 (17.3%). This contrasts with Butsotso South, with a sample size of 20 (5%) because it had 3,264 female registered voters. The central region of Kakamega County, with 23,990 women voters, had a large sample size of 145 (36.3%) and the sample sizes of the southern and northern regions were 137 (34.3%) and 118 (29.6%) women voters, respectively. The goal of qualitative research is to have a small number of people who can provide in-depth information on the phenomenon under study (Morgan, 1997). According to Morgan, six to 12 participants can be interviewed in a focus group. This study, therefore, targeted 10 women voters from each of the four sub-locations selected for the qualitative data collection phase. The sample size for this phase of this research was thus 40 women voters.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The researcher used data collection methods consistent with the objectives of this study and appropriate for MMR design. In this research, primary and secondary data were collected. The

collection of primary data was conducted in two phases, with the quantitative stage based on a survey questionnaire and the FGD moderator's guide in the qualitative phase. Data collection was conducted within a period of five weeks, from June 5, 2017, to July 9, 2017. Secondary data on the 2013 Kenya general election was gathered using library research and online searches. The secondary data were used to corroborate the primary data.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

A researcher-administered survey questionnaire was the primary instrument for collecting quantitative data from the 400 women voters sampled. A questionnaire was deemed suitable for this study because it enabled the researcher to capture a wide range of data on the study variables. The four objectives for this research provided the framework for developing the questionnaire used in this study. The questionnaire contained mainly closed-ended questions. Such questions made it easier for the participants to select their responses from the choices provided in the questionnaire. This saved the time taken to complete the questionnaire and led to relevant data being collected. Closed-ended questions also provided standardized responses that were easy to code, analyze using computer software and thereafter interpreted (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). The only open-ended questions in the questionnaire were on political knowledge (Appendix I: Questions 23-28).

The final English version of the questionnaire in Appendix I was translated into Kiswahili (Appendix II). Kakamega County is dominated by the Luhya tribe which has several sub-tribes. Given this wide range of sub-tribes, the researcher translated the English version of the questionnaire into Kiswahili, a national language that could be understood by the study participants in Kakamega County. Slightly over four-fifths (82.1%) of females aged three years and above in Kakamega County have attained primary and secondary level qualifications

(KNBS, 2019). With such levels of education, the participants were able to respond to questions in either English or Kiswahili. Two translators were involved in converting the final English version of the questionnaire into Kiswahili. The first translator was tasked with forward-translating the questionnaire from English to Kiswahili. The second translator was tasked with back-translating from Kiswahili to English. After this, the researcher and the two translators compared the original and the back-translated versions to identify and reconcile any discrepancies or areas where meaning may have been lost or altered in the two versions of the questionnaire. After this was done, the final copies of the questionnaire in English (Appendix I) and Kiswahili (Appendix II) were produced.

The final versions of the questionnaire in Appendices I and II are each divided into six sections. In Section A, women voters' socio-demographic and political orientation were covered. Section B focused on women voters' use of radio and other news media. Questions on political knowledge were contained in Section C. In Sections D and E, the focus was on women voters' political attitudes and the frequency of face-to-face political discussions, respectively. Finally, Section F covered women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

Primary data collection using the researcher-administered survey questionnaire was done at the household level by 13 research assistants. All these research assistants were trained for two days before proceeding with fieldwork. One of the research assistants familiar with Kakamega County was appointed as a coordinator to assist the researcher in his supervisory roles during data collection. One research assistant was recruited and assigned to each sub-location of his or her residence within the 12 CAWs sampled in this study. The coordinating or lead research assistant also helped in data collection from the large sample in Sheywe CAW. For participants

willing to respond to the questionnaire in English, the research assistants used the English version of the questionnaire. The Kiswahili version of the questionnaire was used for those respondents who preferred to be interviewed in this language.

To collect the survey data, the research assistants visited the sampled women voters in their homes. Before commencing the interview, the research assistant introduced himself or herself and asked the respondent about her preferred language for interviewing (English or Kiswahili). The research assistant then introduced the purpose of the study, the format of the survey, the significance of participating in the study, the ethical considerations that the research would adhere to, the means of capturing their responses and the expected duration of data collection. Thereafter, the woman voter was asked whether she was willing to participate in the study. If she accepted, she was required to sign an informed consent form as proof of her voluntary participation in the survey phase of this study.

To get responses from the survey participants, the research assistants asked each respondent several questions contained in the questionnaire, ticked and noted the appropriate options as given by the respondents. This enabled the research assistants to collect data from all groups of people (illiterates, semi-literates and literates). The face-to-face interactions during data collection enabled the research assistants to clarify questions with the respondents and assess the validity of their answers. This enhanced the collection of accurate responses, especially given the shortcomings of the use of self-reported measures in data collection. The collection of data by personally engaging the respondents aided the research assistants in making sure that women voters who met the eligibility criteria participated in the study. This also yielded more complete responses during data collection. After the collection and analysis of the

quantitative data, the researcher prepared an FGD moderator's guide and thereafter, using it, commenced the qualitative phase of data collection as discussed in the next sub-section.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions

This research used an FGD moderator's guide to collect qualitative data to gain an in-depth understanding of the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The data were used to verify, clarify and expound on the statistical findings established from the quantitative data. The responses captured from the FGDs enriched the findings of the study and gave new insights that could not have been obtained using quantitative data alone. Through the FGDs, varied perspectives on the research topic were captured and used to establish patterns and themes in the qualitative data.

In FGDs, data is collected from multiple participants at once, making it a cost-effective method for gathering data in this study. The researcher conducted four focus group sessions within the sampled sub-locations. The focus groups are coded as 1, 2, 3 and 4. Seven and six women voters participated in focus groups 1 and 2, respectively. Focus groups 3 and 4 had eight and six participants, respectively. The duration of each of the FGDs was approximately one and a half hours to two hours.

The FGDs were conducted by the researcher using a moderator's guide. The same translators and translation protocol adopted for the survey questionnaire were used for the FGD moderator's guide. The final English version of the FGD guide (Appendix VII) was translated into a Kiswahili version (Appendix VIII). The FGD moderator's guide covered questions pertinent to the four objectives of this research and in line with the results from the survey questionnaire that needed further interrogation. With consensus from the participants, FGD

sessions for groups 1 and 2 from the sampled rural areas were conducted in Kiswahili. English was used in groups 3 and 4 from the selected urban areas.

The researcher moderated each FGD session while a research assistant helped in audio recording and taking notes. Taking ethical considerations into account, each focus group participant signed an informed consent form. At the beginning of each FGD session, the researcher welcomed the participants and introduced himself, the research assistants, the aim and the significance of the study. The researcher also informed the participants about the length of the session, the need for audio recording, the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses and the ground rules for the FGDs. The participants were then invited to speak freely by noting that there were no right or wrong answers or opinions in this type of research.

The FGDs were recorded using a digital voice device. Also, the researcher and his research assistants made handwritten notes as a backup to the audio recordings. At the end of each FGD session, the researcher reiterated to the participants the need for each one of them to maintain the confidentiality of the information discussed. Finally, the researcher thanked the participants for their contributions to the sessions to the FGDs. Refreshments were served to the participants.

3.6.3 Document Reviews

Secondary data were gathered from the available literature on radio and political participation. This was done through library research and Internet searches. The researcher reviewed and compiled literature from various printed and online sources, such as books, journals, media audience surveys in Kenya, Kakamega County reports, research projects and theses. The researcher consulted IEBC reports on the 2013 general election. Also, the election observer

mission and media monitoring reports for Kenya's 2013 general election were perused to extract information relevant to the objectives of this study. The literature reviewed formed a theoretical and empirical foundation for the analysis and interpretation of the findings from the primary data collected from the fieldwork.

3.7 Research Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are key determinants of the quality of research. This study ensured the reliability and validity of its findings through the review of research instruments by media studies lecturers, pilot studies, the collection of both primary and secondary data and triangulation of the data. Both the English and Kiswahili versions of the questionnaire were piloted to establish their reliability and validity. This was done to determine the respondents' understanding of the questions, their assessment of the structure, flow, and reliability of the questions and the participants' completion time of the questionnaire. The feedback obtained from the pilot study was used to improve the accuracy, clarity of language and usability of the English version of the questionnaire (Appendix I). The final English version of the questionnaire was subsequently translated into Kiswahili, piloted and revised accordingly. The Kiswahili version of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix II. These two versions of the questionnaire were administered to the respondents depending on their language of choice in which the interview was to be conducted.

Forty-eight women voters, representing 12% of the study's sample size, were selected using purposive sampling to participate in the pilot studies for the survey questionnaire. Purposive sampling was used to choose two sub-locations from the southern and central regions of Kakamega County. From the southern region, Shibembe sub-location (rural area) in Marama South CAW in Butere Constituency was selected. From the central region of the county,

Shichirayi sub-location (urban area) in Sheywe CAW in Lurambi Constituency was chosen. The choice of these two sub-locations was feasible (in terms of resources and time) for the research and it was meant to cater to participants from rural and urban areas. These two sub-locations were not part of the final study. From each sub-location, 24 women voters were selected to participate in the pilot studies, with 12 each for the English and Kiswahili versions of the questionnaire. The next two sub-sections discuss reliability and validity in the quantitative and qualitative phases of this research.

3.7.1 Reliability and Validity in the Quantitative Phase

The research used the test-retest and internal reliability methods to assess the reliability of the questionnaire. In conducting the pilot studies, the researcher administered the questionnaire to the same respondents on two different occasions within a two-week break. The researcher then compared the test-retest Pearson Product Moment Correlation coefficient (r) scores. The research used Rea and Parker's (2014) interpretation of values for Pearson's correlation coefficients as follows: 0 = no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74 = strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation. The test-retest results obtained for the English and Kiswahili versions of the questionnaire had reliability coefficients of $r = .734$ and $r = .712$, respectively. These test scores denote a strong correlation.

To establish the internal reliability of the multi-point items contained in the questionnaire, the researcher computed Cronbach's alpha based on the data gathered from the participants. Internal reliability measures the extent to which items on a multi-point scale consistently measure the same underlying construct. The findings of this reliability analysis are presented in Table 3.3. Cronbach's alpha ranges from 0 to 1, with alpha values closer to 1 showing high

reliability of measurement. According to Hinton, McMurray and Brownlow (2014), Cronbach's alpha values are rated as follows: .50 and below (low reliability); .50 - .70 (moderate reliability); .70 - .90 (high reliability); .90 and above (excellent reliability). Heale and Twycross (2015) consider Cronbach's alpha values of between .60 and .90 to be acceptable. This study thus considers an alpha value above .60 to be reliable. Table 3.3 indicates that high reliability was reported for political knowledge with six items ($\alpha = .839$), political participation with eight items ($\alpha = .812$) and internal political efficacy with two items ($\alpha = .789$). Moderate reliability was established for gratifications sought with seven items ($\alpha = .621$). According to Heale and Twycros, these reliability scores ranging from moderate to high are within an acceptable level of above .60.

Table 3.3: Reliability Analysis

Question	Variable	No. of Items	Cronbach's Alpha (α)	Rating
12	Gratifications sought	7	.621	Moderate reliability
23-28	Political knowledge	6	.839	High reliability
30	Internal political efficacy	2	.789	High reliability
32	Political participation	8	.812	High reliability

This research aimed to ensure the content validity, criterion-related validity and construct validity of the questionnaire. Content validity ensures that the instrument for data collection adequately covers the research topic and measures what it is proposed to measure. In this research, content validity was achieved by including in the questionnaire relevant questions on the study variables as guided by the objectives of the research, the conceptual framework and the literature reviewed. Content validity was also attained through expert judgment as the questionnaire was reviewed and verified by two media studies experts from the Department of Communication and Media Technology at Maseno University and the Department of Publishing, Journalism and Media Studies at Moi University. The questionnaire was further

reviewed and verified by a statistician from Ipsos Synovate Kenya, a market research firm in the country. The media studies and statistics experts went through the questionnaire to ensure that the questions asked were clearly stated and consistent with the research objectives and the data analysis strategy. The experts also checked that the instructions for the respondents in the questionnaire were appropriate. Based on their feedback, modifications were made to the questionnaire. This helped in the collection of data that were considered reliable to achieve the objectives of the study.

This research also considered criterion-related validity, which focuses on assessing whether the operationalization of a study construct relates to the theory of the construct. This was achieved by reviewing past studies. The conceptual framework for this study, which was developed from a synergy of political mobilization theory and UGT, provided the precedence upon which the research questionnaire was based. The research further considered construct validity, which is concerned with matching theoretical literature and conceptual framework. To achieve construct validity in this study, the researcher was guided by a conceptual framework synthesized from political mobilization theory and UGT. Questions included in the survey questionnaire were linked to this study's conceptual framework in Figure 1.1.

3.7.2 Trustworthiness in the Qualitative Phase

The second phase of this study involved the collection of qualitative data whose reliability and validity are based on the quality criteria of trustworthiness and strategies for achieving them. Ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research is essential to establishing the validity and reliability of the research. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), trustworthiness seeks to determine whether the findings and interpretations are a result of a systematic process and

whether they can be trusted. This study adopted the criteria and strategies proposed by Lincoln and Guba, comprising dependability, credibility, transferability and confirmability.

The researcher attained dependability by ensuring that the results, interpretation and recommendations of this study are supported by the data gathered from the participants in the FGDs. Credibility, which is the equivalent of reliability in quantitative research, was achieved by piloting the FGD moderators' guide. Further, the study provides a detailed description of the steps followed during the research process, covering data collection and analysis, the interpretation of the results and a profile of the participants in the FGDs.

The FGD moderator's guide was pretested in two pilot studies, one for the English version and another for the Kiswahili version of this instrument. The two pilot FGDs included 10 women voters who had participated in a pilot study for the quantitative phase. As discussed in Section 3.7.1 of this study, these participants were drawn from Shibembe sub-location (rural area) and Shichirayi sub-location (urban area). The participants selected were not included in the final phase of qualitative data collection. Using purposive sampling, five participants aged 18-35 years were sampled from Shichirayi sub-location in Sheywe CAW to represent urban settings. Another five participants, aged over 35 years, were selected from Shibembe sub-location in Marama South CAW, representing a rural area.

The English and Kiswahili versions of the moderator's guide were used in the pilot studies for the FGDs drawn from Shichirayi and Shibembe sub-locations, respectively. Each pilot FGD lasted between one hour and one and a half hours. The pilot studies were used to check on the flow of questions in the moderator's guide, determine whether responses to the questions yielded the necessary data, establish the appropriateness of the questions in the FGD guide and

find out the approximate duration it could take to conduct each session. The feedback obtained from the pilot studies was used to amend the FGD moderator's guides. The final English and Kiswahili versions of the FGD moderator's guide are presented in Appendix VII and Appendix VIII, respectively.

Credibility focuses on establishing that the research results and their interpretation are based on the data originally obtained from the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The pilot studies were used to test the English and Kiswahili versions of the FGD moderator's guide and ensure that, when used in data collection, they would yield credible results. This study further ensured the credibility of the research findings from the FGDs by adopting peer examination or debriefing and triangulation strategies. In peer examination, another researcher reviews the results and provides feedback. This is done to identify any biases, discrepancies or gaps in the research process or results that may have been ignored by the researcher. For this study, peer debriefing relied on the two supervisors who had expertise in the study topic and research methodology. The supervisors reviewed the research design before data collection and thereafter reviewed the data and its analysis. They further provided feedback on the interpretation and implications of the study findings. Finally, triangulation was used to attain credibility. Data were collected from four FGDs from participants from different areas of Kakamega County, as discussed in Section 3.5.2 of this chapter. The data were collected using a digital voice recorder. Field notes were also written during the FGDs. The emergent themes were derived from the different perspectives of the participants in the FGDs.

The research also considered the transferability criterion of trustworthiness in qualitative research. This criterion is concerned with the extent to which the findings established in this study could be transferred to other research sites within Kakamega County. This was achieved

by using a rich, thick description of the research process and findings as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This study involved a detailed description of the research design, study area, sampling plan, profile of the participants in the FGDs, qualitative data collection and analysis procedures and results from the qualitative data involving verbatim quotes from the focus group participants. Through these approaches, the researcher ensured the criterion of transferability was attainable.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) also identify confirmability as an indicator of research trustworthiness that is achieved when credibility, transferability and dependability have all been attained. This criterion focuses on establishing that the data and interpretation of the findings are made from the data collected. The researcher collected data from the FGDs through a digital audio device, keenly listened to the audio recordings, read and re-read the verbatim transcripts. The researcher ensured that the findings of this study and the interpretations and conclusions thereof were supported by the data analyzed from the FGDs. As Lincoln and Guba acknowledge, confirmability is achieved when the criteria of credibility, transferability and dependability are fulfilled. These three criteria were met through the methods described earlier in this section.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

In this study, quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The quantitative data from the survey questionnaire were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows Version 21.0. Thematic content analysis was applied to the qualitative data from FGDs. The next three sub-sections focus on how the primary quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed and subsequently presented. Consistent with the explanatory sequential MMR design used in this study, the quantitative and qualitative data were separately analyzed,

presented and interpreted. The two data sets were then triangulated at the interpretation stage, with the results from the qualitative phase used to explain the quantitative findings.

3.8.1 Quantitative Data

The quantitative data collected using the survey questionnaire was screened, edited, coded and captured before analysis. Before data coding and capturing, each of the completed copies of the questionnaire was scrutinized for completeness and any inaccuracies or inconsistencies during fieldwork. The completed copies of the questionnaires were prepared for coding. The data derived from the questionnaires were initially entered into Epidata Version 3.1 before being exported and analyzed using SPSS for Windows Version 21.0. Epidata Version 3.1 is software for creating structures and analyzing quantitative data.

The data entered into Epidata Version 3.1 was checked for any inaccuracies and where necessary, the data were transformed. In this research, quantitative data transformation entailed identifying and coding missing values, if any, computing totals, creating new variables, reversing scale items where applicable and categorizing them. These tasks were done to facilitate further data analysis for the quantitative data from the survey questionnaire.

The researcher used descriptive and inferential statistics to analyze the quantitative data collected from the survey questionnaire. Descriptive statistics provide a means of summarizing measures to describe and present the main features of a dataset. The descriptive statistics used in this study are frequency distributions, mean and standard deviation. On the other hand, inferential statistics are used to make inferences and predictions about a population based on a sample of data from that population. For instance, the Chi-square test of independence (X^2),

Cramer's V, Pearson's correlation coefficient, hierarchical multiple regression and statistical mediation analyses were used in this research.

Univariate analysis based on descriptive statistics was used to describe the survey respondents' socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics, political information seeking from radio and other news media, political knowledge, interest and self-efficacy, frequency of face-to-face political discussions and political participation. This analysis was also used to assess the structure of the research variables in terms of their distribution, variability and central tendencies. This information was used in determining subsequent statistical techniques and, where needed, the division of variables into categories. The output of the univariate analysis was used to provide reference information for the interpretation of the survey results.

The research used descriptive statistics based on frequency distributions, percentages and their associated summary statistics of mean and standard deviation (*SD*), where applicable. Moreover, inferential statistics involving bivariate correlation analysis, hierarchical multiple regression and statistical mediation analysis were applied. Bivariate, hierarchical and statistical mediation analyses were conducted to explore and quantify the strength and direction of the correlations between the study variables as guided by the research questions.

Bivariate correlation analysis was used to determine the predicted association between the study variables based on the significance and strength of the relationships. In this research, the Chi-square test of independence (X^2), Cramer's V and Pearson's correlation were used. The Chi-square test of independence was used as it can be applied to variables with many categories or scores (Healey, 2015; Rea & Parker, 2014). A p-value that is less than or equal to .05 shows a significant correlation between the study variables. Cramer's V, which ranges from 0 to 1,

was used as a post-test to determine the strength of the correlations established from the Chi-square test of independence. A higher value (that's a value closer to 1) for Cramer's V shows a strong correlation (Healey, 2015; Rea & Parker, 2014).

The research used Rea and Parker's interpretation of values for Cramer's V as follows: $.00 < .10$ = negligible; $.10 < .20$ = weak; $.20 < .40$ = moderate; $.40 < .60$ = relatively strong; $.60 < .80$ = strong; and $.80 < 1.00$ = very strong. In this study, the values for Pearson's correlation in bivariate analysis and r-squared (R^2) in hierarchical multiple regression are based on Rea and Parker's interpretation as follows: 0 = no correlation; $.01$ to $.09$ = negligible correlation; $.10$ to $.29$ = low correlation; $.30$ to $.59$ = moderate correlation; $.60$ to $.74$ = strong correlation; $.75$ to $.99$ = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation.

Hierarchical or sequential multiple regression was used in this research to determine the projected correlations between sets of variables (multivariate relationships) at a 95% confidence level. Statistics extracted and interpreted from the regression analysis included the following: R-squared (R^2), change in R^2 (ΔR^2), adjusted R^2 , beta coefficients (β), F-values, T-tests and p-values. Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' aggregate political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

The independent and control variables for each of the hierarchical multiple regression models were added in blocks (steps). Control variables were entered into the regression model before the predictor. This enabled the researcher to establish the effect of each predictor on the outcome variable after controlling for previous variables. The last step ultimately shows the extent to which all the variables combined predicted the dependent variable. It is this last step

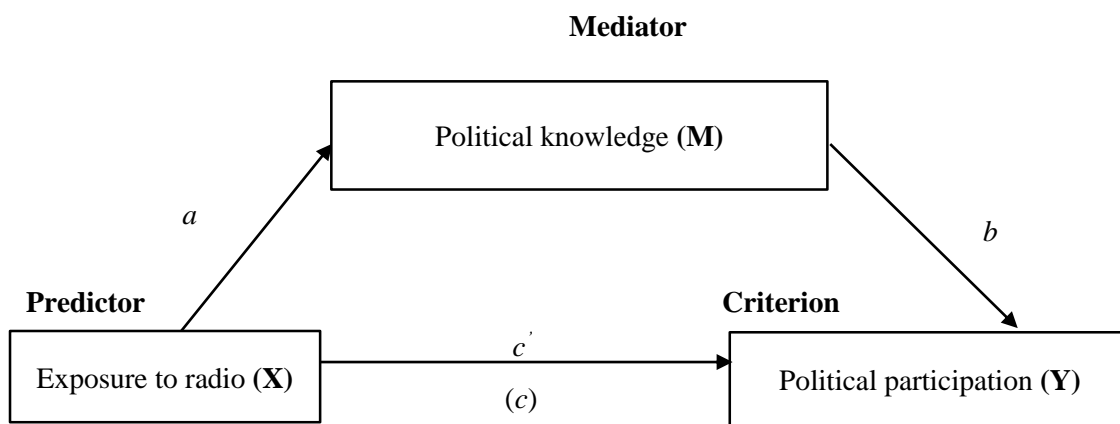
that is critical in establishing the contribution of the predictor to the outcome variable and was thus the focus of this research.

The researcher also conducted statistical mediation analysis that focused on the indirect, mediating or intervening effect of an independent variable (predictor) on a dependent variable (criterion) via one or more mediators. In other words, it tests how the influence of a predictor on a criterion is transmitted via one or more mediating variables. In this study, a simple mediation model was adopted for a single intervening variable, while for two or more intervening variables, a parallel multiple mediation model was used.

The researcher performed statistical mediation analysis using Model 4 in the PROCESS Macro for SPSS Version 3.2.01. The PROCESS Macro, which is a regression-based path-analytic method for mediation analysis, is a free add-on tool for statistical software such as SPSS. This technique was applied in this study because it is easy to use, simplifies the tasks of testing mediating effects and has greater statistical power (Hayes, 2022).

The statistical mediation analysis for each model in this study considered the following control variables: socio-demographics, political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media. The PROCESS Macro yields regression coefficients for measuring the total, direct and indirect effects (Hayes, 2022). The regression coefficient for the total effect is a combination of the direct and indirect effects. Regression coefficients for the indirect effects denote the influence of a predictor on a criterion via mediator(s). Regression coefficients for direct effects represent the consequence of an independent variable on a dependent variable when controlling for the effect of the mediator(s). Simple mediation analysis was used to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and

political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. It was also applied in examining the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In simple mediation analysis, an intervening variable [M] may explain the correlation between a predictor [X] and the criterion [Y], $X \rightarrow M \rightarrow Y$. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 present conceptual diagrams for this study's two simple mediation models.

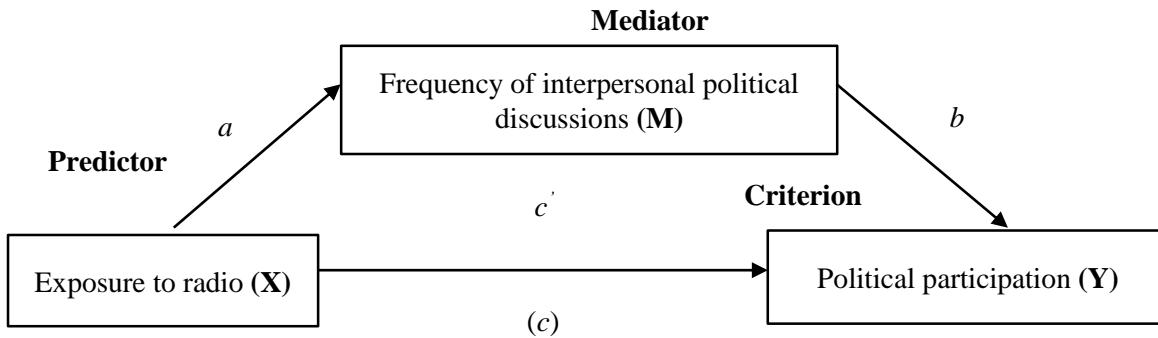


Note: a = Effect of X on M; b = Effect of M on Y controlling for X; ab = Indirect effect of X on Y via M (product of coefficients for Path a and Path b); c' = Direct effect of X on Y controlling for M (coefficient of c'); c = Total effect of X on Y = $c' + ab$.

Figure 3.2: Conceptual Diagram for Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via Political Knowledge

The simple mediation model in Figure 3.2 considers two pathways by which exposure to radio could influence women's political participation. First, Path c' indicates the predicted direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation, as denoted by the regression coefficient of c' . Second, Path ab represents the envisaged indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via their political knowledge, as established through the product of regression coefficients for Paths a and b . The second simple mediation model is presented in Figure 3.3, focusing on the frequency of interpersonal political discussions as the mediating variable in this study.

Figure 3.3 indicates that exposure to radio was expected to influence women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County via their frequency of interpersonal political discussions. The simple mediator model in Figure 3.3 considered two pathways (Paths c' and ab) by which exposure to radio could influence women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.



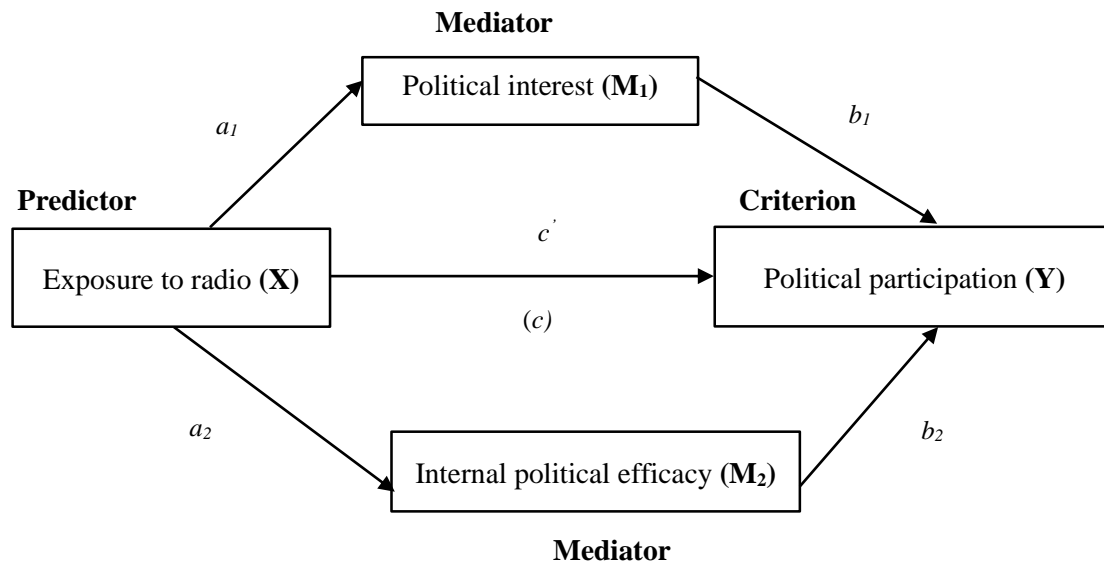
Note: a = Effect of X on M; b = Effect of M on Y controlling for X; ab = Indirect effect of X on Y via M (product of coefficients for Path a and Path b); c' = Direct effect of X on Y controlling for M (coefficient of c'); c = Total effect of X on Y = $c' + ab$.

Figure 3.3: Conceptual Diagram for Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions

In Figure 3.3, Path c' indicates the envisaged direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation, as denoted by the regression coefficient of c' . Second, Path ab represents the predicted indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via their frequency of in-person political conversations, as established via the product of regression coefficients for Paths a and b .

Parallel multiple mediation analysis was used to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County as mediated by political attitudes comprising political interest and internal political efficacy. According to Hayes (2022), a parallel multiple mediators' model is useful if a researcher envisages, as was

the case in this study that the influence of a predictor on a criterion operates via two or more intervening variables. Figure 3.4 presents the conceptual diagram for the parallel multiple mediators' model adopted in this study.



Note. a_1 = Effect of X on M_1 ; b_1 = Effect of M_1 on Y controlling for X and M_2 ; a_1b_1 = Specific indirect effect of X on Y via M_1 ; a_2 = Effect of X on M_2 ; b_2 =Effect of M_2 on Y controlling for X and M_1 ; a_2b_2 = Specific indirect effect of X on Y via M_2 ; $a_1b_1 + a_2b_2$ = Total indirect effect of X on Y via M_1 and M_2 ; c' =Direct effect of X on Y controlling for M_1 and M_2 ; c = Total effect of X on Y.

Figure 3.4: Conceptual Diagram for Exposure to Radio and Political Participation Via Political Interest and Self-Efficacy

In the parallel multiple mediators' model in Figure 3.4, the intervening variables were concomitantly tested. Such testing is useful in determining if the specific indirect effect of a mediator is independent of the influence of the other intervening variable(s) (Hayes, 2022). This study adopted this approach in tandem with Reichert (2015), who considers political interest and self-efficacy as predictive cognitive politicization variables. Reichert notes that being more politically interested and highly politically efficacious can lead to greater political participation. Simultaneously testing political interest and self-efficacy as intervening variables provided an opportunity to establish if these mediators represent different pathways to the indirect influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation. In the parallel mediators' model in Figure 3.4, exposure to radio was envisaged to influence women voters'

political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County via political interest ($X \rightarrow M_1 \rightarrow Y$) and internal political efficacy ($X \rightarrow M_2 \rightarrow Y$).

A mediating or intervening effect is established when there is an indirect effect of a predictor on a dependent variable that is transmitted by a mediator or mediators. To test the significance of the indirect or mediating effects, a percentile bootstrap confidence interval (CI) was used at a 95% level of confidence based on 5,000 bootstrap samples. The level of statistical significance was set at an alpha level of .05. Bootstrap estimates denote the magnitude and significance of indirect effects (Hayes, 2022). However, statistical mediation analysis does not imply causal relationships in non-experimental research designs such as the current one. The mediating effect of the predicted intervening variables in each model in this study was confirmed based on a lower level of confidence interval (LLCI) and an upper level of confidence interval (ULCI). Mediation occurs when the indirect effect is significantly different from zero. This means that the values for both LLCI and ULCI are either positive or negative. The statistics used in the statistical mediation analysis included the following: unstandardized regression coefficients (B), LLCI, ULCI and p-values.

3.8.2 Qualitative Data

Qualitative data from the audio recordings of each of the four FGDs were played and transcribed verbatim before thematic content analysis. As presented under various sections on the qualitative findings in Chapters Four to Seven of this research, verbatim narratives from the participants in the FGDs are provided. For the narratives in Kiswahili obtained from the participants in FGDs 1 and 2, their translated versions in English are also provided. In the course of this transcription process, the researcher familiarized himself with the general ideas of the participants in the FGDs. These general ideas were written down. Using thematic content

analysis, the researcher sought to identify emerging themes and patterns from the dataset that were important and useful in addressing the research objectives and findings from quantitative data. This augmented the quantitative results on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation by providing rich, detailed and varied data.

The use of thematic content analysis allowed the researcher to establish the participants' views, opinions and knowledge on exposure to radio and its influence on their political participation. By sorting qualitative data into broad themes, this approach provides a flexible method for data analysis, presentation and interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These advantages were relevant to the present study.

Qualitative data analysis in this study followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step process. In Step 1 of the thematic content analysis, the researcher familiarized himself with the transcribed data by reading and re-reading each transcript to ensure that it accurately reflected what was discussed in the focus groups. At this stage, the researcher noted down initial codes based on early impressions from the data on any topics and ideas that were interesting or significant. At this stage, the data gathered were sorted and arranged per the research questions and questions in the FGD moderator's guide.

In Step 2, the researcher generated initial codes for the qualitative data with labels written in the right-hand column of each typed transcript. Open coding was used as there were no preset codes for the thematic content analysis. These codes were used to identify the features of the data from the FGDs relevant to answering the research objectives and clarifying findings drawn from the quantitative data. Colour highlighters were used to identify segments of qualitative data appropriate for each label. The data relevant to each code were then collated.

In Step 3 of the thematic content analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), the researcher examined the themes in the dataset from the FGDs. Descriptive statements were used to represent the themes for each of the four FGDs. At this stage, the codes were collated into potential themes and sub-themes based on the research objectives and data gathered relevant to each of these themes and sub-themes. These preliminary or potential themes were then reviewed in Step 4. The researcher read and re-read the transcripts and checked them against the coded extracts and the entire dataset. This was done to establish if they represented the data and were relevant to answering the research questions. Further, this allowed the researcher to ensure that sufficient supporting data from the dataset in the FGDs were available for each theme.

The themes reviewed in Step 4 were defined and named in Step 5. The researcher performed a detailed analysis to refine and define each theme and generate clear informative names for each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Frequency counts of participants whose responses were aligned to different categories were done to determine which codes had large counts. Appendix IX presents the themes and sub-themes of the qualitative data analyzed. Finally, a final report was produced in this research using narrative descriptions, summaries and data extracts of key quotes. The results from this report are discussed after the quantitative findings in Chapters Four to Seven. At the end of each chapter, the quantitative and qualitative findings are triangulated.

3.8.3 Data Presentation

The presentation of data in this study was guided by the research objectives. Quantitative findings were presented before the qualitative results under each objective. Frequency tables, cross-tabulations and bar charts were used to present the quantitative data. The data from FGDs

is presented in narrative form with summaries and quotes to support the emerging themes and sub-themes. In this study, quantitative secondary data extracted from document reviews was presented through tables. Qualitative secondary data and information were presented in textual descriptions that complemented the primary data.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained ethical clearance from the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) and the study abided by the requirements of the research authorization permit in Appendix X. During data collection, the researcher and the research assistants explained clearly to the participants the purpose of the study and then sought their informed consent and voluntary participation. The survey informed consent forms in English and Kiswahili are in Appendices XI and XII, respectively. The informed consent forms for FGDs are in Appendices XIII and XIV for the English and Kiswahili versions, respectively. Participants' confidentiality and anonymity were maintained by safeguarding their identities during the data collection, analysis and presentation stages. For instance, the focus group findings are presented with codes for each quoted participant. For a focus group participant coded as 1.2, 1 represents focus group 1 and 2 indicates that this was the second participant out of the 27 in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIRECT EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO ON WOMEN VOTERS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses quantitative and qualitative findings on the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The use of MMR design in this study necessitated that the research findings be presented in two phases. This chapter first focuses on the results based on the data collected from the survey questionnaire in the quantitative phase. The chapter then presents and discusses findings obtained from the data in FGDs during the qualitative phase. Finally, the chapter triangulates the quantitative and qualitative results to examine how these findings confirm or differ and corroborate the overall results of this study.

4.2 Response Rate

The findings of this study are based on the primary data gathered from the questionnaire and FGDs and complemented with secondary data. The questionnaire was used in the survey in phase one of data collection. In phase two, a focus group moderator's guide was used to gather data from women voters drawn from those who participated in the survey.

4.2.1 Survey Response Rate

Four hundred researcher-administered questionnaires were administered during the first phase of data collection in this study. The questionnaires were administered at a household level through face-to-face contact with the survey respondents. Table 4.1 indicates that out of the 400 copies of questionnaires administered to women voters targeted in the survey, 372 (93%) were completed and returned.

Table 4.1: Survey Response Rate

Regions	Constituencies	Sample size	Frequency	% Response rate
North	Lugari	66	64	97.0
	Likuyani	52	49	94.2
Central	Malava	56	54	96.4
	Lurambi	89	78	87.6
South	Mumias West	68	64	94.1
	Butere	69	63	95.5
Total		400	372	93.0

Babbie (2010) recommends a response rate of 80% to 85% for survey research and notes that this indicates participants' representativeness in the sample. The 93% response rate in this research is thus considered good and representative of the study sample. The socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics of the survey participants are discussed in Section 4.3.1.

4.2.2 Response Rate in the Focus Group Discussions

In the qualitative phase of data collection, this research targeted 40 participants in four focus groups. Table 4.2 indicates that 27 (67.5%) of the targeted women voters turned out to participate in the FGDs.

Table 4.2: Response Rate in Focus Group Discussions

Group	Region	Constituencies	CAWs	No. selected	Frequency	%
1	Southern	Butere	Marama South	10	7	70.0
2	Northern	Lugari	Lugari	10	6	60.0
3	Central	Lurambi	Sheywe	10	8	80.0
4	Southern	Butere	Marama Central	10	6	60.0
Total				40	27	67.5

Note: To make up for four focus groups from the three regions in Kakamega County, two CAWs in rural areas and two CAWs in areas with urban areas were selected. Two CAWs with rural and urban areas in Butere constituency were sampled from the southern region. Marama South and Lugari represent CAWs in rural areas, while Sheywe and Marama Central represent CAWs in urban areas.

The response rate in four of the targeted CAWs ranged from 60% to 80%. The response rate of 67.5% in the qualitative phase is considered good, as Babbie and Mouton (2009) recommend

a response rate of 60% for FGDs to be good. A profile of the characteristics of the participants in the FGDs is covered in Section 4.3.2.

4.3 Study Participants' Characteristics

The description of the characteristics of the participants in this study focuses on their socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics. The description is divided Section 4.3.1 covering the survey respondents and Section 4.3.2 profiling the participants in the FGDs.

4.3.1 Survey Respondents' Socio-demographics and Political Orientation

The survey respondents' socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics, which are presented in Appendix XV, are summarized in this section. The socio-demographics considered in this research were age, marital status, level of education, approximate monthly household income and residential location (rural or urban area). For political orientation, the study considered political party affiliation and the strength of partisanship. These characteristics are used in this research as control variables and for interpreting the findings.

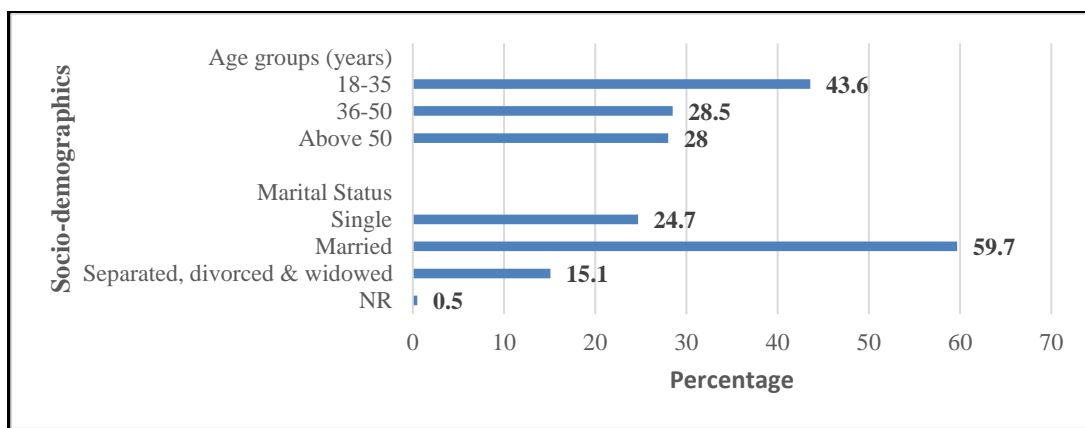


Figure 4.1: Survey Respondents' Distribution by Age and Marital Status

Figure 4.1 indicates that slightly above two-fifths (43.6%) of the survey respondents were aged 18-35 years. A total of 28.5% and 28% were aged 36-50 years and above, respectively. From

Figure 4.1, it can be further noted that nearly two-thirds (59.7%) of the survey participants were married, compared to 24.7% who were single and 15.1% who were separated, divorced and widowed.

Figure 4.2 indicates that 19.4% of the survey respondents had no formal education, 43.3% and 19.1% had completed primary and secondary school education, respectively. A total of 17.7% of the respondents had attained tertiary and university-level educational qualifications.

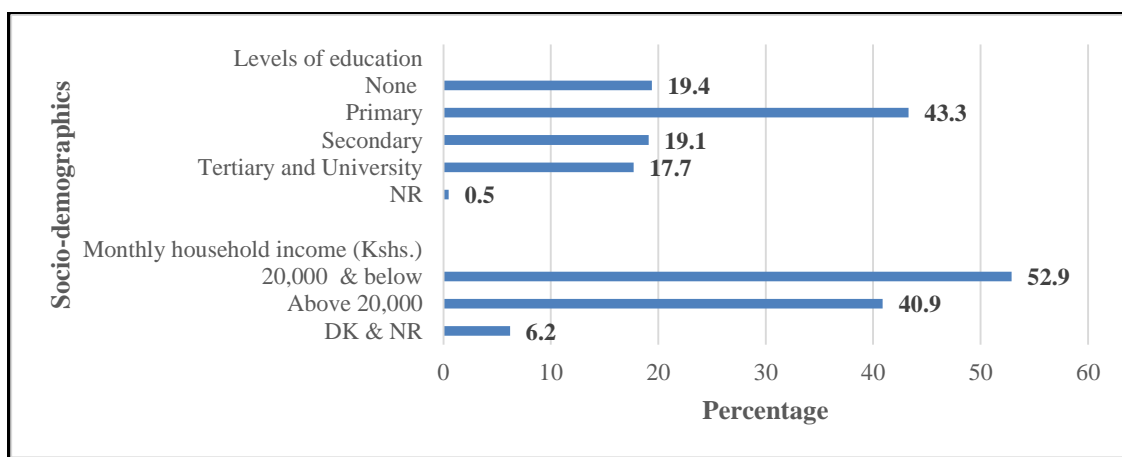


Figure 4.2: Respondents’ Education and Monthly Household Income

The data in Figure 4.2 indicates that 52.9% of the survey respondents had an approximate monthly household income of Kshs. 20,000 and below, compared with 40.9% for those with a household income of above Kshs. 20,000. The distribution of the respondents by age, marital status, levels of education and income indicates that the study sample for the survey was from diverse backgrounds.

On the status of their residential location during the 2013 Kenyan polls, 41.7% and 58.3% of the survey participants indicated that they lived in rural and urban areas, respectively. In addition, to socio-demographics, the survey respondents were asked about their political orientation characteristics during the period of the 2013 polls in Kenya. For political party

affiliation, a respondent was asked to state which party she supported or closely identified with during the 2013 general election (Appendix I: Question 6). Participants who indicated that they were politically affiliated were asked about the strength of their political support (partisanship). This was based on the responses to question seven (7) in Appendix I (At the time the 2013 general election was held, how strong was your support for the political party of choice in Q6?). Figure 4.3 summarizes the data on the survey respondents' political orientation characteristics.

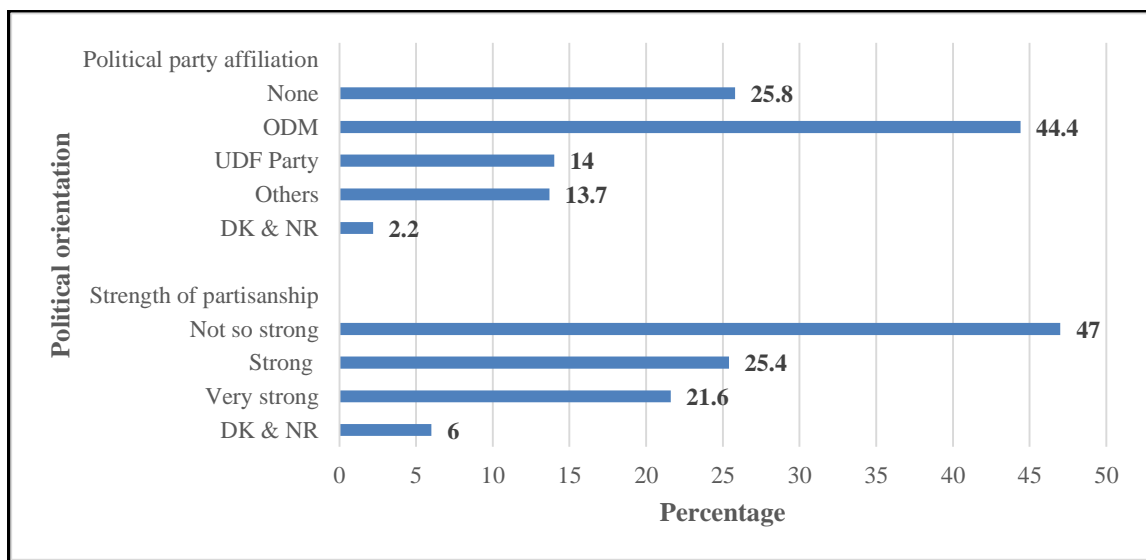


Figure 4.3: Participants' Political Orientation Characteristics During Kenya's 2013 Polls

From Figure 4.3, it can be noted that 72.1% of the survey respondents indicated being politically affiliated, with 44.4% identifying with ODM, 14% with the United Democratic Forum (UDF) Party and 13.7% with other political parties. The 268 women voters who were politically allied were asked to indicate their level of partisanship. The survey participants' perceived level of political partisanship was rated on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (not so strong) to 3 (very strong) ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.81$). Figure 4.3 indicates that 47% of the survey respondents' level of partisanship was not so strong, while 25.4% and 21.6% of the participants indicated strong and very strong partisanship, respectively. The political orientation

characteristics of the respondents reflect diversity among the female voters who participated in the survey.

4.3.2 Profile of the Focus Group Participants

The profile of the 27 women voters from the survey who participated in the four FGDs of this study is summarized in Appendix XVII. All seven participants in FGD 1 were from a rural area and they were aged 18-35 years. Two of these participants were single, four were married and one was widowed. In FGD 1, one participant had no formal education, three and one had completed primary and secondary school levels of education, respectively. Two of the participants had completed college and university education. Three of the participants in FGD 1 were from households with an approximate monthly income of Kshs. 10,000 and below and one (1) was from a household with an income of Kshs. 10,001-20,000. The household income for three participants was above Kshs. 30,000. All seven participants in FGD 1 were politically affiliated, with five and two supporting ODM and UDF, respectively. Those who expressed not strong, strong and very strong political partisanship in this group were one, two and two, respectively. Two of the participants gave NR on their partisanship status.

All six participants in FGD 2 were from rural areas and they were aged 36-50 years. One was single, four were married and one was widowed. In this focus group, one participant had no formal education, three and one had primary and secondary school level qualifications, respectively. One had attained an undergraduate level of education. Two participants and one participant were from households with an approximate monthly income of Kshs. 10,000 and below and Kshs. 10,001-20,000, respectively. The household income for one participant was Kshs. 40,001-50,000. Two of the participants indicated DK and NR. Three of the participants in FGD 2 were politically affiliated with ODM and UDF and for two of them, their level of

political partisanship was not so strong. One of the participants who was politically affiliated with ODM gave NR on her partisanship status.

All eight women voters who participated in FGD 3 were from an urban area. The participants were aged 18-35 years, three of them were single and five were married. Two of the participants had primary school-level educational qualifications. Three of the participants in FGD 3 had secondary school-level qualifications. Another three had middle-level college and university undergraduate qualifications. Three of the participants in FGD 3 were from households with a monthly income of Kshs. 10,001-20,000. Four of the participants' household income was above Kshs. 30,000. One of the participants gave a DK response on her household income. Seven of the participants in FGD 3 were politically affiliated. Out of those that were politically affiliated, four and two of them were allied to ODM and FORD-Kenya, respectively. One participant supported the United Republic Party. Three and four of those politically aligned indicated their level of political partisanship to be not so strong and strong, respectively.

Finally, six of the participants in FGD 4 were from a rural area and they were aged 51 to 60 years. One of the participants was single, two were married and three were divorced and widowed. One participant and three participants had primary and secondary school level education qualifications, respectively, and two of the members had middle-level college and university educational qualifications. Two participants and another two participants in FGD 4 were from households with a monthly income below Kshs. 10,000 and Kshs. 20,001 to 30,000, respectively. Two of the participants' household income was above Kshs. 30,000. Four of the participants in FGD 4 were politically aligned with ODM and UDF and their level of political partisanship was not so strong. The profile characteristics of the focus group participants

presented in Appendix XVII denote mixed variations in terms of their socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics.

4.4 Quantitative Findings on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The first objective of this study was to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. To explore the quantitative results of this objective, this section presents and discusses the direct nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

The data analyzed, presented and discussed in this chapter does not take into account political knowledge, attitudes and frequency of interpersonal political discussions (mediating or intervening variables) focused on in the results of statistical mediation analysis in Chapters Five to Seven, respectively. The results in this section focus on the direct effect of exposure to radio (independent variable) on women voters' political participation (dependent variable) taking into the respondents' socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media (control variables). This means that the results presented in this chapter exclude mediating variables.

4.4.1 Respondents' Exposure to Radio and Use of Other News Media

Exposure to radio is operationalized in this research in terms of an individual woman voter's exposure to political news on radio during the 2013 polls. To establish the place of radio within women voters' political news-seeking sphere, respondents were asked to identify their preferred news media for obtaining political news on the polls. Figure 4.4 indicates that 44.9%

of the participants identified radio as their preferred news medium for obtaining political news relating to the 2013 polls in Kenya. This was followed by TV at 24.7%. Printed newspapers and the Internet were each selected by 5.9% of the respondents.

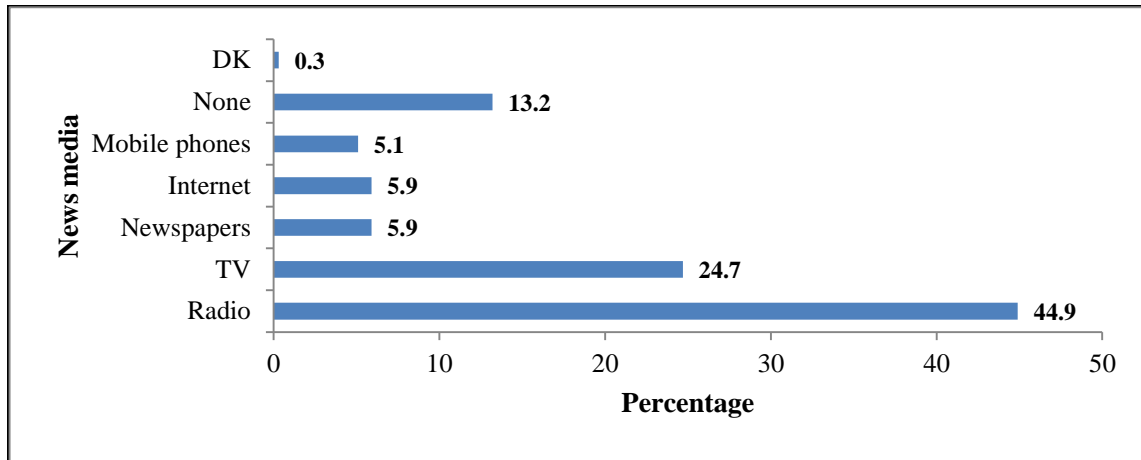


Figure 4.4: Preferred News Media for Obtaining Political News on the 2013 Kenya General Election Among Women Voters in Kakamega County

Note: The use of mobile phones focused on SMS or calls for obtaining political news.

In this study, the use of mobile phones for political news was restricted to SMS or calls. Figure 4.4 indicates that the use of mobile phones for obtaining political news about the polls was preferred by 5.1% of the survey participants. From the perspective of UGT, active media audience members select the news media that best fulfills their needs and they have choices to satisfy these needs (Katz et al., 1974). Respondents' preference for radio over other news media suggests that, given the choices available to them, radio was their favourite source of political news about the 2013 Kenyan polls. This suggests that within the media ecosystem in Kenya, women voters in Kakamega County relied on radio to access information on the 2013 polls.

The data in Figure 4.4 indicate that radio was the most preferred news medium for obtaining political news during the 2013 Kenya general election, in tandem with the Afrobarometer (2016) survey results. The research established radio as the main source of information on

political issues and current affairs among female respondents in Kenya. Earlier studies on the 2013 Kenya general election also identified radio as an important source of political news about the 2013 polls in Kenya (Muriithi & Page, 2013; Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015a; Yankem, 2015). In addition, the County Government of Kakamega integrated development plan (2018) acknowledges that radio is a major source of information for the residents of the county.

Radio access is done through various radio receivers, including portable devices. However, this access in Kenya is mainly via a radio set (CAK, 2022). The survey respondents were thus asked whether, during the electioneering period of the 2013 polls, they were residing in a household that owned an operational radio receiver. Three hundred and twenty-three (86.8%) of the survey respondents indicated that they were living in households that owned functional radio receivers. Forty-nine (13.2%) of the survey participants indicated that their households did not own a radio receiver. These results are consistent with the 2009 Kenya Population Census results, which revealed that radio ownership in households in Kakamega County stood at 77.8% (KNBS, 2010). Household ownership of a radio set or receiver in Kakamega County may have implications for radio listening among women voters in the area. Mogambi's (2011) study in Ndanai and Ndia divisions of Bomet and Kirinyaga Counties in Kenya established that female listeners were tuned to radio when they were at home. In the current study, it was established that 318 (85.5%) of the survey respondents were listening to radio to get political news during the 2013 Kenyan polls. This suggests the importance of radio in Kakamega County and its potential as a source of information for the electorate.

In this study, exposure to radio was operationalized as the approximate amount of time within a typical seven-day week that a woman voter spent listening to radio broadcasts to access or obtain political news on the 2013 Kenya general election. Respondents were asked to indicate

the approximate number of days in a seven-day typical week and estimated hours in a typical 24-hour day that they spent listening to radio and each of the other news media to obtain political news during the 2013 electioneering period in Kenya. Responses to these two questions were multiplied to establish a participant's approximate level of weekly exposure to radio and the use of each of the other news media (TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones for SMS or calls) for political news. Table 4.3 summarizes these data.

Table 4.3 indicates that 33.1% and 31.5% of the survey respondents had their weekly level of use of radio for political news categorized as low (1-14 hours) and medium (15-28 hours), respectively. A high level of exposure to political news on radio was reported by 15.9% of the survey respondents. Non-radio listeners constituted 14.5% of the survey respondents. These results indicate that 64.6% of the respondents' weekly use of radio for seeking political news ranged from low to medium levels (1-28 hours). The mean weekly exposure to political news on radio among the respondents was the highest among all the news media used ($M = 16.44$, $SD = 13.46$).

Table 4.3 reveals that besides radio, women voters' exposure to political news in other media was limited, with non- use for them reported in descending order as follows: use of mobile phones via SMS or calls (88.7%), reading printed newspapers (85.8%), browsing the Internet (84.9%) and watching TV (52.2%). The mean weekly exposure to political news for each of these media among the respondents during the 2013 polls was as follows: watching TV ($M = 13.68$, $SD = 9.10$); reading printed newspapers ($M = 5.92$, $SD = 5.10$), browsing the Internet ($M = 7.78$, $SD = 5.42$) and using mobile phones via SMS or calls ($M = 5.76$, $SD = 4.37$). Results in Table 4.3 further indicate that the level of use of radio was the top-most among the news media under consideration in this research. This deviates from the findings from developed

democracies where TV is the main source of political news. For example, in the USA, 57% of respondents in a nationwide survey indicated obtaining political news from TV (Pew Research Centre, 2016). According to KNBS (2019), there is limited household TV ownership and electricity connection in Kakamega County. These factors might be contributing to low TV use in the county.

Table 4.3: Respondents’ Exposure to Political News on Radio and other News Media during the 2013 Kenya General Election

Hours per week	Level of exposure	Radio	TV	Newspapers	Internet	Mobile phones
0	None	14.5	52.2	85.8	84.9	88.7
1-14	Low	33.1	29.6	12.4	12.6	8.9
15-28	Medium or Moderate	31.5	12.4	0.5	1.9	0.0
29-56	High	15.9	2.2	0.0	0.5	0.3
DK & NR	DK & NR	5.1	3.8	1.3	1.3	2.2
Total		100.1	100.2	100.0	100.2	100.1

Note: DK denotes Don’t Know and NR stands for No Response. The use of mobile phones was limited to SMS or calls for political news.

The limited use of printed newspapers among the survey respondents is consistent with the low newspaper readership established in prior studies in Kenya (for example, KDHS, 2014; Schulz-Herzenberg, 2015a). Similar results are reported in the USA, where printed newspapers are the least-used source of political news among adults (Pew Research Centre, 2016). The majority of survey respondents were also not browsing the Internet to access political news during the 2013 polls. This is in tandem with a survey by Gillwald et al. (2010) that revealed low Internet access among females in Kenya. This contradicts the results from the USA where online media are ranked second to TV as a major source of political news among adults (Pew Research Centre, 2016). These differences arise from the disparities in economic and media consumption patterns between Kenya, particularly Kakamega County and the USA.

A higher level of exposure to radio compared to other news media is indicative of its dominance among women voters in Kakamega County who sought political information about the 2013 polls. This finding is consistent with the results from past studies, which identified radio as an important source of political news about the 2013 polls in Kenya (Muriithi & Page, 2013; Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015a; Yankem, 2015). Respondents' high household radio ownership and listenership and the level of exposure to political news on radio could be attributed to its advantages of pervasiveness, affordability and broadcasting in local languages (Asiedu, 2012; Gunner et al., 2012; Myers, 2008; Simiyu, 2015). The level of education for 62.7% of the survey respondents was below the secondary school level qualifications and the household income of 52.9% of the participants was below Kshs. 20,000. These two socio-demographics could explain the high exposure to radio compared to other news media, as it taps into the benefits of affordability and the ability to broadcast in local languages.

4.4.2 Gratifications Sought by Women Voters from Exposure to Political News on Radio

The previous sub-section discussed the survey respondents' exposure to radio and other news media during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. This sub-section focuses on the gratifications sought from exposure to political news on radio. Gratifications sought from political media exposure are broadly categorized into surveillance or information seeking, guidance, social utility and entertainment (Kim & Kim, 2007). The survey respondents were asked to state their agreement or disagreement with seven political gratification statements based on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A mean score and standard deviation (SD) were calculated for the responses and interpreted as follows: 0.0-1.49 (strongly disagree); 1.50-2.49 (disagree); 2.50-3.49 (neither agree nor disagree [moderate or neutral]); 3.50-4.49 (agree); and 4.50-5.00 (strongly agree). Table 4.4 summarizes the data

on this by focusing on seven political gratifications sought from exposure to radio under four categories, namely: surveillance, entertainment, social utility and guidance.

Table 4.4: Gratifications Sought by Women Voters from Exposure to Political News on Radio

Categories	Gratification statements	N	Mean	SD
Surveillance	Be a breasted of socio-economic and political happenings in Kenya	316	4.74	0.51
Entertainment	Get entertained through political gossips and scandals, horse-race reporting and entertaining debates	313	1.56	0.78
Social utility	Give you something to talk about with others	314	2.41	1.73
	Use as ammunition in arguments with others	302	1.73	0.81
Mean score		314	2.29	0.87
Guidance	Learn more about the voting process	314	4.14	0.48
	Find more about the policies or promises of election Candidates or political parties or coalitions	284	4.28	0.53
	Help you decide which candidate or political party or coalition to vote for	311	4.19	0.70
Mean score		314	4.03	0.70
Overall mean score		316	3.22	0.57

Table 4.4 reveals that the overall mean score for the seven political gratification statements was 3.22 ($SD = 0.57$). This denotes a moderate response to the survey participants' agreement with the political gratifications sought from their exposure to radio. The gratifications of surveillance ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 0.51$) and guidance ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 0.70$) were strongly agreed and agreed upon by respondents, respectively. Social utility and entertainment gratifications had a mean score of 2.29 ($SD = 0.87$) and 1.56 ($SD = 0.78$), respectively. Thus, surveillance and guidance gratifications attained high mean scores compared to the other two gratifications.

The high mean score for surveillance gratification in this study could be attributed to the respondents' desire to stay abreast of issues in their socio-economic and political environment (Ahmed, 2011; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). During an electioneering period, there are many political happenings taking place and the voters turn to the news media, such as radio to get informed about them. Voter guidance was also highly rated by the survey participants. This

suggests that political messages on radio may have reinforced women voters' choices of their preferred candidates. Baran and Davis (2020) acknowledge that the news media gives people more reasons for choosing a candidate that they already favoured. In democratic elections, a voter's choice of his or her preferred candidate(s) is critical to exercising political rights.

Contributing to the respondents' fulfillment of surveillance and guidance gratifications during the 2013 polls could be the voter education role of radio. As The Carter Centre report (2013) notes, radio robustly provided civic education information during the 2013 Kenyan polls. News media election coverage in Kenya focused on political parties or coalitions, candidates, opinion polls, results of political party nominations for candidates (party primary elections) and the general election held on March 4, 2013 (The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; FIDA-Kenya, 2013; Muriithi & Page, 2013). Such information may have reinforced voters' beliefs about which political parties, coalitions and candidates to support.

The results revealed in Table 4.4 demonstrate that women voters' exposure to radio was motivated by various gratifications. This finding is consistent with UGT, which conceives media audiences as being active as they seek out media and content that best fulfills their needs (Katz et al., 1974). This is supported by various scholars relying on UGT. It is recognized that the audience has a wide range of gratifications that they seek from their media exposure (Baran & Davis, 2020; Katz et al., 1974; McQuail, 2010). The findings also provide empirical evidence that women voters reported seeking to fulfill their surveillance and guidance gratifications more than social utility and entertainment motivations. This suggests the potential significance of women voters' exposure to radio on their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. As Kim and Kim (2007) note, audience members who report

political news gratifications show higher political involvement than those who seek to meet political entertainment-related motivations.

4.4.3 Preferred Radio Stations and Programmes for Political News on the 2013 Kenya General Election

Radio stations in Kenya present their programmes in English, Kiswahili and vernacular languages (KNBS, 2021). They also air a variety of programmes that focus on political issues and current affairs. The survey participants were asked which radio stations and programmes they preferred to listen to when seeking news on the 2013 Kenya general election. Table 4.5 indicates that radio stations broadcasting in Kiswahili and vernacular languages were the most preferred for obtaining news on the 2013 Kenyan polls.

Table 4.5: Respondents' Preferred Radio Stations and Programmes for Information on the 2013 Kenya General Election

Label	Frequency (n=318)	%
Radio stations		
Radio Citizen	223	70.1
Mulembe FM	217	68.2
Radio Maisha	166	52.2
Radio Ingo	132	41.5
KBC Radio Taifa	105	33.0
Sulwe FM	99	31.1
West FM	82	25.8
Radio Jambo	76	23.9
Radio Milele	22	6.9
KISS FM	19	6.0
Radio Mambo	9	2.8
Others	148	46.5
Radio programmes		
Newscasts	315	99.1
Political talkshows	280	88.1
Advertisements	91	28.6
Discussion programmes	75	23.6
Others	4	1.3
NR	3	0.9

Table 4.5 indicates that the five top-most listened-to radio stations were: Radio Citizen (70.1%), Mulembe FM (68.2%), Radio Maisha (52.2%), Radio Ingo (41.5%) and KBC Radio

Taifa (33%). Radio Citizen, Radio Maisha and KBC Radio Taifa broadcast in Kiswahili while Mulembe FM and Radio Ingo broadcast in Luhyia, the dominant vernacular language in Kakamega County. These findings are in tandem with KARF's (2020) audience survey, as all the top-most radio stations in Table 4.5 were among the 10 most listened to in the western region where Kakamega County is located. The finding on vernacular radio stations tuned to by respondents is consistent with the observation by Myers (2008) that due to low literacy levels, women in Africa listen to vernacular radio stations. The study finding underscores the significance of radio stations broadcasting in Kiswahili and the vernacular language (Luhyia) reaching out to women in Kakamega County.

Table 4.5 further reveals that the top two preferred radio programmes for the respondents to obtain news on the 2013 general election were newscasts (99.1%) and political talkshows (88.1%). This finding is in tandem with the results of a study by Yankem (2015), which found that newscasts and political talkshows play a significant role in political participation in Kenya. From the findings in Section 4.4.2 of this research, it was established that there was a high rating for respondent seeking to fulfill the surveillance and guidance gratifications from being exposed to radio. Newscasts and political talkshows on radio cover information on politics and current public affairs and are most likely to fulfill surveillance and guidance gratifications that women voters seek from radio.

Newscasts and talkshows are useful sources of political and current affairs news (McQuail, 2010; Staples, 1998). The study results imply that to effectively gratify women voters seeking political news in Kakamega County, a variety of radio programmes geared toward news and political discussions, such as newscasts and talkshows can be used. By adopting a wide range

of radio programme genres and formats, it is possible to satisfy the gratifications of women voters during elections.

4.4.4 Direct Nexus Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political

Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The first objective of this research sought to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The output of the direct effects for the results on this objective does not consider mediating variables, as is the case with the direct effects in the statistical mediation models in Chapters Five to Seven of this research. The direct effects of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation considered in this chapter take into account socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and the use of other news media as control variables.

The findings on the direct nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County are based on descriptive and inferential statistics as covered in sub-sections 4.4.4.2 to 4.4.4.3. Political participation was captured by asking the respondents whether or not ("yes" or "no") they participated in a targeted list of eight forms of political activities during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Women voters' engagement in the eight forms of electoral participation targeted in this study is summarized in Table 4.6.

From Table 4.6, it can be observed that slightly over four-fifths (81.2%) of the survey respondents voted in the March 4, 2013, general election in Kakamega County. This was followed by 58.6% of the respondents who indicated that they displayed election campaign materials. Those who noted that they rallied voters to turn out and vote on March 4, 2013, and

canvassed for votes were 56.2% and 55.4% of the survey participants, respectively. The remaining four forms of electoral participation were the least engaged in by the survey respondents. For each one of them, less than half of the participants indicated being involved in them. The least engaged form of political participation was the monetary contribution to an election campaign, selected by 18% of the survey participants. Overall, the findings reveal women voters' engagement in some of the various forms of election campaign participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was limited.

Table 4.6: Women Voters' Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

No.	Forms of Electoral participation	Yes (%)	No (%)	DK & NR (%)	Total (%)
1	Voting	81.2	18.5	0.3	100.0
2	Displaying election campaign materials	58.6	39.3	2.2	100.1
3	Rallying voters to try turn out to vote	56.2	41.7	2.2	100.1
4	Canvassing for votes	55.4	42.5	2.1	100.0
5	Attending political meetings or rallies	39.8	58.6	1.6	100.0
6	Political volunteerism as a leader or member of a campaign team	25.3	72.9	1.9	100.1
7	Distributing election campaign literature	18.3	79.3	2.4	100.0
8	Monetary contribution to an election campaign	18.0	79.3	2.7	100.0

N= 372

A survey respondent's involvement in each of the eight forms of electoral participation targeted in this study was summed up to create an index of political participation ranging from 0 to 8 activities. The higher the number of activities a respondent was engaged in, the greater her level of political participation. Figure 4.5 summarizes these results. The categories of political participation presented in Figure 4.5 are as follows: non-political participation (0 activities), low (1-3 political participation activities), moderate (4-6 political participation activities) and high (7-8 political participation activities). Figure 4.5 indicates that slightly over half (52.4%) of the respondents reported nil to low political participation (0-3 electoral activities) in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. A total of 13.2% of the survey respondents reported a

high level of political participation in the 2013 polls. These results indicate that over four-fifths (86.4%) of the survey respondents had a level of political participation ranging from nil to moderate (1-6 electoral activities). The mean score for women voters' aggregate political participation was 3.53 ($SD = 2.34$). This mean score suggests that on average, women voters were less politically engaged during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

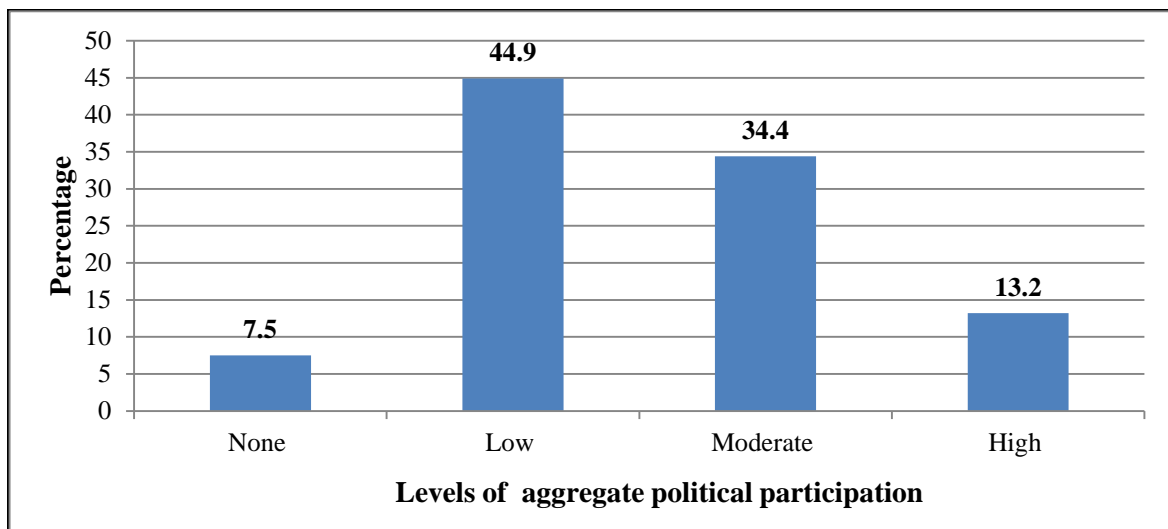


Figure 4.5: Respondents' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The results in Figure 4.5 indicate low women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. These results are consistent with empirical literature that reveals limited women's electoral participation in Kenya (FIDA-Kenya, 2013; Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha et al., 2013; Okello, 2010). The findings are also in tandem with Liu (2020), who notes the existence of significant gender differences in political participation in Asia and Africa. Women, as opposed to men, participate less in politics due to resource constraints, gendered roles in society, and the dominance of men in politics (Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha et al., 2013; Stefani et al., 2021; Verba et al., 1997). Some of the resource constraints relate to income and political skills. Domestic or household chores are often taken up mostly by women due to gendered

roles in society. Evidence of these constraints is contained in the qualitative results in Section 4.5 of this chapter.

4.4.4.1 Media Monitoring Data on Radio Coverage of the 2013 Kenyan Polls

Secondary data from media monitoring reports were used to complement the primary data collected in this study. A review of secondary data from media monitoring reports by EUOEM (2013b), Internews by Ipalei (2013) and MCK (2013) provides a glimpse into radio coverage of the 2013 polls in Kenya. These insights give a glimpse of the political news that women voters in Kakamega County were likely to be exposed to when listening to radio. Fifty-nine political parties and four political coalitions participated in the polls. The four political coalitions were CORD, the Jubilee Alliance, Amani Coalition and Eagle Coalition (Wanyama et al., 2014). The eight presidential candidates that participated in the March 4, 2013 polls were: Martha Karua, Mohammed Dida, Musalia Mudavadi, Paul Muite, Peter Kenneth, Professor James Ole Kiyapi, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta.

The results from the three media monitoring reports indicate that the 2013 Kenya general election coverage on radio was focused on two dominant political coalitions and their presidential candidates. One of these political coalitions was CORD, on whose ticket Raila Odinga and his running mate Kalonzo Musyoka contested the presidency under ODM. The second dominant political coalition was the Jubilee Alliance, under which Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto ran for the presidency under The National Alliance (TNA).

Radio analysis by EUOEM (2013b) focused on daily news programmes (6.00 a.m. and 10.00 a.m.) and main evening newscasts (7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.) in the period between January 31 and March 2, 2013. The radio stations monitored by EUOEM were KBC Radio Taifa, Radio

Citizen, Q-FM, Milele FM, Kiss FM, Egesa FM, Inooro FM, Kameme FM, KASS FM, Mbaitu FM, Mulembe FM, Ramogi FM and Pamoja Radio. Table 4.7 summarizes the data on only five radio stations, which in the current study were among the top 10 most-preferred radio stations for news about the 2013 polls among the survey respondents in Table 4.5.

Table 4.7: Distribution of Broadcast Airtime Among Political Coalitions or Parties in News Programmes on Selected Radio Stations in Kenya

Radio stations	Political coalitions or parties						Total
	CORD	Jubilee Alliance	Amani Coalition	Eagle Coalition	NARC-K	Others	
Radio Citizen	36.2	36.4	8.6	7.6	7.0	4.3	100.1
Mulembe FM	31.1	23.8	25.2	5.3	3.5	11.1	100.0
KBC Radio Taifa	33.6	30.0	8.7	6.0	5.7	15.9	99.9
Radio Milele	31.1	33.3	10.6	9.1	2.7	13.2	100.0
KISS FM	20.9	43.2	6.1	14.4	5.0	10.1	99.7

Source: Compiled from EUOEM (2013b, pp. 3-14).

Note: All figures are in percentage (%). NARC-K stands for National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya.

From Table 4.7, it was established that of all the radio programmes analyzed by EUOEM (2013b) in the period between January 31 and March 2, 2013, the combined coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance ranged from 54.9% to 66.6%. The combined election coverage for the two coalitions on Radio Citizen and Mulembe was 62.6% and 54.9%, respectively. For KBC Radio Taifa, Radio Milele and KISS FM, the combined coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance was 64.4%, 64.6% and 63.1%, respectively. These results, therefore, suggest that women voters in Kakamega County who were tuned to Radio Citizen, Mulembe FM, KBC Radio Taifa, Radio Milele and KISS FM were more likely to be exposed to political information on radio focusing on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance. This may have minimized their exposure to radio broadcasts on information about other political parties and coalitions during the 2013 polls.

The Internews media monitoring report compiled by Ipalei (2013) covered the period between November 2012 and April 2013 and focused on KBC Radio Taifa, KASS FM, Ramogi FM, Kameme FM and Radio Salama. KBC Radio Taifa in the Internews report was identified by 33% of the respondents as one of their preferred radio stations for obtaining political news about the 2013 polls (Table 4.5). The Internews radio analysis focused on prime-time news bulletins (aired at 7.00 a.m., 10.00 a.m., 7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.) and political talkshows. As summarized in Table 4.8, the results from this analysis reflect a trend in which CORD and the Jubilee Alliance were the most dominant coalitions covered on radio. According to a report by The Carter Centre (2013), the 2013 Kenya general election coverage in the news media was skewed towards these two political coalitions. Given this dominance in the news media, it is most likely that women voters listening to radio were exposed to political information on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance.

Table 4.8: Radio Coverage of Political Alliances and Parties in Kenya during the Months of January to April 2013

Months	Political coalitions or parties						Total
	Jubilee Alliance	CORD	Amani Coalition	Eagle Coalition	NARC-K	Others	
January	47	38	7	3	3	2	100.0
February	47	38	7	3	2	3	100.0
March	50	40	5	2	1	3	100.0
April	49	49	1	-	1	-	100.0

Source: Compiled from Ipalei (2013, p. 23).

Note: All figures are in percentage (%).

From Table 4.8, it was established that the combined radio coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance ranged from 85% to 98% in the months of January to April 2013. A total coverage of 85% was observed for CORD and the Jubilee Alliance in both the months of January and February before the March 4, 2013 polls. In March and April, the coverage increased to 90%

and 98%, respectively. These results are in tandem with the findings by EUOEM (2013). The report by Ipalei (2013) further reveals the 2013 Kenyan polls' coverage on the selected radio stations focused on election campaigns and election-related issues. This was followed by security, political administration and processes, constitution implementation and national cohesion, respectively. Peace advocacy was another area of focus in the radio coverage of the 2013 general election. Other issues covered by the radio stations after the March 4, 2013 polls were the tallying of the election results, the failure of IEBC's electronic system for voter identification and relaying of results, the presidential election petition of 2013 at the Supreme Court of Kenya and devolution.

Ipalei (2013) also reports that women were underrepresented in terms of being studio guests and radio presenters. On the radio stations monitored, it was found that women received minimal coverage of between 2% and 5% during the period between November 2012 and April 2013. Results from the FGDs with Internews media monitors considered the patriarchal nature of society to impede the underrepresentation of women in political discourse, such as on radio. The findings from the Internews report provide a general view of how some radio stations covered the 2013 general election. It reflects radio coverage that was dominated by CORD and the Jubilee Alliance and focused on, among other issues, election campaigns and other election-related issues such as tallying of the results, peace advocacy, IEBC failures and the presidential election petition of 2013 at the Supreme Court of Kenya. This suggests that women voters tuning in to radio stations such as KBC Radio Taifa, which was preferred by 33% of the survey respondents as a source of political news, were likely to be exposed to this content.

MCK (2013) conducted a media monitoring study covering the period between January 23 and 30, 2013. The study focused on presidential candidates' election coverage on Kameme FM,

Radio Salaam, KASS FM, Mulembe, Egesa FM and Nam Lolwe FM. The content analyzed was from the morning programmes (6.00 a.m. – 10.00 a.m.) and late-night talkshows (10.00 p.m.-12.00 a.m.), 1.00 p.m. and 7.00 p.m. news on the selected radio stations. The results of radio analysis by MCK revealed that Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga and their running mates contesting for the presidency on the Jubilee Alliance and CORD, respectively, dominated the election coverage on radio. These findings are in tandem with results from other media monitoring reports on the 2013 polls (for example, EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013). These reports established that election coverage on radio during the 2013 polls focused on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance.

MCK (2013) also established that the radio stations focused on the results of opinion polls for the presidential candidates. The findings of the radio content analysis further indicate a personality-oriented news presentation rather than issue-focused coverage. This is despite presidential candidates focusing on election campaign issues such as youth employment, security, land, agriculture, education and ICC (MCK, 2013). On gender disparities, it was found that women were underrepresented in radio broadcasts. The foregoing indicates women's political invisibility in the media election coverage of the 2013 polls, as also found in other media monitoring reports (for example, EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013). This type of election coverage that marginalizes women can deter their political participation.

One of the radio stations covered in the MCK (2013) media monitoring report is Mulembe FM. This radio station broadcasts in Luhya, a vernacular language that is dominant in Kakamega County (KNBS, 2019). Mulembe FM is among the 10 top-most daily listened-to radio stations in the western topography in which Kakamega County falls. Muleme FM was identified by 68.2% of the survey respondents as their preferred radio station for obtaining information about

the 2013 polls (Table 4.5). According to the 2013 MCK media monitoring report, what was dominantly covered on Mulembe FM was the presidential candidates' live TV debate, education and agriculture. The Kenyan media organized two presidential debates, which were held on February 11 and 25, 2013, and were broadcast on 32 radio stations and eight TV stations (The Carter Centre, 2013). The election coverage on Mulembe FM during the period under review (January 23 and 30, 2013) was predominantly issue-based rather than personality-based. The results of media monitoring on Mulembe FM suggest that women voters in Kakamega County who tuned to it were more likely to have been exposed to its political messages about the 2013 Kenya general election.

The results from the media monitoring reports by EUOM (2013b), Ipalei (2013) and MCK (2013) are corroborated by those from election observer missions (for example, AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). The reports observed that the 2013 Kenya general election coverage in the news media was skewed towards the two leading political coalitions, namely CORD and the Jubilee Alliance. Peace advocacy was also at the centre of the media coverage of the polls. On election campaign themes, a report by the Commonwealth Observer Group (2013) determined that the media coverage of the general election focused on various issues raised by the candidates. For example, job creation, infrastructure and devolution of powers, security, education and health.

It was also found from the election observers' monitoring reports on Kenya's 2013 general election that there was inadequate news media coverage of women candidates, promoting women's leadership and gender equality (The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; KHRC, 2014). In addition, The Carter Centre (2013) notes that the national media focused on the presidential elections. This left out political activities of the elective posts

of county governor, MPs in the National Assembly and Senate, and MCAs. County governors and MCAs are at the centre of the country's devolved political structure.

On voter education, it emerged from the election observer mission reports that during the 2013 Kenyan polls, the media, of which radio is a part, covered information on the constitution, citizens' political and electoral rights and responsibilities, voter registration, voting procedures, elective posts and their eligibility requirements. The media also provided information on election preparations and processes, preparedness of IEBC, opinion polls, policies, manifestos, strengths and weaknesses of political parties, alliances and candidates, vote tallying and election results (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). The information disseminated by the media during the 2013 polls thus focused on civic and voter education, election campaigns and the candidates contesting them.

From the review of the election observer mission reports, it is evident that the media coverage of the 2013 polls was skewed in favour of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance. This implies that the other political parties or coalitions contesting the polls received minimal coverage. Further, female candidates received relatively little media coverage compared to their male contestants. By inadequately covering other political parties or coalitions and female candidates, the news media contributed to the political invisibility of the other contestants besides those that were dominant.

4.4.4.2 Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Forms of Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The findings on the direct nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County are based on descriptive and inferential

statistics. For inferential statistics, Cramer's V and Pearson's correlation were applied to the data in bivariate correlation analysis in this sub-section. The interpretation of the values for Cramer's V is as follows: $.00 < .10$ = negligible; $.10 < .20$ = weak; $.20 < .40$ = moderate; $.40 < .60$ = relatively strong; $.60 < .80$ = strong; and $.80 < 1.00$ = very strong (Rea & Parker, 2014). The values for Pearson's correlation were interpreted as follows: 0 = no correlation; $.01$ to $.09$ = negligible correlation; $.10$ to $.29$ = low correlation; $.30$ to $.59$ = moderate correlation; $.60$ to $.74$ = strong correlation; $.75$ to $.99$ = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation (Rea & Parker, 2014). A p-value that is less than or equal to $.05$ shows a significant correlation between the study variables.

The Chi-square test of independence (X^2) and the effect measure of Cramer's V were used to establish the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and engagement in each of the eight targeted forms of political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The cross-tabulation and Chi-square test results are summarized in Appendix XVI. The findings reveal a statistically significant and strong positive correlation between the respondents' exposure to radio and political participation through canvassing for votes during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, X^2 ($df = 3$, $N = 346$) = 157.667, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .675. This implies that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to canvass for votes compared to those who were less exposed to it. Face-to-face canvassing for votes was important in political campaigning during the 2013 Kenya general election. According to Shilaho (2019), the 2013 Kenya general election was very competitive.

A statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation was established between the survey respondents' exposure to radio and political participation through rallying people to turn out to vote on March 4, 2013, in Kakamega County, X^2 ($df = 3$, $N = 345$) = 117.159, $p < .001$,

Cramer's $V = .583$. This suggests that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to rally voters to turn out and vote in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County compared to those who were less exposed to it. These results provide new insights as rallying people to turn out to vote on March 4, 2013, is a form of political participation that has not been addressed in past studies in Kenya (for example, Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019; Kamau, 2013; Mbeke, 2010; Yankem, 2015). The effect size (Cramer's $V = .583$) for the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and rallying voters to turn out on March 4, 2013, was the second-highest among the forms of political participation in this research. Voter turnout is very crucial in competitive elections such as the 2013 Kenya general election, hence the need for these rallying calls.

As observed from the data in Appendix XVI, there was a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey respondents' exposure to radio and political participation through attending political and campaign meetings or rallies during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $X^2(df = 3, N = 347) = 113.613, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .572$. This suggests that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to attend political campaign meetings or rallies during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County compared to those who were less exposed to it. This finding is supported by Yankem (2015) and Mbeke (2010), who note that radio is used a lot in announcing political rallies or meetings in Kenya.

The data in Appendix XVI reveals a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey respondents' exposure to radio and political participation through monetary contribution to political campaigns during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $X^2(df = 3, N = 344) = 92.664, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .519$. It was further

found that there was a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey participants' exposure to radio and political participation through displaying campaign materials during the 2013 general election, $X^2(df = 3, N = 345) = 90.367, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .512$. These results suggest that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to monetarily contribute to election campaigns and display election campaign materials during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County compared to those who were less exposed to it.

The bivariate results in Appendix XVI established a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey respondents' exposure to radio and political participation through distributing campaign literature during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $X^2(df = 3, N = 344) = 77.996, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .476$. Similar results were reported for the correlation between the survey participants' exposure to radio and political volunteerism as a leader or team member of an election campaign group, $X^2(df = 3, N = 346) = 71.663, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .455$. These findings suggest that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to distribute election campaign literature during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County compared to those who were less exposed to it. In addition, women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to volunteer as team leaders or members of political campaign support teams compared to those who were less exposed to it.

The data in Appendix XVI reveals that there was a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey participants' exposure to radio and political participation through turning out to vote in Kakamega County on March 4, 2013, $X^2(df = 3, N = 352) = 61.782, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .403$. This implies that women voters who were highly

exposed to radio were more likely to vote on March 4, 2013, compared to those who were less exposed to it. This finding is consistent with the results from previous studies that have established that exposure to radio positively relates to voter turnout in Africa (Isaksson et al., 2012; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2007).

The foregoing results of the Chi-square test of independence established a statistically significant correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and each of the targeted eight forms of political participation in this study. From the perspective of political mobilization theory, such a correlation exists since it asserts that exposure to radio has limited direct effects on political participation through its agenda-setting and political mobilization roles (Flanagan, 1996). After determining the existence of a statistically significant correlation from the Chi-square test of independence, the researcher analyzed the strength of this association through Cramer's V.

The use of Cramer's V in this research as a measure of determining effect sizes helped to establish the strength of the correlation between exposure to radio and each of the eight forms of political participation targeted in this study. By using Cramer's V as a measure of effect sizes, the quantitative findings in this study yield new insights into the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and engagement in various forms of political participation in the 2013 polls. The use of Cramer's V helped determine the magnitude of the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation. The research findings, therefore, go beyond past studies that used the Chi-square test of independence to establish if a correlation exists between exposure to radio and forms of political participation. For instance, previous studies in Kenya have performed such correlation analyses without computing effect sizes (for example, Isaksson et al., 2012; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2007; Mbeke, 2010; Muriithi & Page,

2013). In this research, the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation by canvassing for votes was strong. It was also established that the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and engagement in the other seven forms of political participation targeted in this research was relatively strong (Appendix XVI).

4.4.4.3 Multiple Regression Results on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Hierarchical multiple regression was performed to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Variables considered in this regression analysis comprise exposure to radio, political participation and control variables (socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media). Tables 4.9 and 4.10 summarize the results of the bivariate correlation analysis on the study variables involved in the hierarchical multiple regression. In cross-tabulation in Table 4.9, the aggregate political participation was categorized as follows: non-political participation (0 activities), low (1-3 activities), moderate (4-6 activities) and high (7-8 activities). The hierarchal multiple or multivariate regression outputs are presented in Tables 4.11 to 4.13.

The findings on the direct nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County presented in Table 4.9 were based on descriptive and inferential statistics. For the inferential statistics in Table 4.9, Cramer's V is considered for effect sizes. The interpretation of the values for Cramer's V is as follows: $.00 < .10$ = negligible; $.10 < .20$ = weak; $.20 < .40$ = moderate; $.40 < .60$ = relatively strong; $.60 < .80$ = strong; and $.80 < 1.00$ = very strong (Rea & Parker, 2014). Table 4.9 reveals that there was a statistically significant and relatively strong positive correlation between the survey

respondents' age and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $X^2(df = 3, N = 372) = 179.668, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .491$.

Table 4.9: Cross Tabulation of Women Voters' Political Participation by Socio-demographics and Political Affiliation during the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Characteristics	Aggregate political participation					Total
	N	None	Low	Medium	High	
Age (years)						
18-35	162	0.6	19.1	51.2	29.1	100.0
36-50	106	3.8	57.5	36.8	1.9	100.0
Above 50 years	104	22.1	72.1	5.8	0.0	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(3, N = 372) = 179.668, p = .000, V = .491$					
Marital status						
Single	92	1.1	20.7	56.5	21.7	100.0
Married	222	5.9	51.4	31.1	11.6	100.0
Separated, divorced and widowed	56	25.0	58.9	12.5	3.6	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(6, N = 370) = 76.044, p = .000, V = .321$					
Level of education						
None	72	23.6	62.5	9.7	4.2	100.0
Primary school	161	5.0	46.6	38.5	9.9	100.0
Secondary school	71	2.8	29.6	42.4	25.2	100.0
Tertiary and university	66	1.5	36.4	43.9	18.2	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(6, N = 370) = 72.493, p = .000, V = .256$					
Household income						
Kshs. 20,000 and below	268	7.8	49.3	33.2	9.7	100.0
Above Kshs. 20,000	80	1.3	32.5	40.0	26.2	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(3, N = 348) = 21.351, p = .000, V = .254$					
Residential location						
Rural	155	7.1	49.6	36.8	6.5	100.0
Urban	217	7.8	41.5	32.7	18.0	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(3, N = 372) = 10.963, p = .000, V = .172$					
Political party affiliation						
None	96	22.9	64.6	8.3	4.2	100.0
ODM	165	3.6	37.6	43.6	15.2	100.0
UDF Party	52	0.0	42.3	36.5	25.2	100.0
Others	51	0.0	31.4	52.7	15.7	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2(9, N = 364) = 90.077, p = .000, V = .287$					

Table 4.9 indicates that there was a statistically significant and moderate positive correlation between the following variables and political participation: (1) marital status, $X^2(df = 6, N = 370) = 76.044, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .321$; (2) level of education, $X^2(df = 6, N = 370) = 72.493, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .256$; (3) household income, $X^2(df = 3, N = 348) = 21.351, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .254$; and (4) political party affiliation, $X^2(df = 9, N = 364) = 90.077, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .287$. From Table 4.9, it can further be noted that there was a statistically

significant and weak positive correlation between the survey respondents' residential location and political participation during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $X^2(df = 3, N = 372) = 10.963, p < .000, \text{Cramer's } V = .172$.

Overall, the findings in Table 4.9 reveal a statistically significant positive correlation between each of the control variables relating to socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics and political participation among women voters in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The findings are in tandem with the sociological approach to political participation, which indicates that socio-demographics predict political participation (Jung, 2010). Prior research has found that women's political participation is shaped by their sociological determinants (for example, Dim & Asomah, 2019; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011; Rai, 2011). In addition, Dim and Asomah, note that political orientation characteristics such as party affiliation also influence political participation.

The correlation between the other control variables (political partisanship and use of other news media) and women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was investigated using Pearson correlation statistics. The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 4.10. In this analysis and that of hierarchical multiple regression, the aggregate political participation ranges from none (0) to eight (8) electoral activities. For the inferential statistics presented in Table 4.10, Pearson's correlation was used.

The values for Pearson's correlation in Table 4.10 were interpreted as follows: 0 = no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74 = strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation (Rea & Parker, 2014). A p-value that is less than or equal to .05

shows a significant correlation between the study variables. Table 4.10 reveals a statistically significant and moderate positive correlation between women voters' use of TV for obtaining political news and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, $r = .364$, $p < .001$. A statistically significant and low positive correlation was also found for each of the following control variables and political participation: (1) political partisanship, $r = .184$, $p = .003$; (2) use of printed newspapers, $r = .238$, $p < .001$; (3) use of the Internet, $r = .170$, $p < .001$; and (4) use of mobile phones via SMS or calls, $r = .113$, $p < .001$. From these results and those on socio-demographics, it is evident that the correlation between each of the control variables and political participation was statistically significant and positive.

Table 4.10: Pearson Correlation Statistics for Selected Control Variables and Political Participation

Control Variables	Pearson Coefficient (r)	P-Value	Correlation status
Political partisanship	.184**	.003	Low
TV	.364**	.000	Moderate
Printed newspapers	.238**	.000	Low
Internet	.170**	.000	Low
Mobile phones via SMS or calls	.113**	.000	Low

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level

The first objective of this study focused on the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The results for this objective were based on the outputs from bivariate correlation and hierarchical multiple regression analyses. In the multivariate results, the independent variable in these analyses was exposure to radio, which ranges from 0 to 56 hours per week. The dependent variable was political participation, whose aggregate scores ranged from none (0) to eight (8) of the targeted electoral activities. A strong, positive and statistically significant correlation was established between the survey respondents' exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, $r = .728$, $p < .001$. This suggests that exposure to political news on radio

predicted women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls. This underscores the role of radio in women voters' political participation in these polls. These results were further explored through a four-step hierarchical multiple regression analysis.

In this study, hierarchical multiple regression analysis involved exposure to radio and political participation as the independent and dependent variables, respectively, while considering various control variables. Socio-demographics comprising age, marital status, level of education, household income and residential location were entered together as the first block (Model 1). Political orientation characteristics comprising political party affiliation and partisanship were entered in the second block (Model 2).

The use of other news media (TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls) was entered in the third block (Model 3). Finally, exposure to radio was entered in the fourth block (Model 4). This fourth block was the most important in analyzing the findings on the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

Tables 4.11 to 4.13 summarize the results of the hierarchical multiple regression performed in this research to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The values for r-squared (R^2) in hierarchical multiple regression were interpreted as follows: 0= no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74= strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation (Rea & Parker, 2014). A p-value that is less than or equal to .05 shows a significant correlation between the study variables.

As observed in Table 4.11, Model 1 (socio-demographics) accounted for 31% of the variance in women voters' political participation, $R^2 = .310$, adjusted $R^2 = .294$, $F(5, 211) = 18.978$, $p < .001$. This suggests that the set of socio-demographics comprising age, marital status, level of education, monthly household income and residential location predicted women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The value for the adjusted $R^2 = .294$ indicates that about 29.4% of the variability in women's electoral participation was accounted for by Model 1. The finding of socio-demographics as predictors of the survey respondents' electoral participation is in tandem with the results from past studies, which reveal that women's political participation in Africa is shaped by these determinants (Dim & Asomah, 2019; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2011).

Table 4.11: Model Summary for Multiple Regression of Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	Std Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R ² Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.557a	.310	.294	.619	.310	18.978	5	211	.000*
2	.570b	.325	.302	.615	.014	2.218	2	209	.111
3	.596c	.355	.320	.607	.030	2.390	4	205	.052
4	.713d	.508	.479	.532	.153	63.423	1	204	.000*

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location
- b. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship
- c. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship, TV, printed newspapers, Internet, mobile phones via SMS or calls
- d. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship, TV, printed newspapers, Internet, mobile phones via SMS or calls, exposure to radio
- e. Dependent variable: Political participation

* $p < .05$.

Table 4.11 reveals that Model 2, with socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics as predictors, was a slight improvement of Model 1, with an R of .570 and an R^2 of .325, thus 32.5% of the variance in women voters' political participation was accounted for. The change in R^2 (ΔR^2) was not significant, $F(2, 209)$, $p = .111$. This suggests that the

second set of predictors (political affiliation and partisanship) could not predict women voters' electoral participation. A plausible reason for this could be that the respondents' indications of their political affiliation and partisanship are ethnically driven rather than based on their evaluations and choices. Political party affiliation in Kenya is ethnically driven (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; Kamau, 2013; Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015b). Further, 47% of the survey participants who were politically affiliated indicated that their level of partisanship was not so strong.

Model 3, with socio-demographics, political orientation characteristics and use of other news media as predictors, was a slight improvement of Model 2 with an R of .596 and an R^2 of .355, thus accounting for 35.5% of the variance in women voters' political participation. The change in R^2 (ΔR^2) was not significant, $F(4, 205)$, $p = .052$. This suggests that the third set of predictors (use of TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls) could not predict women voters' electoral participation. A possible reason for this could be the limited use of these news media for political information seeking during the 2013 polls. The findings presented in Table 4.3 reveal women voters' exposure to other news media besides radio was limited, with non-use for them reported in descending order as follows: mobile phones via SMS or calls (88.7%), printed newspapers (85.8%), the Internet (84.9%) and TV (52.2%).

Model 4 in Table 4.11 was statistically significant and could account for 50.8% of the explained variance in the survey respondents' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, $R^2 = .508$, adjusted $R^2 = .479$, $F(1, 204) = 63.423$, $p < .001$. The R^2 change (ΔR^2) was .153, thus this suggests that 15.3% of the explained variance in the survey participants' political participation had been accounted for by exposure to political news on radio. These findings, therefore, suggest that an increase in women voters' exposure to political

news on radio could predict a rise of 15.3% in the electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. However, this increase in women voters' electoral participation was low.

Table 4.12 illustrates the significance of each of the four models in the hierarchical multiple regression on the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. Each of the four models in the hierarchical multiple regression was significant, $p < .001$. The entire model of hierarchical multiple regression analysis (Model 4) was statistically significant: $F(12, 204) = 17.532, p < .001$. Therefore, Model 4 could predict the variance in women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls.

Table 4.12: ANOVA Results on Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Model		Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	36.319	5	7.264	18.978	.000b
	Residual	80.759	211	.383		
	Total	117.078	216			
2	Regression	37.998	7	5.428	14.346	.000c
	Residual	79.081	209	.378		
	Total	117.078	216			
3	Regression	41.521	11	3.775	10.241	.000d
	Residual	75.557	205	.369		
	Total	117.078	216			
4	Regression	59.441	12	4.953	17.532	.000e
	Residual	57.638	204	.283		
	Total	117.078	216			

- a. Dependent variable: Political participation
- b. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location
- c. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship
- d. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship, TV, printed newspapers, Internet, mobile phones via SMS or calls
- e. Predictors: (Constant), Age, marital status, level of education, household income, residential location, political party affiliation, partisanship, TV, printed newspapers, Internet, mobile phones via SMS or calls, exposure to radio

The hierarchical multiple regression output in Table 4.13 summarizes the regression Coefficients for Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County.

Table 4.14: Regression Coefficients for Exposure to Radio as a Predictor of Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.334	.193		17.299	.000
	Age	-0.538	.072	-0.503	-7.507	.000
	Marital status	-0.050	.078	-0.042	-0.634	.527
	Level of education	-0.004	.006	-0.034	-0.599	.550
	Household income status	.001	.003	.017	.297	.767
	Residential location	.241	.085	.162	2.832	.005
2	(Constant)	2.915	.284		10.263	.000
	Age	-0.535	.073	-0.5	-7.343	.000
	Marital status	-0.036	.078	-0.031	-0.464	.643
	Level of education	-0.003	.006	-0.023	-0.403	.687
	Household income status	.001	.003	.030	.513	.608
	Residential location	.249	.085	.168	2.948	.004
	Political party affiliation	.110	.054	.119	2.030	.044
3	(Constant)	2.986	.306		9.744	.000
	Age	-0.513	.076	-0.479	-6.72	.000
	Marital status	-0.048	.079	-0.041	-0.605	.546
	Level of education	-0.002	.006	-0.021	-0.364	.716
	Household income status	.002	.003	.041	.706	.481
	Residential location	.235	.094	.158	2.498	.013
	Political party affiliation	.111	.054	.120	2.060	.041
	Partisanship	.040	.055	.043	.722	.471
	TV	.110	.052	.144	2.100	.037
	Newspapers	.051	.125	.027	.404	.686
4	(Constant)	2.026	.294		6.888	.000
	Age	-0.280	.073	-0.261	-3.832	.000
	Marital status	-0.010	.069	-0.008	-0.143	.887
	Level of education	.004	.006	.036	.711	.478
	Household income status	.004	.002	.093	1.826	.069
	Residential location	.167	.083	.113	2.017	.045
	Political party affiliation	.101	.047	.109	2.145	.033
	Partisanship	.009	.048	.010	.181	.857
	TV	.024	.047	.031	.508	.612
	Newspapers	.026	.109	.014	.239	.811
	Internet	-0.17	.095	-0.106	-1.794	.074
	Mobile phones via SMS or calls	-0.048	.104	-0.024	-0.460	.646
	Exposure to radio	.400	.050	.498	7.964	.000

a. Dependent variable: Political participation

As gleaned from Model 4 in Table 4.13, the beta (β) coefficients for the significant predictors of women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County were as follows: age ($\beta = -.261$, $t = -3.832$, $p < .001$); residential location ($\beta = .113$, $t = 2.017$, $p = .045$); political party affiliation ($\beta = .109$, $t = 2.145$, $p = .033$); and exposure to radio ($\beta = .498$, $t = 7.964$, $p <$

.001). From these results, it is evident that exposure to radio had the highest predictive power on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This suggests the significance of exposure to radio in promoting women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in the county. The beta (β) coefficient for exposure to radio ($\beta = .498$, $t = 7.964$, $p < .001$) in Table 4.13 suggests that with an increase in one standard deviation in women voters' exposure to radio, their aggregate political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County could be raised by .498 standard deviations. The strength of this correlation occurred even after control variables were accounted for. This underscores the need to consider exposure to political news on radio when designing media interventions for promoting women voters' electoral participation.

The finding that exposure to radio was the most significant predictor of women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County is in tandem with past studies. Empirical evidence from prior research in Kenya demonstrates the informational, educational and mobilization roles of radio in citizens' political participation (for example, Muriithi & Page, 2013; Yankem, 2015). However, as noted in the final reports of various election observation missions, IEBC voter education was considered inadequate as it started late (The Carter Centre, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). This could be one of the possible contributing factors to the statistically significant but low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

From the quantitative findings, it is evident that there was a statistically significant low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. These results indicate a low direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The

findings are supported by Flanagan's (1996) political mobilization theory, which postulates that the use of news media has limited direct effects on political participation. The theory postulates that news media use generates less obvious direct effects on political participation through its agenda-setting and political mobilization roles. Agenda-setting theory postulates that the mass media, through telling the public what issues are important, make individuals regard these issues as important (Baran & Davis, 2020; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McQuail, 2010; Wanta, 1997). Consequently, women voters' exposure to political news focusing on such issues may have made them consider them important and this could then have informed their political decisions. For example, which political activities to engage in and reinforce which candidate, political party or coalition to support during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation, as established in this research, is also corroborated by UGT. According to Katz et al. (1974), UGT suggests that media audiences are active and determine what content they consume from the news media and how this consumption affects them (Katz et al., 1974). Further, Ndubi (2019) notes that UGT is a limited media effects theory that takes into account audience members' selectivity of media use. Hart et al. (2009) note that in selective exposure, individuals seek out media content that is aligned with their existing beliefs and values and this limits the potential mobilizing effects of news media use. This suggests that women voters might have decided on which political messages on radio to listen to and, subsequently, how these messages were to influence their political participation in the 2013 polls.

The finding of a statistically low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to political news on radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County is consistent with an empirical review by Didiugwu et al. (2014). In this review of several studies

in Nigeria using bivariate correlation analysis, the authors found a weak correlation between women's frequency of radio use and political participation in elections in the country. The use of hierarchical multiple regression in the current study yielded results that demonstrate the direct effect of exposure to political news on radio on women voters' electoral participation after considering the influence of the control variables comprising socio-demographics, political orientation and the use of other news media. The subsequent section presents qualitative findings used to buttress the results from the statistical models in the quantitative phase. These results were obtained from 27 participants in FGDs during the second phase of data collection in this research.

4.5 Qualitative Findings on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

To expound on the quantitative findings on the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, the participants in the FGDs were interrogated on three issues. First, whether they were exposed to political news on radio during the 2013 general election. Second, the political news they obtained from radio on the 2013 Kenya general election. Finally, how the political news they obtained from radio shaped their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Appendix IX summarizes all the themes and sub-themes generated in this study.

All 27 (100%) participants in the FGDs indicated that they were listening to radio to get political news on the Kenyan polls before March 4, 2013. This suggests the significance of radio as a source of political news for women voters' electoral participation in Kakamega County during the 2013 polls. The finding is consistent with the quantitative results in Section 4.4.1 of this thesis, which established that the majority of the survey respondents were listening

to radio. The qualitative finding is also in tandem with the literature, which identifies radio as the main news media source of information in Kakamega County (County Government of Kakamega, 2018). Further, a survey by Afrobarometer (2016) established that radio was the major news medium for information on politics and current affairs in Kenya among female respondents. The next to sub-sections focus on political news were exposed to radio and the effect of the exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County.

4.5.1 Women Voters' Exposure to Political News on Radio During the 2013 Kenya General Election

The political news that women voters in the FGDs indicated that they obtained on radio focused on various themes relevant to the 2013 Kenya general election. The political news about these polls obtained from radio that the participants considered to have influenced their electoral participation were grouped into four themes. These themes were as follows: (1) civic and voter education; (2) election campaigns; (3) nomination of candidates by political parties or coalitions; and (4) election opinion polls.

Theme 1.1: Civic and Voter Education

Civic and voter education is essential to citizens' understanding of their political rights and responsibilities, the political and electoral systems in a country, voting requirements, procedures, timelines and venues and candidates contesting the election. Civic and voter education information is thus expected to promote the electoral participation of women. All 27 (100%) focus group participants indicated that they accessed varied civic and voter education information from radio during the 2013 general election. Civic and voter education information obtained from radio focused on the following six sub-themes: (1) voter identification

requirements and voting procedures; (2) voter registration and register inspection; (3) candidates and political parties or coalitions; (4) voting date, hours and venues; (5) elective posts and their eligibility criteria; and (6) peaceful elections.

Sub-theme 1.1.1: Voter Identification Requirements and Voting Procedures

To vote in a general election in Kenya, one requires a valid national identification (ID) or passport used at the time of voter registration. The required voter identification document (valid national ID or passport) was, therefore, required to be presented to a polling clerk for identification before one was allowed to vote on March 4, 2013. This means that without any one of these documents, a person cannot be allowed to vote. Twenty-three (85.1%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that by listening to radio they were informed about voter identification documents that they needed to have to cast their ballot on March 4, 2013. The following quotes confirm these views from the participants:

Taarifa kutoka redio ziliwakumbusha wananchi kama mimi kwamba walihitaji kubeba kitambulisho cha taifa la Kenya wanapoenda kupiga kura siku ya uchaguzi. [The information from radio reminded citizens like me that they needed to carry a Kenyan national ID when going to vote on Election Day]. (Participant 1.1).

Radio programmes constantly reminded us [voters] of what documents were required to register with and use on Election Day [March 4, 2013]. If you registered using a national ID card, then this is what was to be used for voting. Likewise, if a [Kenyan] passport was used, then a voter used it on Election Day. (Participant 4.25).

The narratives from Participants 1.1 and 4.25 demonstrate the civic and voter education of radio during the 2013 polls. This concurs with a report by The Carter Centre (2013) that acknowledged that radio robustly provided civic education information during the 2013 Kenyan polls. Voting is an integral part of democratic elections. Obtaining information on what voter identification documents a person needs and the procedures a voter goes through on Election Day is important.

The 2013 general election was the first one in Kenya to use BVR technology in its voter registration exercise and, to some extent, in voter identification on March 4, 2013 (The Carter Centre, 2013). In BVR, a voter's unique physical features (biometrics) such as fingerprints and facial images and identifiable personal information such as name, gender and national ID or passport number are captured. Voter information on the application of BVR technology in Kenya was, therefore, necessary. This was to ensure that the BVR technology was understood and embraced by the electorate and other political stakeholders in the country. This demonstrates the role of radio in voter education on the BVR technology. Participants in the FGDs identified radio as a source of information on the workings of BVR technology. The following excerpts from the participants illustrate this:

I thought I would vote via this [BVR] technology, but the information from radio made it clear that it was only to be used in voter registration and identification on Election Day [March 4, 2013]. (Participant 3.14).

We were informed from radio broadcasts that a person could only vote at the polling station they had registered at. For me, I had thought that with this voting [BVR] technology, I could just vote from any polling station. (Participant 4.27).

The responses from the participants under sub-theme 1.1.1 are consistent with the role of radio in providing information on, among others, the voting process (MCK, 2021; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). As noted from secondary data from various election observer mission reports, radio broadcasts aided in voter education by focusing on, among others, voter registration and voting procedures (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013).

Sub-theme 1.1.2: Voter Registration and Register Inspection

To vote in a general election in Kenya, one must have registered as a voter. Voter registration in Kenya is a continuous process. However, mass voter registration is also conducted before a general election. Mass voter registration for the 2013 general election commenced on November 19, 2012, and ended on December 18, 2012. Before the final voters' register is

produced, it is inspected by the voters, who verify their inclusion in it and their details. Twenty (74.1%) of the 27 focus group participants indicated that radio provided them with information on voter registration and register inspection. Here are the comments made by select participants:

Nilisikiliza sana redio, na ni kutokana na habari zake ndipo nilipata habari za jinsi ningeweza kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura. [I listened to radio, a lot and it was from its news that I obtained information on how I could register as a voter]. (Participant 1.1).

Kutoka kwa matangazo ya redio, nilipata habari kuhusu nani anastahili kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura, lini na mahali pa kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura. [From radio advertisements, I received information on who is eligible to register as a voter, when and where to register as a voter]. (Participant 1.5).

Radio constantly urged Kenyans to turn out and register for the [2013 general] election. (Participant 3.18).

The foregoing quotes on radio as a source of voter registration information are consistent with the literature. For instance, radio and other news media are major sources of information on electoral laws and voter registration (MCK, 2021; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). The finding is in tandem with secondary data from various election observer mission reports that underscored the importance of radio in voter education, focusing on political rights and responsibilities, voter registration and voting procedures (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013).

Article 38 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya provides for the political rights of being registered as a voter and voting by secret ballot in any election or referendum in the country. This underscores the significance of voting as a form of political participation during elections. As was determined from the quantitative data in Table 4.6, slightly over four-fifths (81.2%) of the respondents indicated voting in the general election on March 4, 2013.

In Kenya, a voter can verify his or her registration details by physically visiting a polling station or IEBC constituency office, via SMS or by visiting the IEBC website portal. For the 2013

Kenya general election, the inspection of the voter register was conducted between January 13 and 26, 2013. After this verification, IEBC compiled a principal (final) voter register that was used to identify voters on March 4, 2013. On radio as a source of information on this voter register verification exercise, Participant 4.23 said:

I heard several announcements on radio for those who had registered as voters to go to the polling centres or send an SMS to IEBC to confirm their details in the [voter] register. This prompted me to go and confirm my registration details given my prior experience in the 2007 [Kenya] general election when my name was missing from the [IEBC voter] register. (Participant 4.23).

Information on voter registration and register inspection is key to ensuring that one is duly listed as a voter. Only those duly registered are allowed to vote on Election Day in Kenya. By getting exposed to political information on voter registration and register inspection, the participants in the FGDs could use it to check their registration status. This is important, as only those who appear in the IEBC final voter register are allowed to vote in Kenya.

Sub-theme 1.1.3: Candidates and Political Parties or Coalitions

A total of 12,776 candidates, 59 political parties and four political coalitions participated in the 2013 Kenya general election (IEBC, 2014). Seventeen (63%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that they were able to get information from radio about the candidates and political parties or coalitions participating in the 2013 general election. This is illustrated by the following remarks from the participants in the FGDs:

Kulikuwa na matangazo mengi ya redio ya wagombea katika uchaguzi [mkuu wa 2013] yakittoa wito kwa wapiga kura kuwachagua. [There were many radio advertisements by the candidates in the [2013 general] election calling on voters to elect them]. (Participant 1.3).

What I heard most from radio was information about [Raila] Odinga and [Uhuru] Kenyatta, who were contesting for the presidency under CORD and the Jubilee Alliance, respectively. (Participant 3.16).

My interest was in those contesting for the woman representative's post [WMNA] in Kakamega County and this was focused on by the vernacular radio station I was listening to. (Participant 4.24).

The narratives by Participants 1.3, 3.16 and 4.24 are in tandem with the observation that the news media provide information on political parties and candidates participating in elections (MCK, 2012; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). In particular, the views expressed by Participant 3.16 concur with findings from media monitoring reports that established that the 2013 general election coverage on radio was focused on two dominant political coalitions and their presidential candidates. These coalitions were CORD on whose ticket Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka contested the presidency under ODM and the Jubilee Alliance, under which Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto ran for the presidency under TNA. The dominance of these two political coalitions in news media coverage was also observed by various election monitoring reports from observer missions (for example, AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). The secondary data, therefore, complement the primary data from the participants in the FGDs who indicated listening to radio broadcasts mostly focusing on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance and their candidates especially, those contesting for the presidency (President and Deputy President).

Probed further on which vernacular radio station she obtained information on those contesting for the post of WMNA, Participant 4.24 identified Mulembe FM. This radio station broadcasts in Luhya, the dominant vernacular language in Kakamega County. From the quantitative data in Table 4.4, over two-thirds (68.2%) of the survey respondents noted that they were listening to this particular radio station. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that Mulembe FM was a preferred radio station for information about the 2013 polls. Table 4.5 in sub-section 4.4.3 indicates that 68.2% of the survey respondents identified

Mulembe FM as their preferred radio station for political news during the 2013 Kenya general election.

Sub-theme 1.1.4: Voting Date, Hours and Venues

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya requires that a general election in the country be held on the second Tuesday in August in every fifth year. The 2013 Kenya general election was, therefore, held on Tuesday March 4. On the date of a general election, polling stations in Kenya open at 6.00 a.m. and close at 5.00 p.m. However, there is room for extending the closing hours if a polling station opens late. This is done to recover any lost time and also allow all voters in the queue by 5.00 p.m. to vote. Voting venues in Kenya are the IEBC-designated polling stations inside Kenya and outside the country. From the FGDs, it was established that radio was a source of political information on the voting dates, hours and venues for these polls. Fifteen (55.6%) of the 27 focus group participants affirmed radio as their source of political information on the voting date, timelines and venues. The following excerpts provide the evidence on radio as a source of political news about the voting date, timelines and venues for the 2013 poll:

Redio ndiyo ilikuwa chanzo changu kikuu cha habari kuhusu siku ya uchaguzi [Machi 4, 2013] na ni saa ngapi vituo vya kupigia kura vilitakiwa kufunguliwa na kufungwa. Hii ilituongoza wengi wetu katika maandalizi yetu ya kwenda kupiga kura siku ya uchaguzi. [Radio was my main source of information on Election Day [March 4, 2013] and at what time the polling stations were to be opened and closed. This guided most of us in our preparations to go out and vote on Election Day]. (Participant 1.2).

Mara nyingi, niliposikiliza redio wiki chache kabla ya siku ya uchaguzi, kulikuwa na matangazo ya uchaguzi utakaofanyika Machi 4, 2013 katika vituo mbalimbali vya kupigia kura kuanzia asubuhi hadi jioni. [Most of the time, when I listened to radio a few weeks before Election Day, there were announcements on the election to be held on March 4, 2013, in various polling centres from morning to evening]. (Participant 1.3).

The narratives from the focus group participants under sub-theme 1.1.4 point to the role of radio in informing the electorate about the voting timelines and venues. This is in tandem with the results of a study in Nigeria by Edegoh et al. (2015). It was found that the majority of the

respondents used radio as their source of information on election dates during the 2015 Nigerian general election in Anambra State.

Sub-theme 1.1.5: Elective Posts and Their Eligibility Criteria

The 2013 general election encompassed 1,882 elective posts for the president, county governors, MPs and MCAs (IEBC, 2014). Twelve (44.4%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs, all with post-primary school education, acknowledged that they obtained information on who was eligible to contest for these elective posts and the executive roles for some of them. Participants in the FGDs identified radio as a source of information on the elective posts contested and voted for in the 2013 polls, as captured in the sentiments of two of the women voters:

Hapo awali, nilimpigia kura rais, mbunge na diwani. Lakini redio ilinipa taarifa kuwa uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 ulikuwa na nyadhifa nyingi zaidi za uchaguzi. [Previously, I voted for the president, MP and Councillor. But radio provided me with information that the 2013 general election had more elective posts]. (Participant 2.12).

The educational requirement of a degree qualification for certain elective posts was something new I got [learnt] from listening to radio. For example, anyone contesting for the presidential and gubernatorial seats had to have a minimum of a degree qualification as required by the [2010] Constitution [of Kenya]. (Participant 3.21).

It is evident from the qualitative data from the FGDs that, in fulfilling its civic and voter educational roles, radio provided women voters with information on what elective posts were contested. As Yankem (2015) notes, radio is heavily used in civic and voter education in Kenya. By listening to radio women voters got informed about the eligibility criteria or requirements for contesting for various elective posts, such as the presidential and gubernatorial seats. Such information was necessary as the requirement of a degree qualification for a presidential candidate and the position of county governor were new. These requirements were introduced in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. The 2013 polls were the first under this new constitutional

order. Besides the newly introduced post of county governor, this Constitution also had the new posts of senator and WMNA. The position of MCA replaced the former one for councillor.

Sub-theme 1.1.6: Peaceful Elections

Radio advocated for peace before, during and after the 2013 Kenya general election (The Carter Centre, 2013; KHRC, 2014). However, from the FGDs, six (22.2%) of the 27 focus group participants identified radio as their source of peace messages before, during and after the 2013 general election. Here are some relevant comments from the participants:

Katika redio nilisikia ujumbe wa amani ukiwaambia watu watulie wakati na baada ya uchaguzi uliofanyika Machi 4, 2013. [On radio I heard about peace messages telling people to remain calm during and after the election was held on March 4, 2013]. (Participant 2.11).

Peace messages dominating the radio reminded us, the citizens, to avoid a repeat of the 2007 general election, in which violence occurred in Kenya and many people were displaced and some even died. (Participant 3.19).

As evidenced in the literature, women's political participation is hindered by the risks involved in it, such as political violence and intimidation during elections (IDEA, 2021; Bouka et al. 2019, Ndubi, 2019). Peace messages on radio were thus meant to reassure the public that electoral violence would not occur and deter electoral participation. Various reports on the 2013 Kenya general election note that peace advocacy before, during and after the polls was central in news media coverage (for example, The Carter Centre, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; Ipalei, 2013).

Theme 1.2: Election Campaigns

The second theme that emerged from the FGDs relates to women voters obtaining election campaign information from radio. This information focused on the following two sub-themes: (1) election campaign schedules and (2) election campaign promises.

Sub-theme 1.2.1: Election Campaign Schedules

It was established by 16 (59.3%) of the 27 focus group participants that radio broadcasts provided them with information on the election campaign schedules of candidates, political parties and coalitions. The participants in the FGDs noted that the information that they obtained from radio focused on the schedules of the political campaigns of the presidential and gubernatorial candidates. These two elective posts hold executive powers for the president and governor at the national and county levels, respectively. The executive nature of these posts makes them very competitive. The following quotes from participants support the role of radio in creating awareness about election campaign schedules:

Matangazo ya redio yalitupa taarifa kuhusu wapi na lini mikutano ya kisiasa kwa baadhi ya wagombea urais na wagombea wengine ingefanyika. Kando na matangazo hayo ya redio, vipindi vya habari vilivyorushwa redioni viliangazia wapi mikutano ya kisiasa iliyofuata ingefanyika kwa wagombea hao. [Radio broadcasts gave us information on where and when political rallies for some of the presidential and other candidates were to be held. Besides these radio advertisements, the news programmes aired on radio covered where the next political rallies were to be held for these candidates]. (Participant 2.12).

Radio news broadcasts concentrated on where the leading presidential candidates, Raila [Odinga] and [Uhuru] Kenyatta, were to hold their political rallies and meetings in the country. This gave me the chance to follow up on the campaign rallies for these candidates. (Participant 3.21).

The foregoing findings concur with the positions of Mbeke (2010) and Yankem (2015), who note that radio is used a lot in announcing election campaign rallies in Kenya. This underscores the significance of radio in political mobilization during elections. Election campaign rallies provide one of the avenues for voters' mobilization for electoral participation.

Sub-theme 1.2.2: Election Campaign Promises

During elections, the candidates make promises to the voters about what they plan to do for them if elected. It was established from 10 (37%) of the 27 focus group participants that they obtained from radio information on election campaign promises by candidates, political parties

and coalitions. Information on the promises made by candidates and political parties taking part in an election can be useful for those who are undecided about making their voting decisions. The news broadcast on radio can inform them of the positions of candidates on various issues of public interest and what they can do if they win an election. For instance, a youth leader in one of the political parties contesting in the 2013 general election said:

As a youth leader in my political party [ODM], I keenly followed our candidates talking about their election pledges by listening to radio. I got to hear more about our opponents' campaign promises and this was important to me to see the differences between my party's candidates and the others. (Participant 3.14).

The Kenyan media organized two presidential election debates to interrogate the candidates on various issues. These debates, broadcast live on 32 radio stations and eight TV stations, were held on February 11 and 25, 2013 (The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a, 2013b). Eight presidential candidates who contested the March 4, 2013, general election were: Martha Karua, Mohammed Dida, Musalia Mudavadi, Paul Muite, Peter Kenneth, Professor James Ole Kiyapi, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. The presidential debates allowed the electorate to gauge the candidates' positions on various issues of public interest.

Radio was identified as a source of information on the election campaign promises of the presidential candidates. Some of the campaign promises in the 2013 Kenya general election were job creation, infrastructure and devolution of powers, security, education and health (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). The following extracts exemplify the role of radio as a source of information on election campaign promises by the presidential candidates in the 2013 general election in Kenya:

I listened to radio a lot, as I wanted to hear if the presidential candidates had anything new for this country [Kenya]. I realized that there were no major differences between the eight presidential candidates. (Participant 3.18).

As a mother of three unemployed graduates, I was keen to hear what promises the presidential candidates were making towards creating employment during the two presidential debates broadcast on radio [and TV]. The presidential candidates tried to speak about the problem of unemployment and how to create jobs for the youth. (Participant 4.25).

The expressions of Participants 3.18 and 4.25 suggest that they followed up on the presidential debates organized by the Kenyan media. The foregoing excerpts from the focus group participants denote the informational role of radio on election pledges of what candidates and political parties could do if they won the election. This is in tandem with Uwem and Opeke (2015), as they note that the news media report on election campaign issues. The election campaign information that women voters obtained from radio could thus have guided them in their voting decisions.

From the secondary data from the Internews media monitoring report, it was noted that radio coverage of the 2013 general election focused on, among others, election campaigns and other related issues (Ipalei, 2013). Some of the campaign promises focused on by candidates in this election were job creation, infrastructure and devolution of powers, security, education and health (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). In addition, the news media focused on the policies, manifestos, strengths and weaknesses of political parties, alliances and candidates (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013).

Theme 1.3: Nominations of Candidates by Political Parties or Coalitions

The third theme of the information obtained from radio by the participants in the FGDs focused on the results of nominations of candidates by political parties and coalitions to participate in the March 4, 2013 polls in Kenya. Most political parties in Kenya conducted their nominations on or before January 17, 2013, in an attempt to meet the IEBC deadline for party nominations slated for January 18, 2013. Eleven (40.7%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that they

obtained information from radio broadcasts on political party nominations for candidates. Two of the participants made the following comments:

Ilikuwa ni kutoka kwa habari za redio ndipo nilipata taarifa za kwanza za wale waliopendekezwa na vyama [vya siasa] kwa nyadhifa fulani kama vile gavana na mbunge. Nia yangu ya kusikiliza redio ilikuwa kujua ni nani aliteuliwa na vyama vikuu [vya kisiasa] kugombea katika uchaguzi mkuu wa [2013]. [It was from radio news that I first got information on those nominated by [political] parties for certain posts, such as governor and MP. My interest in listening to radio was to find out who was nominated by the major [political] parties to contest the [2013] general election]. (Participant 2.11).

Radio covered political party nominations for candidates. They focused on the results of these polls for the key political parties. Part of this coverage showed me how the elections experienced voting irregularities and violence was reported in some areas. (Participant 4.23).

The aforementioned quotes from Participants 2.11 and 4.23 demonstrate the voter informational role of radio during the 2013 polls. This is in tandem with authors who note that radio and other news media provide information on political parties and candidates participating in elections (for example, MCK, 2021; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Such information focuses on the election campaign promises that candidates, political parties and coalitions make to the electorate when seeking their political support to win the election.

Theme 1.4: Election Opinion Polls

Out of the 27 focus group participants, eight (29.6%), constituting those with post-secondary qualifications, noted that radio regularly announced the results of the presidential opinion polls. Such results can enable the electorate to evaluate the progress of candidates in an election and their likelihood of winning. The following narratives capture the views of participants on this aspect:

Redio mara kwa mara ilitoa taarifa kuhusu jinsi wagombea mbalimbali wa urais walivyokuwa wanaendelea katika kura za maoni zilizofanyika mwaka 2012 na 2013. [Radio regularly provided information on how various presidential candidates were performing in the opinion polls conducted in 2012 and 2013]. (Participant 1.6).

I followed on radio, the results of opinion polls on the presidential candidates in the [2013 general] election. This gave me an idea of who was likely to win the election. (Participant 4.20).

The preceding excerpts from Participants 1.6 and 4.20 demonstrate the role of radio in disseminating to the electorate the results of opinion polls on presidential candidates in the 2013 polls in Kenya. Some of the firms that regularly conducted and reported the results of such opinion polls during the 2013 general election were Ipsos Synovate and Infotrak Research and Consulting. Opinion polls on presidential candidates in the 2013 polls were covered by radio stations in Kenya (MCK, 2013). In addition, election observer mission reports identify reportage of these opinion polls in news media, of which radio is a part (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). Given this coverage, women voters listening to radio were thus likely to be exposed to news about the opinion polls. Such polls provide the electorate with information on how candidates contesting in an election are performing and their likelihood of winning in a general election.

Qualitative data from the FGDs indicate which political information the participants obtained from radio that they considered having influenced their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The political information that the participants obtained from radio focused on civic and voter education, election campaigns, political party nominations for candidates (party primary elections) and opinion polls. This is consistent with The Carter Centre (2013), which notes that regular voter education and electioneering messages were broadcast on radio in Kenya.

By seeking to identify which political information the participants from the FGDs obtained from radio and which they considered having influenced their political participation in the 2013

polls, this study provides new insights. The majority of past studies on the 2013 Kenya general election have focused on quantitative data rather than qualitative data (for example, Kamau, 2013; Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015a). Qualitative findings in this research suggest that women voters' access to the results of opinion polls through listening to radio was part of the wider political information seeking of voters during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The practical implications of these results are two-fold. First, pollsters should continue conducting public opinion polls of candidates and political parties or coalitions prior to elections. Second, radio stations should broadcast these results so that the electorate becomes aware of the performance of the candidates, political parties and coalitions during the campaigning period before March 4, 2013.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative data in this study contributes to a richer understanding of the political information that women voters sought from radio during the 2013 general election. From the qualitative data, it is evident that the participants in the FGDs obtained political information on a wide range of themes and sub-themes. From the perspective of UGT, Suemo et al. (2012) note that people have different information needs that motivate them to use radio. This explains why the participants in the FGDs noted that they obtained varied political information from radio on during the 2013 polls. The practical implication of the foregoing results is the need for radio stations, in their efforts to fulfill the gratifications of female radio listeners, to provide a wide range of political information.

The influence of the political information that women voters obtained from radio on their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County emanates from the roles of this news medium. The participants in the FGDs were, therefore, interrogated on their views on

how the political news obtained from radio influenced their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

4.5.2 Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Kenya General Election in Kakamega County

From the FGDs, three themes emerged on the effect of exposure to radio and the challenges to its use as a news medium influencing women's political participation. These themes focused on the following: (1) the informational role; (2) challenges to the informational role of radio; and (3) the political advertising role. In this study, these themes denote the effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Theme 2.1: Informational Role

Radio is a major source of information in Kakamega County (County Government of Kenya, 2018). It is, therefore, expected that women voters, as radio listeners in Kakamega County, can get exposed to political information necessary for steering their electoral participation. Twenty (74.1%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that the political information that they obtained from radio contributed to their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The following quotes exemplify the role of radio as a campaign and voter information tool for political participation among those in the FGDs:

Nilifuatilia kwenye redio ili kujua ni lini na wapi mikutano ya kampeni za uchaguzi za chama yangu itafanyika katika Kaunti ya Kakamega. [I followed up on radio to find out when and where election campaign rallies for my party were to be held in Kakamega County]. (Participant 1.1).

... uchaguzi [mkuu] wa 2013 ulikuwa wa kwanza kwangu kupiga kura. Matangazo ya redio yaliendelea kutukumbusha haki yetu ya kupiga kura kuchagua viongozi tunaowachagua. Niliwapigia kura wagombea wa kike kwa nyadhifa zote sita zilizochaguliwa. [... the 2013 [general] election was the first for me to vote in. Radio broadcasts kept reminding us of our right to vote to elect leaders of our choice. I voted for female candidates for all six elective posts]. (Participant 2.11).

I wouldn't have voted for the candidates I voted for if it were not for what I heard on radio about them. (Participant 4.24).

Radio broadcasts helped me get informed about the trending political issues before March 4, 2013. This helped me in choosing which candidates to support. (Participant 4.25).

Qualitative results on the informational role of radio and its influence on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls concur with the observation by Edegoh et al. (2015). According to Edegoh et al., radio provides the electorate with relevant political information during elections. This information aids voters' political participation in elections. The informational role of radio is consistent with the assumption of UGT of an active audience that seeks out media sources and content that best fulfill their needs (Katz et al., 1974). This means that women voters' exposure to radio was motivated by their desire to get politically informed.

The informational role of radio in political participation as identified in the FGDs concurs with the quantitative findings under 4.4.2. It was established that the gratification of surveillance ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 0.51$) received the highest rating among the survey participants. Exposure to radio to fulfill surveillance gratifications denotes a desire by the respondents to stay abreast of issues in their socio-economic and political environment (Ahmed, 2011; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). During an electioneering period, there are many political happenings taking place and the voters turn to the news media, such as radio to get informed about them.

Theme 2.2: Challenges to the Informational Role of Radio

Theme 2.1 established the views of participants who acknowledged the informational role of radio in women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Despite this, it was noted that there were some challenges to women voters' exposure to political information on radio. These challenges were grouped under two sub-themes as follows: (1)

inadequate exposure to political information on radio and (2) limited exposure to political information on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions.

Sub-theme 2.2.1: Inadequate Exposure to Political Information on Radio

Adequate exposure to political information on elections is required for effective citizens' political participation. In this study, 9 (33.3%) of the participants in the FGDs identified inadequate exposure to political news on radio as one of the challenges to radio fulfilling its informational role during the 2013 polls. The participants identified various underlying reasons for this situation, such as financial constraints and gendered impediments. A radio set operates on some form of power supply, such as battery cells, solar energy and electricity, which need to be paid for. This underscores the need for money to pay for a power source. On financial constraints to the use of radio, the participants identified their household's inability to regularly purchase battery cells used to power radio. For instance:

Wakati fulani tunakaa kwa wiki kadhaa bila kusikiliza redio kwani hatuna pesa za kununua betri. Kwa hivyo, sikuwa nikisikiliza redio mara nyingi zaidi kama nilivyotaka na sikuweza kufahamishwa kama nilivyohitaji. [Sometimes we stay for several weeks without listening to radio as we do not have money to buy batteries. So, I was not listening to radio as often as I wanted to, and I could not be informed as I needed to]. (Participant 1.4).

Mume wangu huwasha redio tu habari zinapotangazwa kwani huwa mwangalifu kuhakikisha kuwa betri hudumu kwa muda mrefu. [My husband only switches on radio when news is broadcast, as he is careful to ensure that batteries last for a long time]. (Participant 2.10).

The foregoing quotes are in tandem with the view by Benesch (2012) that inadequate exposure to the news media contributes to women being less politically informed and engaged. Political news consumption takes on a gendered dimension as women are less exposed to political news compared to men (Benesch, 2012; Gillwald et al., 2010). The excerpts from Participants 1.4 and 2.10 demonstrate how the use of radio in households with low incomes can inhibit women voters' exposure to political information on radio. A total of 52.9% of the survey respondents

in this study had a monthly household income of approximately Kshs. 20,000 and below. The qualitative finding established in this study is in tandem with scholars who acknowledge that individuals with a higher SES have greater use of news media than those from lower SES (Tichenor et al., 1970; Verba et al., 1997).

The gendered nature of news media ownership and use is another impediment that constrained women voters' exposure to radio and subsequently their political participation. Male members of the households are likely to dominate radio ownership and use, as reflected in the following quote:

Wanangu, ambao wote ni katika ujana wao hudhibiti matumizi ya redio katika kaya yangu, kwani mara nyingi wao husikiliza vipindi vya muziki kwenye redio. Hii inanifanya nikose programu muhimu ambazo naweza kupata habari za kisiasa. [My sons, who are all in their youth, regulate the usage of radio in my household, as most often they tune into music programmes on radio. This makes me miss out on key programmes from which I can get political information]. (Participant 2.13).

The foregoing excerpt concurs with Gillwald et al. (2010), as they note that access to radio and the choice of programmes to tune to on radio are determined by the male members of the household, if present. This suggests that at a household level, females may have limited chances of choosing which radio stations and programmes to tune to. Another gendered impediment to women's exposure to radio relates to women's engagement in household or domestic chores.

The following quotes confirm this:

Mara nyingi, mimi hujishughulisha na kazi za nyumbani na ninapomaliza kazi hii, Nimechoka na nina muda mdogo wa kusikiliza habari za redio. [Most of the time, I am busy with household chores and by the time I finish this work, I am tired and have limited time to listen to radio news. (Participant 1.2).

Vipindi vya kisiasa vilitangazwa hasa wakati wa vipindi vya asubuhi vya redio nilipokuwa na shughuli nyingi kuwatarisha watoto wangu kwenda shule na kusafisha nyumba. Kwa hiyo, nilikosa kuwasikiliza mara nyingi. [Political programmes were mainly broadcast during the morning radio sessions when I was busy preparing my children to go to school and clean up the house. So, I missed listening to them most of the time]. (Participant 2.8).

Radio could be on in my house, but because I am busy with my household chores, I do not pay greater attention to what is being broadcast. (Participant 3.21).

Barriers to women voters' exposure to radio established in this study are consistent with the findings of the research by Gillwald et al. (2010). The study found that women may be at home more than men, but they spend less time on radio due to their marital or family responsibilities. This suggests the need for radio programme scheduling strategies that take into account such circumstances under which women operate at home.

Sub-theme 2.2.2: Limited Exposure to Political Information on Female Candidates and Non-dominant Political Parties or Coalitions

The second sub-theme that emerged from the FGDs was limited exposure to political information on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions in radio broadcasts as an impediment to the informational role of radio. Nationally, a total of 1,082 female candidates representing 14.2% of the 12,776 candidates who participated in the March 4, 2013, general election. Fifty-nine political parties and four political coalitions participated in the polls. CORD and the Jubilee Alliance were the ones dominantly covered in the news media (The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013b). From the views of 5 (18.5%) of the participants in FGDs, their exposure to political information on radio focusing on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions was limited. Two of these participants said:

Habari za redio na matangazo hazikuwa mingi sana kwa wgombea wa kike...kwa hivyo, niliposikiliza redio sikuweza kupata taarifa mingi kuwahusu. [Radio news and advertisements were not so much on female candidates...so, when listening to radio I wasn't able to get fully informed about them]. (Participant 1.3).

The radio programmes I listened to focused a lot on CORD and the Jubilee Alliance yet we had many other [political] parties and coalitions that had candidates in this [2013] general election. As a member of a party [NARC-Kenya] on which [Martha] Karua was the presidential candidate, I felt that through listening to radio I did not get enough information about the party and my candidate. (Participant 3.20).

The narratives from Participant 1.3 are in tandem with a report by MCK (2013), which found inadequate media coverage of women in the 2013 Kenyan polls. Such election coverage went against the MCK's 2013 code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya and the 2021 guidelines for election coverage. The guidelines in these documents advocate for the equal treatment of women and men as news subjects and sources.

The views expressed by Participant 3.20 are corroborated by secondary data from media monitoring reports, which revealed that radio coverage of the 2013 polls was skewed in favour of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance (EUOEM, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013; MCK, 2013). For instance, the secondary data presented in Table 4.7 in Section 4.4.4.1 indicates that the combined coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance ranged from 54.9% to 66.6% of all the radio programmes analyzed by EUOEM (2013b). In addition, from Table 4.8, based on the Internews report by Ipalei (2013), it was established that the combined radio coverage of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance ranged from 85% to 98% in January to April 2013.

Theme 2.3: Political Advertising Role

Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that political advertisements on radio contributed to their electoral participation. For instance, advertisements informed them about their political rights and how to support political parties and candidates. The following quotes represent the perspectives of participants in the FGDs:

Radio iliendelea kuwakumbusha wananchi haki yao ya kupiga kura kuchagua viongozi wanaowapenda. [Radio kept reminding citizens of their right to vote to elect leaders of their choice]. (Participant 2.11).

I used the Mpesa pay bill number [Safaricom's mobile money transfer service] that was announced on radio to send money to support my party's [ODM] presidential candidate. If it were not for radio, I would not have known that I could do this. (Participant 3.17).

One focal area of the influence of radio on election campaign participation is explained under the political advertising role of radio. During elections, candidates, political parties or coalitions and their support groups place advertisements in the news media such as radio to reach the electorate. The significance of political advertisements on radio for election campaign participation is further captured in the following statement:

There were many radio announcements on when and where the election campaign rallies or meetings for leading political parties and presidential candidates were to be held. (Participant 3.19).

The choice of whom to vote for by an eligible person may have been made much earlier, before March 4, 2013, due to varied reasons. However, this decision needs to be continually reinforced so that the earlier choice is maintained. Through exposure to radio, the voters can access political news that can reinforce their vote choice. The role of radio in this case is explained by a participant who stated as follows:

Radio advertisements for the presidential candidates reinforced my belief in my candidate. (Participant 4.22).

The sentiments of Participant 4.22 are consistent with the observation by Baran and Davis (2020) that the news media gives people more reasons for choosing a candidate that they already favoured. In democratic elections, a voter's choice of his or her preferred candidate(s) is critical to exercising political rights. Overall, the narratives provided under theme 2.3 suggest the significance of radio in women voters' political participation during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, using information from political advertisements on radio. Such advertisements include announcing election campaign rallies and meetings during elections in Kenya (Mbeke, 2010; Yankem, 2015). It is such announcements that can inform the citizens about the election campaign schedules of the candidates and political parties. Once informed, some of them might plan and attend election campaign rallies and meetings.

The excerpts from the FGDs underscore the informational and political advertising roles of radio in electoral participation. The qualitative findings, therefore, demonstrate the positive role of radio in women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. These roles, as voiced by the participants in the FGDs, corroborate the quantitative results in sub-sections 4.4.4.3 that established a low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. The informational role of radio in women voters' political participation was impeded by two challenges, namely: (1) inadequate exposure to political information on radio and (2) limited exposure to political information on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions. These challenges denote not only women voters' inadequate exposure to political news in general but that which specifically focus on female candidates and the less dominant political parties or coalitions.

4.6 Objective 1: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The first objective of this study was to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The previous sections have presented and discussed the findings on this objective as established from the survey and FGDs. This section triangulates the results from these two stages to examine how they confirm or differ and corroborate the overall findings of this research.

Table 4.14 indicates that the quantitative findings were corroborated by qualitative results on the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data suggest a positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. These results imply that women voters who were highly exposed

to radio were more likely to participate in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County compared to those less exposed to it.

Table 4.15: Triangulated Results on the Direct Effect of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Observation
It was established that there was a statistically significant low positive correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.	The narratives from the participants affirm the informational and political advertising roles of radio as contributors to the positive effect of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The results revealed inadequate exposure to political news due to financial constraints and gendered dimensions and limited exposure to political information on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions as challenges to the informational role of radio.	Results from both the quantitative and qualitative phases confirm that exposure to radio contributed to women voters’ political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

From the summary of the quantitative results in Table 4.14, it is evident that through exposure to radio, women voters accessed political news, which positively influenced their electoral participation in the 2013 polls. This suggests that women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to engage in electoral activities than those with low exposure to radio. This is consistent with empirical evidence from prior research in Kenya that demonstrates the informational, educational and mobilization roles of radio in citizens’ political participation (for example, Mbeke, 2010; Muriithi & Page, 2013; Yankem, 2015).

Corroborating the foregoing were the results from the FGDs that established that through radio, women voters accessed information on civic and voter education, election campaigns, the nomination of candidates by political parties or coalitions and election opinion polls. Through such political content, radio contributed to women voters’ electoral participation through its informational and advertising roles.

The low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation, as established from the statistical data analysis summarized in Table 4.14, is anchored on the tenet of political mobilization theory. The theory postulates that the use of news media has limited direct effects on political participation. These direct effects on political participation are achieved through the agenda-setting and political mobilization roles of the news media (Flanagan, 1996). The findings are also consistent with the arguments advanced in UGT. For instance, Ndubi (2019) is of the view that media use has limited effects due to the selective exposure of the audience members. According to Hart et al. (2009), such exposure implies that individuals seek out news media content that is aligned with their existing beliefs and values, limiting the potential mobilizing effects of news media.

The findings from the quantitative phase were corroborated by those from the qualitative stage. From the FGDs, it was established that the informational role of radio in promoting women voters' electoral participation was impeded by two key challenges. The first challenge was inadequate exposure to political information on radio due to financial difficulties constraining households from regularly purchasing batteries to power radio. The gendered dimensions also contributed to this challenge, as male members of households dominate radio ownership and use. Further, women's greater involvement in the household or domestic chores also constrains their exposure to radio.

The second challenge was limited exposure to political information on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions. This is because female candidates and other political parties or coalitions besides CORD and the Jubilee Alliance were underrepresented in radio programmes during the 2013 polls. The overrepresentation of these two political coalitions and the underrepresentation of Amani and Eagle Coalitions and other political parties

not associated with CORD and the Jubilee Alliance is evident from secondary data. For instance, media monitoring reports by EUOEM (2013b), Ipalei (2013) and MCK (2013). The overrepresentation of CORD and the Jubilee Alliance in the election coverage of the 2013 polls on radio is corroborated by the reports from election observer missions (for example, AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). The evidence from secondary data indicates the underrepresentation of female candidates and non-dominant political parties and coalitions.

From the quantitative and qualitative findings discussed in this chapter and summarized in Table 4.14, this study makes an academic contribution to the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation under a devolved political system. This is crucial given the mixed and inconclusive results on the effects of news media use on political behaviour. The findings are based on studies that have been going on since the 1940s (Chang, 2017; Kipkoech, 2019; Mbeke, 2010; Pang, 2020). The findings established in this research demonstrate the applicability of political mobilization theory and UGT in developing democracies such as Kenya. These findings, therefore, make theoretical contributions to knowledge. The results of this study make an empirical contribution to the literature on the applicability of MMR design in political communication research. The successful application of MMR design in this study, involving both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, has yielded results that no single approach could produce. Therefore, students, scholars and researchers interested in using MMR design when studying the influence of exposure to radio and other news media would find this thesis relevant to them.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEDIATING ROLE OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE CORRELATION BETWEEN WOMEN VOTERS' EXPOSURE TO RADIO AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the quantitative and qualitative results on whether, or not, women voters' political knowledge played a mediating role in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The first part of this chapter focuses on the quantitative findings based on the data collected from the survey questionnaire. The second part covers qualitative results obtained from the data in the FGDs. The chapter concludes by triangulating the quantitative and qualitative results.

5.2 Quantitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge

The second objective of this research was to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This section presents and discusses quantitative findings on this objective in two sub-sections. First, is women voters' political knowledge about the 2013 Kenya general election. Second, is political knowledge as a mediator in the correlation between exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

5.2.1 Women Voters' Political Knowledge about the 2013 Polls in Kenya

The survey respondents were asked six open-ended questions to gauge their level of factual political knowledge about Kenya's 2013 general election (Appendix I: Questions 23-28).

Participants' scores on these questions are summarized in Appendix XVIII. A correct answer to each of the questions was coded as 1 and the rest (incorrect answers, DK and NR) as 0. These scores were then summed up to determine a respondent's level of political knowledge, ranging from 0 (no political knowledge) to 6 (high political knowledge), depending on the correct answers provided ($\alpha = .839$, $M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.81$). Figure 5.1 summarizes the levels of political knowledge of the survey respondents. The higher the number of correct answers, the greater the level of political knowledge for a respondent.

Participants who did not correctly answer any of the six questions were placed in the no political knowledge category and those who correctly answered 1-2 and 3-4 questions were placed in the low and moderate political knowledge groups, respectively. Respondents with 5-6 correct answers were considered highly politically knowledgeable.

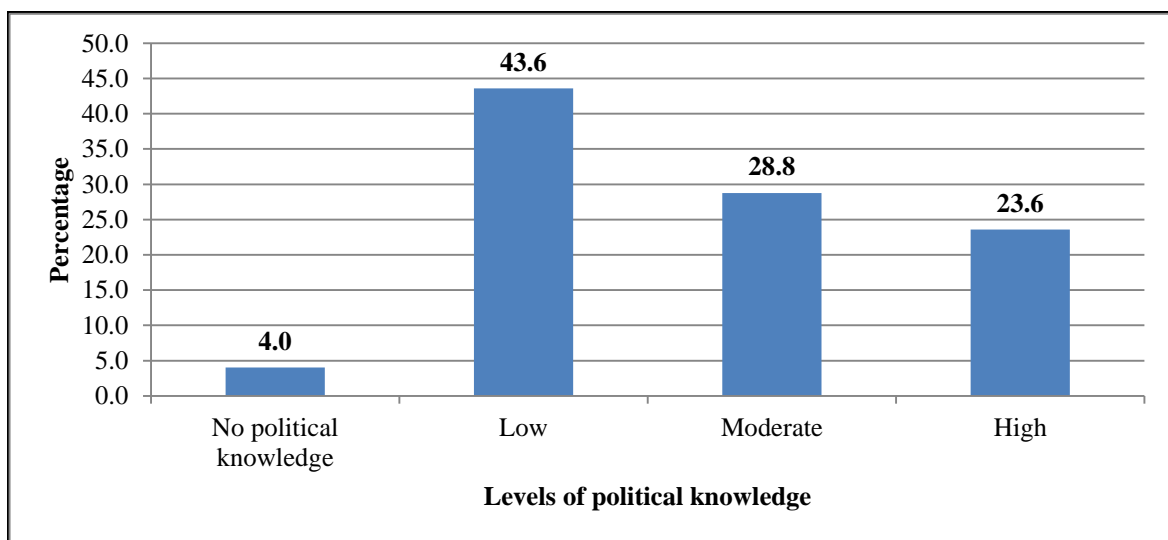


Figure 5.1: Levels of Political Knowledge about Kenya's 2013 Polls Among Women Voters in Kakamega County

Figure 5.1 demonstrates that almost half (47.6%) of the survey respondents' levels of political knowledge about the 2013 polls were between none and low. Participants whose levels of political knowledge were moderate and high were 28.8% and 23.6%, respectively. These

findings are consistent with past surveys that found low women's political knowledge or civic awareness before the March 4, 2013, general election in Kenya (for example, Ipsos Synovate, 2012b; KNDR Monitoring Project, 2012). Results derived from the current study challenge the effectiveness of radio in enhancing voters' political learning. This is because, in Section 4.4.1 of this thesis, participants identified radio as the most preferred and used medium for obtaining political news on the 2013 Kenyan polls.

From the perspective of the knowledge gap model by Tichenor et al. (1970), limited women voters' political knowledge could be attributed to their low SES and news media use. The knowledge gap model identifies SES as a determinant of the acquisition of political knowledge, as those in higher SES have advanced levels of education and access to the news media, from which they acquire information that helps build their knowledge base. Low women's political knowledge, as established in the current study, is consistent with the gender dynamics of this variable. For instance, women as opposed to men are less politically knowledgeable (Benesch, 2012; Logan & Bratton, 2006; Verba et al., 1997). Such low levels of political knowledge can hurt women's electoral participation.

Three plausible reasons could account for exposure to radio resulting in low political knowledge among women voters in this study. First, broadcast media coverage of politics might not be comprehensive, relevant to, and in languages understood by women (Lupia, 2015; Luskin, 1990; Newton, 1999; Perloff, 2014). Second, low levels of education and MIL can diminish individuals' cognitive skills for information processing, which reduces their political learning (Anduiza et al., 2012; Tichenor et al., 1970). In this study, 62.7% of the survey respondents' levels of education ranged from none to primary school qualifications. Finally, low attention to political news broadcasts on radio can undermine women voters' political

learning (Lupia, 2015; McQuail, 2010). The findings of this study have implications for women voters' political participation, as past research acknowledges that radio is a key source of knowledge needed for political engagement (Benesch, 2012; Heywood, 2020; Mbewe, 2019). The next sub-section explores these implications by focusing on political knowledge as a mediating variable.

5.2.2 Political Knowledge as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

In this study, a simple statistical mediation analysis was used to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This implies that the research assessed the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls both directly and indirectly through political knowledge. Before simple mediation analysis, Pearson's correlations between the key study variables were examined. In this research, women voters' exposure to radio ranged from zero (0) hours to 56 hours per week, political knowledge scores were between zero (0) and six (6) correct answers and aggregate political participation ranged from none (0 activities) to high (8 activities). Rea and Parker's (2014) interpretation of the values for Pearson's correlation was used as follows: 0= no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74= strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation.

5.2.2.1 Correlation Between the Main Variables in Simple Mediation Analysis

Table 5.1 presents a Pearson correlation matrix useful for an initial understanding of the relationships between the key study variables. From the results in Table 5.1, it can be observed that there was a statistically significant, strong and positive correlation between the following

pairs of variables: (1) exposure to radio and political knowledge, $r = .708$, $p < .001$; and (2) political knowledge and political participation, $r = .634$, $p < .001$. These findings suggest that women voters highly exposed to political news on radio were more likely to be politically knowledgeable about the 2013 Kenya general election than those who were less exposed to it. The foregoing results concur with the findings from past studies that demonstrate that the use of radio contributes to women’s acquisition of political knowledge (Didiugwu et al., 2014; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Further, the results indicate that highly politically knowledgeable women voters were more likely to be politically engaged in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County than those who were less politically knowledgeable.

Table 5.1: Correlation Matrix of the Variables in the Mediation Model on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation Via Political Knowledge

		1	2	3
1	Exposure to radio	1.00		
2	Political knowledge	.708**	1.00	
3	Political participation	.728**	.634**	1.00

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.1 further reveals that there was a significant, strong and positive correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, $r = .728$, $p < .001$. This implies that women voters with higher exposure to radio were more likely to be politically involved in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County than those less exposed to radio. Overall, the results from the correlation matrix thus underscore the contribution of exposure to radio to women voters’ acquisition of political knowledge and the significance of this knowledge in electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

In the statistical mediation analysis for the second objective of this study, two pathways are considered. First, the pathway from exposure to radio to political knowledge. Second, the pathway from political knowledge to electoral participation. From the correlation matrix in

Table 5.1, each of these two pathways was found to have a statistically significant, strong and positive correlation. Section 5.2.2.2 focuses on these pathways under the results of statistical mediation analysis.

5.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in Kenya's 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge

Simple mediation Model 4 in PROCESS Macro for SPSS Version 3.2.0.1 by Hayes (2022) was used to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In this simple mediation analysis, exposure to radio was modelled to influence women voters' electoral participation directly and indirectly via political knowledge. Exposure to radio was entered as a predictor, with socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media besides radio as control variables.

The mediating and dependent variables entered into the simple mediator model used in this research were political knowledge and political participation, respectively. The socio-demographics considered as control variables in this research were age, marital status, level of education, household income and residential location. For this research, political orientation covered political party affiliation and partisanship. The other news media considered in this study were TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls.

The direct effect in the simple mediator model presented in Figure 5.2, denotes the pathway for the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation when political knowledge and control variables were taken into account. An indirect effect, which is crucial for inferring the mediating effect in the model in Figure 5.2 represents the pathway for the

influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via political knowledge while holding control variables constant. The summation of the direct and indirect effects generated the total effect. The interpretation of the results from the simple mediator model was based on the indirect effect output. Consistent with the approach by Hayes (2022), this study also reported the direct and total effects of the simple mediation model.

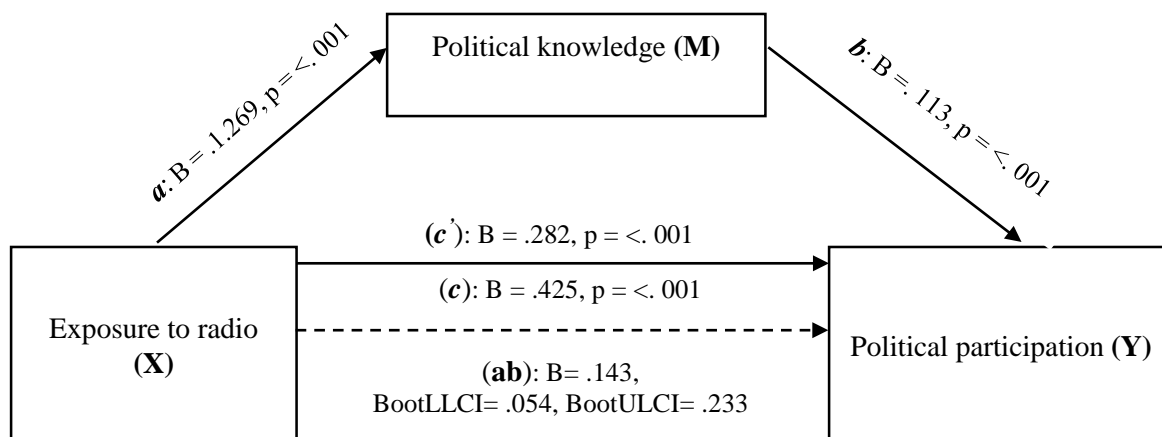
PROCESS Macro Model 4 was used to examine the simple mediation model used in this study based on 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at 95% confidence intervals, with a p-value of .05. Bootstrapping was applied to establish the indirect or mediating effect that this research sought to determine. Mediation occurs if the indirect effect is statistically different from zero (Hayes, 2022). This means that both Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval (BootLLCI) and Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval (BootULCI) contain either positive or negative values, but not both values. The simple mediator model for political knowledge as an intervening variable is presented in the conceptual diagram in Figure 3.2 in Chapter Three and the statistical diagram in Figure 5.2 in this chapter. The data output for this model is summarized in Table 5.2.

Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2 reveal that holding the control variables constant, there was a statistically significant positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political knowledge (Path a : $B = 1.269$, $SE = .099$, $< .001$). These results were supported by the qualitative findings in Section 4.5.1 in Chapter Four. From the findings, it emerged that participants from the FGDs obtained political news on the 2013 polls, focusing on civic and voter education, election campaigns, the nomination of candidates by political parties or coalitions and election opinion polls. The participants in the FGDs further recognized the information and political advertising roles of radio. Further, election observer mission reports

by The Carter Centre (2013) and the Commonwealth Secretariat (2013) acknowledge that radio coverage of the 2013 general polls in Kenya was robust.

The finding of a statistically significant and positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation concurs with the results from past studies, which reveal that the use of radio contributes to the acquisition of political knowledge in Africa (Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Didiugwu et al., 2014; Heywood, 2020; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2007; Mbewe, 2019; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). For this positive correlation, the theoretical explanation of political mobilization holds that the use of news media directly influences people's political knowledge (Flanagan, 1996). The survey results, therefore, imply that through exposure to radio, women voters were more likely exposed to political news that contributed to their learning about the 2013 Kenya general election. The findings of this study, therefore, underscore women voters' processing and comprehension of the political news that they received from radio.

As observed in Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2, the correlation between women voters' political knowledge and participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was statistically significant and positive (Path *b*: $B = .113$, $SE = .033$, $< .001$). This represents a low positive correlation between women voters' political knowledge and participation. This finding is consistent with the low levels of political knowledge reported by almost half of the respondents in Figure 5.1. This low level of political knowledge is more likely to undermine electoral participation, as women require relatively higher levels of political knowledge before they consider themselves suitable to engage in politics (Shojaei et al., 2010). This suggests the need for radio to offer more political education programmes targeting women in its efforts to improve their political knowledge and electoral participation.



Note: The dotted line represents the indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation when political knowledge is included as a mediator. X denotes a predictor, M represents the mediator and Y indicates the criterion, a is the effect of exposure to radio on political knowledge, b is the effect of political knowledge on political participation, ab is the indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via political knowledge, c' is the direct effect of exposure to radio on political participation and c is the total effect of exposure to radio on political participation. Socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media were included as control variables but are not visually represented in the model. Level of significance, $\alpha = .05$. Unstandardized regression coefficients were reported.

Abbreviations: B= Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

Figure 5.2: Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

The positive correlation between women voters' political knowledge and electoral participation established in this study is in tandem with the results of a research in Uganda by Conroy-Krutz (2018). The research concluded that through radio, citizens learnt about how to participate in politics, which led to their political engagement in Uganda. People use political knowledge to identify opportunities for political participation (Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018). The results also concur with findings of a positive correlation between political knowledge and participation established in prior research (for example, Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Shojaei et al., 2010).

Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2 indicate that based on 5,000 bootstrap samples at 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals, the indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County via political knowledge was entirely above zero even after taking into account the effect of control variables (Path ab : B=

.143, SE = .046, BootLLCI = .054 to BootULCI =.233). This suggests that after considering the effect of control variables, a one-unit increase in exposure to radio contributed to a 14.3% rise in women voters’ political participation in the 2013 polls as a result of its effect on political knowledge, which in turn, translated into higher political participation. This implies that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters’ electoral participation was transmitted via political knowledge. As such, the findings of this study concur with prior research. Some studies have established that news media use leads to the acquisition of political knowledge, which, in turn, increases political participation (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018).

Table 5.2: Mediating Role of Political Knowledge in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Simple Mediator Model: Exposure to radio → Political knowledge → Political participation

Paths	Pathway	Coefficients			
		B	SE	t	p
a	Effect of exposure to radio on political knowledge	1.269	.099	12.852	< .001
b	Effect of political knowledge on political participation	.113	.033	3.386	< .001
c'	Direct effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.282	.063	4.462	< .001
c	Total effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.425	.048	8.838	< .001
Indirect effects		Bootstrap Estimate		95% CI	
		Effect	SE	LLCI	ULCI
ab	Indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via political knowledge	.143	.046	.054	.233

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors and confidence intervals were computed using 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at a 95% confidence level, $\alpha = .05$. The model takes into account control variables (socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media). Unstandardized regression coefficients were reported for *a*, *b*, *c'*, *c* and *ab*.

Abbreviations: B= Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; CI= Confidence interval; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

The study results demonstrate that political knowledge played a positive mediating role in the correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This suggests that women voters who were highly exposed to radio

were more likely to be more politically knowledgeable, which in turn translated into higher political participation in the 2013 polls. This finding aligns with the proposition of political mobilization theory that exposure to the news media has a significant indirect effect on political participation because it increases an individual's level of political knowledge (Flanagan, 1996). Anchored on this tenet, it is evident that exposure to radio contributed to women voters' acquisition of political knowledge, which then increased their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The practical implication of this finding is for radio stations to focus on boosting women voters' political knowledge in their efforts to promote their electoral participation.

Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2 further indicate that exposure to radio directly influenced women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, after considering the effect of the control variables (Path $c' = .282$, SE = .063, $p < .001$). This suggests that a one-unit increase in exposure to radio led to a 28.2% rise in women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls, even after controlling for the effect of socio-demographic and political orientation characteristics, the use of other news media and political knowledge. It was further established that the total effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was statistically significant and positive even after holding the control variables constant (Path $c = .425$, SE = .048, $p < .001$). This suggests that a variance of 42.5% in women voters' political participation in the polls could be accounted for by the simple mediator model in Figure 5.2.

Taken together, the results from simple mediation analysis in Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2 indicate that exposure to radio positively and indirectly influenced women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County through its effect on their political

knowledge. This provides evidence for a positive mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. This implies that women voters' exposure to radio related to their political participation through the mediating role of political knowledge. In other words, this suggests that women voters highly exposed to radio were more likely to be politically knowledgeable than those less exposed to radio and those who were highly politically knowledgeable were more likely to be politically engaged in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The finding is consistent with the proposition of Flanagan's (1996) political mobilization theory, which postulates that news media exposure has a strong indirect effect on electoral participation because it increases an individual's level of political knowledge.

5.3 Qualitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Knowledge

In the FGDs, participants were probed on two key questions underpinning whether and how the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was transmitted via political knowledge. The first area of discussion focused on what the participants learnt from radio about the 2013 Kenya general election. The second area was concerned with how the political knowledge that the participants acquired from radio influenced their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

5.3.1 Political Knowledge Acquired from Radio About the 2013 Polls in Kenya

The quantitative results in Section 5.2.1 established that almost half (47.6%) of the women voters had low political knowledge about the 2013 polls. The qualitative data findings in this section build on this by establishing what women voters indicated as having learnt from radio broadcasts in respect of the 2013 polls. From the focus groups, seven themes emerged on radio

as a resource for political learning about the 2013 Kenya general election. These themes focused on political learning about (1) voter registration and register inspection; (2) election timelines; (3) candidates and political parties or coalitions; (4) voting processes and technology; (5) presidential election campaign schedules and promises; (6) election-related constitutional and legal provisions; and (7) challenges to political learning from radio.

Theme 1.1: Voter Registration and Register Inspection

The mass or enhanced voter registration exercise for the 2013 Kenya general election took 30 days from November 19, 2012, to December 18, 2012. This exercise was meant to complement the continuous voter registration that IEBC is constitutionally expected to carry out. The voter register inspection was conducted between January 13 and 26, 2013. Nineteen (70.4%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged that by listening to radio they learnt about voter registration, statistics on the same and voter register inspection. The following excerpts support this finding concerning voter registration and the statistics thereof:

Redio ilinifundisha hitaji la kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura na mahali pa kujiandikisha. [Radio taught me the need for registering as a voter and where to register]. (Participant 1.2).

Redio iliwafanya wananchi kama mimi kufahamu tarehe ya mwisho ya uandikishaji wapiga kura na hii ilinisaidia kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura nilifahamu kuhusu tarehe ya mwisho ya ukaguzi wa uandikishaji wapiga kura. [Radio made citizens like me to be aware of the voter registration deadline and this helped me to register as a voter I got to know about the voter registration inspection deadline]. (Participant 2.12).

An election can be won depending on the number of people registered as voters in the strongholds of presidential candidates in Kenya. I followed broadcasts on radio on voter registration statistics from various regions and counties. For me, I was more interested in the voter registration numbers for Western Kenya and, in particular, Kakamega County. (Participant 3.15).

The voter register inspection exercise is important in electoral participation as only those duly and accurately registered are allowed to vote in a general election in Kenya. By listening to

radio, women voters also learnt about the voter register inspection, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

Redio ilinifanya kuangalia jina langu katika kituo cha usajili kabla ya siku ya uchaguzi. [Radio made me check my name at the registration centre before Election Day]. (Participant 2.12).

Radio news and advertisements made me aware of the options for people to confirm their voter registration details with IEBC. These options were visiting IEBC registration centres, using the IEBC website or SMS service based on the national ID or passport number used for voter registration. (Participant 4.23).

It is evident from the foregoing that by listening to radio, the participants learnt about voter registration and register inspection. As noted in Section 4.5.1 in Chapter Four of this thesis, participants in the FGDs indicated that by listening to radio, they obtained political information on voter registration and register verification. This suggests that by noting that they learnt from listening to the radio about voter registration and register inspection, the views of the participants in the FGDs suggest their processing of political news from radio into political knowledge. As Slater (2004) notes, political knowledge denotes the processing and recall of the political news one has been exposed to in the media.

Theme 1.2: Election Timelines

The 2013 Kenya general election was held on March 4. This was on a Tuesday as required in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. A general election in the country is required to be held on the second Tuesday in August in every fifth year. The official opening and closing times for the polling stations on election days in Kenya are 6.00 a.m. and 5.00 p.m., respectively. The closing times can be extended to cater for any lost time if a polling centre was opened late or to allow those already in the queue by 5.00 p.m. to vote. Fifteen (55.6%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that through listening to radio, they learnt about the 2013 general election

timelines. The following quotes focus on the views of participants on learning about election timelines from radio broadcasts:

Matangazo ya redio ambayo yalitukumbusha kila mara kuhusu siku ya uchaguzi. [Radio aired advertisements that constantly reminded all of us about Election Day]. (Participant 1.6).

Nilijifunza kutoka kwa redio kwamba siku ya uchaguzi [Machi 4, 2013], vituo vya kupigia kura vilipaswa kufunguliwa mapema saa 6 asubuhi. [I learnt from radio that on Election Day [March 4, 2013], the polling stations were to be opened as early as 6.00 a.m.]. (Participant 2.13).

The qualitative findings in this study on political learning about election timelines are in tandem with the voter and civic education roles of radio in Kenya's 2013 polls (The Carter Centre, 2013; Yankem, 2015). From Section 4.5.1 of this thesis, 15 (55.6%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs indicated that by listening to radio they were exposed to information on the voting date, hours and venues for the 2013 Kenya general election in Kakamega County.

Theme 1.3: Candidates and Political Parties or Coalitions

The 2013 Kenya general election was the first one in the country, involving six elective posts and the formation of pre-election political coalitions. The elective posts in this election were for the president, governor, MPs in the National Assembly and the Senate, and MCA. The political coalitions formed before the 2013 general election were as follows: CORD, the Jubilee Alliance, Eagle Coalition and Amani Coalition (Wanyama et al., 2014). The third theme that emerged from the FGDs was political learning about candidates and their political parties or coalitions participating in the general election.

In voting, the voters choose from a wide range of candidates vying for various elective posts. Thirteen (48.2%) of the 27 focus group participants gave responses affirming their political

learning from radio on the contestants and political parties or coalitions. Some of the participants' accounts are presented here:

Redio ilinifahamisha kuhusu vyama maarufu vya siasa na miungano iliyoshiriki katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013. [Radio made me know about the prominent political parties and coalitions competing in the 2013 general election]. (Participant 1.3).

Kupitia kusikiza Mulembe FM kulinipa nafasi ya kujua wale waliokuwa wakigombea nyadhifa kuu za ugavana na useneta kwa Kaunti ya Kakamega. [Listening to Mulembe FM gave me a chance to know those who were contesting for key posts of governor and senator in Kakamega County]. (Participant 2.8).

I got to know more from radio broadcasts about the two leading presidential candidates, Raila [Odinga] and [Uhuru] Kenyatta and their running mates. (Participant 4.25).

Mulembe FM, identified by Participant 2.8, is a vernacular radio station broadcasting in Luhya, the dominant language in Kakamega County. The response of Participant 4.25 relates to the two-horse race reporting phenomenon during elections. In this type of election coverage, the media focuses on the two leading candidates. Election coverage on radio and other news media for the 2013 Kenya general election was skewed toward Uhuru Kenyatta, the Jubilee Alliance presidential candidate and CORD's contender, Raila Odinga (The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013b). However, there were other six presidential candidates in this election, namely, Martha Karua (the only female presidential candidate), Mohammed Dida, Musalia Mudavadi, Paul Muite, Peter Kenneth, and Professor James Ole Kiyapi.

Two-horse race reporting of elections, which focuses on the two leading contestants, undermines voters' exposure to information about the other candidates in competitive elections. Participant 4.25 further narrated how the two-horse race reportage negatively affected her political learning of the other candidates. She said:

Most news on radio was just about Raila [Odinga] and Uhuru Kenyatta, CORD and the Jubilee Alliance, making me know less about the other six [presidential] candidates. (Participant 4.25).

The two-horse race reportage of the 2013 general election suggests that the participants may have learnt less about the campaign policies or programmes of the other six presidential candidates and those contesting for the other five elective posts. Overall, from the qualitative findings, it is evident that exposure to political information on radio contributed to participants in the FGDs learning about candidates and political parties or coalitions participating in the 2013 polls.

Theme 1.4: Voting Processes and Technology

The 2013 Kenya general election was the first one in the country to use BVR technology in its voter registration exercise and, to some extent, in voter identification on March 4, 2013 (The Carter Centre, 2013). Eleven (40.7%) of the 27 focus group participants gave their responses on radio as their source of political learning about the voting processes and technology applications in the 2013 general election. The following excerpts confirm these perspectives:

Nilijifunza kutoka kwa redio kwamba ili kupiga kura siku ya uchaguzi [Machi 4, 2013], mpiga kura alihitaji kuwa na hati asilia aliyoitumia wakati wa kujiandikisha; kitambulisho halisi cha kitaifa cha Kenya au pasipoti halali. [I learnt from radio that to vote on Election Day [March 4, 2013], a voter needed to have the original document used at the time of registration; an original Kenyan national ID card or a valid passport]. (Participant 1.5).

Kupitia radio, nilifundishwa jinsi ya kupiga kura na nini kinaweza kufanya kura yangu kuwa batili, kwa mfano, kuweka alama vibaya kwenye karatasi ya kupigia kura. Hitilafu kama hiyo inapotokea, basi kura inachukuliwa kuwa imeharibika na haihesabiwi katika hesabu ya kura [Through radio, I was taught how to vote and what could make my vote invalid, for example, the wrong marking on the ballot paper. When such a mistake occurs, then the ballot is considered spoiled and is not counted in the vote tally]. (Participant 1.6).

I can say that I learnt from radio that IEBC was going to use an electronic voter identification system on Election Day [March 4, 2013]. A person was identified as a voter using a fingerprint reader. However, on Election Day, this did not happen in my polling station as the system failed. (Participant 3.19).

From the qualitative findings in Section 4.5.1 of Chapter Four of this research, it was established that 23 (85.2%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs identified radio as a source of

information relating to voter identification requirements and voting procedures. This suggests that the information on voting processes involving BVR could have enabled the participants to learn about the use of this technology in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Theme 1.5: Presidential Election Campaign Schedules and Promises

In Kenya, the presidential race is usually competitive, with candidates running election campaigns using several media platforms. The fifth theme that emerged from the FGDs was political learning from radio on the presidential campaign schedules and promises. During elections, the presidential candidates and other contenders organize various political rallies and meetings in various parts of the country. In such rallies and meetings, candidates make promises to the electorate about what they would want to do for them if elected. Responses under theme 1.5 were categorized into two sub-themes focusing on political learning about presidential candidates' (1) election campaign schedules and (2) election campaign promises or manifestos.

Sub-theme 1.5.1: Presidential Election Campaign Schedules

Campaigns are crucial for candidates to win elections. The presidential seat is national and thus candidates for it have to schedule their campaign meetings or rallies to reach the electorate across the country. Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that they learnt about the presidential candidates' election campaign schedules from radio. The following excerpts from two of the participants exemplify responses under this sub-theme:

Kulikuwa na matangazo na habari za mara kwa mara kwenye redio kuhusu wapi na lini mikutano ya kisiasa ya wgombea urais ingefanyika. Kwa hivyo, naweza kusema nilijifunza hili kwa kusikiliza redio. [There were regular advertisements and news on radio on where and when political rallies for the presidential candidates were to be held. So, I can say I learnt this by listening to radio]. (Participant 2.12).

I often listened to radio to follow the election campaigns for Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta as the two leading presidential candidates in the [2013 general election] opinion polls. I got to know more about when and where their election campaign rallies and meetings were to be held or had been held. (Participant 3.21).

The preceding narratives from Participants 2.12 and 3.21 concur with the results of research in Africa by Kuenzi and Lambright (2007). The study found that people with regular access to radio were more knowledgeable about election campaigns. Access to radio in this case was used as a proxy measure of the level of exposure to radio. In Section 4.5.1 of Chapter Four of this thesis, the emerging sub-theme 1.2.1 under election campaigns was participants getting from radio, information on the campaign schedules of the candidates in the 2013 polls. This could have contributed to participants' learning about election campaign schedules.

Sub-theme 1.5.2: Election Campaign Promises

The second sub-theme on political learning about the campaigns for the 2013 polls focused on the election promises of the candidates. Key promises in the election campaign manifestos of these candidates and their political parties or coalitions focused on such areas as agriculture and food security, corruption, crime and security, devolution, economy and trade, education, ethnicity, healthcare, land issues, youth and job creation (AUC, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013). Voters' exposure to candidates' campaign promises can enable those who are undecided to choose whom to vote for.

During election campaigns, candidates, political parties and coalitions make promises to the electorate to win them over. Nine (33.3%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that radio facilitated their learning about the 2013 general election campaign messages on the promises of the presidential candidates. The Jubilee Alliance ran its campaign on the promise of generational change. CORD too promised the youth the change and benefits of the new

constitution (Kamau, 2013). On election campaign promises learnt from listening to the radio, participants in the FGDs said:

When I listened to the presidential debates on radio I got to know more about their promises in such areas as unemployment and job creation, fighting corruption, security and improving health services in the country. (Participant 3.14).

From the programmes I listened to on radio, I learnt what the presidential candidates stood for and their campaign promises. To my disappointment, I did not see any major differences among the eight [presidential] candidates. (Participant 3.16).

The local [vernacular] radio stations such as Mulembe FM and Radio Ingo were very good at focusing on issues within our county [Kakamega County]. This gave voters like us an opportunity to learn about the campaign promises of presidential candidates. (Participant 4.25).

The narratives under sub-theme 1.5.2 of this section concur with Uwem and Opeke (2015), who note that radio and other news media provide voters with information on election campaign issues. This fits well with the agenda-setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972). In its agenda-setting role, the news media help the electorate identify the key issues in an election (Didiugwu et al., 2014). This is because, through the agenda-setting role, the news media tell the public what the main issues are, and the public perceives them as the main issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McQuail, 2010). Consequently, Wanta (1997) notes that exposure to these issues in the news media makes the audience consider them to be important.

Theme 1.6: Election-Related Constitutional and Legal Provisions

Nine (33.3%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged learning from radio about the requirement of degree certificate as the minimum academic qualification for presidential and gubernatorial candidates. The following are the views expressed by some of the participants in the FGDs:

Nilikuja kujua kutoka kwa redio kwamba ili kugombea urais, mtu anayetaka kugombea urais alihitaji kuwa na kiwango cha chini cha kufuzu kwa shahada ya kwanza. [I came to know from radio that to contest for the presidency, a candidate needed to have a minimum of an undergraduate degree qualification]. (Participant 1.6).

I learnt from radio that the minimum academic qualification for candidates for the presidential and gubernatorial posts and their running mates was a university degree. (Participant 3.16).

Part of the constitutional and legal provisions for a presidential candidate in a general election in Kenya to be declared a winner is that one should garner more than 50% of the valid votes cast (“50% + 1” rule) and win in at least 24 of the 47 counties in the county. Learning from radio about these requirements is evidenced in the following responses from the participants in FGDs:

Kwa kusikiliza baadhi ya vipindi vya redio, niligundua kwamba ili mgombea atangazwe kuwa mshindi wa urais ni lazima apate zaidi ya nusu ya kura zilizopigwa katika uchaguzi huo. [By listening to some radio programmes, I came to realize that to be declared a presidential winner, a candidate must obtain over half of the votes cast in the election]. (Participant 2.12).

I came to know that a presidential contestant must win in at least half of the 47 counties in Kenya. This differs from the general elections held earlier where it was half of the former eight provinces in Kenya. (Participant 3.19).

The constitutional provisions of the “50% + 1” rule and winning in at least 24 of the 47 counties in Kenya were first applied in the 2013 general election. This means that voter education on radio on such provisions was necessary for creating awareness of the political and electoral systems and candidature requirements that the country had adopted. The excerpts from Participants 2.12 and 3.19 indicate that by listening to radio they learnt about the foregoing two constitutional requirements for a candidate to be declared a presidential winner.

Theme 1.7: Challenges to Political Learning from Radio

Political learning just like other forms of learning is a process which is likely to face certain challenges. Six (22.2%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs raised two major impediments to exposure to radio in enhancing women voters’ political knowledge about the 2013 polls. It was

noted that women had inadequate time and attention to radio broadcasts due to being occupied with household chores. The following narratives confirm this challenge:

Kama wanawake, hatuna muda wa kusikiliza redio sana. Kwa hivyo, tunapata kujifunza kidogo kutoka kwa redio. [As women, we do not have time to listen to radio a lot. So, we get to learn less from radio]. (Participant 1.2).

I missed some political radio programmes due to household chores. I could not learn from what was broadcast on them (Participant 3.14).

As a mother, I could miss out a lot on radio because sometimes while listening to radio, I had to switch my mind to my young child if and when she needed my attention. (Participant 3.20).

The views of Participant 1.2 concur with the finding by Benesch (2012) that in the USA, women consume less political news from the media compared to men and this may be impeding their acquisition of political knowledge. Some of the challenges to political learning from radio as raised by the participants in the FGDs are articulated in Section 4.5.1 in Chapter Four of this thesis. Participants noted that their radio use was inhibited by domestic or household duties, which left them with limited time to listen to radio. Further, some radio programmes that could promote their exposure to political news were aired at a time when they were busy with household chores.

The remarks by Participant 3.20 reflect inattentiveness to political messages on radio. Not being attentive to radio broadcasts can undermine political learning because it impedes the reception and processing of political news (Lupia, 2015; McQuail, 2010). This is because political knowledge is generated after media content is received and processed by an audience member. Overall, the sentiments expressed by Participants 1.2, 3.14 and 3.20 demonstrate gender dynamics in political participation. The participants observed that household chores limited their time and attention to radio broadcasts and this impeded their political learning.

The acquisition of political knowledge from the media is also constrained by the packaging and consumption of information broadcast on radio during elections. This has implications for political learning for radio listeners. For instance, when information on radio is not detailed and is packaged in a technical language that is hard for the radio audience, they might not sufficiently learn from what is broadcast. The following excerpts underpin this finding:

Experts, such as lawyers invited to talkshows on radio, used complex terms [jargon], which many of the voters could not understand. (Participant 3.16).

Radio news is presented in a hurry due to time constraints, and this makes it hard for radio listeners to follow and understand what is broadcast. (Participant 4.25).

The views of Participants 3.16 and 4.25 are in tandem with those of scholars, who note that the acquisition of political knowledge from the news media is constrained by the packaging of information. The information is considered shallow and technical to facilitate political learning (Anduiza et al., 2012; Luskin, 1990; McQuail, 2010; Perloff, 2014). This suggests that the poor packaging of political content on radio can impede listeners from understanding it and thus affect their political learning. In essence, the political content on radio should be packaged in a manner that facilitates understanding by the wide range of audiences served.

Despite the foregoing challenges, it emerged from the narratives of the participants in the FGDs that exposure to radio contributed to women voters' political learning. This finding is in tandem with past studies that reveal a positive correlation between women's exposure to radio and political knowledge (Heywood, 2020; Mbewe, 2019). The results from the qualitative data corroborate those from the survey data, as they both reveal the positive contribution of exposure to radio to the acquisition of political knowledge.

By incorporating the results from the FGDs, this research gives insights into the study participants' perspectives on radio as a contributor to their political knowledge acquisition. In

some of the narratives from the participants, obstacles impeding exposure to radio that diminished their political learning were identified. These included inadequate radio listening time, conflicting radio programming schedules, poor packaging of voter education and inattentiveness to what was broadcast on radio.

5.3.2 Influence of Political Knowledge Acquired from Radio on Women Voters' Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The simple mediation model considered under the results of the quantitative phase in Section 5.2.2.2 of this research reveals that political knowledge positively mediated the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In the FGDs, the participants were asked how political knowledge from radio influenced their political participation in the 2013 polls. From the FGDs, four themes emerged. These themes focused on the following: (1) attending political rallies or meetings; (2) making voting decisions and turning out to vote on Election Day; (3) canvassing for votes before Election Day; and (4) challenges to translating political knowledge into political action.

Theme 2.1: Attending Political Rallies or Meetings

One form of political participation that was targeted in this study was attending political rallies or meetings during the electioneering period. Thirteen (48.2%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that the political knowledge that they acquired from radio enabled them to attend some political rallies or meetings during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The following quotes support this finding:

Listening to broadcasts on Mulembe FM made me aware of which political rallies to attend and what had been said even at those that I had not attended within my constituency in Kakamega County. (Participant 3.15).

I am a resident of Kakamega Town, a place where presidential, gubernatorial and senatorial candidates in the county held several rallies. Their advertisements and news coverage on radio made me decide which political rallies I could attend, especially during my free time on weekends. (Participant 3.16).

The foregoing excerpts suggest the contribution of political knowledge acquired from radio to women voters' electoral participation by attending political or election campaign rallies and meetings. Through radio broadcasts, the electorate was informed of which political or election campaigns were to be held and where and when they were to be held so that they could decide which one(s) to attend where possible. Political participation through attending political or election campaigns or meetings is one of the forms of electoral participation.

Theme 2.2: Making Voting Decisions and Turning Out to Vote on Election Day

Narratives from 12 (44.4%) of the 27 focus group participants were aligned to the second theme on political knowledge acquired from radio as having influenced their voting participation. Participants recognized the role of the political knowledge acquired from radio in guiding their voting decisions on March 4, 2013. The following verbatim quotes corroborate this finding:

Redio ilitekeleza jukumu muhimu la kielimu kwa wapiga kura ambawaliokuwa hawajaamua kama mimi katika kutathmini wagombeaji urais katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013. [Radio played an important educational role for undecided voters like me in evaluating the presidential candidates in the 2013 general election. (Participant 1.5).

There is no one quick way I could have known the main issues in the presidential and gubernatorial elections in my county if it were not for what I heard on radio. This gave me some guidance on what I had to consider when deciding whom to vote for. (Participant 4.23).

The participants in the FGDs also acknowledged the educational role of radio in mobilizing the electorate to turn out to vote on March 4, 2013. For instance, they said:

Kwa kusikiliza redio, nilijifunza kuhusu haki zangu za kisiasa na hii ilikuwa muhimu katika kuelewa kwangu kwa nini nilihitaji kupiga kura siku ya uchaguzi. [By listening to radio, I learnt about my political rights and this was critical to my understanding of why I needed to vote on Election Day]. (Participant 1.1).

Kufuatia yale niliyojifunza kutoka kwa redio kuhusu mahitaji ya utambulisho wa mpiga kura, nilihakikisha kuwa nimebeba kitambulisho changu cha kitaifa hadi kituo cha kupigia kura. [Following up on what I had learnt from radio on the voter identification requirements, I ensured that I carried my national ID card to the polling station]. (Participant 1.5).

Radio enabled me to know when the voter register inspection began and was to end and the options for checking the registration details. I think without having confirmed my details in the voter register and corrected them when I discovered my name was spelt wrongly, I would not have voted in 2013. (Participant 4.23).

The views expressed by Participant 1.1 are contained in the political rights articulated in Article 38 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. Some of these political rights are that citizens are free to make political choices, register as voters and vote by secret ballot. Citizens are also entitled to free, fair and regular elections. Voter verification identified by Participant 4.23 took place between January 13, 2013 and January 26, 2013. The verification exercise allowed citizens check out if they had been enlisted correctly in the voter register.

The narratives from Participants 1.1, 1.5 and 4.23 suggest the importance of the political knowledge acquired from radio in the voting process. Political knowledge enabled the participants to verify their registration details in the voter register and in the voting decisions they made on March 4, 2013. The excerpts from the participants underpin political knowledge acquired from radio as a contributor to their voter turnout. The preceding results are in tandem with a report by The Carter Centre (2013), which noted that radio aired voter education programmes that rallied people to register as voters and cast their ballot on March 4, 2013. However, as noted from the 2013 Kenya general election observer missions' reports, the IEBC voter education programme was criticized for having started late (The Carter Centre, 2013; KHRC, 2014). This limited the effectiveness of radio in educating the electorate. Without adequate and timely voter education, citizens may not understand the voter registration

requirements and processes. This underscores the voter education role of radio in electoral participation.

Theme 2.3: Canvassing for Votes Before Election Day

Three (11.1%) of the 27 focus group participants narrated the contribution of the political knowledge acquired from radio to their voter mobilization efforts by canvassing votes. The following extracts illustrate the views of two of these participants:

As a youth leader in the campaign team for my [political] party, I used what I learnt about the candidates from radio to sell to the electorate the manifestos of our candidates. (Participant 3.17).

I used what I learnt from Mulembe FM [vernacular radio station] to convince some of the voters in my area to vote for my preferred presidential candidate. I also canvassed for the other candidates contesting for various elective posts under my [political] party. (Participant 3.21).

Theme 2.4: Challenges to Translating Political Knowledge into Political Action

Voters' political knowledge needs to result in participatory behaviour if it has to influence electoral processes and outcomes. Nine (33.3%) of the 27 focus group participants provided their perspectives on how what they learnt from radio contributed to their not attending election campaign rallies or meetings. The participants identified violent frames in radio coverage of the polls and their inadequate cognitive skills for political participation. On the negative effect of election coverage on radio using violent frames, participants noted as follows:

I learnt from radio news about the violence occurring at some of the political rallies in parts of the country. This made me fear attending political rallies held in my area during the [2013] general election campaigns. (Participant 3.15).

Physical violence against women in elections in Kenya is real. Although I did not directly experience it during the 2013 general election campaigns, I heard a lot from radio news about how women were victims of this. I think such violence is meant to cause fear and discourage women from participating in election campaign rallies and meetings. (Participant 4.26).

The views expressed by Participants 3.15 and 4.26 underscore the unintended negative effects of election campaign coverage on radio. This suggests that although radio news broadcasts were aimed at informing and educating the audience on the violence occurring during the election campaigns, they may have caused fear among the electorate. Subsequently, this undermined women voters' election campaign participation through political rallies or meetings. The views of the participants in the FGDs concur with those of Ndubi (2020) and Kenyatta (2023), who note that electoral violence discourages people from political participation in Kenya. Electoral violence is thus one of the factors that make the political environment unsafe for citizens who want to engage in electoral activities in the public space.

The negative effect of political coverage depicting or indicating a likelihood of violence occurring during election campaigns is consistent with the argument in MSD theory. According to this theory, affective effects result from fear or anxiety due to exposure to media content depicting a likelihood of violence occurring (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976). For instance, radio content that shows the likelihood of violence occurring during a campaign rally. Such coverage is likely to hinder women from attending the rally. More radio coverage of electoral violence can thus make women believe that the political environment is dangerous for them to engage in politics. As various studies have revealed, women's political participation in Africa is hindered by the risks involved in it, such as political violence and intimidation during elections (IDEA, 2021; Kenyatta, 2023; Trip et al., 2014). Such acts of violence make women fear participating in public political activities during elections.

Cognitive skills arising from formal education and MIL help people decipher and use mediated political messages (Benesch, 2012; Luskin, 1990; Jung, 2010). This implies that women voters' inadequacies in both formal education and MIL can impede their information processing and,

subsequently, political knowledge acquisition. The following quotes illustrate the views of some of the focus group participants on the negative effects of low levels of education and MIL on women voters' political participation:

Matangazo ya kampeni za kisiasa kwenye redio yanaweza kumshawishi mtu kumpigia kura mgombea fulani. Naiona hii kuwa changamoto si kwangu bali kwa wale wasikilizaji wa redio ambao hawana uwezo wa kutambua hili na kutumia maamuzi yao juu ya nani wa kumpigia kura. [Political campaign advertisements on radio can easily manipulate a person into voting for a certain candidate. I consider this to be a challenge, not to me but to those radio listeners who are not able to realize this and use their judgment on who to vote for]. (Participant 2.11).

Some of the political talkshows aired on radio involved experts who used jargon that I could not understand. If, with my level of education [undergraduate], I could not sometimes understand what was being broadcast, what of the poorly educated women? If they don't learn, then this hinders them politically. (Participant 3.16).

The narratives from Participants 2.11 and 3.16 concur with prior literature. Ojebuyi and Salaw (2015) note that inadequate MIL skills undermine political learning and participation. Oriare et al. (2010) add that high media illiteracy negatively impacts political participation in Kenya. Adequate MIL skills facilitate people's access to, analysis, interpretation and use of mediated information (Ojebuyi & Salaw, 2015; UNESCO, 2013).

Low levels of education as a hindrance to political learning from radio broadcasts, as noted by Participant 3.16, is consistent with the knowledge gap model that underscores the significance of SES as a predictor of acquiring information from the mass media (Tichenor et al., 1970). One of the elements of SES is the level of education. Figure 4.2 in Chapter Four of this study reveals that the educational levels of slightly above three-fifths (62.7%) of the survey participants ranged from none to primary school level qualifications. Individuals with such levels of education and even higher than these, as stated by Participant 3.16, may not be able to decipher political news that is complex and uses jargon.

The findings from the FGDs under themes 2.1 to 2.4 demonstrate exposure to radio as a predictor of political knowledge, a resource that facilitated women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. These results concur with those from past studies that have established radio as a key knowledge resource for women's political participation (Heywood, 2020; Mbewe, 2019). Exposure to radio empowers women by providing news that leads them to political learning that stimulates them towards action. These results are further established in other past related studies that demonstrate a positive correlation between political knowledge and various forms of electoral participation (for example, Anduiza et al., 2012; Delli Carpini, 2000; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2007; Shoajei et al., 2010; Verba et al., 1995).

The findings from the FGDs further illustrate barriers to the acquisition of political knowledge from listening to radio. These obstacles could have undermined the role of radio in political knowledge acquisition and the effective electoral participation of women voters during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The impediments to political learning from radio as identified in the FGDs, focus on women voters as radio listeners, radio stations' political packaging and scheduling of political programmes.

5.4 Objective 2: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The second objective of this research was to assess the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The previous sections have separately analyzed, presented and discussed the results from the quantitative and qualitative data gathered in this research. In this section, the data gathered were summarized by reflecting on how the qualitative results corroborated or differed from those from the quantitative findings.

Table 5.3 indicates that the quantitative findings were corroborated by qualitative results regarding the second objective of this study. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings reveal that political knowledge played a positive mediating role in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The results from the quantitative phase revealed that the level of women voters' political knowledge though low, played a positive mediating role in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Table 5.3: Triangulated Results on Political Knowledge as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Observation
The level of women voters' political knowledge, though low, played a positive mediating role in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.	The narratives from the participants in the FGDs affirm the contribution of exposure to radio to women voters' political learning about the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The political knowledge acquired from radio then promoted their political participation via voting and election campaigning. Limiting the foregoing links were obstacles such as inadequate exposure to political information and biased electoral coverage on radio.	There is confirmation that women voters' exposure to political news on radio positively correlated with their political knowledge and this knowledge, in turn, contributed to their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

The quantitative findings summarized in Table 5.3 indicate that women voters' exposure to radio was related to their political participation through the mediating role of political knowledge. The results concur with studies that have established that political knowledge is a key resource for women's political participation (for example, Olaniru et al., 2019; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). These findings also concur with studies that have found that exposure to news media leads to the acquisition of political knowledge, which, in turn, increases political participation (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018). The results also align with the tenets of political mobilization theory. The theory postulates that news media use indirectly affects political participation because it increases an individual's level of political

knowledge (Flanagan, 1996). This means that through listening to the radio, women voters were able to get exposed to information that contributed to their political knowledge. The acquired political knowledge, in turn, promoted their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The mediating role of political knowledge established from the quantitative findings has two pathways linking women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. First, exposure to radio was found to be a positive predictor of political knowledge, a finding that is in tandem with the results from prior studies in Africa (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Didiugwu et al., 2014; Heywood, 2020; Mbewe, 2019; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). Second, political knowledge was positively correlated with electoral participation and this concurs with the findings from past research (for example, Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018; Shojaei et al., 2010). The findings from the qualitative phase of this research support the results of these two pathways. On the first pathway, it was determined from the FGDs that women voters indicated having gained political knowledge on voter registration and register inspection, election timelines, candidates and political parties or coalitions. They also indicated that they learnt about voting processes and technology, election campaign schedules and promises and election-related constitutional and legal provisions.

The low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political knowledge, as summarized in Table 5.3, is supported by the views of the participants in the FGDs. Participants identified some of the impediments to their political learning from radio. For instance, the participants identified inadequate time and attention to political news broadcasts on radio due to household chores. The packaging and consumption of political news broadcast on radio were also noted as constraining political learning. For example, less detailed

political news coverage and content that was packaged in a technical language. The qualitative results of this study further identified the challenges of translating political knowledge into political action. Some of these challenges relate to women voters' limited exposure to political news on radio due to financial constraints, gendered radio use and insufficient voter education on radio. Biased electoral coverage and poor political news packaging on radio were also identified as challenges undermining the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The results from this chapter contribute to the body of knowledge on how the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation is transmitted via political knowledge. First, the findings of this research are based on the study's conceptualization of political knowledge as a mediator rather than a predictor or outcome variable, as past research has done (Rapeli, 2022). The study results indicate that political knowledge positively mediated the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This underscores the study's important contribution to the indirect effects research paradigm in media studies. This approach focuses on the how and why of media effects. Under this research approach, the influence of exposure to radio (independent variable) on political participation (dependent variable) was transmitted through political knowledge (mediating variable). By identifying political knowledge as a mediator, this research indicates that exposure to radio promoted women voters' political knowledge, and this knowledge in turn enhanced their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

In terms of methodological contribution, the foregoing findings provide evidence of the usability of PROCESS Macro Model 4 in statistical modelling of mediating effects in media

research. Political communication researchers interested in examining intervening effects in political communication campaigns can thus apply this freely available add-on tool to statistical software such as SPSS. Given the mediating effect of political knowledge established in this study, the research findings also have practical implications for radio journalists. They should strive to broadcast content that can promote women voters' political knowledge as a way of enhancing their electoral participation.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERVENING EFFECT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE INFLUENCE OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO ON WOMEN VOTERS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the quantitative and qualitative findings on the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The two political attitudes considered in this research are political interest and internal political efficacy (political self-efficacy). The chapter commences with the quantitative results arising from the data collected from the survey questionnaire. This chapter then focuses on the qualitative findings obtained from the data in FGDs. The chapter concludes by triangulating the quantitative and qualitative results.

6.2 Quantitative Results on the Intervening Effect of Political Attitudes on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

The third objective of this research sought to determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This section, therefore, presents and discusses quantitative findings on this objective under two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, the research focuses on women voters' political attitudes, comprising political interest and self-efficacy, during the 2013 polls. The second sub-section deliberates on the results from the quantitative data on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County via political attitudes comprising political interest and self-efficacy.

6.2.1 Political Attitudes of Women Voters in Kakamega County During the 2013 General Election

Respondents were asked to state their agreement or disagreement with one or two statements for measuring their political interest and self-efficacy, respectively. For political interest, participants stated their agreement or disagreement with a single statement that they rated based on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all interested) to 4 (very interested), as contained in Appendix I (Question 29). A mean score for political interest that is below 2.00 was considered low, between 2.00 and 2.99 moderate and high for the 3.00 to 4.00 range. The mean score for women voters' political interest in the 2013 general election campaigns was 2.83 ($SD = 1.05$). This signifies a moderate level of political interest, as denoted by their 2013 general election campaign interest.

The finding in this study for a moderate level of political interest among the survey respondents slightly deviates from the results of a survey conducted by CNEP after the 2013 general election in Kenya. The survey established that nearly half of the respondents, comprising both males and females, were not at all and not very interested (Schulz-Herzenberg et al., 2015b). A plausible reason for the difference is the target population of the current study compared to the CNEP survey. This research targeted registered women voters as opposed to the CNEP survey, which targeted both male and female adults in Kenya. Being a registered voter suggests some level of political interest, as the individual can vote on Election Day, contest for an elective post in Kenya and possibly participate in other electioneering activities so that her vote counts. The operationalization of political interest in this research is anchored on Jung (2010), as it focused on respondents' election campaign interest. Such political interest is likely to be heightened during the electioneering period. The results obtained in this research thus offer

new insights into women voters' political interest in Kenya when considering their election campaign interest.

This study used two statements to measure political self-efficacy as rated by the respondents' agreement or disagreement with each based on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) as indicated in Question 30 in Appendix I. The first political self-efficacy statement was: "Sometimes politics seem so simple that a person like you could be able to understand what was going on during the 2013 general election campaigns" ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.23$). The second statement was: "You consider yourself less qualified to participate in politics" [reverse coded for analysis] ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.16$). An overall mean score was computed based on the responses to the two statements.

The overall mean score for political self-efficacy was interpreted as follows: below 2.34 was considered low, between 2.34 and 3.66 moderate and high for the range of 3.67 to 5.00. The results obtained from the survey data revealed a moderate level of political self-efficacy ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.09$). This finding concurs with the results from past studies that have found that women feel less politically efficacious (Carreras, 2018; Shojaei et al., 2010, Wainana, 2013). However, the moderate level of political self-efficacy might be a deterrent to the respondents' political participation. This is because women require relatively higher political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in politics (Shoajei et al., 2010).

6.2.2. Political Attitudes as Mediators in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Parallel multiple mediation Model 4 in PROCESS Macro for SPSS Version 3.2.0.1 was used to determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio

on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In this model, the predictor and criterion variables were exposure to radio and political participation, respectively, while political interest and self-efficacy were mediators. Before parallel multiple mediation analysis, the researcher examined how the main variables in the model relate to each other at a bivariate level, as presented in the next sub-section.

6.2.2.1 Correlation Between Variables in Parallel Multiple Mediation Analysis

Before conducting parallel multiple mediation analysis, the researcher performed correlation analysis at the bivariate level. This was geared towards establishing the correlation between the predictor, mediator and outcome variables. In this study's parallel multiple mediators' model, these variables are as follows: exposure to radio (predictor), political interest and self-efficacy (mediators) and political participation (outcome variable). Table 6.1 shows a Pearson correlation matrix useful for an initial understanding of the relationships between these study variables. Rea and Parker's (2014) interpretation of the values for Pearson's correlation was used as follows: 0= no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74 = strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation.

Table 6.1: Correlation Matrix for the Main Variables in the Parallel Multiple Mediation Model

		M	SD	1	2	3	4
1	Exposure to radio	16.44	13.46	1.00			
2	Political interest	2.83	1.05	.661**	1.00		
3	Political self-efficacy	2.71	1.09	-.676**	-.625	1.00	
4	Political participation	3.54	2.34	.728**	.600**	-.574**	1.00

Note: 1 indicates a predictor, 2 and 3 denote mediators and 4 is the criterion.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.1 indicates that there was a statistically significant strong positive correlation between the following pairs of variables: (1) exposure to radio and political participation ($r = .728$, $p <$

.001); (2) exposure to radio and political interest ($r = .661, p < .001$); (3) political interest and participation ($r = .600, p < .001$). As observed in Table 6.1, there was a statistically significant strong negative correlation between the following pairs of variables: (1) exposure to radio and political self-efficacy ($r = -.676, p < .001$); and (2) political self-efficacy and political participation ($r = -.574, p < .001$). These negative correlations can undermine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political self-efficacy which can in turn affect their electoral participation. First, it suggests that an increase in exposure to radio made the women voters less politically self-efficacious and this reduced political self-efficacy may have weakened their electoral participation. There was no correlation between political interest and self-efficacy ($r = -.625, p = .066$).

6.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes

PROCESS Macro Model 4 was used to conduct parallel multiple mediation analysis based on 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at a 95% confidence interval level and a p-value of .05. Bootstrapping was applied in establishing the specific indirect effects, which denotes the intervening or mediating effects that this research sought to determine. Mediation occurs if the indirect effect is statistically different from zero, meaning that both BootLLCI and BootULCI contain either positive or negative values but not both values. This study's suggested parallel multiple mediators' model is presented in the conceptual diagram in Figure 3.4 in Chapter Three and the statistical diagram in Figure 6.1 in this chapter.

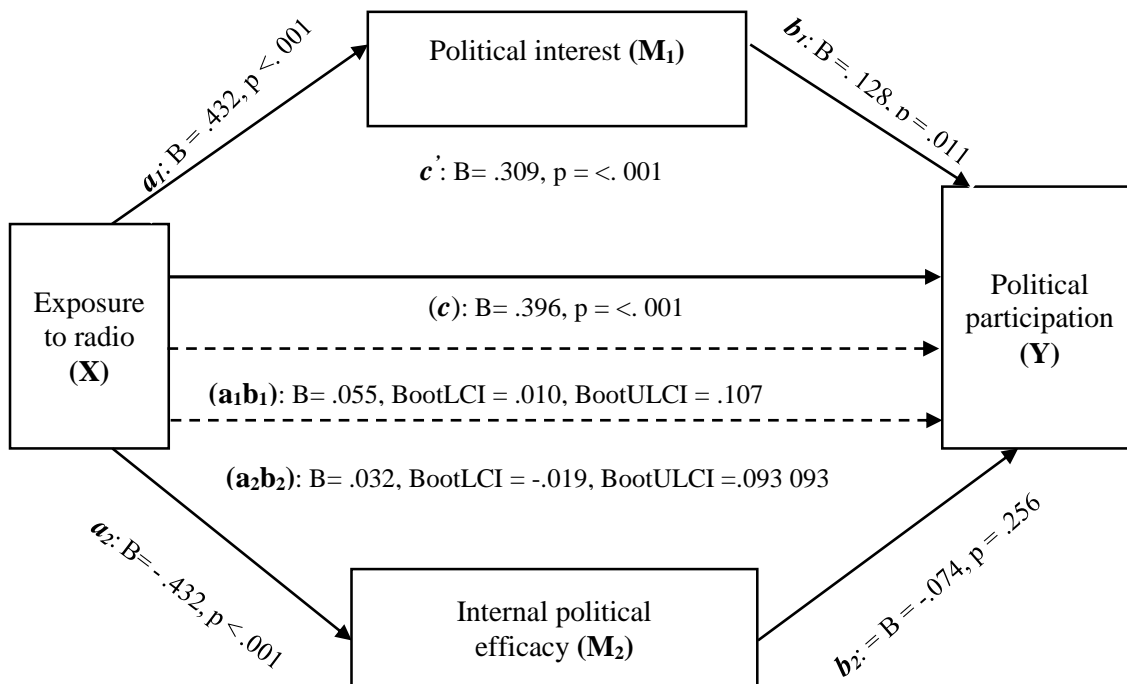
In the parallel multiple mediation analysis, exposure to radio and political participation were entered as independent and dependent variables, respectively. In this study, exposure to radio denotes women voters' exposure to political news on radio. Socio-demographics, political

orientation and use of other news media were entered as control variables. Political attitudes, comprising political interest and self-efficacy, were entered as intervening variables. The socio-demographics considered in the parallel multiple mediators' model were as follows: age, marital status, level of education, household income and residential location. Political orientation characteristics consisted of political party affiliation and partisanship. The other news media considered as control variables were: TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls. Data analysis in a parallel multiple mediators' model yields direct, specific, total indirect and total effects. Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 depict these effects.

In Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2, the specific indirect effect for inferring mediation in this study represents the path for the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via one mediator while holding the other mediator and control variables constant. The interpretation of the results on the intervening effects was based on the two specific indirect pathways as presented in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2. The first path (a_1b_1) denotes the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via political interest. The second path (a_2b_2) represents the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation via political self-efficacy.

Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 indicate that holding the control variables and political self-efficacy constant, there was a statistically significant positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political interest (Path a_1 : $B = .432$, $SE = .073$, $p < .001$). This suggests that after taking control variables into account, a one-unit increase in women voters' exposure to radio resulted in a 43.2% rise in their level of political interest in the 2013 general election campaigns. This result concurs with Didiugwu et al. (2014), who established a positive correlation between women's exposure to radio and political interest in Enugu State, Nigeria.

This further concurs with the results of a study by Conroy-Krutz (2018), which established a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and political interest in Uganda.



Note: Dotted lines represent the specific indirect effects of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation when political interest and political self-efficacy are included as mediators. X denotes a predictor, M₁ and M₂ represent mediators and Y indicates the criterion, a₁ is the effect of exposure to radio on political interest, b₁ is the effect of political interest on political participation, a₂ is the effect of exposure to radio on political self-efficacy and b₂ is the effect of political self-efficacy on political participation, a₁b₁ and a₂b₂ represent the specific indirect effect between exposure to radio and political participation via political interest and self-efficacy, respectively. c' and c are the direct and total effects of exposure to radio on political participation, respectively. Socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media were included as control variables but are not visually represented in the model. Level of significance, $\alpha = .05$. Unstandardized regression coefficients were reported.

Abbreviations: B=Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

Figure 6.1: Intervening Effect of the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes

Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 further reveal that there was a statistically significant positive effect of political interest on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County (Path b_1 : $B = .128, SE = .050, p = .011$). This suggests that taking into account the effect of the control variables, exposure to radio and political self-efficacy, a one-unit rise in political interest increased women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County

by 12.8%. The finding is consistent with the results from prior studies by Fraile and Gomez (2017) and Rai (2011) that have established a positive correlation between women's political interest and participation in developing democracies.

Table 6.2: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Attitudes

Model: Exposure to radio \rightarrow Political attitudes \rightarrow Political participation					
Pathways		Coefficients			
		B	SE	t	p
a_1	Effect of exposure to radio on political interest	.432	.073	5.964	< .001
b_1	Effect of political interest on political participation	.128	.050	2.580	.011
a_2	Effect of exposure to radio on political self-efficacy	-.432	.055	-7.840	< .001
b_2	Effect of political self-efficacy on political participation	-.074	.065	-1.139	.256
c'	Direct effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.309	.058	5.286	< .001
c	Total effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.396	.050	7.854	< .001
Indirect effect		Bootstrap Effect	Estimate SE	95% CI	
				LLCI	ULCI
a_1b_1	Specific indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via political interest	.055	.025	.010	.107
a_2b_2	Specific indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via political self-efficacy	.032	.029	-.019	.093
a_1b_1 +	Total indirect effect of use of radio on political participation via political interest and political self-efficacy	.087	.031	.030	.153

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors and confidence intervals were computed using 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at 95% confidence level, $\alpha = .05$. Control variables (socio-demographics, political affiliation and partisanship and use of other news media) considered in the model but not shown in the Table.

Abbreviations: B=Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; CI= Confidence interval; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

Mediation occurs when the indirect effect is significantly different from zero. Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 reveal that based on 5,000 bootstrap samples at 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals, the indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County via political interest was entirely above zero (Path a_1b_1 : B = .055, SE= .025, BootLLCI = .010 to BootULCI =.107), even after considering the control

variables and political self-efficacy. This positive indirect effect suggests that after taking the control variables and political self-efficacy into account, a one-unit increase in exposure to radio contributed to a 5.5% rise in women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County as a result of its effect on political interest, which in turn, translated into higher political participation.

The results for the first specific indirect effect (a_1b_1) in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 indicate that the intervening effect of political interest on the positive influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was statistically significant and positive. These findings are consistent with the argument in political mobilization theory. In this theory, the use of news media is considered to have indirect effects on political participation because it stimulates political attitudes such as political interest (Flanagan, 1996). This suggests that exposure to radio contributed to women voters' political interest, which then enhanced their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In other words, the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was transmitted through political interest.

The foregoing findings concur with the results from past studies, which have established that voters' use of news media positively predicts political interest, which subsequently facilitates their political participation (for example, Chang, 2007; Jung, 2010; Rai, 2011; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). The practical implication of the study results on the mediating effect of political interest is for radio stations to focus on boosting women voters' election campaign interest as one of the pathways to promoting their political participation in elections. This is because the more politically interested women voters become as a result of exposure to radio, the more likely they are to engage in electoral activities. This suggests that radio programmes tailored to women voters' political interest can be more effective in enhancing their electoral participation.

The second intervening variable considered in the parallel multiple mediators' model in this research is political self-efficacy. Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 reveal that after taking control variables and political interest into account, there was a statistically significant negative effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political self-efficacy (Path a_2 : $B = -.432$, $SE = .055$, $p < .001$). This suggests that holding control variables and political interest constant, a one-unit increase in exposure to radio yielded a 43.2% decrease in women voters' political self-efficacy. This study outcome is in tandem with the results of a negative correlation established between the use of radio and TV and voter efficacy among registered voters in Malaysia (Idid et al., 2017). The finding further concurs with the results from Afrobarometer surveys, which reveal a lack of evidence that listening to radio is associated with greater political efficacy in Africa (Conroy-Krutz, 2018). The finding established in the current study thus calls upon radio stations to broadcast political content that can help build their political self-

A plausible explanation for the finding of a negative correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and internal political efficacy could be attributed to the subjective self-assessment of one's understanding of politics and ability to influence political participation (Niemi et al., 1991). Further, political self-efficacy is enhanced by longer-term repeated exposure to radio and higher PIE (Niemi et al., 1991). It is, therefore, probable that women voters' political self-efficacy could be diminished even after exposure to radio due to their subjective judgment on their understanding of politics and their influence on political participation and low PIE. This finding is examined further through the qualitative data presented and discussed in Section 6.3 of this chapter.

Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 indicate that the effect of political self-efficacy on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was not statistically significant

(Path b_2 : $B = -.074$, $SE = .065$, $p = .256$). This suggests that political self-efficacy could not influence women voters' political participation, even after considering the effect of exposure to radio, political interest and control variables. Political self-efficacy is based on an individual's understanding and self-evaluation of competence in participating in politics. As discussed in Section 6.2.1 in this chapter, women voters' level of political self-efficacy was moderate and this may not have been sufficient to influence their political participation. This is because women require relatively higher levels of political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in elective politics (Shojaei et al., 2010). From past empirical literature, negative media framing of politics and women in the public sphere, poverty, inadequate time due to family responsibilities, low levels of education and inexperience in democratic institutions undermine the influence of political self-efficacy on political participation (Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Marshall et al., 2007; Stefani et al., 2021).

Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 further reveal that based on 5,000 bootstrap samples at 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals, the indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via political self-efficacy was not entirely above zero after considering the control variables and political self-efficacy (Path a_2b_2 : $B = .032$, $BootLLCI = -.019$ to $BootULCI = .093$). This finding is consistent with the results discussed for Paths a_1 and b_2 in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2. It was established that though the correlation between exposure to radio and political self-efficacy was significant, it was negative (Path a_2 : $B = -.432$, $SE = .055$, $p < .001$). Further, the correlation between political self-efficacy and electoral participation was not statistically significant (Path b_2 : $B = -.074$, $SE = .065$, $p = .256$).

The foregoing results suggest that political self-efficacy could not mediate the positive influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in

Kakamega County after statistically accounting for the effect of control variables and political interest. This could be attributed to women voters' level of political self-efficacy, which was found to be moderate, as presented in Section 6.2.1 of this chapter ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.09$). This may have been insufficient to boost their political participation. As Shojaei et al. (2010) argue women require relatively higher levels of political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in politics.

As reflected in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2, exposure to radio directly influenced women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, after taking into account the effect of political interest and self-efficacy and the control variables (Path $c' = .309$, $SE = .058$, $p < .001$). This suggests that a one-unit increase in exposure to radio could lead to a 30.9% rise in women voters' political participation, even after controlling for the effect of the mediators and control variables considered in this study. It was further established that the total effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was statistically significant and positive even after holding the control variables constant (Path $c = .396$, $SE = .050$, $p < .001$). This suggests that a variance of 39.6% in women voters' political participation could be accounted for by the statistical model.

Taken together, the results from the parallel mediation analysis in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 indicate that exposure to radio positively and indirectly influenced women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County through its effect on their political interest but not political self-efficacy. This implies that there was an indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation through political interest, but not political self-efficacy. This provides evidence for an intervening effect of political interest but

not political self-efficacy on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation.

The foregoing findings suggest that women voters highly exposed to radio were more likely to be politically interested than those less exposed to radio and those who were highly politically interested were more likely to be politically engaged in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Contrary to this, the results suggest that women voters highly exposed to radio were less likely to be politically self-efficacious than those less exposed to radio. Further, there was no evidence that internal political efficacy influenced women voters' electoral participation.

6.3 Qualitative Results on the Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Political Attitudes

This section presents and discusses qualitative findings on how exposure to radio influenced women voters' election campaign interest in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County and how, in turn, this political interest affected their electoral participation. It also considers the results from the qualitative data in FGDs on how exposure to radio influenced women voters' political self-efficacy and, in turn, how political self-efficacy affected their political participation in the 2013 polls. The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the FGDs on these pathways are summarized in Appendix IX.

6.3.1 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Electoral Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Political Interest

The quantitative results in Section 6.2.2.2 reveal that exposure to radio was positively correlated with women voters' political interest. Further, political interest positively correlated with women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. To augment

these quantitative results, focus group participants were asked questions underlying the pathways from exposure to radio to political interest and, subsequently political interest to political participation.

Three themes emerged from the FGDs on ways in which exposure to political news on radio influenced women voters' interest in the 2013 general election campaigns in Kakamega County. These themes focused on: (1) raising election campaign interest through exposure to voter education information on radio; (2) increasing election campaign interest via exposure to entertaining election content on radio; and (3) decreasing election campaign interest through exposure to information on radio considered adverse to politics and politicians.

Theme 1.1: Raising Election Campaign Interest Through Exposure to Voter Education Information

Nineteen (70.4%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs acknowledged that voter education on radio focusing on the importance of political participation helped raise their election campaign interest in the 2013 polls. It was noted that radio depicted the polls as highly competitive, with participation in them being key to which candidates and political parties or coalitions were to win the general election. Exposure to radio contributed to the awareness of their political rights and the need to engage in the 2013 general election as a means of fulfilling these rights. The following extracts corroborate this:

Kama mpiga kura wa mara ya kwanza, nadhani redio ilinifanya nitambue kuwa kura yangu inahesabika na hii iliongeza nia yangu [ya kisiasa] katika uchaguzi. [As a first-time voter, I think radio made me realize that my vote counts, and this boosted my [political] interest in the election]. (Participant 1.1).

Radio continuously updated us on what was happening in the election campaigns and the preparations that were being made to ensure that the election was free and fair. The news made me more interested in politics (Participant 3.14).

By listening to the voter education programmes aired on radio, I came to realize the importance of being involved in politics as my constitutional right. This made me more interested in the election, as I wanted to campaign for more women to be elected in Kakamega [County]. (Participant 3.18).

The narratives by Participants 1.1, 3.14 and 3.18 denoting the educational role of radio are supported by the findings in this study under Section 4.5.1 of this thesis. The results established that all 27 focus group participants accessed civic and voter education information from radio during the 2013 general election. From the election observer mission reports on the 2013 Kenyan polls, it was established that the news media, of which radio is a part, disseminated civic and voter education content to the electorate (AUC, 2013; The Carter Centre, 2013; FIDA-Kenya, 2013). The findings of this study, as covered under Theme 1.1, are in tandem with the results from past studies that have established a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and political interest (Conroy-Krutz, 2018; Didiugwu et al., 2014; Kalyango, 2009).

Theme 1.2: Increasing Election Campaign Interest Via Exposure to Entertaining Election Content on Radio

Six (22.2%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged that the two horse-race reportage of presidential candidates in the 2013 general election made it entertaining and thus interesting to follow. The following quotes confirm this:

Advertisements on radio, especially for the presidential candidates, drew my interest in the 2013 [general] election. I just liked how radio broadcasts presented the opposing views of the presidential candidates. Uhuru Kenyatta was portrayed as being digital, while Raila Odinga was considered analogue. (Participant 3.18).

Radio presented the [2013 general] election campaigns as a race between two opponents, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. This made listening to political news on radio entertaining, and this made me more interested in politics at this time. (Participant 4.25).

The excerpts from Participants 3.18 and 4.25 are supported by the skewed election coverage in the news media. The media election coverage was in favour of the two leading presidential candidates, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta, in tandem with reports on the 2013 polls (for example, The Carter Centre, 2013; EUEOM, 2013a, 2013b; Ipalei, 2013; MCK, 2013). The 2013 polls were depicted in the news media as a competition between Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. Although the focus group participants considered the two-horse race reportage of the polls entertaining and made them interested in following the leading candidates on radio, it might have impacted their political participation. As Kim and Kim (2007) observe, entertainment-related motivations for using the news media do not contribute to greater political participation.

Theme 1.3: Decreasing Election Campaign Interest through Exposure to Information Considered Adverse to Politics and Politicians on Radio

Despite the positive results in Themes 1.1 and 1.2, 4 (14.8%) of the participants noted that exposure to information on radio that they considered adverse to politics and politicians contributed to their disinterest in the 2013 general election campaigns. The following remarks demonstrate this finding:

Habari za siasa katika vyombo vya habari nchini Kenya mara nyingi ni hasi. Hii inawafanya wapiga kura kama mimi kufikiria kuwa siasa ni mbaya, haswa kwa wanawake, na tunapoteza hamu ya siasa. [The coverage of politics in the news media in Kenya is mostly negative. This makes voters like me think that politics is bad, especially, for women, and we lose interest in politics]. (Participant 1.6).

Radio coverage of violence against women during the 2013 election campaigns made me hate politics. When you hate something, you cannot be interested in it and this is what I felt about politics in Kenya. (Participant 4.23).

The views expressed by Participants 1.6 and 4.23 concur with Baek (2009) and Shojaei et al. (2010). They identify negative news media framing of politics and politicians as a contributor to women's limited political interest. This framing of politics and politicians reflects the

unintended negative consequences of election coverage on radio. Radio coverage of electoral violence can make women believe that the political environment is dangerous for them to engage in electoral activities. This is aligned with the cultivation theory which postulates that media representations shape people's views and beliefs about the world around them (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). This suggests that more radio coverage of electoral violence can thus make women believe that the political environment is dangerous for them to engage in politics.

The role of political interest in promoting women voters' electoral participation was examined in the FGDs. The three themes that emerged from the FGDs regarding this correlation focus on the following areas: (1) political participation through voting; (2) election campaign participation; and (3) resource constraints inhibiting election campaign interest translating into political participation.

Theme 2.1: Political Participation through Voting

Thirteen (48.2%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged the positive role that political interest arising from their exposure to radio played in their voting decisions and turning out to vote on March 4, 2013. This is manifested in these quotes:

Nia yangu katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 inamaanisha kwamba nilikusanya taarifa zaidi kuhusu ahadi za kampeni za uchaguzi zilizotolewa redioni na wagombeaji urais. Hii ilinisaidia kuamua ni mgombea gani wa urais wa kumpigia kampeni na kumpigia kura. [My interest in the 2013 general election means that I gathered more information on election campaign promises made on radio by the presidential candidates. This helped me decide which presidential candidate to campaign and vote for]. (Participant 1.5).

When I got interested in the [2013 general] election, I made sure that I never missed listening to radio whenever I was at home. This helped me choose which political parties to support. (Participant 3.16).

The narratives from Participants 1.5 and 3.16 suggest that political interest motivated them to seek more information on the 2013 polls, and this helped them in their political participation through voting. This underscores the significance of election campaign interest in the

participants' political information seeking from radio. However, this study did not aim to explore these reciprocal effects.

Theme 2.2: Election Campaign Participation

Accounts from nine (33.3%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs were aligned to the second theme on the role of political interest arising from exposure to radio in election campaign participation. Responses from various participants attest to this finding:

Nia yangu katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 ilinipa motisha ya kujitolea katika vikundi vya kushawishi vya kisiasa kwa wagombea niliowaunga mkono katika ngazi ya mtaa katika eneo bunge langu. [My interest in the 2013 general election gave me the motivation to volunteer in political lobby groups for the candidates I supported at the local level in my constituency]. (Participant 2.8).

I was a strong supporter of my political party, and this made me interested in its [2013 general] election campaign activities. I attended most political rallies in my area for candidates from my [political] party. (Participant 3.14).

I realized that the stakes for women's participation in the [2013 general] election were just too great for me to miss out on being involved in their election campaign activities. For once, women's candidature was important in Kenya. (Participant 4.23).

The views expressed by Participants 2.8, 3.14 and 4.23 are in tandem with the results from prior studies that have established a positive correlation between women's political interest and participation in developing democracies (Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Rai, 2011). In other words, this represents a two-pathway. First, exposure to radio correlates with political interest. Second, political interest correlates with political participation. This represents mediating effects.

Theme 2.3: Resource Constraints Inhibiting Election Campaign Interest Translating into Political Participation

Political participation requires such resources such time and money. Five (18.5%) out of the 27 focus group participants identified resource constraints (time and money) as barriers to

translating their election campaign interest into political action during the 2013 polls. Here are excerpts from the participants' accounts:

Kama mzazi, nilikuwa na shughuli nyingi wakati mwingi nyumbani na katika biashara yangu ndogo. Kwa hivyo, iwe nilikuwa na nia ya kisiasa au la, sikuweza kuhudhuria shughuli za kampeni za uchaguzi katika eneo langu. [As a parent, I was busy most of the time at home and in my small business. So, whether politically interested or not, I could not attend election campaign activities in my area]. (Participant 2.11).

I hold the view that in Kenya, the majority of us women are poor, and this makes us politically disinterested, even those interested cannot engage in politics since they are poor. (Participant 3.20).

Some of the constraints, such as household responsibilities and poverty, identified in the FGDs reflect the gendered dynamics of political participation. In this case, women are politically disadvantaged as they spend more time on household chores. Women are also economically disadvantaged. The foregoing is acknowledged by various authors who observe that gender inequalities in political participation can be attributed to resource constraints and gendered roles in society (for example, Bennet & Bennet, 1989; Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Sa'nchez-Vi'tores, 2019; Stefani et al., 2021; Verba et al., 1997). Household responsibilities for women limit the time available to them to participate in politics. Poverty constrains women's political participation in certain activities, such as financially supporting candidates and political parties during elections.

The perspectives of the focus group participants for the pathways from exposure to radio to political interest and then from political interest to political participation provide evidence in support of the findings from the survey data. Quantitative results in Section 6.2.2.2 established that there was a statistically significant positive correlation between women voters' (1) exposure to radio and political interest and (2) political interest and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The significance of exposure to radio on women voters' election campaign interest in this study was established through three themes that emerged from the FGDs. These themes focused on: (1) raising election campaign interest through exposure to voter education information on radio; (2) increasing election campaign interest via exposure to entertaining election content on radio; and (3) decreasing election campaign interest through exposure to information considered adverse to politics and politicians on radio. Election campaign interest in turn translated into women voters' political participation, as the qualitative data established. This interest contributed to political participation through election campaigns and voting. However, resource constraints such as limited time due to marital responsibilities and low poverty inhibited women voters' election campaign interest from translating into their political participation.

6.3.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County Via Internal Political Efficacy

The quantitative results in Section 6.2.2.2 established a negative correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political self-efficacy. It was also determined that political self-efficacy could not influence women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. To interrogate these quantitative findings, the focus group participants were asked questions on the pathways from exposure to radio to political self-efficacy and, subsequently, political self-efficacy to political participation.

Three themes emerged from the FGDs on how the political news that the participants accessed from radio affected their political self-efficacy during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The themes focused on the following: (1) exposure to poorly packaged and inadequate

voter education on radio; (2) exposure to perceived adverse radio election coverage of female candidates and the political campaign environment; and (3) low PIE.

Theme 3.1: Exposure to Poorly Packaged and Inadequate Voter Education on Radio

Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged that exposure to poorly packaged and inadequate voter education on radio contributed to their low political self-efficacy. It was established that poor packaging of voter education emanated from the use of technical language in radio programmes. Further, it was noted that there were limited broadcasts in local languages such as Luhya that could be understood easily by the majority of the people within Kakamega County. The following quotes from the participants in FGDs confirm this:

Some political talkshows I listened to on radio used difficult legal and economic terms that I could not understand, yet I am a university graduate. This made me feel less equipped to engage politically. (Participant 3.16).

The time allocated for voter education on radio was not enough. This could not empower women, especially those with low levels of education. (Participant 4.24).

From the views of Participant 3.16, it can be noted that exposure to poorly packaged voter education on radio can inhibit women's political self-efficacy. This same challenge was identified by participants in the FGDs as being an obstacle to their political learning from radio broadcasts. In Section 5.3.1 of Chapter Five of this thesis, it was established under Theme 1.7 that the use of technical language in political programmes on radio affected women voters' political learning. As Perloff (2014) notes, such a language makes it hard for people to understand mediated political messages. Consequently, if women voters could not understand what was broadcast on radio regarding the 2013 polls, then it might have been hard for them to develop higher political self-efficacy. The sentiments of Participant 4.24 are corroborated by the findings from secondary data, which revealed that IEBC's voter education efforts during the 2013 general election were considered inadequate (The Carter Centre, 2013;

Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013; KHRC, 2014). This may have impacted the effectiveness of IEBC's voter education efforts on radio in raising the political self-efficacy of women voters in Kakamega County.

Theme 3.2: Exposure to Perceived Adverse Radio Election Coverage of Female Candidates and the Political Campaign Environment

The perceptions that audience members have of the political content that they are exposed to on radio can influence their political self-efficacy. Nine (33.3%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs acknowledged being exposed to political content on radio that they perceived to be adverse towards female candidates and the political campaign environment. This in turn contributed to their being fearful and less confident about participating in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. This reflects a negative effect on political self-efficacy, as denoted in the following quotes on exposure to perceived biased election coverage of female candidates on radio:

Habari za kampeni za uchaguzi kwenye redio nchini Kenya wakati wa 2013 zilihusu wagombeaji wanaume. Wagombea uchaguzi wa kike waliotangazwa kwenye redio hawakukuwa vijana kama mimi. Utafikiri siasa ni za wanaume na wanawake kwa umri. Hili lilinifanya nijione sikuwa tayari na kwamba haukuwa wakati wangu kushiriki katika kampeni za uchaguzi. Nilisubiri tu kupiga kura siku ya uchaguzi. [Election campaign coverage on radio in Kenya in 2013 was mostly on male candidates. Female candidates who were covered on radio were not young like me. You would think politics is for men and older women only. This made me feel like I was not ready and that it was not my time to be involved in election campaigns. I just waited to vote on Election Day]. (Participant 1.1).

I did not like how the radio covered Martha Karua [the only female presidential candidate in the 2013 general election]. She was labelled as an "iron lady," like someone who was entering the male political space. Such labels make us [women] fear politics. (Participant 3.16).

One of the roles of radio during elections is peace advocacy. However, when electoral violence takes place, radio has a duty to ethically report. Radio coverage of political violence. Two

participants made the following remarks on how their exposure to political content depicting violence impacted their political participation in the 2013 polls:

From radio news, I heard about disturbing cases of violence against women occurring in some of the political rallies in parts of the country and even in my county of Kakamega. This made me fear attending political rallies. (Participant 3.19).

Although I did not personally experience physical violence during the 2013 general election campaigns, I heard a lot from the news on radio about how women were victims of it. I think such violence is meant to cause fear and discourage women from participating in the electoral process. (Participant 4.26).

The views expressed by participants under Theme 3.2 relate to those made under Theme 1.3 in Section 6.3.1 of this chapter, which focuses on political disinterest emanating from exposure to information considered adverse to politics and politicians on radio. This suggests that exposure to radio broadcasts which were perceived to be adverse to politics and politicians, including the political environment, deterred women voters' political interest and self-efficacy. The findings in this study on participants' perceptions towards election coverage on radio are corroborated by media malaise theory. The theory assumes that news media coverage of politics that focuses on negativity, conflict and violence, contributes to mistrust in politics and weakens political efficacy (Strömbäck & Shehata, 2010). Subsequently, this is expected to negatively impact women voters' political participation.

Taken together, the results from the qualitative data from the FGDs corroborate those from the quantitative data, which revealed that exposure to radio negatively predicted women voters' political self-efficacy during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. These study outcomes are in tandem with the results of research by Idid et al. (2017) that found a negative correlation between the use of radio and TV and voter efficacy among registered voters in Malaysia. The findings further concur with those from Afrobarometer surveys, in which Conroy-Krutz (2018)

notes a lack of evidence that listening to radio is associated with greater political efficacy in Africa.

Theme 3.3: Low Political Information Efficacy

Four (14.8%) of the 27 focus group participants raised views on the theme of low PIE. Inadequate PIE can reduce a person's feeling of political self-efficacy and electoral participation, as noted in the extracts below:

Kama mpiga kura wa mara ya kwanza, nilihisi kwamba taarifa nilizopata kutoka kwa redio kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa [2013] hazikunipa uwezo wa kutosha kuchukua hatua sahihi za kisiasa. Nadhani wapiga kura wengine wengi walihisi hivi kama mimi. [As a first-time voter, I just felt that the information I had acquired from radio about the [2013 general] election had not empowered me enough to take the correct political action. I think many other voters felt this way, like me]. (Participant 1.1).

To me, I think that to effectively participate in politics, you need sufficient information and knowledge. That is why, here in Kenya, we support candidates and political parties blindly. In my judgment, the level of political information I received about the 2013 [general] election was not sufficient for my political participation in this election. (Participant 3.14).

As expressed by Participant 3.14, inadequate political knowledge, which is reflected in the context of political self-efficacy is PIE. Inadequate IPE can deter internal political efficacy. This concurs with Kaid et al. (2007), who argue that PIE, which helps build up political self-efficacy, indicates an individual's confidence in the political knowledge possessed as being adequate for him or her to participate in politics. These authors note that political self-efficacy is linked to PIE.

Taken together, the patterns from the narratives that emerged from the FGDs demonstrate underlying reasons for the failure of exposure to radio to promote women voters' political self-efficacy. Consequently, this may have negatively affected women voters' political participation. Internal political efficacy is based on an individual's self-evaluation of

competence in participating in politics. Women voters' level of political self-efficacy was moderate, as presented in Table 6.1, and this may not have been sufficient to influence their political participation. This is because women require relatively higher levels of political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in politics (Shojaei et al., 2010). This calls upon radio programmes that can address women's political self-efficacy as a long-term programming strategy.

The second pathway in the parallel mediator model in Figure 6.1 under Section 6.2.2.2 focuses on the correlation between women voters' political self-efficacy and participation in the 2013 polls. For this model, the quantitative data revealed that the correlation between women voters' political self-efficacy and participation was not statistically significant. The analysis of data from the FGDs provides possible reasons that might have contributed to these correlational results. The reasons advanced by the participants in the FGDs fall under three themes, namely: (1) resource constraints inhibiting political self-efficacy translating into election campaign participation; (2) inadequate political self-efficacy; and (3) inhibiting social and political environment in Kenya.

Theme 4.1: Resource Constraints Inhibiting Political Self-Efficacy Translating into Election Campaign Participation

Voters require some resources to fully participate in politics. Such resources include, time, money, and election campaign skills. This means that the absence of these resources can constrain women voters' electoral participation. Fifteen (55.6%) of the 27 focus group participants identified limited resources as an obstacle to their political self-efficacy, translating into election campaign participation. The resources identified by the participants in the FGDs

were time, money and election campaign skills. Without these resources, political participation is negatively affected. On time constraints, a participant noted as follows:

Nina shughuli nyingi wakati mwingi, iwe nyumbani au katika biashara yangu. Haya yalilinizuia hata kama nilihisi kuwa tayari kwenda nje na kuhudhuria kampeni za uchaguzi zilizoandaliwa katika eneo langu. [I am busy most of the time, whether at home or in my business. This hindered me even if I felt ready to go out and attend election campaigns organized in my area]. (Participant 1.3).

A participant noted that financial obstacles impeded her electoral participation:

Bila pesa unaweza kufanya nini katika siasa zetu? Hata kama unahisi kuwa na uwezo wa kushiriki katika uchaguzi, hakuna mtu atakayekupa nafasi. Hii ni mbaya zaidi kwani wengi ni wanaume wanaodhibiti timu za kampeni za uchaguzi nchini Kenya. [Without money, what can you do in our politics? Even if you feel capable of being involved in it, nobody will give you a chance to. This is even worse since mostly it is men who control election campaign teams in Kenya]. (Participant 2.11).

The response by Participant 2.11 on inadequate financial resources concurs with scholars who have identified a lack of or inadequate financial resources as contributing to women voters' marginalization in electoral participation in Kenya (for example, Kasomo, 2012; Kenyatta, 2023). For instance, they may not be able to make financial contributions to election campaigns.

Participants 3.14 and 4.25 identified how inadequate election campaign skills affected their election campaign participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The following quotes confirm this finding:

During the political party nominations in 2013, I was involved in a campaign team for MCA candidate. Looking back, I can say we did not have the necessary political skills to run an effective election campaign. (Participant 3.14).

Campaigning is a 'game' that requires skills to win an election. I feel that the failure of many women in elections is because they do not possess these skills and have poor political networks to steer them politically. (Participant 4.25).

Resource constraints, as identified by the focus group participants, negatively impact women voters' political participation. This is confirmed by the findings from prior studies. For instance, marital responsibilities and poverty diminish women's political participation (Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Moehler & Conroy-Krutz, 2016; Sa'nchez-Vi'tores, 2019; Stefani et al., 2021). According to Verba et al. (1997), inadequate civic skills are another impediment to political participation.

Theme 4.2: Inadequate Political Self-Efficacy

In this study, political self-efficacy denotes a woman voters' perceived ability or competence to comprehend and effectively participate in politics during the 2013 polls. Twelve (44.4%) of the 27 focus group participants noted inadequate political self-efficacy as a barrier to their electoral participation in the 2013 polls. The following remarks confirm this:

Uchaguzi wa 2013 ulikuwa wa kwanza kwangu kushiriki baada ya kujiandikisha kama mpiga kura. Nilikuwa na uzoefu mdogo sana katika siasa na hii ilinifanya nijisikie kuwa sijajiandaa vya kutosha kujihusisha zaidi katika uchaguzi wa 2013. [The 2013 election was the first one for me to participate in after getting registered as a voter. I had very little experience in politics, and this made me feel inadequately prepared to get involved more in the election in 2013]. (Participant 1.1).

I am just an ordinary citizen, and, in this country [Kenya], the voice of most of us does not matter. Beyond voting, where I think my vote counts, it does not matter whether I got involved in other political activities or not. (Participant 3.16).

I was involved in a campaign team for an MP's [parliamentary seat at the constituency level] seat during the 2007 political party nominations for candidates [party primary elections] for my political party. We performed poorly. I discovered [that] politics is not easy. Besides voting, my experiences in 2007 taught me to disengage from active politics in 2013. (Participant 4.24).

The foregoing narratives demonstrate that the participants felt less politically efficacious to engage in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The implications of this for women voters' political participation are noted by Shoajei et al. (2010) and Verba et al. (1997). They acknowledge that political self-efficacy predicts political participation. This means that in the

absence of this, women voters may feel less confident to engage politically. The perspectives of participants in the FGDs on low political self-efficacy as an obstacle to women voters' electoral participation suggest that they felt not well prepared to engage in politics in 2013. They felt less experienced and held the view that their voice did not matter in the election.

Theme 4.3: Inhibiting Social and Political Environment in Kenya

With the enactment of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, the country underwent a political transformation in which affirmative actions were required to achieve gender equality in political participation. However, the social and political environment in the country still constrains women's political participation, as established by responses from the participants in FGDs in this study. These responses underscore the macro-environmental conditions in the political space that impede women voters' electoral participation. The socio-political environment in Kenya can be considered an obstacle to women voters' electoral participation. The qualitative data on this area of focus in the FGDs yielded two sub-themes. The sub-themes focused on: (1) inhibiting political environment; and (2) gendered socialization.

Sub-theme 4.3.1: Inhibiting Political Environment

Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants identified an inhibiting political environment as an obstacle to their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. From the FGDs, it emerged that the political environment in Kenya is driven by ethnicity and is male-dominated, with few political opportunities available for women. The following excerpts provide evidence of this:

Iwapo hautoki kwa jamii ya Waluhya ambao wanatawala katika kaunti hii [Kakamega County], ushiriki wako wa kisiasa unasalia kuwa mdogo. Nina hakika kutengwa sawa kwa kabila kunatokea kwingineko nchini Kenya ikiwa ninyi ni wachache. [If you are not from the Luhya that dominates this county [Kakamega County], your political participation remains limited. I am sure the same ethnic isolation happens elsewhere in Kenya if you are in the minority]. (Participant 2. 11).

Men dominate politics in Kenya, as their decisions matter for who gets elected and even which political party activities one can engage in during election campaigns. So, until women have a seat at the political table with men, our political participation will remain low, regardless of women's capabilities. (Participant 4.25).

The views expressed by Participant 2.11 concur with those of Kuenzi and Lambright (2005), who note that politics in Africa is mainly shaped by the considerations of patronage and ethnic mobilization agents. The narratives from Participants 2.11 and 4.25 are supported by the OMA framework, which recognizes that participation in a given behaviour is likely to occur when one gets the opportunity to engage in it (Luskin, 1990).

Sub-theme 4.3.2: Gendered Socialization

Eight (29.6%) of the 27 focus group participants identified gendered socialization as an impediment to women voters' political participation. On this obstacles, two participants said as follows:

When I wanted to join a political lobby group for one of the candidates in my ward [CAW], my mother discouraged me from doing so. She told me that politics was not good for a young, educated girl like me, as I could get verbally abused, and it could also bring shame to the family. This saddened me, as I felt like I had what it took to help my preferred candidate win the election. (Participant 3.20).

As a woman, I am so busy with family responsibilities that I do not think I could have had spare time to engage in more political parties during the 2013 general election. The best I did was to go out and vote on Election Day, as my polling station was near my homestead. (Participant 3.21).

The gendered nature of elections contributes to women's marginalization in politics and is deeply rooted in the social or cultural environment in Kenya (Kasomo, 2012; Okello, 2010). The remarks from Participants 3.20 and 3.21 concur with the empirical literature. Marital or family responsibilities, which are largely taken up by women in Africa, are identified as a hindrance to women's political participation (Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Moehler & Conroy-

Krutz, 2016; Sa´nchez-Vi´tores, 2019). These responsibilities disadvantage women’s political participation more than men’s.

6.4 Objective 3: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The third objective of this study sought to determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. To unpack the results of this objective, the pathways from exposure to radio to political interest and then exposure to radio and political self-efficacy were examined. Further, the pathways from political interest and political self-efficacy to political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County were examined.

Table 6.3 indicates that the quantitative findings were corroborated by the qualitative results regarding the third objective of this research. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings revealed that political interest intervened in the correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation. However, this was not the case for political self-efficacy. Despite this, there was one notable difference between the quantitative and qualitative findings. The quantitative results demonstrated a positive correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political interest. While concurring with this, the qualitative data further revealed that exposure to radio decreased political interest among some of the participants in the FGDs. This was a result of being exposed to information on radio that they considered to be adverse to politics and politicians.

The results on political interest as a mediator in this research concur with the tenet of political participation, while those on political self-efficacy do not. According to political mobilization theory, the use of news media is considered to have indirect effects on political participation

because it stimulates political attitudes (Flanagan, 1996). The indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation through political interest as established in this research is consistent with the results from past studies, which have established that voters’ use of news media positively predicts political interest, which subsequently facilitates their political participation (Chang, 2007; Jung, 2010; Rai, 2011; Uwem & Opeke, 2015). These results and those established in the current study demonstrate the mediating role of political interest in the nexus between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation.

Table 6.3: Triangulated Results on Political Attitudes as Mediators in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Observation
Political interest positively intervened in the correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. However, political self-efficacy had no such intervening effect.	Women voters’ narratives from the FGDs affirm the contribution of exposure to radio to women voters’ political interest, as reflected in themes on voter education and entertaining elections on radio. Political interest, in turn, enhanced women voters’ political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The narratives from the participants indicated that women voters’ exposure to radio adversely affected their political self-efficacy. It was also found that political self-efficacy could not promote women voters’ electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.	Both the quantitative and qualitative results confirm that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was intervened by political interest but not internal political efficacy. However, they differ slightly. The quantitative results demonstrated a positive correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political interest. Despite this, narratives from some of the participants in FGDs revealed that exposure to information on radio that they considered adverse to politics and politicians contributed to women voters’ political disinterest.

The results from this study, as summarized in Table 6.3, established that political self-efficacy could not mediate the positive influence of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This could be attributed to women voters’ level of political self-efficacy, which was found to be moderate as presented in Section 6.2.1 of this chapter ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.09$). This may have been insufficient to boost their political

participation because women require relatively higher levels of political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in politics (Shojaei et al., 2010). This underscores a gendered dimension, as women's long-term political marginalization makes them believe they need higher levels of political competencies compared to men.

The findings on the intervening effect of political interest and self-efficacy on women voters' political participation are clear when the pathways relating to these variables are considered. First, the quantitative data from the parallel multiple mediators' model established a statistically significant positive correlation between exposure to radio and political interest. This finding aligns with the argument in political mobilization theory that the use of news media has indirect effects on political participation because it stimulates political attitudes (Flanagan, 1996). The finding is consistent with the results from research conducted in Nigeria and Uganda by Didiugwu et al. (2014) and Conroy-Krutz (2018), respectively. The studies revealed a positive correlation between the frequency of listening to radio and political participation in both countries.

The data from the qualitative phase corroborate the results of this research, as they link exposure to radio with political interest. It was established from the FGDs that exposure to radio helped raise the election campaign interest of women voters through voter education information and entertaining election content broadcast on radio. Despite this, it also emerged that exposure to radio that adversely covered politics and politicians contributed to a decrease in women voters' political interest in the 2013 general election campaigns.

Second, the results from parallel multiple statistical analyses, revealed that women voters' political interest and participation were found to be positively correlated. This is consistent

with the results from prior studies that have established a positive correlation between women's political interest and participation in developing democracies (for example, Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Rai, 2011). The positive correlation between women voters' political interest and participation as established in this study was corroborated by the findings from the qualitative phase. The participants in the FGDs noted that their interest in the 2013 general election campaigns arising from their exposure to radio promoted their political participation through voting and election campaign activities. However, they were of the view that resource constraints in terms of time and money impeded this. This is a gendered dimension because women, as opposed to men, participate less in politics due to resource constraints, gendered roles in society, and the dominance of men in politics (Kasomo, 2012; Mwatha et al., 2013; Stefani et al., 2021, Verba et al., 1997). Through FGDs, this study was able to unravel the gender dynamics that impeded women voters' political participation.

Third, the results from the quantitative phase focusing on the parallel multiple mediators' model established a negative correlation between exposure to radio and political self-efficacy. This is in tandem with the results of a negative correlation established between the use of radio and TV and voter efficacy among registered voters in Malaysia (Idid et al., 2017). The participants in the FGDs were of the view that exposure to poorly packaged and inadequate voter education on radio and perceived adverse election coverage of female candidates affected their political self-efficacy. Participants in the FGDs further identified the political campaign environment as a contributing factor to their limited political self-efficacy. For instance, violence discourages women from attending election campaign meetings or rallies in Kenya (Kenyatta, 2023; Ndubi, 2020). Electoral violence in Kenya is gendered, as the most affected are women compared to men (Bouka et al., 2019; Kenyatta, 2023). Low political PIE was also identified as an impediment to women voters' political self-efficacy.

Finally, the findings, from the parallel multiple mediation analysis revealed that the correlation between women voters' political self-efficacy and participation was not statistically significant. The results from the qualitative phase provide some of the reasons that could account for this. The failure of political self-efficacy to translate into electoral participation was attributed to various obstacles identified by the participants in the FGDs. For instance, they identified resource constraints, inadequate political self-efficacy and inhibiting social and political environments. Some of the resource constraints identified by the participants in the FGDs were time, money and election campaign skills. Inadequate political self-efficacy is a hindrance to women's political participation, as Shoajei et al. (2010) acknowledge that women, as opposed to men, require higher levels of political self-efficacy before deciding to participate in politics. The political environment was also considered to be male-dominated. Further, gendered socialization leads women to take up domestic or household responsibilities, which diminishes their time and space for political participation.

The results of the parallel multiple mediation analysis demonstrate that when political interest and self-efficacy were concomitantly tested for their intervening effect on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County, only political interest turned out to be a mediator. These findings thus make a significant methodological contribution to political communication research. They demonstrate the significance of testing political attitudes such as political interest and self-efficacy concomitantly when assessing media effects on political participation. The qualitative results in this study provide the challenges that impeded the intervening role of political interest in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MEDIATING ROLE OF THE FREQUENCY OF INTERPERSONAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE CORRELATION BETWEEN WOMEN VOTERS' EXPOSURE TO RADIO AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2013 POLLS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses quantitative and qualitative results on whether, or not, women voters' frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns played a role in the correlation between their exposure to radio and political participation in the polls in Kakamega County. The chapter first focuses on the quantitative findings based on the data collected from the survey questionnaire. This is followed by qualitative results obtained from the data in FGDs. The chapter then concludes by triangulating the quantitative and qualitative findings.

7.2 Quantitative Results on the Mediating Role of the Frequency of Face-to-Face Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

The fourth and final objective of this research examined the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This section, therefore, presents and discusses quantitative findings on this objective under two sub-sections. First, is the frequency of face-to-face political conversations about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns among women voters in Kakamega County. Second, the frequency of face-to-face political conversations as a mediator in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

7.2.1 Frequency of Face-to-Face Political Discussions about the 2013 General Election Campaigns Among Women Voters in Kakamega County

A total of 209 (56.2%) of the respondents in this study indicated that they used the political news obtained from radio broadcasts to engage in face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. This research outcome concurs with the results from three surveys conducted in Kenya by Afrobarometer that have demonstrated gender disparities in engagement in interpersonal political discussions. The surveys have established that, compared to male participants, female respondents were less engaged in talking about political matters (Afrobarometer, 2014, 2016, 2019). The 209 survey respondents were asked to indicate their frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns with their family or friends (Appendix I: Question 31b). Their responses were coded on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1(never) to 5 (always), where the greater the score, the higher the frequency of engaging in face-to-face political discussions. For this study, a mean score below 2.34 was considered low, from 2.34 to 3.66 moderate, and from 3.67 to 5.00 was considered high.

The research found that women voters' frequency of face-to-face political conversations about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns was moderate because its mean score was 2.85 ($SD = 0.03$). A plausible reason for this result could be the theoretical explanation of UGT that audience members get exposed to news media to satisfy their social gratifications (Katz, et al., 1974; Kim & Kim, 2007; Morey & Yamamoto, 2019). The results in Section 4.4.2 of Chapter Four of this research established that women voters' drive to seek to satisfy their social utility gratifications from exposure to radio was low ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 0.87$). Social gratifications relate to individuals getting and retaining mediated political news so that they can use it in discussions with others (Ahmed, 2011; McQuail, 2010). The study findings, therefore, suggest that women

voters might not have been strongly motivated by their desire to access political news from radio to use the information in their everyday political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns.

7.2.2 Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Simple mediation analysis was used in this research to examine the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. Before this analysis, the correlations between the main study variables in the simple mediator model were examined at a bivariate level using Pearson's correlation. Rea and Parker's (2014) interpretation of the values for Pearson's correlation was used as follows: 0 = no correlation; .01 to .09 = negligible correlation; .10 to .29 = low correlation; .30 to .59 = moderate correlation; .60 to .74 = strong correlation; .75 to .99 = very strong correlation; and 1.00 = perfect correlation. The correlation results are presented and discussed next in Section 7.2.2.1 of this research.

7.2.2.1 Correlation Matrix for the Simple Mediation Model

The survey results in Table 7.1 reveal that there was a statistically significant, strong and positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 Kenya general election, $r = .728$, $p < .001$. This suggests that women voters in Kakamega County who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to participate in the 2013 Kenya general election than those who were less exposed to it.

Table 7.1: Correlation Matrix of the Variables in Simple Mediation Model for the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions

	1	2	3	M	SD
1 Exposure to radio	1.00			16.44	13.46
2 Frequency of interpersonal political discussions	.168*	1.00		2.85	0.03
3 Political participation	.728**	.135*	1.00	3.53	2.34

Note: 1 represents the predictor, 2 denotes the mediator and 3 indicates the criterion.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

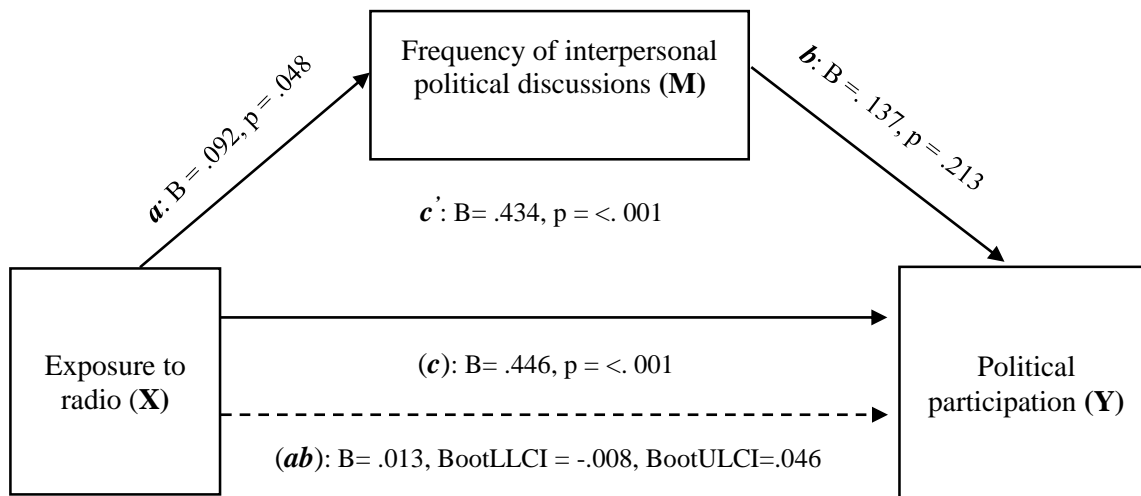
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As gleaned from Table 7.1, it was determined that there was a low correlation between the following pairs of variables: (1) exposure to radio and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions ($r = .168, p < .001$); and (2) frequency of interpersonal political conversations and electoral participation ($r = .135, p < .001$).

7.2.2.2 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via Face-to-Face Political Conversations

Simple mediation Model 4 in the PROCESS Macro for SPSS Version 3.2.0.1 was used to examine the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters’ exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. In the simple mediation analysis, exposure to radio ranging from 0 to 56 hours per week and political participation ranging from 0 to 8 electoral activities were entered as predictor and outcome variables, respectively. The mediating variable considered in this analysis was the frequency of interpersonal political discussions. Control variables entered into the simple mediator model were socio-demographics (age, marital status, level of education, household income and residential location), political orientation (political affiliation and partisanship) and use of other news media (TV, printed newspapers, the Internet and mobile phones via SMS or calls). The direct effect in the simple mediator model presented in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 denotes the pathway for the influence of exposure to radio on women voters’

political participation when the frequency of in-person political discussions and control variables were taken into account. A conceptual diagram of the simple mediator model is presented in Figure 3.3 in Chapter Three of this research.



Note: The dotted line represents the indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation when the frequency of interpersonal political talk is included as a mediator. *X* denotes a predictor, *M* represents the mediator and *Y* indicates the criterion, *a* is the effect of exposure to radio on the frequency of interpersonal political discussions, *b* is the effect of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions on political participation, *c*’ is the direct effect of exposure to radio on political participation and *c* is the total effect of exposure to radio on political participation. Socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media were included as control variables but are not visually represented in the model. Level of significance, $\alpha = .05$. Unstandardized regression coefficients reported.

Abbreviations: B=Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

Figure 7.1: Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women Voters’ Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

In Figure 7.1, an indirect effect, which is crucial for inferring a mediational effect, represents the pathway for the influence of exposure to radio on women voters’ political participation via the frequency of interpersonal political conversations while holding the control variables constant. The summation of the direct and indirect effects generates the total effect. The interpretation of the results from the simple mediator model was based on the output of indirect

effects. As per the statistical reporting approach by Hayes (2022), this study also reports the direct and total effects of the simple mediation analysis.

The results from the simple mediation analysis from PROCESS Macro Model 4 are based on 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at 95% confidence intervals, with a p-value of .05. Bootstrapping was applied to establish the indirect or mediating effects that this research sought to determine. Mediation occurs if the indirect effect is statistically different from zero, meaning that both BootLLCI and BootULCI contain either positive or negative values but not both values.

Table 7.2: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters’ Political Participation in the 2013 Polls Via the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions

Model: Exposure to radio → Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions → Political Participation					
Paths	Pathway	Coefficients			
		B	SE	t	p
a	Effect of exposure radio on the frequency of interpersonal political discussions	.092	.052	1.762	.048
b	Effect of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions on political participation	.137	.109	1.251	.213
c'	Direct effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.434	.067	6.437	< .001
c	Total effect of exposure to radio on political participation	.446	.067	6.685	< .001
Indirect effects		Bootstrap Estimate		95% CI	
		Effect	SE	LLCI	ULCI
ab	Indirect effect of exposure to radio on political participation via interpersonal political discussions	.013	.014	-.008	.046

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors and confidence intervals were computed using 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples at a 95% confidence level, $\alpha = .05$. Model takes into account control variables (socio-demographics, political orientation and use of other news media). Unstandardized regression coefficients were reported.

Abbreviations: B=Unstandardized regression coefficient; SE=Standard Error; CI= Confidence interval; BootLLCI= Bootstrapping Lower Limit Confidence Interval; BootULCI: Bootstrapping Upper Limit Confidence Interval.

Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 reveal that holding the control variables constant, there was a statistically significant and positive effect of exposure to radio on the frequency of face-to-face

political conversations (Path *a*: $B = .092$, $SE = .052$, $p = .048$). This finding concurs with past studies whose results reveal that exposure to the news media promotes face-to-face political discussions (Alami, 2017; Cho et al., 2009; Didiugwu et al., 2014; Flanagan, 1996). This finding can be explained through Flanagan's (1996) political mobilization theory. The theory postulates that the use of news media increases people's inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks. In addition, the positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions can be explained by UGT. The theory identifies social utility gratifications as drivers of the use of news media (Katz et al., 1974; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). Social utility gratifications entail obtaining news and storing it in memory for later use in face-to-face political conversations.

Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 indicate that taking into account exposure to radio and the control variables, the effect of the frequency of face-to-face political conversations on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was not statistically significant (Path *b*: $B = .137$, $SE = .109$, $p = .213$). This suggests that women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions could not influence their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The level of women voters' frequency of face-to-face political conversations, which was established in Table 7.1 as being moderate, might not have been adequate to enhance their electoral participation.

The outcome of an insignificant correlation between women voters' interpersonal political conversations and electoral participation in this study is consistent with the social logic of demobilization of interpersonal political conversations (Mutz, 2002; Partheymüller & Schmitt-Beck, 2012). A pre-post panel survey of the voting-age population in GLES of the 2009 German Federal Election established that respondents who talked about politics with those not

intending to vote (non-voters) were turned off from electoral politics (Partheymüller & Schmitt-Beck, 2012). This suggests that by frequently engaging in interpersonal political conversations, the study participants might have been exposed to demobilizing information from non-voters. Subsequently, this may have deterred their political participation, especially in voter turnout.

Mutz (2002) notes that there is fear among people about taking political actions that may threaten social relationships and harmony with those with whom they are involved in interpersonal political discussions. This implies that women voters exposed to demobilizing political information from their social network members who were not engaged in certain political activities during the 2013 polls were more likely to follow suit and not participate in them. This situation consequently has implications for the mediating role of the frequency of face-to-face political conversations in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. Despite the foregoing, the finding of an insignificant correlation between women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions and electoral participation deviates from some other studies, which reveal a positive effect (for example, Jung, 2010; Miao, 2019; Richardson, 2003). Given this contradiction, the researcher probed participants in the FGDs on how interpersonal political discussions might have influenced their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

Mediation occurs when the indirect effect is significantly different from zero. Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 reveal that based on 5,000 bootstrap samples at 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals, the indirect effect of exposure to radio on women voters' frequency of face-to-face political discussions was not significant because it was not entirely above zero (Path *ab*: $B = .013$, $SE = .014$, $BootLLCI = -.008$ to $BootULCI = .046$). This suggests that the frequency of

interpersonal political conversations could not mediate the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County after statistically considering the effect of control variables. In other words, the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' participation in the 2013 polls could not be transmitted via the frequency of their in-person political discussions.

The foregoing findings, therefore, suggest that the frequency of interpersonal political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns did not play any mediating role in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. This finding deviates from that found in a study by Mvukiyehe (2017). Focusing on the 2011 general election in Liberia, the research established a positive correlation between women's radio use and electoral participation. This correlation was mediated, by among others, by group dynamics through which women discussed political and electoral matters. A conceivable reason for the contradiction between the research by Mvukiyehe (2017) and the current one could be the group design used in the study in Liberia as opposed to the current one. This design involved a target population of women involved in listening to a specific radio political programme in groups and gauging their interpersonal political discussions based on what they heard from radio. As Mvukiyehe notes, group dynamics provide a safe space for women to discuss political and electoral matters based on what they hear on radio. Further, Mvukiyehe's study considered both electoral and non-electoral forms of political participation in Liberia in a post-conflict era. However, the present study focused on conventional forms of electoral participation under a devolved political structure in Kenya.

The non-mediating role of the frequency of in-person discussions on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation is not supported by one of the tenets of

political mobilization theory. The tenet of the theory posits that the use of news media indirectly influences people's political involvement because it increases their inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996). The results obtained from the quantitative data in this research established a positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and the frequency of engaging in interpersonal political discussions. However, this, in turn, did not contribute to women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls. Despite this, the contradictions concur with scholars who acknowledge that the effects of the use of news media on political participation have yielded mixed and inconclusive results (Chang, 2017; Kipkoech, 2019; McQuail, 2010; Mbeke, 2010; Pang, 2020). To interrogate the quantitative findings established in this study, focus group participants were asked several questions. These questions covered the pathways from exposure to radio to interpersonal political discussions and subsequently face-to-face political conversations and political participation. These results are presented in Section 7.3 of this chapter.

As reflected in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2, exposure to radio positively directly influenced women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County, considering the frequency of face-to-face political conversations and control variables (Path c' : $B = .434$; $SE = .067$, $p < .001$). This suggests that a one-unit increase in exposure to radio contributed to a 43.4% rise in women voters' political participation, even after taking into account the effect of the frequency of face-to-face political conversations and control variables.

From the results in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2, it was further established that the total effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation was statistically significant when considering direct and indirect effects and also taking into account the effect of the control variables (Path c : $B = .446$, $SE = .067$, $p < .001$). This suggests that a variance of 44.6% in

women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County could be accounted for by the entire simple mediator model in Figure 7.1.

Taken together, the results from simple mediation analysis in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 indicate that exposure to radio could not indirectly influence women voters, political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County through its effect on their frequency of interpersonal political discussions. Therefore, there was no evidence for the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. The research findings suggest that women voters highly exposed to radio were more likely to frequently engage in face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election. However, this did not translate into women voters' political participation in the polls in Kakamega County. The results further suggest that exposure to radio positively influenced women voters' electoral participation, independent of its effect on their frequency of engaging in interpersonal political conversations about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns.

7.3 Qualitative Results on the Mediating Role of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Quantitative findings discussed in Section 7.2.2.2 of this chapter reveal that the frequency of interpersonal political conversations could not mediate the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls. These results were probed through various questions posed to the focus group participants using the moderator's guide (Appendix VII). The researcher asked participants whether, or not, they used the political news obtained

from radio to engage in face-to-face political conversations about the 2013 general election campaigns. Appendix IX lists themes and sub-themes that emerged from the FGDs.

Sixteen (59.3%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged using the political news accessed from the radio to engage in face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. The quantitative results presented in Section 7.2.2.2 of this chapter establish a positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and the frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. The qualitative data findings thus build on this by establishing how the political news that women voters obtained by listening to radio influenced their frequency of in-person political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns.

7.3.1 Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions During the 2013 Polls

Three themes emerged from the FGDs on how exposure to radio influenced women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns. These themes focus on the following: (1) the motivating role for face-to-face political discussions; (2) the agenda-setting role of radio; and (3) inadequate PIE.

Theme 1.1: Motivating Role for Face-to-Face Political Discussions

Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that the political news they were exposed to on radio motivated them to engage in face-to-face political discussions. The following quotes support this finding:

Wakati matokeo ya maoni ya wagombea urais yalipotolewa na kutangazwa kwenye radio, niliyajadili na marafiki zangu tulipokutana. [When opinion results on the presidential candidates were released and announced on radio, I discussed them with my friends when we met]. (Participant 1.5).

When engaging someone to discuss political issues or when someone else initiated such conversations with me, I could remember what was covered on radio. This helped me present my case or counter the other person's point of view if it was different from mine. (Participant 3.14).

The foregoing accounts from the participants underscore how exposure to political news on radio enhanced women voters' frequency of interpersonal political conversations about the 2013 general election campaigns. This is aligned with the tenet of political mobilization theory, which postulates that the use of news media increases people's inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996). According to UGT, audience members are active and they seek out media sources and content that best fulfill their needs (Katz et al., 1974). One such need is to satisfy their social utility gratifications. In this research, social utility gratifications entailed women voters' use of radio to obtain political news and store it in their memory for later use in face-to-face political conversations. The qualitative findings established in this study are also in tandem with empirical literature that has determined a positive correlation between the use of news media and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions (Eveland, 2004; Jung, 2010; Southwell & Yzer, 2007). Through the news media, the audience can obtain information that is useful in their face-to-face political conversations.

Theme 1.2: Agenda-Setting Role of Radio

Six (22.2%) of the 27 participants in the FGDs identified the agenda-setting role or function of radio. According to Didiugwu et al. (2014), the agenda-setting role of the news media helps people identify the key political issues in an election. The agenda-setting role of radio in interpersonal political discussions thus means that radio broadcasts provide the audience with information on trending topics or issues in politics and current public affairs. This is consistent with the agenda-setting theory, whose central idea is that the news media indicate to the public important issues, and from these, the public perceives them to be the most important issues

(Baran & Davis, 2020; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McQuail, 2010). This suggests that those involved in interpersonal political discussions pick the important issues to engage in from the news media, such as radio.

The trending issues or topics identified by women voters listening to radio were used in face-to-face political discussions. In other words, trending political topics or issues on radio formed the basis of in-person political conversations. The following excerpts confirm this position:

Katika mazungumzo mengi ya kisiasa mwaka wa 2013 niliyoshiriki, niliona kuwa tulichojadili kilikuwa kinalingana na mada au masuala yaliyotolewa kwenye redio na vyombo vingine vya habari. [In most political conversations in 2013 that I was involved in, I noticed that what we discussed was matching the topics or issues covered on radio and other news media]. (Participant 1.3).

Wakati wa mijadala yetu ya kisiasa, wakati fulani nilitumia habari za siasa za redio kuwasilisha hoja zangu kwa wengine kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013. [During our political discussions, I sometimes used the political news from radio to present my arguments to others over the 2013 general election.] (Participant 1.6).

Whenever a controversial political issue in Kakamega County was aired on radio, I could later raise it with my friends when we met to discuss the [2013general] election. (Participant 3.14).

Radio broadcasts generate a lot of debatable issues during elections, and when people meet, they discuss them. This was what I did. (Participant 3.15).

The preceding accounts from the participants in the FGDs underscore the agenda-setting role of radio in promoting women voters' engagement in face-to-face political discussions during the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This aligns with political mobilization theory, which posits that news media generate less obvious direct effects on politics via agenda-setting roles (Flanagan, 1996). This implies that by focusing on certain political issues, radio enabled the audience to pick out what was trending or important during the political season of the 2013 polls in Kenya. What was picked from the radio broadcasts became useful in the course of face-to-face political conversations.

Theme 1.3: Inadequate Political Information Efficacy

Five (18.6%) of the 27 focus group participants acknowledged that inadequate PIE impeded their engagement in face-to-face political discussions. According to Kaid et al. (2007), PIE indicates an individual's confidence that the political knowledge possessed is adequate for him or her to participate in politics. Participants said as follows:

Wakati mwingine huwezi tu kubishana na watu ambao wana elimu zaidi kuliko wewe. Hii ilinifanya niogope kushiriki katika kujadili siasa na watu wengi kwani ningeweza kufichua ujinga wangu. [Sometimes you cannot just argue with people who are more educated than you are. This made me fearful to engage in discussing politics with most people, as I could expose my ignorance]. (Participant 1.2).

Radio news programmes are rushed due to time limitations. This means that, though you may be tuned to radio, you do not understand all that is broadcast. So, you cannot even use what you get from radio to effectively engage others in political discussions. (Participant 3.18).

I shied away from discussing with others the [2013 general] election as I felt that I did not have enough information to do so. When discussing politics with others, you need to be more informed in order to raise your issues convincingly. (Participant 4.27).

It is evident from the foregoing that low PIE impedes women voters' frequency of engaging in face-to-face political conversations. Quantitative findings in Section 6.3.2 of Chapter Six of this research also identified low PIE as a barrier to women voters' building their political self-efficacy. As evidenced by the foregoing results, it emerged that exposure to radio promoted women voters' engagement in interpersonal political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election campaigns. The results from the qualitative data thus corroborate those from the survey data, as they both reveal the positive contribution of the use of radio to women voters' engagement in face-to-face political conversations. By incorporating the results from the FGDs, this research gives new insights into participants' perspectives on radio as a contributor to their frequency of interpersonal political discussions. For instance, low PIE was identified as an obstacle to the power of exposure to political news on radio to promote women voters' frequency of in-person political conversations.

7.3.2 Influence of the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 Polls

From the quantitative results in Section 7.2.2.2 of Chapter Seven of this thesis, it was found out that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls was not mediated by their frequency of interpersonal political discussions. From the FGDs, the researcher sought to establish the underlying reasons for these quantitative results. The study thus established from the participants in the FGDs whether, or not and how their frequency of in-person political discussions influenced their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The two contradictory themes that emerged from these discussions relate to the following: (1) the demobilization effect of interpersonal political discussions; and (2) the persuasive role of face-to-face political discussions.

Theme 2.1: Demobilization Effect of Interpersonal Political Discussions

On theme one, focusing on the demobilization effect of interpersonal political discussions, participants in the FGDs explained why such conversations deterred their political participation in the 2013 polls. The three sub-themes that emerged from the FGDs focus on: (1) political distrust; (2) fear of political participation; and (3) political incompetence.

Sub-theme 2.1.1: Political Distrust

Ten (37%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that what was discussed within their social networks was biased and inadequate to foster political trust and participation. For instance, one participant said:

Mazungumzo ya kisiasa yaliegemea upande wa watu kuwatetea wagombea waliowapendelea, hivyo chochote kilichojadiliwa hakikunisumbua sana katika harakati zangu za kisiasa. [The political conversations were biased with people defending their preferred candidates, so whatever was discussed did not bother me so much in my political actions]. (Participant 1.6).

The views of Participant 1.6 are consistent with those of scholars who acknowledge that political cynicism and distrust reduce political participation (for example, Flanagan, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000). This suggests that women voters' engagement in face-to-face political discussions could result in political distrust, and this may have deterred their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kenya.

Face-to-face political conversations did not predict women voters' electoral participation. The following quotes further underpin the sub-theme of political distrust as a demobilizing factor within the framework of face-to-face political discussions:

Nilikuwa nikizungumza na marafiki zangu ambao imani zao za kidini haziwaruhusu kujihusisha na siasa. Kwa hiyo, walinshawishi nisijihusishe na uchaguzi. [I was discussing this with my friends, whose religious beliefs do not allow them to engage in politics. So, they convinced me not to get involved in the election]. (Participant 2.11).

From our discussions with others, I just felt like my vote would not count as the [2013 general] election would be rigged, as was the case in 2007. (Participant 3.14).

I never engaged a lot in political discussions with others, so they could not change my level of political participation in the [2013 general] election. (Participant 4.23).

The demobilizing effect of face-to-face political conversations expressed by Participant 2.11 concurs with the social logic of demobilization proposed by Partheymüller and Schmitt-Beck (2012). In this proposition, engaging in political discussions with those not intending to be involved politically can deter electoral participation.

Sub-theme 2.1.2: Fear of Political Participation

Five (18.6%) of the 27 focus group participants noted that face-to-face political discussions created in them a fear of political participation in two ways. The first was the fear of being isolated from their social networks. Second, fear arose from in-person political discussions that focused on violent acts during the election campaigns. In this study, the frequency of engaging in interpersonal political discussions focused on conversations within the social networks of

family or friends. People in such networks might want to sustain them and would not have let their discussions of the 2013 general election campaigns interfere with their social relations.

According to Mutz (2002), diminished political participation arising from interpersonal political discussions is pegged to fear, among other issues. For instance, individuals cannot make political decisions and actions that may go against the will of a majority of the influential members in their social circles. On fear of isolation from family or friends as an impediment to women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls, participants in the FGDs remarked as follows:

I feared that if I supported or even voted for a candidate that my friends did not agree with, then they could discontinue our friendship. (Participant 3.21).

I could not allow myself to be isolated from my close family members or friends with whom we discussed politics. So, I supported and voted for candidates just as the majority of my family or friends did. (Participant 4.22).

Voting in Kenya is done through a secret ballot. However, individuals in close social networks may end up discussing who or which political party they voted for. It is such revelations that could emerge during face-to-face political conversations. Fear can arise from being isolated from a social network that an individual belongs to if one declares voting for a candidate or political party different from what the majority voted for in their social networks. An individual can either lie during face-to-face political discussions or simply align with others in stating who she voted for.

Fear arising from in-person political discussions that focus on violent acts can deter women voters' political participation. For instance, a participant in the FGDs said:

People would share stories about the violence they had witnessed at political rallies that they attended or heard about on the radio. This had a chilling effect on me. At my age [56-60 years], I feared attending any public political meetings [during the 2013 polls]. (Participant 4.23).

The effects of the foregoing narrative can be linked to the notion that exposure to political news media overemphasizing political conflicts increases political cynicism and distrust, and this reduces political participation (Flanagan, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000).

Sub-theme 2.1.3: Political Incompetence

Two (7.4%) of the focus group participants noted that the political discussions that they engaged in exposed their political incompetence when their arguments were challenged. For instance, a participant said:

Maoni yangu yalipopingwa na wale niliojadiliana nao, basi nilihisi kama sikuwa tayari kushiriki kikamilifu kisiasa. [When my views were challenged by those I discussed with, then I felt like I wasn't ready to be effectively politically involved]. (Participant 1.4).

The patterns that emerged from the foregoing sub-themes underscore how interpersonal political discussions deterred women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls. Face-to-face political conversations may not be intended to cause these negative effects on political participation. However, this may be part and parcel of their unintended effects or consequences. The qualitative data, as denoted by the emergent sub-themes, corroborate the findings of an insignificant correlation between women voters' in-person political discussions and electoral participation.

Theme 2.2: Persuasive Role of Face-to-Face Political Discussions

Contrary to the earlier theme (2.1), the second theme that emerged from the FGDs focused on the positive role of interpersonal political discussions. The political conversations played a persuasive role in their electoral participation in the 2013 polls. Seven (25.9%) of the participants in the FGDs acknowledged that through face-to-face conversations they were convinced of which candidates to vote for, and they also persuaded their social network

members to engage in the discussions on whom to vote. Below are the views of select participants on this:

In [political] discussions, you have to persuade others by getting to explain your views. Also, you listen to the arguments of others. This helped me decide on the presidential candidate to vote for in the [2013] polls. (Participant 3.15).

I had made up my mind on whom to vote for and which [political] party to support, so it did not matter to me what people told me during our conversations. However, I used the [political] discussions to sway others to my side. (Participant 3.20).

The persuasive role of face-to-face political discussions as identified in this study concurs with scholars who consider such conversations as platforms for political persuasion for those engaged in them (Conover et al., 2002; Morey & Yamamoto, 2019; Pennington & Winfrey, 2021). During the electioneering period, individuals can engage in political discussions to convince the electorate to support and vote for their preferred candidates, political parties and coalitions.

The findings from the FGDs on the frequency of in-person political discussions as a predictor of political participation offer some reasons for the insignificant statistical correlation between women voters' in-person political conversations and electoral participation as established under Section 7.2.2.2 in this thesis. The qualitative findings explain the quantitative results. It was found that the frequency of interpersonal political discussions did not mediate the positive influence of each of these dimensions on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This suggests that the effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political involvement in the 2013 polls was not transmitted via the frequency of face-to-face political discussions. By using qualitative data from the FGDs, the results from the quantitative data were explored to determine the underlying reasons. These reasons relate to the demobilization effect of interpersonal political discussions, entailing political distrust, fear of isolation and being exposed as politically incompetent. Despite this, some participants

acknowledged the persuasive role of face-to-face political discussions in their electoral participation. Through the conversations, they were convinced of which candidates to vote for and they also persuaded their fellow social network members on whom to vote.

7.4 Objective 4: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

This research examined the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. From Table 7.3, it can be noted that both the quantitative and qualitative findings established that though exposure to radio positively contributed to women voters' frequency of engaging in face-to-face political conversations, the discussions in turn did not influence their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. This implies that the frequency of interpersonal political discussions did not mediate the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation.

Despite the foregoing, the quantitative results from the simple mediation model in Figure 7.1 established that there was a statistically significant and positive effect of exposure to radio on the frequency of face-to-face political conversations. This is in tandem with past studies that have determined that exposure to the news media promotes face-to-face political discussions (Alami, 2017; Cho et al., 2009; Didiugwu et al., 2014). The foregoing study findings are consistent with the propositions of political mobilization theory and UGT. Political mobilization theory postulates that the use of news media increases people's inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996).

The results of a positive correlation between exposure to radio and interpersonal political discussions are also consistent with UGT. From the perspective of UGT, one of the motivations

for audience members' exposure to news media is social utility gratifications (Katz et al., 1974; Kim & Kim, 2007; McQuail, 2010). Social utility gratifications entail obtaining news and storing it in one's memory for later use in face-to-face political conversations. The low mean score ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 0.87$) for social utility gratifications established in Table 4.4 in Chapter Four could be one of the factors accounting for the low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions for the results here above.

Table 7.3: Triangulated Results on the Frequency of Interpersonal Political Discussions as a Mediator in the Correlation Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Observation
The frequency of interpersonal political discussions did not mediate the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.	The participants' narratives affirm the contribution of exposure to radio to women voters' frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns. It emerged from the FGDs that interpersonal political discussions demobilized women voters from political participation in the polls. However, some participants' narratives acknowledged the persuasive role of political discussions in promoting their electoral participation.	Both results confirm that women voters' exposure to radio was positively correlated with their frequency of interpersonal political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns. The face-to-face political conversations, in turn, did not influence their political participation in the polls in Kakamega County. Although the quantitative results indicate no positive correlation between women voters' frequency of face-to-face political discussions and electoral participation, some of the participants in FGDs acknowledged that from these conversations they were persuaded to engage politically.

The quantitative results from the simple mediation analysis further established that the effect of the frequency of face-to-face political conversations on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls was not statistically significant. The results from the qualitative phase revealed the demobilizing effect of face-to-face political conversations on women voters' electoral participation. This effect led to political distrust and fear of political participation among women voters. Further, the participants in the FGDs noted that the political discussions that they engaged in exposed their political incompetence when their arguments in such

conversations were challenged. Despite this, the results indicate that, as opposed to the quantitative results, the responses from some of the participants in the FGDs observed that interpersonal political discussions played a persuasive role in women voters' electoral participation.

The findings of a non-mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation deviate from one of the tenets of political mobilization theory. The theory postulates that news media use indirectly influences people's political participation as it increases their inclination to discuss politics with others in their social networks (Flanagan, 1996). The reasons that underpin the foregoing results were established from the responses in the FGDs. For instance, inadequate PIE among women voters and the demobilizing effect of face-to-face political conversations.

The qualitative data from the FGDs thus provides empirical evidence that explains the survey results. This demonstrates the significance of using MMR design in this research to unravel whether and how the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was transmitted or not transmitted via the frequency of interpersonal political discussions. This study made a methodological contribution to political communication research by using qualitative data to complement the quantitative data findings and vice-versa. The results from the FGDs provided the reasons that explain the statistical model. Despite this finding contradicting results in some past studies (for example, Cho et al., 2009; Jung, 2010; Southwell & Yzer, 2007), this leaves room for further research on the mediating effects of interpersonal political discussions on women voters' political participation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the key findings originating from the analysis and discussion in chapters four to seven as guided by the objectives of this study. The chapter also presents conclusions drawn from the major results, consistent with the research objectives. This is followed by recommendations that address the challenges arising from the findings, guided by the objectives of the study. Finally, the chapter provides suggestions for future research.

8.2 Summary of the Findings

The first objective of this study was to establish the direct effect of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The quantitative results of this study established a statistically significant low positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. This indicates that women voters' exposure to radio had a limited direct effect on their political participation in the 2013 polls in the county. Women voters who were highly exposed to radio were more likely to participate in political activities during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

The use of Cramer's V to measure effect sizes in bivariate analysis in this research provides new insights into the level or magnitude of the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and various forms of political participation in elections in Kenya. The correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and each of the eight forms of electoral participation targeted in this study ranged from relatively strong to strong. These forms of political participation

focused on election campaign activities and voting during the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

From the qualitative findings, the narratives of the participants in the FGDs established that radio played informational and advertising roles in promoting women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. However, it was noted that these roles were hampered by women voters' inadequate exposure to political news on radio, information focusing on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions contesting in the polls. Inadequate exposure to political news on radio was attributed to limited access to radio because of household financial constraints, gendered use of radio with males dominating, insufficient voter education and coverage of female candidates on radio.

The foregoing dimensions demonstrate gendered barriers to exposure to radio, underrepresentation of women in radio news and their political marginalization. Evidence from the secondary data also established that there was limited electoral coverage for female candidates compared with that for male contenders. Furthermore, male members of the family have greater control over the use of radio in households in Kenya.

Both the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study indicate that women voters highly exposed to radio were more likely to participate in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County than those with lower exposure to radio. Overall, the research findings provide evidence of the direct influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. Therefore, the results highlight the importance of radio in promoting women voters' political participation in Kakamega County during the 2013 polls.

In the second objective, this research assessed the mediating role of political knowledge in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The survey results showed that although the level of political knowledge of women voters was low, it played a positive mediating role in the correlation between exposure to radio and electoral participation in the 2013 polls. Women voters with high exposure to radio were more likely to have greater political knowledge, which, in turn, increased their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The conceptualization of political knowledge as a mediator in this research rather than a dependent or independent variable offered new insights into the mechanisms underlying the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation via political knowledge. The influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was thus transmitted via political knowledge. This implies that women voters' exposure to radio was related to their political participation in the 2013 polls through the mediating role of political knowledge.

It emerged from the qualitative findings in this research that by listening to political news radio, women voters learnt about the 2013 Kenya general election. The participants in the FGDs indicated that through radio they learnt about voter registration and register inspection, election timelines, candidates and political parties or coalitions participating in the polls, election campaigns and constitutional and statutory provisions on elections in Kenya. These results, therefore, support the quantitative findings on women voters' political learning as a result of exposure to radio. The qualitative findings further revealed that political knowledge was a driver of women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. It was found that the political knowledge that women voters gained from exposure to radio promoted

their election campaign participation and voting. Despite this, it emerged from the narratives of the participants in the FGDs that political learning from radio and the influence of political knowledge on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County faced some challenges. One of these challenges was inadequate exposure to political news on radio due to time constraints and radio programmes conflicting with the schedules of women's household chores. Another obstacle was the poor packaging of voter education content on radio. It was further identified that women voters' inattentiveness to radio broadcasts because of their household responsibilities hampered their political learning from these broadcasts.

Limited women voters' exposure to radio due to time constraints, conflicting broadcast programmes and inattentiveness to what was aired on radio because of household chores demonstrate the gendered nature of political knowledge acquisition. Women's roles at the household level thus impeded women voters' political learning from radio concerning the 2013 Kenyan polls. Furthermore, exposure to political news on radio depicting electoral violence affected women voters' political participation in the polls. The identification of the foregoing challenges provide insights into impediments to the full realization of the potential of political knowledge as a mediator in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. Overall, the quantitative and qualitative results revealed that exposure to radio contributed to women voters' political knowledge, which, in turn, enhanced their political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

The third objective of this study was to determine the intervening effect of political attitudes on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The survey findings established that political interest, but not internal political efficacy, positively mediated the influence of exposure to radio on

women voters' political participation in the 2013 polls in the county. Women voters with high levels of political interest were thus more likely to participate in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County as a direct result of their exposure to radio. Therefore, during the 2013 polls, exposure to radio increased women voters' political interest and subsequently electoral participation. However, the results demonstrate that women voters with high exposure to radio were more likely to feel less politically self-efficacious, which, in turn, undermined their political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County.

The use of a parallel mediator statistical model in this study, as demonstrated by the foregoing results, yielded new insights into the mechanisms through which exposure to radio influenced women voters' electoral participation when political interest and self-efficacy were concomitantly tested. The foregoing results, therefore, determined that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County was transmitted via political interest but not political self-efficacy.

The preceding quantitative results were corroborated with those of the participants in the FGDs. It was found that exposure to information on voter education and entertaining election coverage on radio boosted women voters' interest in the 2013 general election campaigns. This, in turn, contributed to their political participation through election campaigns and voting in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. It was further established that the mediating role of political interest was hampered by women voters' limited resources in terms of time, money and election campaign skills. The qualitative results also established that exposure to poorly packaged and inadequate voter education content contributed to the negative correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political self-efficacy. Further, contributing to this negative correlation was women voters' exposure to perceived adverse coverage of female candidates

and the political campaign environment on radio. It was also noted that women voters' low PIE contributed to their inadequate political self-efficacy and subsequently political participation.

The statistically insignificant correlation between women voters' political self-efficacy and electoral participation, as established from the parallel multiple mediators' statistical model in this study, was attributed to various factors from the results of the FGDs. For instance, limited financial resources, time and skills for election campaign participation and inadequate internal political efficacy among women voters in Kakamega County. Another barrier identified in this research was an inhibiting social and political environment. In a gendered social environment, females take on more domestic responsibilities and are socialized to believe that politics is the preserve of males. Household chores reduce the free time available for women voters to engage in politics. Furthermore, men dominate the political space, which leaves limited opportunities for women's electoral participation. The qualitative results of this research thus validated those from the survey. Both sets of findings demonstrate that exposure to radio negatively influenced women voters' internal political efficacy, and in turn, political self-efficacy did not correlate with their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County.

Impediments arising from gendered dimensions are evident in the foregoing qualitative results on the mediating role of political interest and self-efficacy in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and electoral participation. Limited resources (time, money and election campaign skills) identified as obstacles to political interest as a mediator are more prevalent among women than men. Adverse radio coverage of politics and politicians depicting stereotypes in Kenya is more widespread among women than men. Such coverage can contribute to women feeling less politically efficacious than men. The foregoing gendered dimensions contributed to low female voters' electoral participation in the 2013 polls. The

qualitative results established that the social and political environment was gendered in a way that impeded women's political participation. In Africa, women take on more domestic responsibilities and they socialized to believe that politics is for men. This limits the time available for them to engage politically. In addition, men dominate the political space compared to women, which leaves them with limited opportunities for electoral participation.

Finally, the research examined the mediating role of the frequency of interpersonal political discussions in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The quantitative findings established that the frequency of interpersonal political conversations with family or friends could not mediate the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' electoral participation. From the results of the simple mediator model in this research, it was established that although there was a positive correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and the frequency of face-to-face political discussions, these conversations did not influence their electoral participation in the 2013 polls. This indicates that although women voters highly exposed to political news on radio were more likely to be frequently engaged in interpersonal political discussions, this did not, in turn, translate into an increase in their political participation in the 2013 polls.

It emerged from the accounts of the participants in the FGDs that exposure to radio boosted women voters' frequency of face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns. First, the political news obtained from radio motivated women voters to engage in face-to-face political discussions about the election campaigns with their family or friends. Second, consistent with the agenda-setting function of the news media, women voters exposed to political news on radio became aware of the trending political topics or issues in the 2013

general election. Women voters then used these trending topics or issues as the basis for their face-to-face political conversations. However, women voters' inadequate PIE impeded their frequency of engaging in interpersonal political conversations.

The qualitative results further established the demobilizing effects of face-to-face political conversations on women voters' electoral participation. First, participants in the FGDs considered the discussions politically biased and inadequate to foster the political trust needed to promote their electoral participation. Second, in-person political discussions contributed to women voters adopting cues of political inaction from their family or friends for fear of being isolated. Finally, women voters' political incompetence, reflected in their arguments being challenged and defeated by fellow discussants, made them feel ill-equipped to engage in politics. Despite these constraints, it was established from the qualitative results that the persuasive role of in-person political conversations made some women vote for candidates supported by their family or friends with whom they discussed politics.

The quantitative and qualitative results in this study established that exposure to radio contributed to women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions. However, the demobilizing effects of these conversations impeded women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. However, a slight difference existed between the quantitative and qualitative results. The quantitative findings did not establish a significant positive correlation between women voters' frequency of interpersonal political conversations and electoral participation. However, from the qualitative findings, narratives from some of the participants recognized the persuasive role of face-to-face political conversations in enhancing their electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County. The next section presents

the conclusions drawn from the foregoing summary of research findings guided by the objectives of the study.

8.3 Conclusions

Given the foregoing findings, this research concludes that the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in elections is both direct and indirect, with the latter pathway mediated by political knowledge and interest, while internal political efficacy and the frequency of interpersonal political discussions do not mediate this effect. However, the direct and indirect effects are low, which challenges the effectiveness of radio in promoting women voters' political engagement. Further conclusions based on the objectives of the research are as follows:

For the first research objective, the study concludes that a positive but low correlation exists between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation. Women voters' inadequate exposure to radio and political news focusing on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions could be among the contributing factors to their being politically less informed and active members within the voting bloc of women. This contributes to women voters' marginalization in elective politics. The foregoing challenges are considered gendered, as women's political news consumption is low and female candidates are underrepresented in election coverage on radio.

Concerning the second objective of this study, the conclusion is that although women voters' political knowledge is low, it mediates the correlation between their exposure to radio and political participation. Political knowledge is thus an important resource for translating political news from radio into electoral participation among women voters. Despite this, the mediating

role of political knowledge in this correlation is hindered by gendered impediments to the use of radio, such as household chores and exposure to political news on radio considered adverse to politics, politicians and the election campaign environment. In addition, insufficient cognitive skills due to low levels of education and MIL diminish the influence of political knowledge on women voters' electoral participation. The foregoing obstacles are gendered as they are more dominant among women than men. The obstacles, therefore, impede the effectiveness of radio in enabling women voters learn from political news broadcast on radio and, subsequently electoral participation.

On the third objective, this research concludes that political interest, but not internal political efficacy, intervened in the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in elections. Therefore, election coverage on radio should be informative and politically interesting to satisfy women voters' information needs and promote their electoral participation. Political self-efficacy may be difficult to achieve due to exposure to adverse radio coverage of politics and politicians, limited voter education on radio and insufficient exposure of women voters to radio. Political self-efficacy takes a gendered dimension, as women feel less politically efficacious than men.

Finally, for research objective four, the study concludes that although exposure to radio promotes women voters' frequency of interpersonal political discussions, this, in turn, does not result in electoral participation. Women voters' limited engagement in interpersonal political discussions, coupled with the demobilizing effects of such conversations, impedes the mediating role of face-to-face political conversations in electoral participation. The demobilizing effects of interpersonal political discussions on women voters' electoral participation arise if the conversations are politically biased, inadequate to boost their political

trust, emphasize negative political frames and result in a person feeling politically incompetent. Moreover, if in-person political conversations are with people who are not ready to participate in politics, their non-participatory behaviour may be adopted to maintain social network relationships.

8.4 Recommendations

To harness the power of radio in promoting women voters' political participation in democratic elections, this research makes recommendations on policy, radio journalism and political communication practice. On objective one, the study recommends that the government should enhance the operations of radio stations and promote effective mediated political news consumption in Kenya. This can be achieved by implementing national broadcasting and MIL policies. Kenya lacks a national broadcasting policy; thus, its formulation and adoption can be useful in guiding the broadcasting industry under which the radio sub-sector operates. Within the framework of this research, a national broadcasting policy would focus on the civic, voter and political education roles of the broadcast media and guidelines on effective election coverage on radio within the lens of gender-sensitive reporting as a means of nurturing democracy. The policy guidelines should then be cascaded into the country's broadcasting legal and regulatory framework and MCK's guidelines for election coverage. The findings of this study further provide insights that can enrich radio stations' editorial policy guidelines on civic and voter education and election coverage in Kenya.

Kenya does not have a national MIL policy. The adoption of such a policy would ensure that an effective MIL programme and its implementation strategies are put in place. For instance, incorporating MIL into radio programming strategies, curricula for schools, tertiary institutions, universities and civic education programmes in the country. Such a policy would

enhance collaboration between news media institutions and other information providers, civic educators, educational institutions and other political stakeholders. The role of MIL is to facilitate audience awareness of the importance and functions of the news media in democracy. Further, MIL develops in people the competencies needed for assessing news media performance in their roles and functions. In addition, MIL equips individuals with news media use skills.

To address objective two, this research recommends that radio stations continually offer civic, voter and political education programmes tailored to women's information needs and advocate for the adoption of programming schedules that consider the challenges posed to women by gendered roles in society. Such programmes can broaden women voters' knowledge of politics and electoral participation. Civic, voter and political education programmes on radio should be offered throughout Kenya's five-year electoral cycle. Therefore, radio stations should conduct regular audience surveys and use the results to determine their audience characteristics, political information-seeking needs and behaviour. The results obtained from the audience surveys can be used by radio stations to design and package relevant and timely civic, voter and political education and current public affairs programmes in different radio formats and languages, including local ones such as Luhya. Such programmes can help increase women's use of radio and this can boost their political knowledge if the broadcasts focus more on issue-based informative and educational content on political issues and current public affairs.

On objective three, radio practitioners should, in partnership with political communication strategists, the government, IEBC and other civic educators, adopt targeted civic, voter and political education programming strategies. Such strategies should consider individual differences in the political knowledge, interest, self-efficacy and participation behaviours of

women voters. Radio practitioners should adhere to the Code of Conduct of Journalism Practice in Kenya and promote gender-sensitive coverage of elections and politics in general. Therefore, radio stations should continuously train their journalists on gender-sensitive reporting. MCK should also continually monitor radio stations to ensure they adhere to its Code of Conduct of Journalism Practice in Kenya and the guidelines for election coverage.

Finally, for objective four, it is recommended that radio practitioners and political communication strategists produce civic and voter education and political content that can stimulate interpersonal political discussions by focusing on issue-oriented coverage of elections. This can be done through, among others, newscasts and political talkshows, which most of the women voters identified as their preferred radio programmes for information on the 2013 Kenya general election.

8.5 Suggestions for Further Research

To address the gaps in the objectives and issues arising from the results and conclusions, this study makes the following suggestions for further research:

- (i). Given that this study was confined to women voters in Kakamega County, a similar research focusing on future general elections in Kenya should be conducted to cover multiple diverse counties across different regions of the country. This can be used to compare the results of future general elections conducted in Kakamega County with those from other counties in Kenya.
- (ii). This study relied on cross-sectional data that could not establish causality. To overcome this limitation, future studies should adopt a longitudinal survey design. By collecting data before and after a specific future general election or multiple polls, it would be

possible to infer causality between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in Kakamega County or other counties in Kenya.

- (iii). This research focused on the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation without conducting a content analysis of election coverage on radio. Therefore, it is recommended that, in the future, researchers conduct linkage studies involving content analysis and cross-sectional surveys. Linkage studies should be conducted in the immediate period preceding or coming closely after a general election to capture timely insights on the nexus between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in Kakamega County or other counties in Kenya.
- (iv). The results of this study did not establish internal political efficacy as a mediating variable. Therefore, the study recommends future research consider both internal and external political efficacy in assessing the mediating role of political efficacy in the correlation between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation in future general elections in Kakamega County or other counties in Kenya.
- (v). Given that the frequency of interpersonal political discussions was not established as a mediator between women voters' exposure to radio and political participation, there is a need for future research to delve into this aspect. In addition to the frequency of interpersonal political discussions, future studies should consider the number of participants within political discussion networks (network size), the closeness of ties and the heterogeneity of the discussants. Future studies should also consider the frequency of both online and offline political discussions among women voters to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how these interactions may mediate the correlation between their exposure to radio and political participation in Kakamega County or other counties in Kenya.

- (vi). The research focused on exposure to radio as an independent variable, whereas the use of other news media was considered a control variable. Therefore, this study, recommends future research consider exposure to radio, TV, printed newspapers, online news websites, social media and mobile phones via SMS or calls as independent variables. This approach can yield more comprehensive insights into the influence of exposure to different news media on women voters' political participation in elections.
- (vii). This study examined women voters' exposure to radio without focusing on specific categories of radio stations and programme genres. It is, therefore, recommended that a similar study focusing on future general elections be conducted in Kakamega County. Such research should target a specific category of radio stations (for example, public, commercial or private or community broadcasting services) and/or radio programme genres (for example, political talkshows and news and current affairs). This targeted approach can provide an in-depth understanding of how specific types of radio stations and/or programme genres can influence women voters' political participation.

REFERENCES

- Adegbola, O. & Gearhart, S. (2019). Examining the relationship between media use and political engagement: A comparative study among the United States, Kenya and Nigeria. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 1231–1251. Retrieved from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/10501/2592>
- African Union Commission (2013). *Report of African Union Election Observation Mission to the 4 March 2013 general election in Kenya*. Addis Ababa: African Union Commission. Retrieved from <https://au.int/en/documents/20130510/report-african-union-elections-observation-mission-4-march-2013-general-elections>
- Afrobarometer (2014). *Summary of results: Afrobarometer round 6 survey in Kenya*. Institute for Development Studies. Retrieved from http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Summary%20of%20results/ken_r6_sor_en.pdf
- Afrobarometer (2016). *Summary of results: Afrobarometer round 7 survey in Kenya*. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies. Retrieved from https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Summary%20of%20results/ken_r7_sor_eng.pdf
- Afrobarometer (2017). *Afrobarometer round 7 survey manual*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/survey_manuals/ab_r7_survey_manual_en1.pdf
- Afrobarometer (2019). *Summary of results: Afrobarometer round 8 survey in Kenya*. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies. Retrieved from https://www.afrobarometer.org/wpcontent/uploads/2022/02/afrobarometer_sor_ken_r8_en_2019.pdf
- Ahmed, M.A.K. (2011). *Students' exposure to political news on the Internet and political awareness: A comparison between Germany and Egypt* (Doctoral dissertation, Technical University of Dresden, Germany). Retrieved from <https://tud.qucosa.de/api/qucosa%3A25931/attachment/ATT-0/>
- Alami, A. (2017). *Social media use and political behaviour of Iranian university students as mediated by political knowledge and attitude* (Doctoral thesis, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia). Retrieved from
- Althaus, Scott L. & Tewksbury, D. H. (2007). *Toward a new generation of media use measures for the ANES. Report to the Board of Overseers, American national Election Studies*. Ann Arbor, MI: American National Election Studies. Retrieved from <https://electionstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/nes011903.pdf>
- Andersen, K., Bjarnøe, C., Albæk, E. & de Vreese, C. H. (2016). How news type matters: Indirect effects of media use on political participation through knowledge and efficacy. *Journal of Media Psychology*, 28(3), 111- 122. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-1105/a000201>

- Andersen, K., Ohme, K., Bjarnøe, C., Bordacconi, M. J., Albaek, E. & de Vreese, C. (2020). *Generational gaps in political media use and civic engagement: From Baby Boomers to generation Z*. New York, NY: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003111498>
- Anduiza, E., Gallego, A. & Jorba, L. (2012). Internet use and the political knowledge gap in Spain. *Revista Internationcional De Sociologia*, 70 (1), 129-151, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2010.01.18>
- Asiedu, C. (2012). Information communication technologies for gender and development in Africa: The case for radio and technological blending. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(3), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048511432606>
- Babbie, E. (2010). *The practice of social research* (12th Ed.). Belmont, Tenn.: Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton J. (2009). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford.
- Baek, M. (2009). Political communication systems and voter participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 376–393. Retrieved from <http://jpmarin27.pbworks.com/f/more+comm.pdf>
- Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & Defleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication Research*, 3(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009365027600300101>
- Barabas, J., Jerit, J., Pollock, W. & Rainey, C. (2014). The question(s) of political knowledge. *American Political Science Review*, 108 (4): 840-855. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000392>
- Baran, S. J. & Davis, D. R. (2020). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future* (8th Ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Barasa, G. N., Toili, W. & Runaku, J. (2017). The trend of women’s participation in politics in Kakamega Central District since independence. *Journal of Research in Business and Management*, 4(11), 34-41. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/3376221/The_Trend_of_Womens_Participation_in_Politics_In_Kakamega_Central_District_Since_Independence
- Bauer, J. J. (2014). Selection of errors of random route sample. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 43(3), 519-544. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124114521150>
- Benesch, C. (2012). An empirical analysis of the gender gap in news consumption. *Journal of Media Economics*, 25(3), 147-167. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08997764.2012.700976>
- Bennett, L. L. M. & Bennett, S. E. (1989). Enduring gender differences in political interest: The impact of socialization and political dispositions. *American Politics Quarterly*, 17(1) 105-122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X8901700106>

- Beyer, A., Knudsen, E., Andersen, K. & Shehata, A. (2021). Political media effects in a Nordic perspective. In E. Skogerbo, Ø. Ihlen, N. N. Kristensen, & L. Nord (Eds.), *Power, communication, and politics in the Nordic countries* (pp. 347–363). Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg. <https://doi.org/10.48335/9789188855299-17>
- Bosire, K. & Lardner, G. H. (2022). *How to report on the general elections 2022: A resource book for journalists*. Kisumu: Grand Wave Consortium.
- Bouka, Y., Berry, M.E. & Kamuru, M. M. (2019). Women’s political inclusion in Kenya’s devolved political system. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 13(2), 313-333. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2019.1592294>
- Brady, H. (1999). Political participation. In J. P. Robinson, P.R. Shaver, L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.). *Measures of political attitudes* (pp. 737-801). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic content analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101.
- Canayaz, M. (2015). *Voter turnout in the 2009 European elections: Media coverage and media exposure as explanatory factors* (Doctoral dissertation, Sabanci University, Turkey). Retrieved from http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/34051/1/MarketaCanayaz_10083180.pdf
- Carreras, M. (2018). Why no gender gap in electoral participation? A civic duty explanation. *Electoral Studies*, 52, 36-45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.01.007>
- The Carter Centre (2013). *Observing Kenya’s March 2013 national election: Final report*. Atlanta, GA: Author. Retrieved from http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/Election_reports/kenya-final-101613.pdf
- Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya (2015). *Youth in political party participation in Kenya: Baseline survey*. Nairobi: Author.
- Chan, M., Hu, P. & Mak, M. K. F. (2020). Mediation analysis and warranted inferences in media and communication research: Examining research design in communication journals from 1996 to 2017. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020961519>
- Chang, C. (2007). Politically mobilizing vs. demobilizing media: A mediation model. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 17(4), 362-380. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980701636985>
- Chang, W. (2017). Media use, democratic values and political participation: Empirical evidence from Taiwan. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 18(3), 385-406. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1468109917000081>

- Cho, J., Shah, D. V., McLeod, D. M., Scholl, R. M. & Gotlieb, M. R. (2009). Campaigns, reflection and deliberation: Advancing an O-S-R-O-R model of communication effects. *Communication Theory*, 19(1), 66-88. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2008.01333.x>
- Commonwealth Secretariat (2013). *Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group: Kenya general election 2013, 4 March 2013*. Retrieved from <http://thecommonwealth.org/sites/default/files/newsitems/documents/KenyaCOGFinalReport.pdf>
- Communications Authority of Kenya (2020). *Audience measurement and industry trends report for Q2 2019-2020*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved from <https://ca.go.ke/sites/default/files/202306/Audience%20Measurement%20and%20Broadcasting%20Industry%20Trends%20Report%20Q1%202019-2020.pdf>
- Communications Authority of Kenya (2022). *Broadcasting Report: Baseline survey for broadcasting services in Kenya March 2022*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.ca.go.ke/sites/default/files/202306/Baseline%20Survey%20for%20Broadcasting%20Services%20in%20Kenya%20Report%202022.pdf>
- Conover, P. J., Searing, D. D. & Crewe, I. M. (2002). The deliberative potential of political Discussion. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32, 21-62.
- Conroy-Krutz, J. (2018). Media exposure and political participation in a transitional African context. *World Development*, 110, 224-242. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.05.002>
- Corrigall-Brown, C. & Wilkes, R. (2014). Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation. *Social Science Journal*, 51(3), 408-421. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2014.03.009>
- County Government of Kakamega (2013). *Kakamega County development profile*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- County Government of Kakamega (2018). *Kakamega County integrated development plan, 2018-2022*. Kakamega: The Department of Finance, Economic Planning & Investments.
- County Government of Kakamega (2023). *Kakamega County integrated development plan, 2023-2027*. Kakamega: The Department of Finance, Economic Planning & Investments.
- Creswell, J.W. & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Creswell, J. W. & Plano Clark, V. L. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd Ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

- de Vreese, C. H. & Neijens, P. (2016). Measuring exposure in a changing communication environment. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 10(2-3), 69-80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2016.1150441>
- Delli Carpini, M. X. (2000). Gen.com: Youth, civic engagement and the new information environment. *Political Communication*, 17(4), 341-349. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600050178942>
- Delli Carpini, M. X. & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Didiugwu, I. F., Ekwe, O.C., Apeh, A.C. & Odoh, V. O. (2014). Dealing with our apathy through the radio: Analysis of the role of FRCN NN ϕ KO Umunwanyi programme in influencing women to participate in politics. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 32, 70-81. Retrieved from <https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/18766/18692>
- Dim, E. E. & Asomah, J. Y. (2019). Socio-demographic predictors of political participation among women in Nigeria: Insights from Afrobarometer 2015 Data. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 20(2), 91-105. Retrieved from <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol20/iss2/7>
- Dimitrova, D. V., Shehata, A., Strömbäck, J. & Nord, L. W. (2014). The effects of digital media on political knowledge and participation in election campaigns: Evidence from panel data. *Communication Research*, 41(1), 95–118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650211426004>
- Early, A. S., Smith, E. L. & Neupert, S. D. (2022). Age, education and political involvement differences in daily election-related stress. *Current Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-02979-2>
- Edegoh, L. O. N., Ezeh, N. C. & Anunike, O. W. (2015). Achieving rural political participation through the radio: A study of Idemili North and South local government areas in Anambra State, Nigeria. *Developing County Studies*, 5(19), 1-9. Retrieved from <http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/DCS/article/view/26622/27271>
- European Union Observation Mission to Kenya [European Union] (2013a). *European Union Election Observation Mission to Kenya General Election 2013: Final Report*. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/212634/Kenya-general-elections_4-March-2013_European-Parliament-report.pdf
- European Union Observation Mission to Kenya [European Union] (2013b). *European Union Election Observation Mission Kenya 2013. Media monitoring results for the period between 31 January and 2 March 2013*. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eucom/missions/2013/kenya/pdf/eucom_kenya_media_monitoring_results_partial_en.pdf
- Eveland, W. P. (2004). The effect of political discussion in producing informed citizens: The roles of information, motivation and elaboration. *Political Communication*, 21 (2), 177-193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600490443877>

- Eveland, W. P., Morey, A. C. & Hutchens, M. J. (2011). Beyond deliberation: new directions for the study of informal political conversation from a communication perspective. *Journal of Communication*, 61(6), 1082-1103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01598.x>
- Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers-Kenya (2013). *Key gains and challenges: A gender gender audit of Kenya's 2013 election process*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Kenya-Gender-Audit-2013-Electoral-Process.pdf>
- Finkel, S. E. & Opp, K. D. (1991). Party identification and participation in collective political action. *Journal of Politics*, 53(2), 339-371. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2131763>
- Flanagan, C. S. (1996). The media and quality of political participation in Japan. In J. S. Pharr & S.E. Krauss (Eds.), *Media and politics in Japan* (pp. 277-312). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Fraile, M. & Gomez, R. (2017). Why does Alejandro know more about politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American gender gap in political knowledge. *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123414000532>
- Galava, D. (2018). From watchdogs to hostages of peace: The Kenyan press and the 2013 general election. In H. M. Mabweazara (Ed.). *Newsmaking cultures in Africa: Normative trends in the dynamics of socio-political & economic struggles* (pp. 313-334). London: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54109-3>
- Gerbner, G. & Gross, L. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. *Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 172-199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1976.tb01397.x>
- Gil de Zúñiga, H. & Diehl, T. (2018). News finds me perception and democracy: Effects on political knowledge, political interest and voting. *New Media & Society*, 21(6), 1253-1271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818817548>
- Gillwald, A., Milek, A. & Stork, C. (2010). *Towards evidence-based ICT policy and regulation regulation: Gender assessment of ICT access and usage in Africa. Research ICT in Africa* (Vol.1 policy paper 5). Retrieved from <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/39064/128372.pdf>
- Gitonga, A. (1991). *The science of election campaign: How to win elections*. Nairobi: Cosmopolitan Publishers Ltd.
- Guo, Z. & Moy, P. (1998). Medium or message? Predicting dimensions of political sophistication. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 10(1), 25–50. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/10.1.25>
- Gunner, L., Ligaga, D. & Moyo, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Radio in Africa: Publics, cultures, communities*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

- Ha, L., Wang, F., Fang, L., Tang, C., Hu, X., Yang, L., Yang, F., Xu, Y., Morin, D. (2013) Political efficacy and the use of local and national news media among undecided voters in a swing state: A study of general population voters and first-time college student voters. *Electronic News, Special Issue on 2012 Election*, 7(4), 204-222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243113515678>
- Hart, W., Albarracin, D., Eagly, A.H., Brechan, I., Lindberg, M. J. & Merrill, L. (2009). Feeling validated versus being correct: A meta-analysis of selective exposure to information. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 555-558. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015701>
- Hayes, A. F. (2022). *Introduction to mediation, moderation and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach* (3rd Ed.). New York: Guilford Press
- Heale, R. & Twycross, A. (2015). Validity and reliability in quantitative studies. *Evidence-based nursing*, 18(3), 66-67. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102129>
- Healey, J. F. (2015). *Statistics: A tool for social research* (10th Ed.). Stamford: Cengage Learning, p. 318.
- Heger, K. & Hoffmann, C. P. (2019). Feminism! What is it good for? The role of feminism and political self-efficacy in women's online political participation. *Social Science Computer Review*, 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439319865909>
- Hendriks Vettenhen, P. G. J., Hagemann, C. P. M. and van Snippenburg, L. B. (2004). Political knowledge and media use in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 20 (5), 415–424. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jch035>
- Heywood, E. (2020). Radio journalism and women's empowerment in Niger. *Journalism Studies*, 21(10), 1344-1362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1745668>
- Himmelroos, S. & von Schoultz, A. (2023). The mobilizing effects of political media consumption among external voters. *European Political Science*, 22, 44–62. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-022-00406-5>
- Hinton, P. R., McMurray, I. & Brownlow, C. (2014). *SPSS explained*. London: Routledge.
- Hornik, R. & Yanovitzky, I. (2003). Using theory to design evaluations of communication campaigns: The case of the national youth antidrug media campaign. *Communication Theory*, 13(2), 204–224. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2003.tb00289.x>
- Idid, S. A. & Dhaha, I. S. Y. (2013). Seeking political information among Malaysians: A uses and gratifications approach. Paper prepared for 13th Mention 2013 International Conference at Putrajaya, Malaysia on November 26-28, 2013. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259462858_SEKING_POLITICAL_INFORMATION_AMONG_MALAYSIANS_A_USES_AND_GRATIFICATIONS_APPROACH
- Idid, S. A., Ahmed, I. S. Y. & Souket, R. (2017). Examining political efficacy among M Malaysian voters: The role of traditional and new media. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 27(1), 43–64. <https://doi.org/10.1075/japc.27.1.03idi>

- Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (2012, October 17). National Assembly Constituencies and County Assembly Wards. *The Standard Pullout*, 1-40.
- Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (2013). *Age gender matrix per county*. Nairobi: Author.
- Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (2014). *4th March 2013 general election: Election data*. Nairobi: Author.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2021). *Women's Political Participation ~ Africa Barometer 2021*. Stockholm: Author. <https://doi.org/10.31752/idea.2021.21>
- Ipalei, E. (2013). *Citizen watchdog report: November 2012-April 2013*. Nairobi: Internews.
- Ipsos Synovate (2012a). *Kenya audience research*. Nairobi: Author.
- Ipsos Synovate (2012b). *Voters ignorant of electoral laws, processes and electable seats: Civic education vital*. Nairobi: Author.
- Ipsos Synovate (2013). *Review of 2012 media consumption in Kenya*. Nairobi: Author.
- Isaksson, A. S, Kotsadam, A. & Nerman, M. (2012). *The gender gap in African political participation: Testing theories of individual and contextual determinants*. Retrieved from <http://andreakotsadam.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/gender-gap-in-participation.pdf>
- Jung, N. (2010). *Explicating the central role of news media use in the process of political participation: Toward establishing an integrative structural model of news media effects on political participation* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin). <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/ETD-UT-2010-08-1985>
- Kaid, L. L., McKinney, M. S. & Tedesco, J. C. (2007). Introduction: Political information efficacy and young voters. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(9), 1093–1111. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207300040>
- Kalyango Jr., Y. (2009). Political news use and democratic support: A study of Uganda's radio impact. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 16 (2), 200-215. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19376520903279399>
- Kamau, S. (2013). *New media technologies and democracy: The influence of social networking sites on political attitudes and behaviour among the urban youth in Kenya* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Karpf, D., Kreiss, D., Nielsen, R. K. & Powers, M. (2015). The role of qualitative methods in political communication research: Past, present and future. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 1888-1906. Retrieved from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/4153/1408>

- Kasomo, D. (2012). Factors affecting women participation in electoral politics in Africa. *International Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences* 2 (3): 57–63. <https://doi.org/10.5923/j.ijpbs.20120203.01>.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J.G. & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz, E. (Eds.), *The uses of mass communication: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 61-72). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Kenya Audience Research Foundation (2020). *Media audience research findings in Kenya: report for period-Nov' 19-Jan'20*. Nairobi: Author.
- Kenya Human Rights Commission (2014). *The democratic paradox: A report on Kenya's 2013 general election*. Nairobi: Author.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010). *The Kenya 2009 population and housing census*. Nairobi: The Government Printer.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019). *2019 Kenya population and housing census Vol. IV: Distribution of population by socio-economic characteristics*. Nairobi: The Government Printer. Retrieved from <https://www.knbs.or.ke/?wpmpro=2019kenya-population-and-housing-census-volume-iv-distribution-of-population-by-socio-economic-characteristics>
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2021). *Economic survey 2021*. Nairobi: The Government Printer.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Population Studies and Research Institute and United Nations International Children's Fund (2016). *Kakamega County Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2013/14, Final Report*. Nairobi, Kenya: Authors.
- Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Monitoring Project (2013). *Kenya's 2013 general election: A review of preparedness*. Nairobi: Author.
- Kenyatta, G. N. (2023). The political participation of women in Kenya. *Journal of International Women Studies*, 25(2). Article 5. Retrieved from <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol25/iss2/5>
- Kim, K. S. & Kim, Y. (2007). New and old media uses and political engagement among Korean adolescents. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 17(4), 342 -361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980701636977>
- Kipkoech, G. (2019). *Examining the relationship between media consumption and Kenya's political culture* (Master's thesis, Illinois State University). Retrieved from <https://ir.library.illinoisstate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2135&context=etd>
- Koech, F. C. (2017). *Radio listenership among women in Kipkelion West Sub-County, Kericho County* (Master's research project, University of Nairobi, Kenya). Retrieved from <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/102523/FIDELICE%20MASTERS%20PROJECTFINAL%20%20COPY.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Kuenzi, M. & Lambright, G. M. S. (2005). *Who Votes in Africa? An Examination of electoral turnout in 10 African Countries*, Afrobarometer Working Paper no. 51. Retrieved from <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/AfropaperNo51.pdf>
- Kuenzi, M. & Lambright, G. M. S. (2007). Voter turnout in Africa's multiparty regimes. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(6), 665-690. <https://doi.org/10.11770010414006288969>
- Kuenzi, M. & Lambright, G. M. S. (2011). Who votes in Africa? An examination of electoral participation in 10 African countries. *Party Politics*, 17(6), 767- 799. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068810376779>
- Larkin, C. & Were, R. (2013). *How political debate do programmes influence political participation? A case study from Nepal*. London: BBC Media Action. Retrieved from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/research/nepal_research_report.pdf
- Lambon, P. J. (2021). *The role of the media in promoting civic participation and engagement in democratic governance and policy making* (Masters thesis, University of Media, Arts and Communication, Accra, Ghana). Retrieved from <https://repository.gij.edu.gh/xmlui/bitstream/handle/gijdr/265/The%20Role%20Of%20The%20Media%20In%20Promoting%20Civic%20Participation%20And%20Engagement%20In%20Democratic%20Governance%20And%20Policy%20Making.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Levinsen, K. & Yndigen, C. (2015). Political discussions with family and friends: Exploring the impact of political distance. *The Sociological Review*, 63(2) _suppl, 72-91. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12263>
- Levy, B. L. & Akiva, T. (2019). Motivating political participation among youth: An analysis of factors related to adolescents' political engagement, *Political Psychology*, 40(5), 1039-1055. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12578>
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Liu, S. S. (2020). Gender gaps in political participation in Asia. *International Political Science Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120935517>
- Logan, C. & Bratton, M. (2006, March). *The political gender gap in Africa: Similar attitudes, different behaviours* (Working Papers No. 58). Cape Town: Afrobarometer. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92116/AfropaperNo58_THE%20POLITICAL%20GENDER.pdf
- Lupia, A. (2015). *Uninformed: Why people know so little about politics and what we can do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Luskin, R. C. (1990). Explaining political sophistication. *Political Behaviour*, 12(4), 331-361. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00992793>

- Marshall, J., Thomas, M. & Gidengil, E. (May 30-June 1, 2007). The efficacy enigma: Explaining the gender gap in internal political efficacy in Canada and the United States. Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and May 30 to June 1, 2007. Retrieved from <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2007/Marshall.pdf>
- Mbeke, P.O. (2010). *Impact of mass media exposure on youth participation in 2007 Kenya general election in Nakuru District* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Mbewe, M. (2019). *Assessing the role of radio stations in raising political awareness for women at local government level in Solwezi District* (Bachelor's research project, Cavendish University, Lusaka, Zambia). <http://155.0.3.194:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/142>
- McCombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2, 176-187
- McCombs, M., Holbert, R. L., Kioussis, S. & Wanta, W. (2011). *The news and public opinion: Media effects on civic life*. Malden, Massachusetts: Polity.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (6th Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Media Council of Kenya (2012). *Status of the media report 2012*. Nairobi: Author.
- Media Council of Kenya (2013). *The coverage of the presidential aspirants by Kenyan media ahead of 2013 general election*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.africabib.org/http.php?RID=398013403>
- Media Council of Kenya (2021). *Guidelines for election coverage 2022*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved from <https://mediacouncil.or.ke/sites/default/files/downloads/GUIDELINES%20FOR%20ELECTION%20COVERAGE.pdf>
- Media Council of Kenya (2023, November 15). *Media Council of Kenya partners with UNESCO to develop national media information literacy policy for Kenya* [Press release]. <https://mediacouncil.or.ke/sites/default/files/advisory-press-releases/Press%20Release%20MCK%20Partners%20with%20UNESCO%20to%20Develop%20MIL%20Policy%20for%20Kenya.pdf>
- Miao, H. (2019). Media use and political participation in China: Taking three national large-national surveys as examples. *Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research*, 7(1), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.15206/ajpor.2019.7.1.1>
- Miller, G. R. (1986). A neglected connection: Mass media exposure and interpersonal communicative competency. In G. Gumpert & R. Cathcart (Eds.), *Inter/media: Interpersonal communication in a media world* (pp. 132–139). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Moehler, D. C. & Conroy-Krutz, J. (2016). Partisan media and engagement: A field experiment in a newly liberalized system. *Political Communication*, 33(3), 414–432. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2015.1069768>
- Mogambi, H. (2011). *Patterns of production and consumption of local language radio in Kenya: A comparative study of rural audiences* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Morey, A. C. & Yamamoto, M. (2019). Exploring political discussion motivations: Relationships with different forms of political talk. *Communication Studies*, 71(1), 78–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2019.1692885>
- Morey, A. C. & Yamamoto, M. (2020). Exploring political discussion motivations: relationships with different forms of political talk. *Communication Studies*, 71(1), 78–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2019.1692885>
- Morgan, D. L. (1997). *Focus groups is qualitative research* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Muriithi, A.G. & Page, G. (2013). *The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya Speaks)*. London: BBC Media Action. Retrieved from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/kenya_election_2013_working_paper.pdf
- Mutz, D. C. (2002). The consequences of cross-cutting networks for political participation *American Journal of Political Science*, 46, 838–855. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3088437>
- Mvukiyehe, E. (2017). *Can media interventions reduce gender gaps in political participation after civil war? Evidence from a field experiment in rural Liberia*. Policy Research Working Paper, No. 7942. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from <https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/1813-9450-7942>
- Mwatha, R. G., Mbugua, G. & Murunga, G. (2013). *Young women political participation in Kenya: A study on the experiences and challenges of young women in political engagement*. Nairobi: Women’s Empowerment Link. Retrieved from <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/52245/IDL-52245.pdf>
- Myers, M. (2008). Radio and development in Africa. A concept paper presented for the International Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada. Ottawa: IDRC. Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08b3ce5274a31e0000a5c/Radio_and_Development_in_Africa_concept_paper.pdf
- Myers, M. (2009, September 10-13). Radio, convergence and development in Africa: Gender as a cross-cutting issue. Paper submitted to International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and Carleton University Roundtable Discussion on a Research Agenda Sep 10-13, Butare, Rwanda. <http://hdl.handle.net/10625/42298>
- Nadeem R. U. & Bashir, H. E. (2020). Dynamics of political discussion of voters in 2013 general election in Pakistan. *South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 35(2), 285 – 298. Retrieved from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/4_35_2_20.pdf

- Ndubi, E. G. (2019). Do the 'rich' get richer? Exploring the associations between social media use and online and offline political participation activities among Kenyan youth (Master's thesis, London School of Politics and Economics) Retrieved from <https://www.lse.ac.uk/media-and-communications/assets/documents/research/msc-dissertations/2018/gatobu.pdf>
- Newton, K. (2000). *Media and communication question. ESS report on questionnaire development*. Retrieved from https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/core_ess_questionnaire/ESS_core_questionnaire_media_and_communications.pdf
- Niemi, R. G., Craig, S. C. & Mattei, F. (1991). Measuring internal political efficacy in the national election study. *American Political Science Review*, 85(4), 1407-1413. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1963953>
- Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communications in post-industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Northrup, D. A. (1997). *The problem of the self-report in survey research*. North York, Ontario, Canada: Institute for Social Research.
- Nyanjom, O. (2012). *Factually true, legally untrue: Political media ownership in Kenya*. Nairobi: Internews.
- Ojebuyi, B. R. & Salawu, A. (2015). Media literacy, access and political participation among South African Black youth: A study of North-West University, Mafikeng Campus. *Journal of Communication*, 6(1), 207-218.
- Okello, C.A. (2010). *The role and scope of women's organizations in enhancing women's participation in Kenyan politics: 1992-2004* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Okoth, E. (2015). *The emergence and growth of vernacular radio in Kenya: A case study of radio having a positive impact* (Reuters Institution Fellowship paper). London: University of Oxford. Retrieved from <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/research/files/The%2520emergence%2520and%2520growth%2520of%2520vernacular%2520radio%2520in%2520Kenya.pdf>
- Olaniru, O., Olatunji, O. S., Ayandele, O. & Popoola, O. (2019). The Influence of media on political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Social Sciences*, 19, 13-24. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3458851
- Oriare, P., Ugangu, W. & Okello-Orlale, R. (2010). *The media we want: The Kenya media vulnerabilities study*. Nairobi: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kenia/07887.pdf>

- Oyesomi, K.O & Okorie, N. (2013). Radio and political mobilization of women in Ado-Odo/Ota Local Government of Ogun State. *Global Journal of Applied Management and Social Sciences*, 4, 195-205. Retrieved from <http://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/1597/1/RADIO%20AND%20POLITICAL%20MOBILISATION%20OF%20WOMEN%20IN%20ADO-ODO-OTA%20LOCAL.pdf>
- Pang, X. (2020). *News media usage, political interest and political participation* (Masters thesis, University of Gothenburg, Sweden). <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/66157>
- Park, C. S. (2014). *Pathways to democratic citizenship: The mediating roles of deliberation and political efficacy in the effects of old and new media use on political participation in South Korea* (Doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University Carbondale). Retrieved from <https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/dissertations/905/>
- Partheymüller, J. & Schmitt-Beck, R. (2012). A “social logic” of demobilization: The influence of political discussants on electoral participation at the 2009 German Federal election. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 22(4), 457-478. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2012.720576>
- Pennington, N. & Winfrey, K. L. (2021). Engaging in political talk on Facebook: Investigating the role of interpersonal goals and cognitive engagement, *Communication Studies*, 72 (1), 100-114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2020.1819844>
- Perloff, R. M. (2014). *The dynamics of political communication: Media and politics in a digital age*. New York: Routledge.
- Pew Research Centre (2014). Political polarization & media habits: From Fox news to Facebook, how liberals and conservatives keep up with politics. Washington, D.C.: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2014/10/Political-Polarization-and-Media-Habits-FINAL-REPORT-7-27-15.pdf>
- Pew Research Center (2016, July). *The modern news consumer*. Washington DC: Author. Retrieved June 14, 2020, from <https://www.journalism.org/2016/07/07/the-modern-news-consumer/>
- Pew Research Center (2019, March). *Publics in emerging economies worry social media sow division, even as they offer new chances for political engagement*. Washington DC: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2019/05/13/publics-in-emerging-economies-worry-social-media-sow-division-even-as-they-offer-new-chances-for-political-engagement/>
- Pike, R. (2014). *Unraveling the impact of media use on political knowledge* (Master’s thesis, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada). Retrieved from https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/11023/1978/ucalgary_2014_pike_ryan.pdf;jsessionid=E99498695850B5CC030B5CEBFEEEDA2E3?sequence=2
- Prior, M. (2007). *Post-broadcast democracy: How media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Rai, P. (2011). Electoral participation of women in India: Key determinants and barriers. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(3), 47-55. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288472639_Electoral_Participation_of_Women_in_India_Key_Determinants_and_Barriers
- Rapeli, L. (2022). What is the best proxy for political knowledge in surveys? *PLoS One*, 22, 17(8):e0272530. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0272530>
- Rasmussen, S. H. R. & Nørgaard, A.S. (2017). When and why does education matter? Motivation and resource effects in political efficacy. *European Journal of Political Research*, 57(1), 24-46. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12213>
- Rea, L. M. & Parker, R. A. (2014). *Designing and conducting survey research: A comprehensive guide* (4th Ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Reichert, F. (2015). How collective identities affect political interest and political efficacy. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, 9(1), 2-18. Retrieved from <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-69552-5>
- Reichert, F. (2016). How internal political efficacy translates political knowledge into political participation: Evidence from Germany. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 12(2), 221–241. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4894288/pdf/ejop-12-221.pdf>
- Republic of Kenya (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Republic of Kenya (2013). *Media Council Act, No. 46 of 2013*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Republic of Kenya. Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and Vision 2030. (2007). *Kenya Vision 2030: The Popular Version*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Republic of Kenya. Independent Review Commission on the General Elections Held in Kenya on 27th December 2007 (2008). *Report of the Independent Review Commission on the general elections held in Kenya on 27th December 2007*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Richardson, W. K. (2003). *Connecting political discussion to civic engagement: The role of civic knowledge, efficacy and context for adolescents* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland). Retrieved from <https://drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/handle/1903/40/dissertation.pdf?sequence=1&is=y>
- Rittenberg, J., Tewksbury, D., & Casey, S. (2012). Media preferences and democracy: Refining the “relative entertainment preference” hypothesis. *Mass Communication and Society*, 15, 921-942. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2011.622065>
- Sadie, Y. (2020). Elections in Anglophone African Countries. In Thuynsna, H.A. (Ed.), *Comparing politics in Anglophone Africa* (pp. 41-77). Pretoria: ESI Press.

- Sale, M.A. (2017). *Comparative analysis of audience perception of Globe FM (98.5) and Bauchi Radio Corporation's (BRC) political programmes during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria* (Master's research project, University of Nigeria, Nsukka). Retrieved from <http://www.dspace.unn.edu.ng/bitstream/handle/123456789/7433/Musa%2c%20Alhaji%20Sale.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Sa'nchez-Vi'tores, I. (2019). Different interests: The gender gap in political interest. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 26(3), 348–369, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxy038>
- Santas, T., Asemah, E. S. & Jumbo, C. N. (2020). Mass media and the mobilization of women for political participation during the 2019 gubernatorial election in Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication (TNJC)*, 17 (2), 333-349. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344476640_Mass_Media_and_the_Mobilisation_of_Women_for_Political_Participation_during_the_2019_Gubernatorial_Election_in_Lafia_Nasarawa_State_Nigeria
- Scheufele, D. A. (2002). Differential gains from mass media and their implications for participatory behaviour. *Communication Research*, 29(1), 46-64.
- Schulz-Herzenberg, C., Aling'o, P. & Gatimu, S. (2015a). *Voter information in Kenya's 2013 election: News Media, political discussion and party campaigns*. Institute for Security Studies Policy Brief 75. Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/voter-information-in-kenyas-2013-election-news-media-political-discussion-and-party-campaigns/>
- Schulz-Herzenberg, C., Aling'o, P. & Gatimu, S. (2015b). *The 2013 general election in Kenya: The integrity of the electoral process*. Institute for Security Studies Policy Brief 74. Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies. Retrieved from <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/188907/PolBrief74.pdf>
- Shah, D. V., Cho, J., Eveland, W. P. & Kwak, N. (2005). Information and expression in a digital age: Modeling Internet effects on civic participation. *Communication Research*, 32(5), 531– 565. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0093650205279209>
- Shah, D. V., McLeod, D. M., Rojas, H., Cho, J., Wagner, M. W. & Friedland, L. A. (2017). Revising the communication mediation model for a new political communication ecology. *Human Communication Research*, 43(4), 491–504. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hcre.12115>
- Shah, D. V., McLeod, J. M. & Yoon, S. (2001). Communication, context and community: An exploration of print, broadcast and Internet influences. *Communication Research*, 28(4), 464–506.
- Shaker, L. (2009). Citizens' local political knowledge and the role of media access. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 73-89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900908600406>
- Shilaho, W. K. (2019). Old wine in new skins: Kenya's 2013 elections and the triumph of the ancient régime. *Journal of African Elections*, 12(3), 89-119.

- Shojaei, S. N., Ku Samsu, K. H. & Asayeseh, H. (2010). Women in politics: A case study of Iran. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 3(2), 257-268. Retrieved from <http://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/jpl/article/view/7209>
- Sibanda, J. (2001 February 19-22). Improving access to rural radio by 'hard-to-reach' women audiences. Presented at the First International Workshop on Farm Radio Broadcasting, 19-22 February 2001, Rome, Italy, on 'Information & Communication Technologies (ICTs). Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x6721e/x6721e15.htm#P5_1
- Simiyu, I. N. (2015). *A study of broadcast programmes on development: Case study of KBC Radio Taifa* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Slater, M.D. (2004). Operationalizing and analyzing exposure: The foundation of media effects research. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), 168-183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900408100112>
- Solovei, A. & van den Putte, B. (2020). The effects of five public information campaigns: The role of interpersonal communication. *Communications* (published online ahead of print). <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2020-2089>
- Sood, B. (2018). Role of media in building the better society. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 8(9), 656-667. Retrieved from https://www.ijmra.us/project%20doc/2018/IJRSS_SEPTEMBER2018/IJMRA-14420.pdf
- Southwell, B. G. & Yzer, M C. (2007). The roles of interpersonal communication in mass media campaigns. In C. Beck (Ed.), *Communication yearbook*, 31 (pp. 419-462). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Staples, J. (1998). *Call-in talk radio: A uses and gratifications study of listeners, non-listeners and callers* (Master's thesis, University of Delaware). Retrieved from <https://elmurobbie.files.wordpress.com/2008/10/staplesthesis.pdf>
- Stefani, S., Prati, G., Tzankova, I., Ricci, E., Albanesi, C. & Cicognani, E. (2021). Gender differences in civic and political engagement among Italian young people. *Social Psychological Bulletin*, 16(1), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.32872/spb.3887>
- Strömbäck, J. & Shehata, A. (2010). Media malaise or a virtuous circle? Exploring the causal relationships between news media exposure, political news attention and political interest. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(5), 575-597. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01913.x>
- Suemo, J. S., Okonkwo, B. C. & Dogo, S. (2021). Radio broadcast response to health information needs of rural women in Benue State, Nigeria. *SAU Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, 6(3), 77-86. Retrieved from <https://journals.sau.edu.ng/index.php/sjmas/article/view/519>
- Tewksbury, D. & Weaver, A. J. & Maddox, B.D. (2001). Accidentally informed: Incidental news exposure on the World Wide Web. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78(3):533-554. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990107800309>

- Tichenor, P. J., Donohue, G. A. & Olien, C. N. (1970). Mass media flow and differential growth in knowledge. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34(2), 159–70. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267786>
- Tripp, A., Lott, C. & Khabure, L. (2014). Women’s leadership as a route to greater empowerment: Kenya case study. South Arlington, VA: Management Systems International.
- Tully, M. & Vraga, E. K. (2018). A mixed methods approach to examining the relationship between news media literacy and political efficacy. Retrieved from *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 766–787. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/7467/2265>
- Tundi, T. E. (2018). Women in elective positions in Kenya (2013-2017). *Global Advanced Research Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*, 1(1), 22-23.
- United Nations (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. New York: UN Publishing. Retrieved from: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/57b6e3e44.html>
- United Nations and World Conference on Women (1996). *The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action: Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995*. New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] (2013). *Global media and information literacy assessment framework: Country readiness and competencies*. Paris: Author.
- Uwem, E. & Opeke, R. O. (2015). Information accessibility and use as correlates of women political participation in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. *Psychology and Behavioural Sciences*, 4(1): 5-17. <http://doi.org/10.11648/j.pbs.20150401.12>
- Valkenburg, P., Peter, J. & Walther, J. B. (2016). Media effects: Theory and research. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 67(1), 315-338.
- van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist Media Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Verba, S., Burns, N. & Schlozman, K. L. (1997). Knowing and caring about politics: Gender and political engagement. *The Journal of Politics*, 59 (4), 1051-1072. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2998592>
- Verba, S., Nie, N. H. & Kim, J-O. (1978). *Participation and political equality: A seven-nation comparison*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K.L. & Brady, H.E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic volunteerism in American politics*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Vergne, C. (2009). *Turnout in developing countries: The effect of mass media in national voter participation*. Paris: CERDI. Retrieved from <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00553622/document>
- Wainaina, A. K. (2013). *Effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency, Murang'a County* (Unpublished master's research project). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Wanta, W. (1997). *The public and the national agenda: How people learn about important issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Wanyama, F. O., Elklit, J., Frederiksen, B. F. & Kaarsholm, P. (2014). Ethnicity and/or issues? The 2013 General Election in Western Kenya. *Journal of African Election*, 13, 169-195.
- Weaver, D.H. (1996). What voters learn from the media. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, 546(1), 71-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0002716296546001004>
- Weighton, L. & McCurdy, P. (2017). The ghost in the news room: The legacy of Kenya's 2007 post-election violence and the constraints on journalists covering Kenya's 2013 General Election. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 11 (4), 649-669. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2017.1378447>
- West, R. L. & Turner, L. H. (2010). *Introducing communication theory: Analysis and application*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- World Economic Forum (2023). *Global gender gap report 2023*. Geneva: Author. Retrieved from https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2023.pdf
- Yamane, T. (1973). *Statistics: An introductory analysis* (3rd Ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Yankem, C. (2015). *Radio as a tool for political mobilization in Kenya during the 2013 general election: A case study of Nairobi County* (Unpublished master's research project). University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research Questionnaire (English Version)

Serial No.
------------	-------

Introduction

This is a questionnaire for an academic study by Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, a PhD student from Maseno University. The aim of this research is to examine the influence of exposure to radio on women voters' political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. This general election was held on March 4, 2013. Your consent to answer the questions I will ask you will be highly appreciated. The information you provide will be kept anonymous and confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

Constituency:	CAW:
Sub-Location:.....	Household No.:.....
Interviewer [Surname, Initials]:.....	Date of interview [MM/DD/YYYY]:.....
Language of Interview:.....	Start Time:..... End Time:.....

Part A: Socio-demographics and Political Orientation

1. Which of these categories indicates your age [**in years**] at the time the March 4, 2013 general election was held in Kenya?

1	18-25	3	31-35	5	41-45	7	51-55	9	Above 60	99	NR
2	26-30	4	36-40	6	46-50	8	56-60	88	DK		

2. What was your marital status at the time the March 4, 2013 general election was held in Kenya?

1	Single/Never married	3	Separated	5	Widowed	99	NR
2	Married/ Live-in partner	4	Divorced	88	DK		

3. At the time the 2013 general election was held, what was your highest level of education?

1	None/No formal education	3	Secondary school	5	Undergraduate	88	DK
2	Primary school	4	Middle-level college	6	Postgraduate	99	NR

4. Considering 2013, which of these categories represents your estimated total household monthly income (**in Kshs.**)?

1	Kshs. 10,000 and below	5	Kshs. 40,001- 50,000
2	Kshs. 10,001- 20,000	6	Above Kshs. 50,000
3	Kshs. 20,001- 30,000	88	DK
4	Kshs. 30,001- 40,000	99	NR

5. How would you describe your residential location in Kenya in the period between January 1, 2013 and March 4, 2013 (**Rural or Urban**)?

1	Rural	2	Urban	88	DK	99	NR
---	-------	---	-------	----	----	----	----

6. Which political party did you support or closely identify with during the 2013 general election? **[Tick one]**

1	None	2	ODM	3	UDF	4	Other [Specify]:	88	DK	99	NR
---	------	---	-----	---	-----	---	-------------------------	----	----	----	----

7. At the time the 2013 general election was held, how strong was your support for the political party of choice in Q6? **[Only for those marked 2-4 in Q6. Tick one]**

1	Not so strong	2	Strong	3	Very strong	88	DK	99	NR
---	---------------	---	--------	---	-------------	----	----	----	----

Section B: Use of Radio and Other News Media

8. What was your preferred news medium for obtaining information about the 2013 general election in Kenya? **[Tick one]**

1	None	3	Television	5	Internet	88	DK
2	Radio	4	Newspapers (printed)	6	Mobile phone via SMS or calls	99	NR

9. During the electioneering period for the 2013 polls, were you residing in a household that owned an operational radio receiver?

1	Yes	2	No	88	DK	99	NR
---	-----	---	----	----	----	----	----

10. Approximately how many days in a typical seven-day week were you listening to radio to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya? **[If zero (0), go to Q15. Otherwise, ask Q11-14].**

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----

11. On average, approximately how many hours per day in a typical weekday (**24-hour day**), were you listening to radio to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Above 8 hours	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------	----	----	----	----

12. I will read to you a list of statements on what might motivate you to seek political news from radio during elections. With respect to the 2013 general election in Kenya, please tell me for each statement if you: (1) strongly disagree [SD], (2) disagree [D], (3) neither agree nor disagree [N], (4) agree [A], or (5) strongly agree [SA].

Description	SD	D	N	A	SA	DK	NR
A Guidance							
1 Learn about the voting process	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2 Find more about the policies or promises of candidates or political parties or coalitions	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3 Help you decide which candidate, political party or coalition to vote for	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
B Surveillance							
4 Be a breasted of socio-economic and political happenings in Kenya	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
C Social utility [Political discussions with others]							
5 Give you something to talk about with others	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
6 Use as ammunition in arguments with others	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
D Entertainment							
7 Get entertained through political gossips, scandals, horse-race reporting and entertaining debates	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

13. Which were your preferred radio station(s) for listening to so as to get political news about the 2013 general election in Kenya? [**Tick all that apply**]

1	None	5	Radio Ingo	9	Radio Jambo	Others (Specify):	
2	Radio Citizen	6	Sulwe FM	10	Milele FM	88	DK
3	West FM	7	KBC Radio Taifa	11	KISS FM	99	NR
4	Mulembe FM	8	Radio Maisha	12	Radio Mambo		

14. Which type(s) of radio programmes were you regularly [**meaning at least once a week**] listening to so as to get political news about the 2013 general election in Kenya? [**Tick all that apply**]

1	News	5	Advertisements
2	Talkshows	6	Others (Specify):
3	Discussion/Interactive	88	DK
4	Phone-in	99	NR

Approximately how many days in a typical seven-day week were you doing each of the following? [**Follow-up with questions 19-22 if option 0 isn't selected in questions 15-18**]

15. Watching TV to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----

16. Reading printed newspapers to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----

17. Browsing the Internet to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----

18. Using a mobile phone to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya via SMS and calls?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----

On average, approximately how many hours per day in a typical weekday (**24-hour day**), were you doing each of the following?

19. Watching news on TV to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Above 8 hours	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------	----	----	----	----

20. Reading printed newspapers to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Above 8 hours	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------	----	----	----	----

21. Browsing the Internet to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Above 8 hours	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------	----	----	----	----

22. Using a mobile phone to get political news on the 2013 general election in Kenya via SMS or calls?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Above 8 hours	88	DK	99	NR
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------	----	----	----	----

Section C: Political Knowledge

No.	Question	Correct answer	Incorrect answer	DK	NR
23.	What official document is presented to the electoral clerk when registering as a voter for a general election in Kenya?	1	2	88	99
24.	What percentage of total valid votes cast in a general election in Kenya must a presidential candidate get in order to be declared a winner?	1	2	88	99
25.	How many County Assembly Wards make up Kakamega County?	1	2	88	99
26.	Which political coalition promised free maternity services in its Kenya's 2013 general election campaign manifesto?	1	2	88	99
27.	What is the name of the female presidential candidate who participated in the March 4, 2013 general election in Kakamega County?	1	2	88	99
28.	What is the name of the presidential candidate who vied on the CORD ticket in the March 4, 2013 general election?	1	2	88	99

Section D: Political Attitudes

29. Some people do not pay much attention to election campaigns. Generally speaking, how interested [**not at all interested, not very interested, fairly interested, or very interested**] were you in the 2013 general election campaigns in Kenya?

1	Not at all interested	4	Very interested
2	Not very interested	88	DK
3	Somewhat interested	99	NR

30. I will read to you two statements that indicate what you think about your capability to understand and participate in politics. For the 2013 general election in Kenya, please tell me for each the following statements if you: (1) strongly disagree [SD], (2) disagree [D], (3) neither agree nor disagree (N), (4) agree [A], or (5) strongly agree [SA].

	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA	DK	NR
1	Sometimes politics seem so simple that a person like you could be able to understand what was going on during the 2013 Kenyan general election campaigns.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	You consider yourself less qualified to participate in politics.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

Section E: Face-to-Face Political Discussions

31. (a) Were you involved in any face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 general election campaigns in Kenya using political news that you obtained from radio?

1	Yes	2	No	88	DK	99	NR
---	-----	---	----	----	----	----	----

[If yes, go to part [b]. If No, proceed to Question 32)

- (b) When you came together with your family or friends, how often would you say you were discussing the political campaigns in Kenya before March 4, 2013?

1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	NA	DK	NR

Section F: Political Participation in the 2013 General Election in Kakamega County

32. Did you participate in any of the following political activities during the 2013 Kenyan polls in Kakamega County?

	Forms of electoral participation	Yes	No	DK	NR
1	Rallying up voters to try to get them to turn out and vote.	1	2	88	99
2	Canvassing for votes.	1	2	88	99
3	Attending political meetings or rallies.	1	2	88	99
4	Volunteering as a leader or member of a political support or working group for a candidate or political party or coalition.	1	2	88	99
5	Distributing election campaign literature (e.g. posters, leaflets)	1	2	88	99
6	Displaying election campaign materials (e.g. posters and stickers and/or wearing political buttons, T-shirts and caps).	1	2	88	99
7	Donating to or buying promotional materials (e.g. tickets, T-shirts and other memorabilia) to support a candidate or party.	1	2	88	99
8	Voted in the March 4, 2013 Kenya general election.	1	2	88	99

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Appendix II: Research Questionnaire (Kiswahili Version)

Serial No.
------------	-------

Utangulizi

Hili ni dodoso la utafiti wa kitaaluma unaofanywa na Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, mwanafunzi wa shahada ya uzamili (yaani PhD) kutoka Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno. Lengo la utafiti huu ni kuchunguza ushawishi wa kusikiliza redio kwa wapiga kura wa kike katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega. Idhini yako ya kujibu maswali nitakayokuuliza inathaminiwa sana. Taarifa ambayo utatoa itahifadhiwa kwa siri na kutumika tu kwa madhumuni ya utafiti huu pekee.

Eneo la bunge:	Kata ya bunge la Kaunti:
Sablokesheni:	Nambari ya nyumba:
Jina la anayehoji [Jina na ukoo, herufi]:.....	Tarehe ya majojiano [MM/DD/YYYY]:.....
Lugha ya mahojiano.....	Wakati wa kuanza.....Wakati wa mwisho.....

Sehemu ya A: Demografia na Mwelekeo wa Kisiasa

1. Ni kitengo gani kati ya hizi inayoonyesha umri wako [**katika miaka**] wakati uchaguzi mkuu wa Machi 4, 2013 ulipofanyika Kenya?

1	18-25	3	31-35	5	41-45	7	51-55	9	Zaidi ya 60	99	Hakuna majibu
2	26-30	4	36-40	6	46-50	8	56-60	88	Sjui		

2. Ulikuwa katika uhusiano wa aina gani wa ndoa wakati uchaguzi mkuu wa Machi 4, 2013 ulipofanyika nchini Kenya?

1	Mseja/Hujawahi kuolewa	3	Umetengana na mwenzi wako	5	Mjane	99	Hakuna Majibu
2	Umeolewa/Uko na mwenzi	4	Umetalikiana na mwenzi wako	88	Sjui		

3. Wakati uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 ulipofanyika, ulikuwa na kiwango gani cha juu cha elimu?

1	Hakuna/Hakuna rasmi	3	Shule ya sekondari/upili	5	Shahada ya kwanza	88	Sjui
2	Shule ya msingi	4	Chuo cha kiwango cha kati	6	Uzamili	99	Hakuna Majibu

4. Kwa kuzingatia 2013, ni ipi kati ya makundi haya inawakilisha makadirio ya jumla ya mapato ya kila mwezi ya wakaazi wa nyumba yako (**katika shilingi za Kenya**)?

1	Kshs. 10,000 and na chini yake	5	Kshs. 40,001- 50,000
2	Kshs. 10,001- 20,000	6	Zaidi ya Kshs. 50,000
3	Kshs. 20,001- 30,000	88	Sjui
4	Kshs. 30,001- 40,000	99	Hakuna Majibu

5. Vipi, unaweza kueleza eneo lako la makaazi katika kipindi kati ya Januari 1, 2013 na Machi 4, 2013 (**mashambani au mjini**)?

	Mashambani	2	Mjini	8	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
--	------------	---	-------	---	-------	----	---------------

6. Ni chama gani cha kisiasa ulichounga mkono au kijihusisha nacho kwa karibu wakati wa uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 [**Chagua moja**]

1	Hakuna	2	ODM	3	UDF	4	Nyingineo [Taja]:	88	Sijui	99	Hauna Majibu
---	--------	---	-----	---	-----	---	----------------------------	----	-------	----	--------------

7. Wakati wa uchaguzi wa mwaka wa 2013 ulipofanyika, je, ulikuwa unaunga mkono kwa kadiri gani chama ulichokichagua kwenye swali 6? [**Ni kwa wale walioweka alama 2-4 katika swali la 6. Chagua moja**]

1	Sio dhabiti	2	Dhabiti	3	Dhabiti sana	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	-------------	---	---------	---	--------------	----	-------	----	---------------

Sehemu B: Matumizi ya Redio na Vyombo Vingine vya Habari

8. Ni chombo gani cha habari ulichopendelea kupata taarifa za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya? [**Chagua moja**]

1	Hakuna	3	Televisi	5	Mtandao	88	Sijui
2	Redio	4	Magazeti (yaliochapishwa)	6	Simu ya mkono au rununu kupitia huduma ya ujumbe mfupi/SMS au kupiga au kupokea simu	99	Hakuna majibu

9. Je, wakati wa maandalizi ya uchaguzi wa kura za 2013, ulikuwa unaishi katika nyumba kaya iliyokuwa inamiliki kipokezi cha redio kinachofanya kazi?

1	Ndio	2	Hapana	88	Sijui	99	Hauna majibu
---	------	---	--------	----	-------	----	--------------

10. Takriban siku ngapi katika wiki ya kawaida ya siku saba ulikuwa ukisikiliza redio ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya? [**Kama sifuri (0), nenda kwa Swali 15. Vinginevyo, uliza maswali 11-14.**]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------	----	---------------

11. Kwa wastani, takriban saa ngapi kwa siku katika siku ya kawaida ya juma (**siku ya saa 24**), ulikuwa ukisikiliza redio ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Zaidi ya masaa 8	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------	----	-------	----	---------------

12. Nitakusomea orodha ya kauli zinazoweza kukuchochea kutafuta habari za kisiasa kutoka kwa redio wakati wa uchaguzi. Kuhusiana na uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya, tafadhali niambie kwa kila kauli ikiwa: (1) hukubaliani kabisa [SD], (2) hukubaliani [D], (3) hukubali wala hukubaliani [N], (4) kubali [A] au (5) unakubali sana [SA].

Maelezo		SD	D	N	A	SA	Sijui	Hakuna majibu
A	Mwongozo							
1	Kujifunza kuhusu mchakato wa kupiga kura	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	Pata maelezo zaidi kuhusu sera au ahadi za wagombea au vyama vya siasa au miungano	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	Kukusaidia kuamua mgombea, chama cha siasa au muungano wa kupigia kura	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
B	Ufuatiliaji							
4	Kuwa mwangalifu na kufuatilia matukio ya kijamii na kiuchumi na kisiasa nchini Kenya	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
C	Majadiliano ya kisiasa na wengine							
5	Kukupua hoja za kuzungumza na wengine	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
6	Tumia kama silaha katika mijadala na wengine	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
D	Burudani							
7	Kupata kiburudisho kupitia porojo za kisiasa, kashfa, uandishi wa habari wa wangombea wenye wanaongoza ukilinganishwa na mbio za farisi wawili, na mijadala ya kuburudisha	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

13. Ni stesheni gani za redio ulipendelea kusikiliza ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya? [**Chagua zote ulizopendelea**]

1	None	5	Radio Ingo	9	Radio Jambo	Nyingine (Bahinisha):	
2	Radio Citizen	6	Sulwe FM	10	Milele FM	88	DK
3	West FM	7	KBC Radio Taifa	11	KISS FM	99	NR
4	Mulembe FM	8	Radio Maisha	12	Radio Mambo		

14. Ni aina gani za vipindi vya redio ulikuwa ukisikiliza mara kwa mara [**inamaanisha angalau mara moja kwa wiki**] ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya? [**Chagua zote ulizokuwa ukisikiliza**]

1	Habari	5	Matangazo
2	Vipindi vya mazungumzo vya redio	6	Nyinginezo (Taja):
3	Majadiliano/Maingiliano	88	Sijui
4	Programu za redio za kupitia simu	99	Hakuna majibu

Takriban siku ngapi katika juma la kawaida la siku saba ulikuwa ukifanya kila moja ya yafuatayo? [Fuatilia na maswali 19-22 ikiwa changuo 0 halichanguliwa katika maswali 15-18].

15. Kutazama televisheni kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------	----	---------------

16. Kusoma magazeti yaliyochapishwa ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------	----	---------------

17. Kutafuta mtandaoni habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------	----	---------------

18. Kutumia simu ya mkononi/rununu kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya kwa njia ya huduma ya ujumbe mfupi (SMS) ama simu?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------	----	---------------

Kwa wastani, ni takriban saa ngapi kwa siku katika siku ya kawaida ya juma (**siku ya saa 24**), ulikuwa ukifanya kila mojawapo ya yafuatayo?

19. Kutazama televisheni kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Zaidi ya masaa 8	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------	----	-------	----	---------------

20. Kusoma magazeti yaliyochapishwa ili kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Zaidi ya masaa 8	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------	----	-------	----	---------------

21. Kutafuta mtandaoni habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Zaidi ya masaa 8	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------	----	-------	----	---------------

22. Kutumia simu ya mkononi/rununu kupata habari za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya kwa njia ya huduma ya ujumbe mfupi (SMS) ama simu?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9=Zaidi ya masaa 8	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------	----	-------	----	---------------

Sehemu C: Maarifa wa Kisiasa

Na	Swali	Jibu sahihi	Jibu lizilo sahihi	Sijui	Hakuna majibu
23.	Ni stakabadhi gani rasmi huwasilishwa kwa karani wa uchaguzi wakati wa kujitandikisha kama mpiga kura kwa ajili ya uchaguzi mkuu nchini Kenya?	1	2	88	99
24.	Ni asilimia ngapi ya jumla ya kura halali zilizopigwa katika uchaguzi mkuu nchini Kenya lazima mgombea urais apate ili kutangazwa mshindi?	1	2	88	99
25.	Je, ni Wadi ngapi za Bunge la Kaunti zinazounda Kaunti ya Kakamega?	1	2	88	99
26.	Ni muungano gani wa kisiasa uliahidi huduma za uzazi bila malipo katika ilani yake ya kampeni ya uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?	1	2	88	99
27.	Je, jina la mgombeaji wa uraisi wa kike aliyeshiriki uchaguzi mkuu wa Machi 4, 2013 ni lipi?	1	2	88	99
28.	Je, jina la mgombea wa urais aliyegombea kwa tiketi ya CORD katika uchaguzi mkuu wa tarehe Machi 4, 2013 nchini Kenya ni lipi ?	1	2	88	99

Sehemu D: Mitazamo ya Kisiasa

29. Baadhi ya watu hawazingatii sana kampeni za uchaguzi. Kwa ujumla, je, ulipendezwa vipi [sikupendezwa hata kidogo, sikupendezwa sana, ulivutiwa kwa kiasi fulani au nilipendezwa sana] katika kampeni za uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?

1	Sikupendezwa hata kidogo	4	Nilipendezwa sana
2	Sikupendezwa sana	88	Sijui
3	Ulivutiwa kwa kiasi Fulani	99	Hakuna majibu

30. Nitakusomea kauli mbili zinazoonyesha kile unachofikiri kuhusu uwezo wako wa kuelewa na kushiriki katika siasa. Kwa uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya, tafadhali niambie kwa kila taarifa zifuatazo ikiwa: (1) hukubaliani kabisa [SD], (2) hukubaliani [D], (3) hukubaliani wala hupingi (N), (4) unakubaliana [A] au (5) unakubaliana kabisa [SA].

	Kauli	SD	D	N	A	SA	DK	NR
1	Wakati mwingine siasa huonekana rahisi saana hivi kwamba mtu kama wewe anaweza kuelewa kilichokuwa kikiendelea wakati wa kampeni za uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	Unajiona kuwa huna sifa ya kushiriki katika siasa	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

Sehemu E: Majadiliano ya Kisiasa ya Ana kwa Ana

31. (a) Je, ulihusika katika mijadala yoyote ya ana kwa ana ya kisiasa kuhusu kampeni za uchaguzi wa mwaka wa 2013 nchini Kenya kwa kutumia taarifa za kisiasa ulizopata kutoka redioni?

1	Ndio	2	Hapana	88	Sijui	99	Hakuna majibu
---	------	---	--------	----	-------	----	---------------

[Ikiwa Ndiyo, nenda kwa sehemu [b]. Ikiwa hapana, endelea kwa Swali la 32)

- (b) Ulipokutana na familia yako au marafiki zako, ni mara ngapi ungesema ulikuwa ukijadili kampeni za kisiasa za uchaguzi wa 2013 nchini Kenya kabla ya siku ya uchaguzi?

1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
Kamwe	Nadra	Wakati Fulani	Mara nyingi	Kila mara	Haitumiki	Sijui	Hakuna majibu

Sehemu F: Kushiriki Kisiasa Katika Uchaguzi Mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega

32. Je, ulishiriki katika mojawapo ya shughuli zifuatazo za kisiasa wakati wa uchaguzi wa Kenya wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?

	Aina za ushiriki katika uchaguzi	Ndio	Hapana	Sijui	Hakuna majibu
1	Kukusanya wapiga kura ili kujaribu kuwafanya wajitokeze na kupiga kura	1	2	88	99
2	Kutafuta kura	1	2	88	99
3	Kuhudhuria mikutano ya kisiasa au mikutano ya hadhara	1	2	88	99
4	Kujitolea kama kiongozi au mwanachama wa usaidizi wa kisiasa au kikundi kazi kwa mgombea au chama cha siasa au muungano	1	2	88	99
5	Kusambaza vichapo vya kampeni za uchaguzi (kwa mfano, mabango, vipeperushi)	1	2	88	99
6	Kuonyesha nyenzo za kampeni za uchaguzi (kwa mfano mabango na vibandiko na/au kuvaa vitufe vya kisiasa, fulana na kofia)	1	2	88	99
7	Kuchangia au kununua nyenzo za utangazaji (kwa mfano. tikiti, T-shirt na kumbukumbu zingine) kusaidia mgombea au chama.	1	2	88	99
8	Ulipiga kura katika uchaguzi mkuu wa tarehe Machi 4, 2013 nchini Kenya	1	2	88	99

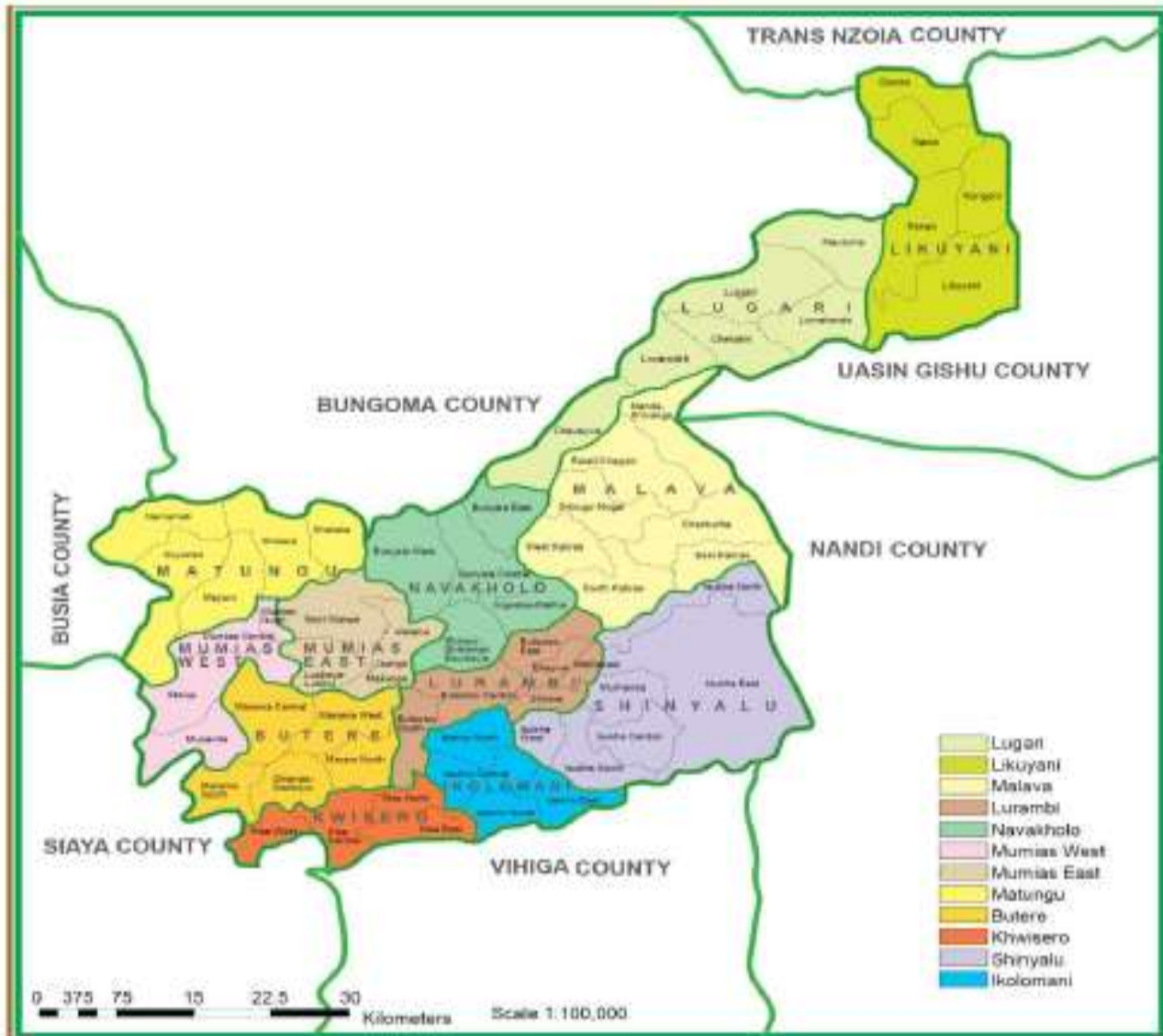
Asante kwa kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Appendix III: Map of Counties in Kenya



Source: County Government of Kakamega (2013). *Kakamega County Development Profile*. Nairobi: Government Printer, p.17.

Appendix IV: Map of Constituencies in Kakamega County



Map 1: Map of Kakamega County showing the administrative Units

Source: County Government of Kakamega, Department of Planning and Investments (2018).

Appendix V: Guide to the Selection of Households Using Random Walk Sampling

Background Information

This guide provides a set of instructions and steps for the research assistants to use in implementing random walk sampling in the selection of households during the survey. In this method, a research assistant selects a starting point, randomly chooses and maintains a direction to move in, selects households to sample, and picks sample members until the desired sample size is reached in the sub-location assigned to him or her. The guide also addresses options available for dealing with various challenging situations, such as multiple access ways, direction selection and sampling in dwellings and when one reaches a dead end or boundary end.

The selection of households in this study is to commence once a research assistant under the guidance of the lead researcher (PhD student) has familiarized himself or herself with the sampled sub-location assigned to him or her. This is to ensure that the research assistant understands the boundaries of and polling stations in the sub-locations assigned. The eligibility criterion for participants in this study is women voters registered to vote in any polling station within the sampled CAW. This means that households with women voters meeting this eligibility are the ones to be considered when sampling.

Definition of Terms

- **Access way:** A pathway, road, or street that a research assistant may take in random walk sampling.
- **Household:** Represents a person or group of persons who, at the time of data collection, were eating and living together in the same residential unit. This does not include domestic workers, temporary visitors or household members living elsewhere as students or workers.
- **Multi-household dwelling structure:** A residential unit or building that includes more than one household, for example, compounds with multiple spouses and/or houses for rental purposes, relatives or domestic or farm workers or blocks of flats (Afrobarometer, 2017). This means that in a dwelling structure, all the households [taking note of the foregoing definition of a household] therein are counted as separate sampling units.

Random Walk Sampling Procedure

The following steps and instructions are to be followed when selecting households using the random walk sampling technique in this research.

Step 1: Selection of Starting Points

The starting points to be considered for sampling are to be identified by the research assistant in his or her assigned sub-location under the guidance of the lead researcher. The starting points in this study are fixed landmarks representing the institutions or venues designated by IEBC as polling centres in each of the sampled sub-locations in a CAW. The majority of the 447 polling stations in the sampled sub-locations are primary schools; hence; they will form a large portion of the fixed landmarks in the sub-locations to be sampled.

Identify all the designated polling stations within each sub-location sampled and assigned to you. The list of the designated polling stations from IEBC that will be used in this survey is already arranged systematically as per codes by the electoral body using numbers starting with

001. This same order is to be maintained when numbering the starting points in each sampled sub-location, but with numbers ranging from 1 onwards.

In all the sub-locations to be sampled, more than one polling station exists. One of these polling stations is to be selected randomly from a table of random numbers. The Table of Random Numbers to be used by all the research assistants in this study is from Million Random Digits and instructions for its use are available on the USA's National Institute of Standards and Technology Web page at <https://www.nist.gov/document/appenb-hb133-05-zpdf>. The instructions focus on how to pick a starting page from the eight provided. Each page represents a separate table of random numbers. The instructions also focus on how to select a starting column and row and eventually how to select the random numbers relevant to a given study. This is the table of random numbers to be used throughout this study. For example, assume that in sub-location 1, there are five polling stations coded 001 to 005, the research assistant should number them from 1 to 5 as ordered by the codes, then select one of them randomly from the Table of Random Numbers as the starting point.

Step 2: Determining the Direction to Walk from Starting Points

From each of the selected starting points, the research assistant should start walking in a particular direction along a designated route as per the instructions herein in Step 2. If there is only one access way from the starting point, then this should be the chosen initial route. If there are multiple access ways from the selected starting point, then number them from 1 onwards. From the Table of Random Numbers used in Step 1, randomly select one of these access ways to be the initial designated route to take from the selected starting point. For example, assume that in polling station 1 (selected in Step 1) in sub-location X1, there are three starting points numbered 1 to 3 and the research assistant should select one of them randomly from the Table of Random Numbers as the initial designated route to take from this point. This same procedure should be followed when deciding which access way to take along a designated random walk when you reach a junction or intersection with multiple pathways.

Step 3: Selection of Households

The random walk for selecting households should start from the selected starting point (selected starting polling centre) and follow the chosen direction in Step 2. Along the designated random route in the direction selected, the research assistant should number all households on both sides of the access way. For instance, if the initial household (nearest to the selected starting point), which should be numbered 1 is on the right side of the access way and there is another one crossing to the left side, then the one on the left side is to be assigned number 2. Conversely, if the initial household, which should be numbered 1 is on the left side of the access way and there is another one crossing to the right side, then the one on the right side is to be assigned number 2. This alternate numbering is continued until all the desired households are numbered along the chosen access way and direction.

The choice of a subsequent household after the selection of the first household (one nearest to the selected starting point) and others thereafter along the random route in the designated direction, requires the research assistant to consider the skip interval between the sample points (numbered households). After the selection of the first household, a 4-skip interval pattern between households is to be adopted for rural areas, while a 3-skip interval pattern is to be used in urban areas. These patterns are to be applied to ensure consistency and randomness in the sampling procedure by different enumerators. For instance, in rural sub-location X1, a research assistant walking in the designated direction away from the selected starting point will select the first household (one nearest to the selected starting point). This will be the first sampled

household in the sub-location. Counting houses on both the right and the left (start with the households on the right if they are opposite each other), a research assistant will continue in the same direction along the designated route and count off a skip interval of four (4) more households. This means that the second household to be sampled is the fifth (5th) one from the first household. This 4-interval count is to be used thereafter in the same sub-location. The same procedure is to be applied in urban areas, but considering a 3-interval pattern.

As the research assistant progresses with the random walk, he or she should mark the access way(s) used on a sketch on paper and also note down on the sketch any distinctive or unique features of each of the sampled households within the sub-location. This is to aid in tracking the areas and households covered in the survey within a particular sampled sub-location. A research assistant who still needs more households to reach the sample size in a sub-location may encounter a situation in which he or she has reached a dead end (e.g. stream, river, or fence) or boundary end within the area surveyed. Deal with this situation as provided in the instructions on the next page of this guide.

A dead end means that you are not able to continue moving in any direction. For instance, when you reach a stream, river, fence or boundary end within the area surveyed. Given that in each sub-location, more than one starting point exists, the research assistant who reaches a dead end should restart his or her random walk. If only one other starting point exists, then it should be selected. However, if more than one other starting point exists, then the research assistant should randomly select one of them (other than the initially selected starting point) from a Table of Random Numbers, adhering to the instructions in Steps 2 and 3.

If all the selected starting points in the designated random walk direction are exhausted, then the research assistant should repeat the random walk from the initial starting point and thereafter, if need be, each of the subsequent selected starting points. In this repeat random walk, a different direction from the one used from each of the selected starting points should be taken if more than one access way is available.

If the research assistant reaches a sub-location boundary end, then he or she has to turn at right angles to the right and keep walking along the designated route while continuing to count until the next household to sample is reached, taking into account the 4-interval or 3-interval rule. The boundary ends of the sub-location should be marked on the sketch to avoid revisiting households.

Another situation that a research assistant may encounter during the survey involves dealing with a compound consisting of more than one household and blocks of flats. Number all eligible households in the compound from 1 onwards and randomly select one of them using a table of random numbers. Only one interview is to be done in this compound. For the case of blocks of flats, number the blocks from 1 onwards and randomly select one of them using a table of random numbers. Second, number the households in the chosen block. The numbering should commence at 1, beginning with the first household on the ground floor, and if it is a multi-storey building, the numbering proceeds on its various floors, taking the same direction from the ground floor in numbering them. This random selection should follow the procedure involving the use of a table of random numbers as earlier provided in Step 2.

Note:

1. The random walk steps 1-3 are followed until the required number of households is reached.
2. Each research assistant should maintain proper documentation regarding the selected starting points, directions, flats and households during the random walk sampling procedure.
3. If the research assistant encounters a situation not envisaged in these instructions, then consultations with the lead researcher should be made so that a final decision on the way forward is made by both the lead researcher and the research assistant.
4. The selection of participants in a household with more than one eligible woman voter is to be done using Kish-grid (Appendix VI).
5. If a sub-location assigned to a research assistant is not completed within a day, then the enumerator should continue from where he or she left on the previous day and follow the steps described herein to continue with the sampling until the desired sample size is reached.

Appendix VI: Selection of Survey Respondents using Kish-Grid

1. **Step 1:** Upon arrival at a sampled household, ask to speak to the head of the household. If present, ask him or her to tell you the names of the usual female members of your household who were registered voters for the 2013 general election in Kakamega County in the CAW sampled. List all the eligible persons, beginning with the oldest to the youngest. If the head of the household is not present, then plan to return to the household latter on.
2. **Step 2:** Record the total number of eligible females in the household here [.....]
3. **Step 3:** Look at the last digit of the questionnaire serial number on the cover page. This is the number of the row you should go to in the Kish Grid on the next page.
4. **Step 4:** Check the total number of eligible females from Step 2. This is the number of the column you should go to in the Kish Grid on the next page. Find the box where the row and the column intersect, and circle the number that appears in the box. This is the number of the female voter who will be interviewed. For instance, if the questionnaire serial number is '035', then go to row '5'. If there are three eligible females in the household, go to column '3'. Follow row '5' and column '3' and find the number in the box '2'. The eligible female voter to be interviewed is the second one (number 2) in the list below.

List of Eligible Female Voters

First Name of the voter	Age	Number
		1
		2*
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8

Note. *Eligible female voter to be interviewed in the household selected based on the four-step procedure of selecting respondents.

Kish Grid

Last digit on questionnaire serial number	Eligible female voters							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	1	2	1	4	4	4	4	4
5	1	1	2*	1	5	5	5	5
6	1	2	3	2	1	6	6	6
7	1	1	1	3	2	1	7	7
8	1	2	2	4	3	2	1	8
9	1	1	3	1	4	3	2	1

Note: For questionnaire serial number '035'.

*Eligible female voter to be selected in the household.

Appendix VII: Focus Group Discussion Moderator’s Guide [English Version]

A. Use of radio and political participation

- 1 (a) By a show of hands, how many of you frequently listened to radio to obtain political news about the 2013 general election before Election Day?
- (b) What political news obtained from radio do you consider influenced your political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?
- (c) How did the political news obtained from radio influence your political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?

B. Use of radio, political knowledge and political participation

- 2 (a) What did you learn about the 2013 Kenya general election from the political news from radio?
- (b) How did the political knowledge acquired from radio influence your political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

C. Use of radio, political attitudes and participation

- 3 (a) How did the political news obtained from radio affect your interest in the 2013 general election campaigns in Kakamega County?
- (b) How did your election campaign interest arising from the political news from radio influence your electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?
- 4 (a) How did the political news from radio influence your perceived capability to understand and participate in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?
- (b) How did your perceived capability to understand politics and engage in it arising from the political information acquired from radio influence your electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

D. Use of radio, interpersonal political discussions and political participation

- 5 (a) By a show of hands, how many of you used the political news acquired from radio to engage with your family or friends in face-to-face political discussions about the 2013 Kenya general election?
- (b) How did the political news from radio influence your frequency of engaging in interpersonal political discussions with your family or friends?
- (c) How did the frequency of interpersonal political discussions with your family or friends arising from the political news from radio influence your electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?

Appendix VIII: Focus Group Discussion Moderator's Guide [Kiswahili Version]

A. Matumizi ya redio na ushiriki wa kisiasa

- 1 (a) Kwa kuinua mikono, ni wangapi kati yenu walisikiliza redio mara kwa mara ili kupata taarifa za kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 kabla ya siku ya uchaguzi?
- (b) Ni habari gani za kisiasa zilizopatikana kutoka kwa redio unafikiri zilithiri ushiriki wako wa kisiasa katika uchaguzi wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?
- (c) Vipi habari za kisiasa zilizopatikana katika redio ziliathiri ushiriki wako wa kisiasa Katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?

B. Matumizi ya redio, maarifa ya kisiasa, na ushiriki kwa siasa

- 2 (a) Je, ulijifunza nini kuhusu uchaguzi wa 2013 nchini Kenya kutokana na habari za kisiasa kwenye redio?
- (b) Vipi maarifa ya kisiasa iliyopatikana kutoka kwa redio iliathiri ushiriki wako wa kisiasa katika uchaguzi wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?

C. Matumizi ya redio na ushiriki kupitia mitazamo ya kisiasa

- 3 (a) Ni kwa njia zipi taarifa za kisiasa iliopatikana kutoka kwa redio iliathiri hamu yako kushiriki katika kampeni za uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?
 - (b) Vipi hamu yako ya kushiriki katika kampeni ya uchaguzi iliyotokana kwa taarifa za kisiasa uliyopata kutoka kwa redio yaliathiri ushiriki wako katika uchaguzi wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?
- 4 (a) Vipi, taarifa za kisiasa kutoka kwa redio ziliathiri uwezo wako wa kuelewa na kushiriki uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?
 - (b) Je, uwezo wako wa kuelewa siasa na kujihusisha nazo kutokana na taarifa za kisiasa ulizopata kutoka redio iliathiri vipi ushiriki wako katika uchaguzi wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega?

D. Matumizi ya redio na ushiriki kwa siasa kupitia majadiliano ya kiasasa ya ana kwa ana

- i. (a) Kwa kuinua mikono, ni wangapi kati yenu waliotumia taarifa za kisiasa kutoka kwa redio ili kujihusisha na familia au marafiki zako katika mijadala ya ana kwa ana ya kisiasa kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 nchini Kenya?
- (b) Vipi taarifa za kisiasa kutoka kwa redio iliathiri mara kwa mara ushiriki wako ana kwa ana katika mijadala ya kisiasa baina ya watu wa familia yako au marafiki zako?
- (c) Vipi, mijadala ya kisiasa ya ana kwa ana mara kwa mara baina ya watu wa familia yako au marafiki zako iliyotokana na taarifa za kisiasa kutoka redio iliathiri ushiriki wako kwa uchaguzi wa 2013 kwa Kaunti ya Kakamega?

Appendix IX: Summary of Themes and Sub-themes in Qualitative Data

FGD Question	Themes	Sub-themes
1(b). What political news obtained from radio do you consider influenced your political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?	1.1 Civic and voter education	1.1.1 Voter identification requirements and voting procedures
		1.1.2 Voter registration and register inspection
		1.1.3 Candidates and political parties or coalitions
		1.1.4 Voting date, hours and venues
		1.1.5 Elective posts and their eligibility criteria
		1.1.6 Peaceful elections
	1.2 Election campaigns	1.2.1 Election campaign schedules
		1.2.2 Election campaign promises
	1.3 Nomination of candidates by political parties or coalitions	
	1.4 Election opinion polls	
1(c). How did the political news obtained from radio influence your political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?	2.1 Informational role	
	2.2 Challenges to the informational role of radio	2.2.1 Inadequate exposure to political information on radio
		2.2.2 Limited exposure to political information on radio on female candidates and non-dominant political parties or coalitions
	2.3 Political advertising role	
2(a). What did you learn from the political news on radio about the 2013 general election?	1.1 Voter registration and register inspection	
	1.2 Election timelines	
	1.3 Candidates and political parties or coalitions	
	1.4 Voting processes and technology	
	1.5 Presidential election campaign schedules and promises	1.5.1 Presidential election campaign schedules
		1.5.2 Presidential election campaign promises or manifestos
	1.6 Election-related constitutional and legal provisions	
	1.7 Challenges to political learning from radio	

2(b). How did the political knowledge acquired from radio influence your political participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?	2.1 Attending political rallies or meetings	
	2.2 Making voting decisions and turning out to vote on Election Day	
	2.3 Canvassing for votes before Election Day	
	2.4 Challenges to translating political knowledge into political action	
3(a). How did the political news obtained from radio affect your interest in the 2013 general election campaigns in Kakamega County?	1.1 Raising election campaign interest through exposure to voter education information on radio	
	1.2 Increasing election campaign interest via exposure to entertaining election content on radio	
	1.3 Decreasing election campaign interest through exposure to information on radio considered adverse to politics and politicians	
3(b). How did your election campaign interest airing from the political news from radio influence your electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?	2.1 Political participation through voting	
	2.2 Election campaign participation	
	2.3 Resource constraints inhibiting election campaign interest translating into political participation	
4(a). How did the political news from radio influence your perceived capability to understand and participate in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County?	3.1 Exposure to poorly packaged and inadequate voter education on radio	
	3.2 Exposure to perceived adverse radio election coverage of female candidates and the political campaign environment	
	3.3 Low PIE	

4(b). How did your perceived capability to understand politics and engage in it arising from the political information acquired from radio influence your electoral participation in the 2013 polls in Kakamega County?	4.1 Resource constraints inhibiting political self-efficacy translating into election campaign participation	
	4.2 Inadequate political self-efficacy	
	4.3 Inhibiting social and political environment in Kenya	4.3.1 Inhibiting political environment
		4.3.2 Gendered socialization
5(b). How did the political news from radio influence your frequency of engaging in interpersonal political discussions with your family or friends?	1.1 Motivating role for face-to-face political discussions	
	1.2 Agenda-setting function of radio	
	1.3 Inadequate PIE	
5(c). How did the frequency of interpersonal political discussions with your family or friends arising from the political news from radio 2013 polls in Kakamega County?	2.1 Demobilization effect of interpersonal political discussions	2.1.1 Political distrust
		2.1.2 Fear of political participation
		2.1.3 Political incompetence
	2.2 Persuasive role of face-to-face political discussions	

Appendix X: Research Authorization Permit



MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 5th May, 2017

TO: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda
PG/PHD/0047/2012
Department of Communication and Media Technology
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box, Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

REF: MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00373/17

RE: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Participation in the 2013 General Elections in Kakamega County, Kenya. Proposal Reference Number MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00373/17

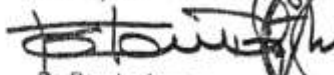
This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 5th day of May, 2017 for a period of one (1) year.

Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 4th May, 2018. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to the MUERC Secretariat by 5th April, 2017.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach the MUERC Secretariat by 5th April, 2017.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advise MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.


Dr. Bonuke Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee



Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED



Appendix XI: Survey Respondents' Informed Consent [English Version]

MUERC/GF4 Version 1.0

Research title: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Political Participation in the 2013 General Election in Kakamega County, Kenya.

Name of researcher: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda
PG/PHD/00047/2012
Department of Communication and Media Technology
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

Study location: The study shall be conducted in the following 12 sub-locations in Kakamega County: Lugari, Munyuki, Mwiba, Moi's Bridge, Cheptuli, Isanjiro, Emukaya, Township, Eshikalame, Mumias Township, Shiatsala and Shirotsa.

Purpose of the study: This research is undertaken for the purpose of writing a thesis towards the award of a PhD degree at Maseno University.

Description of the study: This study targets women registered as voters for the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The research will utilize questionnaires and focus group discussions (FGDs) in the first and second phases of data collection, respectively. In the first phase, your participation in this research will involve answering questions asked by the interviewer based on a questionnaire. This will take approximately one to one and a half hours. The questionnaire is divided into six sections covering: socio-demographics, political orientation, use of radio and other news media, political knowledge, political attitudes, face-to-face political discussions and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. In the second phase, 40 of the survey respondents will be selected to participate in FGDs. Please let me know if you are willing and ready to participate in the FGDs. A separate informed consent for participation in FGDs will be signed when it is conducted.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, you may choose not to answer certain questions that make you uncomfortable or that you do not want to answer. You can withdraw from this research at any time. However, we hope that you will participate in this survey, since your views are important.

Potential discomforts and risks: The researcher does not anticipate any risks to participants.

Potential benefits: There are no direct potential benefits to the respondents.

Confidentiality: Your responses will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and stored securely. A respondent's identity will not be revealed while the study is being conducted, reported, or published.

Reimbursement: Participants will be reimbursed for their transportation expenses at the current rates for public transport.

I agree to participate in this study.

Signature/Thumb print of the participant: Date:.....

Signature of Researcher:..... Date:.....

Contact: For any questions or concerns about this study, contact: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, Maseno University, Department of Communication and Media Technology, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno. Mobile phone: 072159xxxx; Email: ibrahimxxxxx@gmail.com. For any questions pertaining to rights as a research participant, the contact person is: The Secretary, Maseno University Ethics Review Committee, Private Bag, Maseno; Telephone numbers: 057-51622, 0722203411, 0721543976, 0733230878; Email address: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke ; muerc-secretariate@gmail.com

Appendix XII: Survey Respondents' Informed Consent [Kiswahili Version]

MUERC/GF4 Version 1.0

Mada ya utafiti: Ushawishi wa kusikiliza redio kwa wapiga kura wa kike katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega, Kenya.

Jina la mtafiti: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda
PG/PHD/00047/2012
Department of Communication and Media Technology
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

Mahali pa uatafiti: Utafiti utafanywa katika kata ndogo 12 yafutayo katika Kaunti ya Kakamega: Lugari, Munyuki, Mwiba, Moi's Bridge, Cheptuli, Isanjiro, Emukaya, Township, Eshikalame, Mumias Township, Shiatsala na Shiotsa.

Madhumuni ya utafiti: Utafiti huu unafanywa kwa madhumuni ya kuandika tasnifu ya utafiti kwa tuzo ya shahada ya uzamili (PhD) katika Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno.

Maelezo ya utafiti: Utafiti huu unalenga wanawake waliosajiliwa kama wapiga kura kwa uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega. Utafiti utatumia dodoso na mijadala ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs) katika awamu ya kwanza na ya pili ya ukusanyaji wa data mtawalia. Katika awamu ya kwanza, ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu utakuhusisha kujibu maswali yatayoulizwa na mhojiwa kulingana na dodoso. Hii itachukua takriban saa moja hadi moja na nusu. Dodoso imegawanywa katika sehemu sita zinazoangazia: demografia, Mwelekeo wa kisiasa, matumizi ya redio and vyongo vingine vya habari, maarifa ya kisiasa, mitazamo ya kisiasa, majadiliano ya kisiasa ya ana kwa ana, na ushiriki wa kisiasa katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega. Katika awamu ya pili, washiriki 40 wa utafiti watachaguliwa kushiriki mijadala ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs). Tafadhali nijulishe kama uko tayari na uko tayari kushiriki katika FGDs. Idhini tofauti ya ushiriki mijadala ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs) itatiwa saina wakati wa mijadala itakapofanywa.

Kushiriki kwa Hiari na Kujitoa: Kushiriki kwako katika utafiti huu ni kwa hiari kabisa, unaweza kuchagua kutojibu maswali fulani ambayo yanakukosesha raha au ambayo hutaki kujibu. Unaweza kujiondoa katika utafiti huu wakati wowote. Hata hivyo, tunatumai kuwa utashiriki katika utafiti huu kwa kuwa maoni yako ni muhimu.

Usumbufu na hatari zinazowezezana: Mtafiti hatarajii hatari zozote kwa washiriki wa utafiti.

Manufaa yanayowezezana: Hakuna manufaa ya moja kwa moja yanayoweza kupatikana kwa wataojibu.

Usiri: Majibu yako yatashughulikiwa kwa usiri mkubwa na kuhifadhiwa kwa usalama. Utambulisho wa mhojiwa hautafichuliwa wakati utafiti unafanywa, kuripotiwa au kuchapishwa.

Marejesho: Washiriki watafidiwa gharama zao za usafiri kwa viwango vya sasa vya usafiri wa umma. Ninakubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Sahihi/Kidole gumba cha mshiriki: Tarehe:.....

Sahihi ya mtafiti:..... Tarehe:.....

Wasiliana: Kwa maswali au wasiwasi wowote kuhusu utafiti huu, wasiliana na: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno, Idara ya Mawasiliano na Teknolojia ya Vyombo vya Habari, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno. Simu ya mkonon/rununu: 072159xxxx, Barua pepe: ibrahimshare@gmail.com. Kwa maswali yoyote yanayohusu haki kama mshiriki wa utafiti, mtu wa mawasiliano ni: Katibu, Kamati ya Mapitio ya Maadili ya Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno; Nambari za simu: 057-51622, 0722203411, 0721543976, 0733230878; Barua pepe: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke ; muerc-secretariate@gmail.com

Appendix XIII: Focus Group Discussions- Informed Consent Form [English Version]

MUERC/GF4 Version 1.0

Title of the study: Influence of Exposure to Radio on Women Voters' Participation in the 2013 General Election in Kakamega County, Kenya.

Name of researcher: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda
PG/PHD/00047/2012
Department of Communication and Media Technology
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

Study location: The study shall be conducted in the following 12 sub-locations in Kakamega County: Lugari, Munyuki, Mwiba, Moi's Bridge, Cheptuli, Isanjiro, Emukaya, Township, Eshikalame, Mumias Township, Shiatsala and Shirotsa. For this phase of data collection, only sub-locations in bold will be involved.

Purpose of the study: This research is undertaken for the purpose of writing a thesis towards the award of a PhD degree at Maseno University.

Description of the study: This is the second phase of data collection in a study in which you already participated through the completion of a questionnaire. In this phase, the research will utilize focus group discussions (FGDs) covering the following topics: use of radio, political knowledge, political attitudes, face-to-face political discussions and political participation in the 2013 general election in Kakamega County. The FGDs will last for approximately two hours. The focus group discussions will be audio-recorded in order to accurately capture what is said.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose to leave the focus group at any time. However, we hope that you will participate for the entire period of the discussions since your views are important.

Potential discomforts and risks: There are no known risks to participants.

Potential benefits: There are no direct potential benefits to participants.

Confidentiality: The recorded audio recordings and transcriptions will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and stored securely. Participants will be asked not to use any names during the FGDs. The researcher would like to remind participants to respect the privacy of fellow participants and not repeat what is said in the FGDs to others. However, given the nature of focus groups, the researcher cannot guarantee that others will respect the confidentiality of the group. A respondent's identity will not be revealed while the study is being conducted, reported, or published.

Reimbursement: Participants will be reimbursed for their transportation expenses at the current rates for public transport.

I agree to participate in this study and adhere to its guidelines.

Signature/Thumb print of the participant: Date:.....

Signature of Researcher:..... Date:.....

Contact: For any questions or concerns about this study, contact: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, Maseno University, Department of Communication and Media Technology, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno. Mobile phone: 072159xxxx; Email: ibrahimxxxx@gmail.com. For any questions pertaining to rights as a research participant, the contact person is: The Secretary, Maseno University Ethics Review Committee, Private Bag, Maseno; Telephone numbers: 057-51622, 0722203411, 0721543976, 0733230878; Email address: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke ; muerc-secretariate@gmail.com

Appendix XIV: Focus Group Discussions- Informed Consent Form [Kiswahili Version]

MUERC/GF4 Version 1.0

Mada ya utafiti: Ushawishi wa kusikiliza redio kwa wapiga kura wa kike katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega, Kenya.

Jina la mtafiti: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda
PG/PHD/00047/2012
Department of Communication and Media Technology
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

Mahali pa uatafiti: Utafiti utafanywa katika kata ndogo 12 yafutayo katika Kaunti ya Kakamega: Lugari, Munyuki, Mwiba, Moi's Bridge, Cheptuli, Isanjiro, Emukaya, Township, Eshikalame, Mumias Township, Shiatsala na Shirotso. Kwa awamu hii ya ukusanyaji wa data, maeneo madogo pekee yaliyo kwenye herufi nzito ndiyo yatakatayohusika.

Madhumuni ya utafiti: Utafiti huu unafanywa kwa madhumuni ya kuandika tasnifu ya utafiti kwa tuzo ya shahada ya uzamili (PhD) katika Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno.

Maelezo ya utafiti: Hii ni awamu ya pili ya ukusanyaji wa data katika utafiti ambao tayari umeshiriki kupitia ukamilishaji wa dodoso. Katika awamu hii, utafiti utatumia mijadala ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs) inayolenga mada zifuatazo: matumizi ya redio, maarifa ya kisiasa, mitazamo ya kisiasa, mijadala ya ana kwa ana ya kisiasa, na ushiriki wa kisiasa katika uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 katika Kaunti ya Kakamega. Mijadala ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs) zitadumu kwa takriban saa mbili. Majadiliano ya vikundi lengwa (FGDs) yatarekodiwa kwa sauti ili kunasa kwa usahihi kile kinachosemwa.

Kushiriki kwa Hiari na Kujitoa: Kushiriki kwako katika utafiti huu ni kwa hiari kabisa. Unaweza kuchagua kuondoka kwenye kikundi lengwa wakati wowote. Hata hivyo, tunatumai kuwa utashiriki kwa muda wote wa majadiliano kwa kuwa maoni yako ni muhimu.

Usumbufu na hatari zinazoweza: Mtafiti hatarajii hatari zozote kwa washiriki wa utafiti.

Manufaa yanayoweza: Hakuna manufaa ya moja kwa moja yanayoweza kupatikana kwa wataojibu.

Usiri: Rekodi za sauti zilizorekodiwa na manukuu yatashughulikiwa kwa usiri wa hali ya juu na kuhifadhiwa kwa usalama. Washiriki wataombwa kutotumia majina yoyote wakati wa mijadala. Mtafiti angependa kuwakumbusha washiriki kuheshimu faragha ya washiriki wenzao na kutorudia yale yanayosemwa katika mijadala ya vikundi lengwa kwa wengine. Hata hivyo, kwa kuzingatia asili ya makundi lengwa, mtafiti hawezi kuthibitisha kwamba wengine wataheshimu usiri wa kikundi. Utambulisho wa mhojiwa hautafichuliwa wakati utafiti unafanywa, kuripotiwa au kuchapishwa.

Marejesho: Washiriki watafidiwa gharama zao za usafiri kwa viwango vya sasa vya usafiri wa umma. Ninakubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Sahihi/Kidole gumba cha mshiriki: Tarehe:.....

Sahihi ya mtafiti:..... Tarehe:.....

Wasiliana: Kwa maswali au wasiwasi wowote kuhusu utafiti huu, wasiliana na: Thomas Ibrahim Okinda, Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno, Idara ya Mawasiliano na Teknolojia ya Vyombo vya Habari, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno. Simu ya mkonon/rununu: 072159xxxx; Barua pepe: ibrahimshare@gmail.com. Kwa maswali yoyote yanayohusu haki kama mshiriki wa utafiti, mtu wa mawasiliano ni: Katibu, Kamati ya Mapitio ya Maadili ya Chuo Kikuu cha Maseno, P. O. Private Bag, Maseno; Nambari za simu: 057-51622, 0722203411, 0721543976, 0733230878; Barua pepe: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke ; muerc-secretariate@gmail.com

Appendix XV: Survey Respondents' Socio-demographic and Political Orientation Characteristics

Characteristics	Label	Frequency (N=372)	%
Age (years)	18-25	59	15.9
	26-30	69	18.5
	31-35	34	9.1
	Sub-total	162	43.5
	36-40	44	11.8
	41-45	32	8.6
	46-50	30	8.1
	Sub-total	106	28.5
	51-55	36	9.7
	56-60	27	7.3
Above 60	Above 60	41	11.0
	Sub-total	104	28.0
	Total	372	100.0
	Marital status	Single/Not married	92
Married/Live-in partner		222	59.7
Widowed		33	8.9
Separated		14	3.8
Divorced		9	2.4
No Response (NR)		2	0.5
Total		372	100.0
Level of education	No formal education	72	19.4
	Primary school	161	43.3
	Secondary school	71	19.1
	Middle-level college	42	11.3
	Undergraduate	18	4.8
	Postgraduate	6	1.6
	NR	2	0.5
Total	372	100.0	
Household income (Kshs.)	10,000 and below	128	34.4
	10,001- 20,000	69	18.5
	Sub-total	197	52.9
	20,001- 30,000	57	15.3
	30,001- 40,000	43	11.6
	40,001- 50,000	30	8.1
	Above 50,000	22	5.9
	Sub-total	152	40.9
	Don't Know (DK) and NR	23	6.2
	Total	372	100.0
Location or Locality	Rural	155	41.7
	Urban	217	58.3
	Total	372	100.0

Political party affiliation	None	96	25.8
	ODM	165	44.4
	UDF Party	52	14.0
	Others	51	13.7
	DK and NR	8	2.2
Total		372	100.0
Partisanship*	Not so strong	126	47.0
	Strong	68	25.4
	Very strong	58	21.6
	DK and NR	16	6.0
	Total		268

Note:

- *Percentages based on the 268 who indicated being politically affiliated.
- Categories of ages based on the age groups used by IEBC to tabulate the 2013 general election voter registration data.

Appendix XVI: Chi-Square Test of Significance Between Women Voters' Exposure to Radio and Forms of Political Participation in the 2013 Polls in Kakamega County

Levels of radio exposure	Forms of Political Participation			
	1. Canvassing for votes			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	53	9.4	90.6	100.0
Low radio exposure	76	25.0	75.0	100.0
Medium radio exposure	112	66.1	33.9	100.0
High radio exposure	105	98.1	1.9	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 346) = 157.667, p = .000, V= .675$			
	2. Rallying up voters to try to get them turn out and vote			
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	52	11.5	88.5	100.0
Low radio exposure	78	33.3	66.7	100.0
Medium radio exposure	110	69.1	30.9	100.0
High radio exposure	105	90.5	9.5	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 345) = 117.159, p = .000, V= .583$			
	3. Attending political meetings or rallies			
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	53	0.0	100.0	100.0
Low radio exposure	79	21.5	78.5	100.0
Medium radio exposure	111	39.6	60.4	100.0
High radio exposure	104	79.8	20.2	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 347) = 113.613, p = .000, V= .572$			
	4. Donating to or buying promotional materials to support a campaign			
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	53	1.9	98.1	100.0
Low radio exposure	78	1.3	98.7	100.0
Medium radio exposure	109	11.9	88.1	100.0
High radio exposure	104	50.0	50.0	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 344) = 92.664, p = .000, V= .519$			
	5. Displaying election campaign materials			
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	52	23.1	76.9	100.0
Low radio exposure	77	37.7	62.3	100.0
Medium radio exposure	111	68.5	31.5	100.0
High radio exposure	105	90.5	9.5	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 345) = 90.367, p = .000, V= .512$			

6. Distributing election campaign literature				
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	52	1.9	98.1	100.0
Low radio exposure	79	2.5	97.5	100.0
Medium radio exposure	111	13.0	87.0	100.0
High radio exposure	103	46.7	53.3	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 344) = 77.966, p = .000, V = .476$			
7. Volunteering as a leader or member of a campaign support team				
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	53	0.0	100.0	100.0
Low radio exposure	79	10.1	89.9	100.0
Medium radio exposure	108	74.3	25.7	100.0
High radio exposure	104	54.4	45.6	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 346) = 71.663, p = .000, V = .455$			
8. Voting				
	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
No radio exposure	54	46.3	53.7	100.0
Low radio exposure	80	82.5	17.5	100.0
Medium radio exposure	113	83.2	16.8	100.0
High radio exposure	105	97.1	2.9	100.0
Chi-square statistics	$X^2 (3, N= 352) = 61.782, p = .000, V = .403$			

Appendix XVII: Profile of Focus Group Discussants

Group	No.	Age (years)	Marital status	Level of education	Household income (Kshs.)	Political party	Party support
1	1	18-25	Single	Primary	10,000 & below	ODM	Very strong
	2	26-30	Married	Primary	30,001- 40,000	ODM	NR
	3	26-30	Married	Secondary	10,001-20,000	UDF	Very strong
	4	31-35	Widowed	No formal education	10,000 & below	UDF	NR
	5	31-35	Married	Middle-level college	Above 50,000	ODM	Strong
	6	26-30	Single	Undergraduate	Above 50,000	ODM	Not so strong
	7	26-30	Married	Primary	10,000 & below	ODM	Strong
2	8	36-40	Married	Primary	DK	None	NA
	9	41-45	Married	Primary	10,001-20,000	UDF	Not so strong
	10	46-50	Married	No formal education	10,000 & below	None	NA
	11	41-45	Widowed	Secondary	NR	ODM	NR
	12	36-40	Single	Undergraduate	40,001-50,000	None	NA
	13	46-50	Married	Primary	10,000 & below	ODM	Not so strong
3	14	26-30	Married	Secondary	10,001-20,000	FORD-Kenya	Not so strong
	15	18-25	Single	Primary	10,001-20,000	ODM	Not so strong
	16	31-35	Single	Undergraduate	40,001-50,000	ODM	Not so strong
	17	18-25	Married	Primary	DK	ODM	Strong
	18	31-35	Married	Secondary	10,001-20,000	URP	Strong
	19	26-30	Single	Undergraduate	Above 50,000	NR	NA
	20	31-35	Married	Middle-level college	Above 50,000	FORD-Kenya	Strong
	21	31-35	Married	Secondary	30,001-40,000	ODM	Strong
4	22	51-55	Divorced	Primary	20,001-30,000	UDF	Not so strong
	23	56-60	Widowed	Middle-level college	30,001-40,000	UDF	Not so strong
	24	51-55	Widowed	Secondary	10,000 & below	ODM	Not so strong
	25	51-55	Single	Postgraduate	Above 50,000	None	NA
	26	51-55	Married	Secondary	20,001-30,000	ODM	Not so strong
	27	56-60	Married	Secondary	10,000 & below	None	NA

Note:

- 1-27 represents participant number. Groups 1 and 2 are classified under rural areas and urban areas represented by groups 3 and 4. Data extracted from the survey questionnaire.
- Categories of ages based on the age groups used by IEBC to tabulate the 2013 general election voter registration data.

Appendix XVIII: Correct Responses to and Scores of Political Knowledge Questions

No.	Area of testing	Questions	Correct answer	Correct responses (N=372)	%
23	Constitution or legal statutes	What official document is presented to the electoral clerk when registering as a voter for a general election in Kenya?	Valid Kenyan national ID or passport	357	96.0
24	Constitution or legal statutes	What percentage of total valid votes cast in a general election in Kenya must a presidential candidate get in order to be declared a winner?	Over 50%	85	22.8
25	County political units	How many County Assembly Wards make up Kakamega County?	60	122	32.8
26	Women focused issues	Which political coalition promised free maternity services in its Kenya's 2013 general election campaign manifesto?	The Jubilee Alliance	170	45.7
27	National politics-female presidential candidate	What is the name of the female presidential candidate who participated in the March 4, 2013 general election?	Martha Karua	122	32.5
28	National politics-presidential candidate	What is the name of the presidential candidate who vied on the CORD ticket in the March 4, 2013 general election?	Raila Odinga	286	76.9