



Populist Tendencies in Kenya's Political Representation Practice: Digital and Discursive Dimensions

Nancy Gakahu

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

Article History

Received: 2025.04.02

Revised: 2025.09.18

Accepted: 2025.09.19

Published: 2025.09.20

Keywords

Kenya

Populism

Representation

Social media

Women politicians

How to cite:

Gakahu, N. (2025). Populist Tendencies in Kenya's Political Representation Practice: Digital and Discursive Dimensions. *Journal of Research and Academic Writing*, 2(2), 134-143.

Abstract

This study investigates how populism is enacted in the practice of online political representation in Kenya, with a focus on the role of social media as a site of political engagement and discourse. Two guiding questions frame the inquiry: How do Kenyan politicians construct and express populist tendencies on social media platforms? How do social media discourses shape the people–elite relationship in Kenyan politics? The study leverages social media data, comprising 58 tweets and posts, retrieved from the Facebook and Twitter (X) pages of 20 women politicians through web-scraping. This data is complemented with semi-structured one-on-one interviews with 12 citizens, as well as three Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving 25 citizens from distinct locales: an urban setting, a peri-urban area, and a rural setting. This multi-method design enables a nuanced examination of both elite political performances and popular receptions of populist discourse. To analyse the data, the study employs a combination of discourse analysis and thematic analysis. Discourse analysis is used to examine social media texts, uncovering underlying meanings and identifying populist sentiments. Thematic analysis is applied to explore patterns and overarching themes that emerge from the interviews and FGDs. Findings reveal that nearly half of the Facebook posts and tweets analysed contained manifestations of populist tendencies. Women politicians positioned themselves as advocates for ordinary citizens by challenging political norms, denouncing elite-driven marginalisation, and employing socio-cultural performances such as code-switching and identity-based rhetoric. Additional tendencies included the use of emotionalism, sensationalism, and strategic manoeuvring for political relevance.

Copyright © 2025



Introduction

Populism emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century as both an intellectual paradigm and a political movement. It was conventionally understood as an ideology grounded in the dichotomy between the 'pure people' and the 'corrupt political elite,' while simultaneously upholding the principle of popular sovereignty (Cas & Kalwasser, 2013). In this formative conception, populism articulated opposition to modernisation, denounced the consolidation of social plutocracy and entrenched oligarchies, positioning the ordinary populace as the most authentic and legitimate political subject (Finchelstein & Urbinati, 2018). During this period, however, populism remained largely peripheral, concentrated primarily within Western democracies.



In contemporary contexts, populism occupies a central position in global political discourse, transcending its earlier regional confines. However, its actual definition and practice within the realm of politics is still ambivalent and contested. What remains broadly acknowledged, however, is that across diverse settings, populism operates as a mode of performative politics: it mobilises narratives of crisis, constructs the figure of the ordinary citizen as disenfranchised and oppressed, and advances anti-establishment orientations as a means of cultivating resonance with the political public (Kazharski & Makarychev, 2020). Political leaders who employ populist strategies utilise rhetoric, symbolic influence, and organisational approaches to further their political agendas and garner public support (Kerr et al., 2022). According to Homolar and Löfflmann (2021), populism harnesses affective politics, employing practices such as humiliating opponents and political establishments to cultivate emotional bonds with audiences.

Having established that populism constitutes a form of performative politics, it is imperative to explore how it materialises within the Kenyan political landscape. Accordingly, this study examines the enactment of populism in the practice of political representation in Kenya, with a particular focus on its intersections with gender dynamics in the social media sphere. To situate this inquiry within broader scholarly debates, the following section reviews existing literature on populism, performative politics, and gendered political representation.

Literature

The dimensions and characteristics of populism are highly contested by scholars, with some scholars such as Urbinatti (2020); Gaus et al. (2020), and Espinosa et al.,(2022) concentrating solely on its political and democratic facets, while others such as Norris and Inglehart (2019), Kissas (2020) and Jami and Kemmelmeier (2021) extend the scope to include the social and cultural dimensions of a given society. Political communication scholars, exemplified by Roberts (2018), argue that populism tends to emerge and flourish within environments characterised by democratic deficits and social challenges, particularly evident in many developing nations and nascent democracies. What is agreeable about populism, however, and what is adopted as the general nature of populism in this study, is Kaltwasser and Van Hauwaert's (2020) argument that populism is a political tactic utilised by politicians to position themselves as champions of the common people against an established ruling class.

Notably, populism adopts a deeply contextual character and is mediated by cultural and contextual conditions. In Africa, for instance, Rensick (2021) observes that populist strategies often align with the policy priorities of urban disadvantaged populations, focusing on issues such as job creation and service delivery. In the United States, Salmela and Scheve (2017) associate populism with socio-economic transformations spurred by globalisation and deregulation. Similarly, within the same context, Levi et al. (2020) highlight how populist leaders denounce elites, ostensibly championing the interests of the 'American people.' This form of populism in the U.S. also encompasses narratives of blaming other nations, immigration rhetoric, and the cultivation of national victimhood that resonates with supporters (Huber et al, 2020). Across Asia, populist political strategies manifest in diverse ways, depending on the nation. In Southeast Asia, for example, leaders make redistributive promises which encompass not only populism but also clientelism (Shukri and Smajljaj, 2020). In Indonesia, political candidates leverage secular nationalism as an ideational element within their communication strategies, particularly during election periods (Ahmad, 2022). Meanwhile, in the Nordic countries, Herkman (2017) asserts that populism manifests through rhetoric challenging political and economic elites, appealing to the native population against perceived 'others.'



Overall, populism revolves around a reflection of a permanent representational crisis (Roberts, 2016), tapping into public dissatisfaction with the state of governance (Gomez-Reino & Llamazares, 2018), and invoking an emotional appeal from a dissatisfied populace (Pirro and Taggart, 2023). The aim is for politicians to distance themselves from the perceived shortcomings of the broader government establishment and to vilify a dominant political caste (Barr, 2018). In essence, it adopts a citizen-centric and anti-elitist strategy where citizens are projected as oppressed, marginalised, and vulnerable (de Vreese et al., 2018).

For a populace perceiving marginalisation within the political domain, the prospect of being 'rescued' by a political figure resonates deeply (Resnick, 2017). Within the African context, societal inequality fosters a dynamic in which political leaders capitalise on this perceived imbalance by creating a political demand and supply situation, thereby leveraging populism as an opportunistic ploy (ibid). Paradoxically, the vast majority of political leaders cannot be unequivocally classified as outsiders to the prevailing political and economic establishment in any given context (Resnick, 2017, p. 111). Thus, populism emerges as just a performative aspect of political discourse.

Methods

Study Design

The study adopts a qualitative research design that triangulates social media data, semi-structured one-on-one interviews, and focus group discussions with citizens. A qualitative design was adopted because of its appropriateness in addressing my broader research question, which involved exploring the dynamics of political representation practice in Kenya. The objective of triangulating data was to explore and scrutinise the intricacies of this practice from diverse perspectives.

Population and Sampling

At the time of data collection, there were 76 female politicians at the national and county-level governments, in the capacities of 23 MPs, three Governors, 3 Senators, and 47 Women Representatives (Kenyatta, 2023). Additionally, a one-woman politician who contended for the post of Deputy President in 2022, having previously held prolonged gubernatorial and MP positions, was included in the study. Her candidacy for the second most eminent executive position in Kenya's politics warranted her inclusion, thereby augmenting the total cohort of women leaders under examination to 77 ($n = 77$). Women politicians were chosen to participate in the study because they are historically, culturally, and systemically muzzled in Kenya's political representation space. Thus, it was imperative to study how they are employing digital platforms as alternative arenas for political representation.

Being largely a social media study, the subsequent step involved ascertaining the prevalence of active¹ Twitter and Facebook accounts among the sampled politicians. Twenty women politicians maintained active Facebook accounts, while 11 of them had active Twitter accounts, and they were among the cohort with active Facebook accounts. Consequently, the cohort eligible for this study comprised 20 women politicians and a total of 58 posts.

Citizens who participated in this study were drawn from the 20 electoral areas represented by the politicians selected for analysis. These 20 areas were stratified into three distinct categories, namely

¹ In this study, an *active social media account* refers to one where a politician posted content with a frequency of at least three times per week during the period of data collection.



'urban'², 'semi-urban'³ and 'remote'⁴ categories, referencing the geographic classifications of Kenyan regions from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS)⁵ of 2019. From each category, one county was randomly selected, yielding Nairobi, Eldoret, and Murang'a as the urban, peri-urban, and rural counties, respectively. Within each county, a single electoral ward was randomly sampled using the IEBC⁶ register as the sampling frame. To recruit participants, posters were displayed in strategic public spaces such as shopping centres, towns, and churches within the selected wards, inviting volunteers to participate in the study. Accordingly, the first ten citizens who responded in each ward were chosen to take part in the focus group discussions (FGDs) through volunteer sampling (n = 30). Volunteer sampling was adopted because Kenya's electoral areas constitute a diverse and geographically dispersed population, rendering probability-based recruitment impractical. A limitation of this approach is the potential for self-selection bias, as individuals who volunteer may hold stronger opinions or greater interest in political issues than the general population. To mitigate this concern, the study employed stratification across diverse geographic contexts. It ensured that participants were recruited from different public spaces within each ward to capture as broad a spectrum of views as possible. Ultimately, 25 participants were secured, comprising Nairobi (n = 10), Eldoret (n = 7), and Murang'a (n = 8). From each of the FGDs, four citizens were then randomly chosen for face-to-face interviews (n = 12).

Methods of Data Collection

Public posts were retrieved using a semi-automated web-scraping tool (Facebook Comments Extractor) for Facebook. In contrast, Twitter data was collected manually due to the platform's regulatory restrictions and the technical complexities surrounding automated extraction. For ethical reasons, only public Facebook posts and Tweets from each politician were included in the study. Social media data was collected during July and August 2020, as well as July and August 2022. The intention was to capture both routine and heightened moments of political representation. The 2020 period reflected a 'normal' mid-cycle electoral context, while the 2022 period coincided with the national elections—an essential arena for representational messages in politics. This design enabled an assessment of both everyday political practices and the intensified representational strategies employed in the immediate pre-election period. Data from citizens was collected through in-depth, one-on-one semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

Analysis

Social media texts were analysed using Potter and Wetherell's (1987) discourse analytic framework of *interpretative repertoires*. This involved examining words, metaphors, and other linguistic elements in relation to content and context, i.e cultural, political, and social contexts. The aim was to uncover how populist ideas, concepts, values and perspectives were constructed and communicated.

Data from interviews and focus group discussions was subjected to thematic analysis, drawing on Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework and Flick's (2019) emphasis on inductive and reflexive engagement. Inductive coding, supported by NVivo 14, facilitated the organic emergence of themes without reliance on pre-existing categories, thereby minimising analytical bias. Reflexive, manual coding complemented this process by fostering critical researcher engagement, refining emergent

² Areas in and around cities or towns that are easily accessible by road

³ Towns that are in remote areas that are not easily accessible

⁴ The countryside, very remote and almost inaccessible

⁵ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

⁶ Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission.



codes, and consolidating overlapping themes. This dual strategy ensured both analytical rigour and thematic precision.

Ethical Considerations

Being a study based on politics, fundamental ethical considerations included provisions for participant anonymity, the autonomy of participants to withdraw from the study within a stipulated timeframe, and the facilitation of interviews and focus group discussions in secure environments, thereby safeguarding the well-being of both the researcher and the participants. With respect to social media data, only public posts from verified accounts of politicians were collected and analysed, in line with ethical guidelines for digital research, ensuring that no private or restricted content was used.

Presentation and Discussion

Evidence gathered from the analysis of data in this study revealed that approximately 50% of the Facebook posts and tweets analysed had manifestations of populist tendencies. Firstly, women politicians positioned themselves as advocates for the common people, challenging established political norms and championing the rights of ordinary citizens through anti-poverty rhetoric. Secondly, they denounced the economic and political marginalisation perpetuated by the ruling elite. The third dimension of populism identified in this study, which was regarded as authentic to the African context (see Resnick, 2021), revolved around socio-cultural performances, including the use of linguistic appeals in the form of code-switching, religious sentiments, and identity appeals.

Furthermore, this study identified additional populist tendencies such as the utilisation of emotionalism and sensationalism, as well as the manoeuvring for political relevance. The most noticeable mode of populism, however, that emerged out of this study, was 'empty populism', advanced by de Freese et al. (2018, p. 2), where politicians employed rhetorical claims to appeal to the general public without providing concrete solutions to their plight. Overall, populism manifested either as content or as a style. These forms of populism are expanded upon in the subsequent sections.

The illustrative Facebook post below, representative of numerous populist posts and tweets analysed in this study, serves as an example. This post elucidates the various variants of populism that have been highlighted in the preceding section, including the subjects of economic, political, and cultural exclusions. The post also addresses the subject of poverty, as well as the notion of empty populism.

Extremely saddened to have witnessed the very inhumane way the Government has forcefully evicted families in Marioshoni Ward, Molo Sub-County. One wonders what the urgency is in carrying out this displacement excises during a very rainy season and while our people are already suffering due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. We have called on the government to stop any further evictions until an amicable solution is found. Our people must be treated with dignity and proper procedures followed for those with Title deeds for their land and sufficient notice given to those living past the cut line. The government through the ministry of environment must also come clear on the forest boundaries to avoid punishing people living on legally acquired land. As a country, we must learn to respect title deeds issued by the relevant government departments. It beats logic to claim the residents are living on forest land while the same government has constructed schools, hospitals, and offices of the Chief to serve the same residents (Kihika, 2020).

In its entirety, this Facebook post employs two major populist styles referred to as populism in content (PiC) and populism in style (PiS), which are advanced by Stanyer et al. (2016). By adopting a



populism in content (PiC) approach, a woman politician critiques government actions towards its citizens, highlighting perceived government indifference to citizens' welfare, disparities in government services, land rights, property ownership, and resource allocation. The depiction of individuals residing in government-designated areas as squatters without land ownership, and the subsequent eviction of this group during the COVID-19 pandemic, evokes imagery of economic hardship, financial instability, vulnerability, homelessness, and emotional distress. The politician's contextualisation of these evictions within the backdrop of the pandemic serves to underscore government insensitivity and raises ethical and humanitarian concerns regarding its treatment of citizens.

While addressing the plight of this community, the politician employs specific linguistic choices to position herself as a part of the people, while distancing herself from the political class. Here, she adopts a populist by-style (PiS) stance. She, for instance, references 'our people' to present herself as a champion of the afflicted community and to appear to relate to them. The subject of linguistic choices in populist rhetoric is underscored by Aalberg and de Vreese (2016) as well as Hameleers (2020), who posit that any reference to 'the people' is a key element of populism that is aimed at incorporating anti-establishment rhetoric.

In this post, language is strategically deployed to project emotion and impose obligation. The leader employs linguistic amplifiers to intensify her response to injustices against citizens, simultaneously magnifying the issue and constructing an emotive aura that highlights the government's indifference to public welfare. Such emotionalism reflects a common populist tactic; as Cramer (2017) argues, politicians act as 'attention merchants,' exploiting emotionally charged discourse to capture public attention, often positioning politics around themselves rather than the citizenry.

This practice of leveraging contentious and emotive issues as populist strategies to capture visibility is well-documented in scholarship. Johnson (2022) and Bene et al. (2025), for instance, examine how political leaders exploit attention dynamics, often going to great lengths to command public focus. When asked about this tendency, one of the citizens from the focus group discussions responded by noting that,

They(politicians) are concerned about popularity - 100%. They want to be seen, to be heard, to remain relevant. Sometimes they post controversial issues (FGD, Eldoret, 2022).

The illustrative social media post above has elements of empty populism. Notably, there is a pervasive absence of clear and definitive procedures outlined by the representative to hold the government accountable for its actions. Additionally, the manner in which the afflicted residents are ultimately assisted to alleviate their dire circumstances remains unclear. This highlight aligns with Csigo and Merkovity's (2016) contention that empty populism lacks the requisite specificity to translate rhetorical promises into actionable policies. Furthermore, as noted by Sishuwa (2024), empty populism represents a prevalent communication strategy in Africa, characterised by politicians' emphasis on a standard set of key messages that may not necessarily correspond with the necessary actions.

During individual interviews and focus group discussions, the subject of empty populism garnered disapproval from citizens. A significant portion of participants advocated for political representatives to transcend mere rhetoric and prioritise tangible political issues. These citizens criticised politicians for creating a façade of representation, highlighting a perceived lack of genuine service to constituents.



Consequently, there emerged a collective demand for political authenticity and consequential action. The excerpt provided below exemplifies these sentiments.

I expect our politicians to stop talking too much and focus on things that matter. I want them to know that representation means representation. They create an illusion that they are representing, and they are not (FGD, Muran'ga, August 2022).

Another populist mode identified from social media analysis in this study was the subject of 'politicking for relevance.' In this context, political representatives utilised their online platforms to amplify and maintain their relevance. They, for instance, engaged in attention-grabbing content and selective engagement with issues that were likely to attract public interest and enhance their public profiles. During one-on-one interviews, a citizen recalled a case where a politician commissioned a road but shared a photograph of herself - dressed in a manner considered inappropriate by Kenyan standards - with the caption, "*commissioning a road.*" Public debate subsequently centred on her attire rather than the development project itself.

On the whole, politicians were accused by citizens of neglecting important issues that could stimulate meaningful discussions, and instead, focused solely on issues that were likely to bolster their popularity. For instance, a citizen recounted an incident in which bikers attacked a Rwandese diplomat after causing a road accident in the capital city, Nairobi. Subsequently, women leaders rallied behind the diplomat solely because the incident garnered public attention. There was a general perception that the same leaders would not extend similar support to an average Kenyan woman because such an incident would not generate comparable levels of attention, as exemplified in the following excerpt,

All I see most of them doing is just politicking until an issue that makes them relevant comes up. Its (sic) like going to a party and dancing to a specific tune until something that will attract the attention of citizens comes up. For instance, a Rwandese woman driver was attacked by boda boda guys (bikers) and they all rallied to protest against this attack simply because it gained public attention, and also because she was a diplomat. If it was an ordinary citizen, they would not react. That's what they do (Citizen, Nairobi, August 2022)

This perceived selective responsiveness highlights the prioritisation of presentation tactics and personal prominence over genuine political substance, a populist tactic that faced significant criticism from citizens, as illustrated above. According to Bronstein (2023), this tendency to engage in selective activities to maintain prominence in the eyes of the public, regardless of their effectiveness in political representation, hurts the essence of political representation. If genuine, however, populism can potentially promote inclusivity in democracy because it is anchored on the premise that excluding disadvantaged citizens from the system contradicts the principle of democratic representation (Koc-Michalska and Klinger, 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018).

Overall, the findings of this study underscore that populism is a pervasive online strategy among women politicians in Kenya, yet one that citizens frequently perceive as self-serving rather than responsive to their needs. Citizens in this study lamented the tendency of women leaders to prioritise personal visibility over substantive representation. This perception stands in contrast to scholarship suggesting that women leaders are generally more empathetic, approachable, and responsive to public concerns (Barnes & Córdova, 2016; Bauer & Cargile, 2023). Instead, the findings reinforce



arguments that emotionalism, empathy, advocacy and other 'people-centred' tendencies portrayed by these leaders are often less authentic and more of populist tactics designed to capture attention and maintain political legitimacy.

Conclusion

This study examined how Kenyan politicians utilise social media to promote populist forms of political representation. The findings demonstrate that online platforms operate as strategic arenas where political actors construct identities and dramatise proximity to citizens. Women leaders, in particular, were seen to draw on linguistic repertoires to authenticate their political voices and symbolically align with 'the people.' These practices reveal that populism in Kenya's digital politics is constituted through performance, affective appeal, and political rhetoric.

The implications of these findings are ambivalent. On one hand, populist communication on social media has the potential to enhance democratic inclusion by amplifying marginalised voices and extending engagement beyond formal institutions. On the other hand, the reliance on emotionalism, sensationalism, strategic manoeuvring, and self-elevation by political leaders in populist strategies risks diluting substantive policy debate.

For scholarship, this study underscores the need for sustained inquiry into the intersections of gender, populism, and digital politics in Africa, a field that is not well studied. Also, there is need for comparative analyses across various regions in Africa. Furthermore, future research should also attend to multimodal features - such as memes, videos, and visual symbolism - that increasingly shape the circulation and reception of populist messages.

As far as policy is concerned, the findings of this study point to the importance of developing regulatory frameworks that safeguard free expression while addressing manipulative populist practices and disinformation. Equally critical is the strengthening of digital literacy initiatives, enabling citizens to critically evaluate online political content and participate meaningfully in democratic discourse.

In sum, the study demonstrates that social media is not only transforming political communication in Kenya but is also redefining the contours of representation itself, with populist tendencies mediating the evolving relationship between citizens and elites in the digital age.

References

- Bauer, N. M., & Cargile, I. A. M. (2023). Women Get the Job Done: Differences in Constituent Communication from Female and Male Lawmakers. *Politics & Gender*, 19(4), 1110-1133. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000259>
- Bene, M., Magin, M., Haßler, J., Russmann, U., Lilleker, D., Kruschinski, S., & Balaban, D. (2025). Populism in context: A cross-country investigation of the Facebook usage of populist appeals during the 2019 European parliament elections. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 30(1), 100-121. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612231196158>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bronstein, M. (2023). Novel Theory Beyond Democracy. *American Literary History*, 35(1), 143-157. <https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajac241>
- Cramer, K. (2017). The Views of Populists: What Trump Voters' Perspectives and Perceptions of Trump Voters Tell Us About US Democracy. In Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August/September.



- Csigó, P., & Merkovity, N. (2016). Hungary: Home of empty populism. In *Populist political communication in Europe* (pp. 299-310). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315623016-33>
- de Vreese, C. H., Esser, F., Aalberg, T., Reinemann, C., & Stanyer, J. (2018). Populism as an expression of political communication content and style: A new perspective. *The international journal of press/politics*, 23(4), 423-438. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161218790035>
- Espinosa, A., Janos, E., Pacheco, M., Juárez, J., & Chaparro, H. (2022). Populism in Peru: Populist Attitudes and Perception of The Populist Offer and Its Relationship with Political Cynicism and Attitudes Toward Democracy. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1070609>
- Finchelstein, F., & Urbinatti, N. (2018). On Populism and Democracy. *POPULISM*, 1(2018) 15-37. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25888072-01011001>
- Flick, U. (2019). From intuition to reflexive construction: Research design and triangulation in grounded theory research. *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded theory*, 125-144. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656.n8>
- Gaus, D., Landwehr, C., & Schmalz-Bruns, R. (2020). Defending Democracy Against Technocracy and Populism: Deliberative Democracy's Strengths and Challenges. *Constellations*, 27(3), 335-347. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12529>
- Gómez-Reino, M., & Llamazares, I. (2018). Populism in Spain: the role of ideational change in Podemos. In *The Ideational Approach to Populism* (pp. 294-310). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315196923-13>
- Hameleers, M. (2020). Populist disinformation: Exploring intersections between online populism and disinformation in the US and the Netherlands. *Politics and Governance*, 8(1), 146-157. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v8i1.2478>
- Herkman, J. (2017). Articulations of populism: The Nordic case. *Cultural Studies*, 31(4), 470-488. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2016.1232421>
- Homolar, A. And Löfflmann, G. (202). Populism and the Affective Politics of Humiliation Narratives. *Global Studies Quarterly*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksab002>
- Huber, R., Fesenfeld, L. P., & Bernauer, T. (2020). Political Populism, Responsiveness, And Public Support for Climate Mitigation. *Climate Policy*, 20(3), 373-386. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2020.1736490>
- Jami, W. A., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2021). The social axioms of populism: Investigating the relationship between culture and populist attitudes. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 9(2), 438-455. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.7295>
- Johnson, P. E. (2022). *I the people: The rhetoric of conservative populism in the United States*. University of Alabama Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.30347299>
- Kaltwasser, C. R., & Van Hauwaert, S. M. (2020). The populist citizen: Empirical evidence from Europe and Latin America. *European Political Science Review*, 12(1), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773919000262>
- Kariseb, K., & Kasita, T. (2021). Populism, Electoral Democracy and the 2019 Presidential Election in Namibia. *Southern African Public Law*, 36(1), 22. <https://doi.org/10.25159/2522-6800/8087>
- Kazharski, A., & Makarychev, A. (2020). Populism In Estonia and Slovakia: Performances, Transgressions, and Communicative Styles. *Populism*, 3(2), 165-185. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25888072-BJA10005>
- Kenyatta, G. N. 2023. The Political Participation of Women in Kenya. *Journal of International Women's*



- Studies*, 25(2), Article 5.
- Kerr, R., Robinson, S., & Śliwa, M. (2022). Organizing Populism: From Symbolic Power to Symbolic Violence. *Human Relations*, 77(1), 81-110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00187267221129181>
- Kihika, S. [Susan Kihika]. (2020, July 12). *Extremely saddened to have witnessed the very inhumane way the Government has forcefully evicted families in Marioshoni Ward, Molo Sub-County. One wonders what the urgency is in carrying out this displacement excises during a very rainy season and while our people are already suffering due to the COVID-19 Pandemic...* [Status update]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/SusanWKihika/posts/pfbid02j8Sg49fMkmXEoqYGUjuUQr9LQPj1qXJJGZkqXFJFAS9D1uUaCjBEeX2tgJU4macxl>
- Kissas, A. (2020). Performative and ideological populism: The case of charismatic leaders on Twitter. *Discourse & Society*, 31(3), 268-284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926519889127>
- KNBS. 2014. Geographic Classification and Geo-Coding in Kenya. [Http://Ggim.Un.Org](http://Ggim.Un.Org) On 5th March 2022
- Koc-Michalska, K., & Klinger, U. (2021). Populism As Communication: Political Campaigning on Facebook. <https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2021-qjf0v>
- Levi, R., Sendroiu, I., & Hagan, J. (2020). America First populism, social volatility, and self-reported arrests. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(43), 26703-26709. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2006223117>
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2019). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, And Authoritarian Populism* Cambridge, United Kingdom: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108595841>
- Nyadera, I., & Agwanda, B. (2019). Untitled. *International Journal of Political Studies*, 5(2).
- Pirro, A. L., & Taggart, P. (2023). Populists in power and conspiracy theories. *Party Politics*, 29(3), 413-423. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221077071>
- Resnick, D. (2021). The politics of urban governance in sub-Saharan Africa. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 31(1), 139-161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2020.1774371>
- Roberts, K. M. (2018). Left, right, and the populist structuring of political competition. In *Routledge handbook of global populism* (pp. 145-162). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315226446-12>
- Salmela, M., & Von Scheve, C. (2017). Emotional roots of right-wing political populism. *Social Science Information*, 56(4), 567-595. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018417734419>
- Shukri, S. F. M., & Smajljaj, A. (2020). Populism and Muslim Democracies. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 12(4), 575-591. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12553>
- Sishuwa, S. (2024). Populism in Africa. In *Research Handbook on Populism* (pp. 444-455). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800379695.00051>
- Stanyer, J., Salgado, S., & Strömbäck, J. (2016). Populist actors as communicators or political actors as populist communicators: Cross-national findings and perspectives. In *Populist political communication in Europe* (pp. 353-363). Routledge.
- Urbinati, N. (2020). A theory of populist democracy. In *Liberal Disorder, States of Exception, and Populist Politics* (pp. 129-144). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367853280-9>