

Digital Technologies, Elections and Campaigns in Africa

**Edited by
Duncan Omanga, Admire Mare
and Pamela Mainye**

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2024 selection and editorial matter, Duncan Omanga, Admire Mare and Pamela Mainye; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Duncan Omanga, Admire Mare and Pamela Mainye to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Omanga, Duncan Mainye, editor. | Mare, Admire, editor. | Mainye, Pamela, editor.

Title: Digital technologies, elections and campaigns in Africa / edited by Duncan Omanga, Admire Mare, and Pamela Mainye.

Other titles: African governance. Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York , NY : Routledge, 2024. |

Series: African governance | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023027119 (print) | LCCN 2023027120 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781032551166 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032551197 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781003429081 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Communication in politics—Africa. | Digital media—Political aspects—Africa. | Political campaigns—Africa. | Internet in political campaigns—Africa.

Classification: LCC JA85.2.A35 D54 2024 (print) | LCC JA85.2.A35 (ebook) | DDC 324.73096—dc23/eng/20230606

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023027119>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023027120>

ISBN: 978-1-032-55116-6 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-55119-7 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-42908-1 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003429081

Typeset in Times New Roman
by codeMantra

Contents

| | |
|---|-------------|
| <i>List of Tables</i> | <i>xi</i> |
| <i>About the Contributors</i> | <i>xiii</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | <i>xvii</i> |
| | |
| 1 The Nexus between Digital Technologies, Elections and Campaigns | 1 |
| DUNCAN OMANGA, ADMIRE MARE AND PAMELA MAINYE | |
| | |
| PART I | |
| Digital Technologies and Electoral Campaigns | 23 |
| | |
| 2 Twitter, Elections and Gendered Disinformation Campaigns in Zimbabwe | 25 |
| ADMIRE MARE | |
| | |
| 3 Digital Media Politics in Kenya: Of Nerds, Missionaries and Mercenaries | 46 |
| DUNCAN OMANGA AND PAMELA MAINYE | |
| | |
| 4 Social Media, Political Transition and Conflict in Ethiopia | 64 |
| ASNAKE KEFALE | |
| | |
| 5 Political Parties and Social Media: Between Screenshots, Memes and Hashtags during Municipal Elections in Mozambique | 75 |
| DÉRCIO TSANDZANA | |
| | |
| 6 “To Vote or Not to Vote”: Facebook as Platform for Salafi Discourses on Voting in Uganda | 91 |
| ABDULHAKIM NSOBYA | |

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| 7 | Undermining Democracy through Social Media: The Impact of Disinformation and Government Propaganda in the 2017 Elections in Kenya | 109 |
| | JACINTA MWENDE MAWEU | |
| 8 | Social Media, Internet Shutdowns and Elections in Uganda: The Case of 2016 and 2021 Electoral Campaigns | 121 |
| | EMILLY COMFORT MARACTHO | |
| 9 | Social Media Use and Its Impact on Malawi 2020 Presidential Election | 141 |
| | ANTHONY GUNDE AND JIMMY KAINJA | |
| PART II | | |
| | Observation Reports and Newsification of Elections | 153 |
| 10 | Assessing the ‘Credibility’ of the Kenya’s 2017 General Elections: A Critical Reading of Selected International Observers Missions ‘Digital Reports’ | 155 |
| | JOHN MWANGI GITHIGARO | |
| 11 | The “Lack of Listening” during South African Election News Coverage: Ramifications for Peace and Democracy | 172 |
| | BERNADINE JONES | |
| PART III | | |
| | Digital Technologies, Protests and Social Change | 189 |
| 12 | #EndSARS Organizing: Lessons and Opportunities for Nigeria’s Future Governance | 191 |
| | TOYIN AJAO | |
| 13 | A Revolution from the Centre: Class, Digital Cultures, and the 2018–2022 Sudan Uprising | 210 |
| | MOHAMED BAKHIT | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 14 Digital Cultures, Voice, and (New) Forms of Civic Participation in Ghana | 227 |
| CHARLES PREMPEH | |
| 15 Assessing Twitter’s Revolutionary Potential in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of the #ZimbabweanLivesMatter | 245 |
| DANFORD ZIRUGO AND ADMIRE MARE | |
| <i>Index</i> | 261 |