

**THE MEDIA AND THE COVERAGE OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN KENYA;
A CASE STUDY OF RAMOGI FM IN KISUMU TOWN, KENYA
(2007-2008)**

**BY
JOSEPHINE MUTHOKI
REG NO: BMC/20009/82/DF**

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DECLARATION

I Josephine Muthoki, do here by declare that, the work here in is of my own origin and to the best of my knowledge it has never been submitted to any institution or university for any award in and outside Kampala International University.


Signature:  Date: 14/12/2011

Josephine Muthoki

APPROVAL

I certify that Josephine Muthoki wrote this report under my supervision as a university supervisor and am sure that this is the work of her efforts and is submitted to the faculty with my approval.

Supervisor: 
Dr. Stanley Kinyatta

Date: 

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DEDICATION

Special dedication to my beloved parents Mrs. Serah Kamia and Mr. Paul Mutinda, my Uncles Dr. John Mwangangi and his family, Mr. Reuben Mutuku and his family .Fredrick Nzeli, all my brothers and sisters who contributed greatly to finance my project. Not to forget my dedication also goes to my boyfriend Francis Nzioka for lots of support in doing research and typing of this work.

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ABSTRACT

The researcher was prompted to find out the role of media particularly the community radio stations, if they really report election events like mobilization of voter registration, influence on choices of parties, holding opinion polls, candidate interviews, and party advertisements during national elections in Kenya.

The research was carried out with the following objectives which were to examine the media in the coverage of national elections in Kisumu District of Kenya. To analyze influence of media to the voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates they wish to support during elections. To find out the associate relationship between the media, Electoral Commission and the government of Kenya towards realization of free and fair election. And to determine constraints that face journalist during elections coverage in Kenya.

The researcher used questionnaires and interview guides and after data was collected using tranquilization formulae which involved grouping different methods of collecting data which included structured interview using interview schedule, in-depth interview in form of interview guide, focused group discussion using discussion guide, questionnaires and observation.

The findings also indicates that media programs citizen participation programs that are inevitable since voters learn to bring politicians answerable to some issues of public interests. This is because voters ask specific questions which demand direct answers from their political candidates and since these contestants wish to be elected, they find themselves trapped to answer such questions during voters' participation election programs. Such programs are the best when it comes to finding opinions in fact finding on how voters, parties
The researcher recommended that the government and the media through the media council of Kenya should work closely to eliminate or significantly reduce breaches of law and public trust by a section of the mass media.

The media council of Kenya should enforce the provisions requiring the professionalization of all media houses and newsrooms across the country with specific attention to community media.

The media council should undertake comprehensive public education to increase public knowledge of human rights and to influence media content in a positive way.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1.1 Background to the study

In the late afternoon of 30 December 2007, the Election Commission of Kenya declared Mwai Kibaki to be the winner of the country's election, the count of which was considered by both national and international observers as flawed, possibly rigged. Within an hour, as Kibaki was sworn in as President in the capital, Nairobi, smoke could be seen rising from home being burned in Kibera, the biggest slum in Africa. Within six weeks, more than 1,000 people across the country had been killed, and perhaps 50000 others driven from their homes or fled in fear. On January 22, 2008, international reports began to appear, claiming that media, and particularly local language (commonly called vernacular) radio stations in Kenya, were responsible for fanning ethnic hatred and fuelling violence. ! The reports echoed previous such allegations, including around the 2005 referendum campaign in Kenya. While the mainstream media has been praised for trying to calm the situation, people within and outside the media have been praised for trying to calm the situation, they argue that it has failed to live up to professional and ethical standards and the role of media was questionable to some extend. In terms of coverage of national elections which has increasingly attracted many players in political arena by which they employ advertising consultants to convey their messages to voters through various mediums from the media to get their goal scored, this is done even if it means using dollars to achieve the target.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Long time ago, the overall conclusion drawn from the early work was the media had little direct impact on campaigns and voting and when and if they did, that the impact was in the form of reinforcement. Initially there was no any community radio station to report local information on elections in Kisumu

district): people were to wait until information concerning their local elections broadcasts or publishes made on the national and private media organizations in Nairobi. At that time, the community radio Ramogi to play the role of informing and educating the residents of Siaya town, on how to go about choosing their parties and candidates they wish to support was a myth, however, this problem existed. The community was unaware of the real game on the ground, a situation that would make it easy for some politicians to rig elections without fear. This was due to absence of public eye to monitor the election process at District level. Ramogi radio station was launched with a view to address social, economic, cultural and political issues in the district.

The researcher found out if the radio had journalists with low professional standards, and design programs most in vernacular languages which fail to address the issues of the community with many tribes. In addition, the station experience the network problems, where by some parts of the district have limited or no broadcast signals at all. Therefore, the researcher will focus on analyzing the role of radio Ramogi in the coverage of national elections in Siaya district to provide a working plan for good programming and professional journalism, which can address issues concerning elections through encouraging citizen's participation in political debates, interviews, and discussions. Through this research, the community radio will learn how to participate voters in shaping the agenda for the country during and after elections. In addition to that, the findings made will determine the validity of existing assumption that community media fuelled ethnic violence which, emerged after President Kibaki being declared as the winner of December 27,2007 general election. If it did, researcher found an alternative way on how media can play its role to observe high journalistic standards during reporting of political events, which happens especially during and after elections. This went on in line with mass code of conduct, which holds that Freedom of expression, including the constitutional right to receive and impart information, was a prerequisite for free and fair democratic elections. In order

to enable citizens to make informed democratic choices, the Mass Media have a heightened responsibility to provide accurate and impartial information to the public during election periods. For these reasons, the Mass Media shall comply with this code of conduct and the regulations issued by Joint Elections Management Body, in accordance with Electoral Law, and other relevant provisions of the constitution of Kenya and the Law on Mass Media. The Mass Media will not publish or broadcast any material, which by its content or tone carries a clear and immediate risk of inciting ethnic, religious or gender-based hatred, or which by any reasonable judgment will incite to violence or other disorder that would disrupt the electoral process.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The study was to find out whether the media impacts negatively or positively in the coverage of national elections in Kisumu district of Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- i. To identify media programs designed to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during and after elections.
- ii. To analyze influence of media to the voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates they wish to support during elections.
- iii. To find out the associate relationship between the media, Electoral Commission and the government of Kenya towards realization of free and fair election.
- iv. To determine constraints that face journalist during elections coverage in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

- . Why do we use Media during Elections?
- i. How do media influence voters during elections
- ii. Which programs that media design to encourage voters to participate in

decision making on issues that shape the agenda for the country during elections?

- iv. How do media coordinate with the Electoral Commissioners and the government towards realization of free and fair elections?
- v. What constraints that media encountered during elections?

1.5 Scope of the study

The study was limited to find out the media's performance in the coverage of national elections in Kisumu district of Kenya. The independent variables in this study were the factors associated with media coverage such as economic and socio-cultural factors. Other variables were: age, marital status, parity, education, and occupation, perceived benefits of media coverage and use of media coverage. National Elections will be the dependent variable.

Geographical scope

The study was carried out in Kisumu district which was located in the western part of Kenya along the shores of Lake Victoria. The research was also done at KBC radio, which was one among the community radios located in Kisumu town to serve the local community.

Time scope

The study was conducted for a period of three months from December 2011 to February 2012.

1.6 significance of the study

The study was to analyze the media in the coverage of national elections in Kisumu district which was in Western province of Kenya., the research was influential to beneficiaries like policy makers particularly the government and the Media Council of Kenya to opening up a forum that could support journalism as a profession to attain high standards to promote objectivity in the coverage of national elections in Kenya.

The Kenya Rights Commission practitioners benefited from research finding to compile reports human right violation during national elections. The media benefited from these findings when revising their role in designing social responsibility programmes that would attract and educate the public on issues of national interests especially during and after elections.

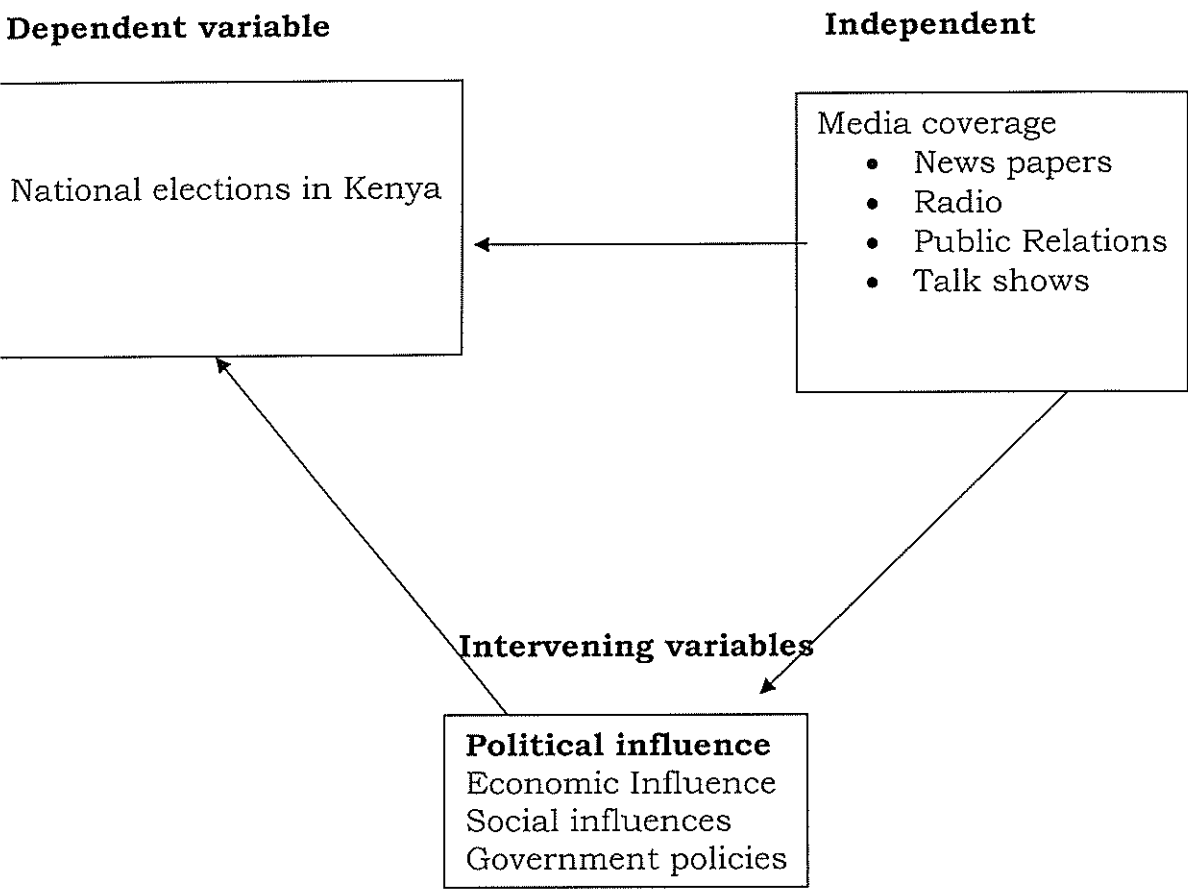
The research findings were used as a foundation upon which to build the study in the future. This research was an advantage to theoretician to analyze the research findings to identify new theories that can be added on existing models.

The study was used by other research students, lecturers and other scholars for resource references.

The research helped the researcher to partially fulfill the requirement for the award of the degree of Mass Communication of Kampala International University.

And finally it helped the researcher herself acquire new knowledge, test hypothesis, improve the research study, and develop measures to address the problems.

1.7 Conceptual frame work



1.8 Definition of Key Concept.

Community radio – radios in operation in local languages in the community

Agenda setting theory; used to explain how media can influence campaigns and voting because it helped set issue agenda for the campaign, and that agenda dictated the issue on which many people ultimately based their voting decisions.

Advertising consultants- they are people who give experts advice in advising business

Censorship –This is deleting parts of publications or correspondence or theatrical performances, perceived to expose the secrets of an organization or government. The action or policy of censoring books

Concentration of ownership – This is the act of participating in one particular thing and not other.

Conflict resolution –It is solving serious disagreement, or an argument between two parties.

Democratization process – It is the way of passing through all the principles of strengthening democracy.

Election coverage – Monitoring activities during election.

Ethnic violence – This is violence involving a nation, race or tribe that has a common cultural tradition

Micro national groups –These are small organized tribes within a state.

Multiparty democracy – Many parties with freedom to compete with one another.

Political arena – The competition between political parties in the race.

Professionalism of the media – This is the skill or qualities required or expected of media companies.

K.B.C – Kenya broadcasting cooperation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The media in coverage of national elections in Kenya has received various criticisms from local and international community with reference to the “2007” elections which led the country in to violence that left many people dead and almost 500,000 displaced from their homes. The assumption goes that Kenyan media played a role of fuelling ethnic violence by airing and publishing hate speeches which incited the communities to fight one another. It is upon this fallacy on the media during post election violence in Kenya that this research will aim to correlate facts and fictions as in what media did during December, 2007 elections alongside themes of study.

The media coverage of national elections is very essential in a democratic society like Kenya, it influence voters in many ways especially on issues. And mostly according to Peter Odoyo (former Member of Parliament for Nyakach constituency) he says that: news media obsession is a danger to governance since whether the media and political players are becoming so close that they have corrupted their capacities to serve wananchi is a matter for debate and research.

However as assessment of news coverage ahead of the elections shows that there were several media houses trying to influence the outcome of the poll, with a focus on individual politicians and or political parties, but whether the journalist played a role in their watchdog role is still questionable”

2.1.1 Theme of the study

My literature review was sectioned under;

2.1.2 Kenyan elections and the media

The media has changed and continued to play a central role in Kenya's democracy. The recent record of the media, according to many within it, is that the media has undermined as well as invigorated democracy. Elections can be a key element either in both conflict resolution and conflict escalation. Therefore, free and fair elections are essential for democracy consolidation and conflict prevention. The professionalism of media is crucial during election periods. To promote fair, safe and professional media election coverage, UNESCO supports advocacy to encourage full, fair and efficient disclosure of information to journalists covering the elections; training to enhance professional election reporting; training on the safety of journalists and their right to work without threat; and the production and distribution of election guidelines reflecting principles of professional reporting during elections, journalists' rights, election process and safety information, as well as briefing notes on international human rights law with emphasis on freedom of expression. People are often influenced in their political perceptions by what they learn from the media.

"Yet the media can also play a more specific part in enabling full public participation in election, not only by reporting on the performance of government, but also in a number of other ways like educating the voters on how to exercise their democratic rights, reporting on the development of the election campaign, providing a platform for the political parties to communicate their message to the electorate, allowing the parties to debate with each other, reporting results and monitoring vote counting."

Two analytical dimensions are central when observing the role of the media in the election process, the degree of media autonomy, in particular their freedom from political or corporate interference. In this framework, three kinds of interrelated rights and complementary duties are considered: the rights of voters, the rights of parties and candidates and the rights of the media themselves.

Voters have the right to be informed about the political alternatives. The actual impact of media coverage on the electorate is a controversial issue as it will always be unclear how far the media can influence the voting patterns of the electorate. People can get their political information and form their political views from a variety of sources complementary to traditional mass media. In addition, particularly in repressive regimes where the media are controlled by the government, voters might mistrust the information they receive from the state-controlled media. Even in developed democracies where television has become the main forum for candidates during the election campaign, it is difficult to clearly isolate the impact of the media on voting behavior. However, “the media are not the sole source of information for voters, but in a world dominated by mass communications it is increasingly the media that determine the political agenda, even in less technologically developed corners of the globe.” Therefore, independently of the extent to which media can influence the electorate, voters are to be provided with all the information they need to exercise their right to vote. The right of voters to make an informed choice implies that the media should inform them in a professional and accurate manner on the platforms and views of the different candidates and on the count and election results. Also, the media should assist in explaining to the electorate how to exercise their right to political participation, particularly how to vote.

2.1.3 Media legislation and election coverage in Kenya

The starting point of any long-term strategy to achieve strategy stability for the media is a law guaranteeing freedom of expression. Any such law should be based upon the relevant international standards to promote media pluralism. Often, in post-conflict countries, the media laws are either non-existent or outdated and must be reformed to promote free press and diversity of opinion and ownership. UNESCO often supports the creation of independent regulatory structure, as independent broadcast regulatory is often the body, which

allocates wavelengths and undertakes the necessary licensing procedures. In many post election societies like Zimbabwe, the market for the media is very weak. The media are frequently supported by powerful groups like parties, functions and businesses that use it to act as a mouthpiece for their own interest. Support for the developing print and broadcast market is crucial in helping to provide economic support for new media outlets: pulling together with start up costs, professional expertise, even equipment and materials, all of which may be beyond the reach of many would-be owners, editors and procedures. In addition, it is very important to assess a media market's options for commercial viability areas targeted investment in research and training can enhance commercial viability and media market advantage.

2.1.4 Independence of Kenyan media

The current Kenyan constitution provides freedom of expression and the media that represent a unique opportunity to engage Kenyan decision makers, media professionals and the citizens in contemplating the fundamental aspects of protection of universal rights under the law. However, that freedom wants to be curbed short by the minister of information Mr. Migisho who advocates that the minister to have power to regulate and monitor what the media has to disseminate to the public which means that the government will be in control of the media and the media reacted by requesting the president not to sign the bill which will curb the media freedom the case still pends and if signed it will be a blow to the Kenyan press.

The researchers will work towards supporting the development and promotion of media legislation and regulatory framework in line with relevant international standards to guarantee media an opportunity to work free from any political intimidations, in its role towards realization of free and fair elections. Currently, Kenyan media has been taken for granted, as in there is a bid among senior politicians to curtail its freedom and this is evident enough following the last year's media bill which was introduced by the former minister

of information Mr. Mutahi Kagwe to force journalist to disclose their sources of information for government security before published or broadcasted. This research aims at laying an emphasizing on training and capacity building of public officials to work as election agents who can assist media on the principles of access to public information as fundamental principles to uphold transparency, accountability and credibility in dissemination its role through censorship of relevant information to the public.

2.1.5 Media as a Medium for reconciliation and dialogue in Kenya

National reconciliation through media campaigns building of its professionals in joint collaboration with the Electoral Commissioners, the government and the citizens. At a time of increasing sectarian conflict in Kenya during and after December, 2007 elections, media served as a platform for dialogue that promoted reconciliation and peaceful solutions, alongside the Koffi Annan mediation team of eminent persons who managed to engage the President Kibaki and Raila to compromise over power sharing deal that solved political impasse after elections. Kenyan media sector should be capable of providing pluralistic and inclusive reporting on national election events is a necessary condition for building long-term peace between micro-national groups towards working together as patriotic Kenyans and laying aside their tribal differences. Towards reconciliation efforts, this study aims at building the capacities of the local media to develop innovative media programs that can articulate people's needs and create a space for dialogue during and after elections. The researcher will target on how to generate awareness, to train media professionals on using media to facilitate dialogue, as well as developing program content on issues of democracy, tolerance and reconciliation.

2.2.1 Media influence to voters

Lazarsfeld et al (1994) observed evidence for the Weber an theory of party which identifies certain factors, such factors, such as socio – economic

circumstances, religious affiliation and area of residence that together determine political orientation. His study claims, "Political propaganda serves to re-affirm the individual's pre-disposed orientation rather than to influence or change one's voting behavior."

Katz and Lazarsfeld's says, "The two-step flow theory of communication, based on a study of electoral practices of the citizens of Erie county Ohio this examined the political propaganda prevalent in the media at the time during the campaign period to see whether it plays an integral. Role in influencing peoples voting. In terms of generalizing their results, one should note that there are questions about short term influence." (Katz and Lazarsfeld's (1940).

However according to McQuail "The 'don't knows' were less well informed than consistent voters, appearing uninterested, showing a general lack of information, and not just ignorance of particular policies of one particular." McQuail (1961). The relation of the mass media to contemporary popular culture is commonly conceived in terms of dissemination from the elite to the mass, the long-term consequences of this are significant with the continuing concentration of ownership and control of the media, leading to accusations of a 'media elite' having a form of 'cultural dictatorship." The article on Mozambique, authored by Joseph Hanlon, notes that the European Union observer mission found coverage of the (2004) election on the state-owned Radio Mozambique and TV Mozambique to be "reasonable balanced" (EU in Hanlon, 2005, p,90). There were nightly election programmes during the campaign period and, as the EU concluded, "The incumbent party received more coverage, but not to an unusual degree" EU in Hanlon, (2005,pg, 90).

The (surveys of the 40s and 50s) using experimental psychology, found significant effects of information on long – term behavior and attitudes, particularly in areas where most people have little direct experience especially n politics and have a high degree of trust in the source like broadcasting. Holland observed, "Since class has become a less reliable indicator of party the

floating voter today is no longer the apathetic voter, but likely to be more well – informed than the consistent voter mainly through the media.” “Research shows that voters get more information on the issues from political ads on TV spots than they get from TV news or the debates,” said Lynda Lee Kaid, professor of telecommunications at the University of Florida, quote from news story.

“Political advertising is now the major means by which candidates for the presidency communicate their messages of voters,” writes Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Dean of the Annenberg School for communication at the University of Pennsylvania and Director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center. “As a conduit of this advertising, televising attracts both more candidate dollars and more audience attention than radio or print”

Roger Ailes and Richard Nixon (1968) “Television is not a gimmick, and nobody will ever be elected to major office without presenting themselves well on it.”

“The buzz about these ads creates more of a furor than do the actual advertsthemselfes,” said Zachary White, professor of politics at university san Fran.

Robert McChesney (Aug. 24, 2004) “The thing to remember about these adverts is that they cost a fortune, not just these adverts, but advertising in general, and it raises the cost of campaigns, and money comes overwhelmingly from the wealthiest handful of Americans.”

“Most of what TV viewers learn about congressional candidates is not from local news but from commercials,” says Norman Solomon, author of The Habits of Highly Deceptive Media.

When Wisconsin Advertising project, was interviewed on PBS News hour on (7/19/04), Ken Goldstein, argued, “This presidential election is being concentrated on 19, 20 battleground states. There are 210 media markets in the US and were seeing advertising in only 93 of those media markets, and that

translates into only 40% of Americans being potentially exposed to television advertising.”

In Bernard words (Volume 15, Number 4, 1 September, 1998), “the media do not tell us what to think, but they tell us what to think about. Taking an example of data collected on media coverage of the (1992) presidential election from the first nationally representative sample of Americans newspaper as compared to the issue interests of the American public, we conclude that past claims that the media controls the agenda - setting process have been overstated because candidate message are well represented in press coverage of the campaign, and coverage is even independent of a newspaper’s editorial endorsement. We argue that agenda setting is a transaction process in which elites, the media, and the public converge to a common set of salient issues that define a campaign.”

According to Bend- Peter (2004), “the “light-touch” regulations of the printed press where only some countries ban paid political advertising, and the broadcast model where regulations govern issues like time and events devoted to coverage of the various parties, Even in the so-called mature democracies of the West, equality and fairness are not to be taken for granted.”

The researcher will discover that it is critically important for students, our future voters and leaders learn to understand the role and influence of media in the political process.

This research will show that, the media impact on political campaigns and voting was at the center of some of mass communication’s earliest research. It will be seen in the two- step flow model on how media influence people in times of change or crisis where by Kenyan media played a vital role of educating voters on how to vote wisely. The research points that media has more direct impact on campaigns and voting by simply mobilizing voters to participate in

voting exercise because their vote counts to determine who the loser in the election race is.

Kenya attained independence in 1963, the government ownership and control was seen at KCB television and radio Ramogi outlet which imported British and American programmes, until the time Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, promoted Kenyan culture by laying an emphasis on African music and dance. The programmes were changed to Swahili. The press also begun to focus on African culture, until when president Moi assumed the office and changed the constitution in 1982 to provide a room for one party system, during his leadership, media had no freedom and there was total censorship of news contents before broadcasted or published to the public. The human rights and freedoms were undermined by Moi's authoritarian government, which saw harassment, torture and imprisonment of journalists without trial. All this was due to media challenges which attempted to question the legitimacy of his leadership.

With advent of multi – part democracy in the year 1992, it was part of media struggle against one party system under President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi dictatorship, there was a need for the media to educate and generate awareness of human rights and freedoms alongside making choices of parties and candidates they wish to support. Media has done much since 1992 when the democratic field was opened to everyone to receive and impart information without any interference from the government, but as if such freedom was a myth, the government still undermined the media especially when it focused on issues of national interest during and after elections. In 2006 the President Kibaki inner circle ministers attacked the standard media group and some computers plus the printing press destroyed under the allegation that Kalonzo Musyoka, a key member in opposition party, Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya, arranged a secret meeting with the president. This raised eyebrows among the ODM – K members who accused Kalonzo as a government to attack

the media for reporting an alarming report to the public to know what was taking place between the two politicians.

Since that time, this research found that the media is the target point by the politicians who don't want media to expose their weakness even if it is issues of public interests for example this research shows that during last year's elections the Electoral Commission of Kenya disbanded media from disseminating information on presidential elections results because they knew that private and community media had no powers to broadcast the presidential winner before given permission by the ECK media centre. Kenya held its general election on December, 27 2007; the ECK announced a delay in vote count until on Sunday December, 30.

When its chairman Mr. Samuel Kivuitu eventually announced the election outcome and declared President Kibaki the winner. Immediately, after the announcement, the state erupted in to violence that saw Kenyans killed, others displaced and properties worthy millions of shillings destroyed by rowdy mobs. From that point, the government pointed blame on the media as the main culprit that fueled ethnic violence in Kenya. But the question remained unanswered, because the controversy raised a lot of questions over perception and reality. A government ban on live media following the election Count may have fueled credibility in rumors circulated through blogs and SMS messages Moses Rona of Kiss FM, speaking at an Interviews workshops, says that: "Cell phones played a very big role... an hour after the election results were announced, after the swearing in of the president, live broadcasts were banned. From that time, cell phones took the place of live broadcasts." Michael Joseph of Safaricom, the country's largest mobile phones service provider acknowledged that there were hate messages and condemned them: "Yes, there was hate SMSs but the number of such messages were not the majority.

These messages started with somebody, who asked them to send them to ten other people and so on they multiplied – but while I don't want to belittle them, they were not the majority.” His company has a policy designed to inhibit offensive material, such as pornographic images aimed at children. However, he feels that any law prohibiting hate messages would be extremely hard to enforce. Apart from problems of defining what hate is, he says: “It is extremely difficult to trace the source of SMS messages from our records. We also have to operate according to the terms of our license and that states that we have to keep subscriber information confidential.” He reveals that Safaricom came under some pressure from the government to close the SMS system down around December 31 but they resisted it “because we felt that panic might ensue.” On an average day, there are about 5million SMSs being sent by our subscribers, and there were probably more during that period,” says Michael Joseph of Safaricom. Regulating such a system for content he believes is very difficult, and possibly not desirable.

The Ethiopian government banned SMS texts during its 2005 election, but Joseph does not believe that it would be a helpful step to follow. However, Safaricom has in recent weeks installed new technology: “Which would have allowed us to filter SMS messages based on their content... installation of this system was planned more than a year ago.” Joseph is continuing discussions with the government about appropriate that would favor Kenya following the Rwandan policy which makes it illegal to refer to any individual by their ethnic group. “That would be a great idea,” he says.

Did the community radio Ramogi station fuel the post election violence or not? And if it did, to what extent did it contribute towards ethnic violence visited on various communities in Kenya? And what is the appropriate way of dealing with the errant community media?

My research finding shows that some reports used vernacular language to broadcast ethnic hate speeches, some reported abnormal figures during vote

count in the polling stations as compared to other radio stations. To some extent the community media fueled ethnic violence but to a smaller extent, because my research finding shows that, when violence and promoting peaceful coexistence among Kenyan communities by persuading them to accept that all of them are Kenyans and should stop killing one another due to tribalism.

2.2.2 Media programming during elections

Media programming during elections should capture the attention of voters and politicians in the country like Kenya in order to make them aware of all procedures during elections. Robert, (1995 pg, 82) comments, “media experts coach the candidates on how to make a favorable impression on and off camera during press conferences, interviews, talk shows, speeches, and all other appeasable and how to keep the press corporation happy. Media experts also recommend the best use of all forms of communication, including bill boards and direct mail, as well as television, radio, and newspapers.

2.2.3 Media coordination with the Electoral Commission of Kenya, government and the voters.

In (March 2008) www.information.go.ke. Published that “before the campaigns, the radio stations were instrumental in stimulating the registration and political participation and most hate messages were disseminated through the local radios. Moreover, owing to their proximity to the grassroots, the community radios were true watchdogs, and vigorously put politicians to task over critical national issues.” Also, “The media were the first to bring to public attention the tallying anomalies of presidential votes that led to the current political crisis in Kenya. They also showed live the sharp political divisions and fights at the ECK media centre, where the results were being read. Political bickering and elections fraud were played live in Kenyan sitting rooms and public places. On the day of the General Election, the community media scrutinized the performance of election officials. They broke news of late arrival

of election officials and ballot papers. They prompted ECK officials to act.” In addition, “They community radio stations were also the first to report elections results because of their proximity to polling stations and knowledge of the ECK officials on the ground. When ECK dragged their feet in releasing results, the community radios filled the gaps through continuous analysis and updates of new results from officials on the ground.

2.2.4 Media constraints during coverage of national elections

The public authorities should refrain from interfering in the activities of media professionals with a view to influencing the elections. Protection against attacks, intimidation or other unlawful pressures on the media, public authorities should take appropriate measures for the effective protection of media professionals and their premises. However, this protection should not obstruct them in carrying out their work. The Inter American Commission on Human Rights stressed the importance of the protection of journalists and the media. Its Declaration on Principles of Freedom of Expression pays particular attention to conditions preventing media to carry out their duty in a democratic society. This declaration represents a basic text for interpreting Article (13) of the American Convention on Human Rights. “Its adoption not only serves as an acknowledgement of the importance of safeguarding freedom of expression in the Americans but also, it applies to all democratic states in the world.”

2.2.5 The capacity of Kenyan media in providing forums for dialogue among conflicting groups during elections.

Abugidainfo.com(March,2008)published, “Following the eruption of post-election violence, the community radio stations played important roles in promoting peaceful co-existence. For instance, they supported the “Chagua Amani Zuia Noma” campaign.”

2.2.6 Media reports during national elections

The Kenyan media has always raised several reports concerning a wide variety of Potential voting fraud or voter intimidation, as written in (2005) Guidelines on Media Analysis during Election Observation Missions prepared in co-operation between the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the Council of Europe's Venice Commission and Directorate General of Human Rights, and the European Commission. There are always cases like Absentee ballot fraud, voter registration list, multiple voting, felons voting, non-citizens voting, vote buying, deceptive practices, and Fraud by election officials. Media also make positive reports by announcing final results of the party winners and losers in elections race or competition.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter dealt with the research and instruments that were used to investigate the problem. It involved, the ways in which the respondents were selected. It contained the methods and procedures to be used to analyze data.

3.1 Research design

The study employed descriptive research design; which focused mainly on using qualitative data collection methods like questionnaires, interviews, focus groups and documentation among others.

Under this, the use of cross sectional design was necessary to collect the needed information quickly over a wide area within a short time. It was also a very important means and approach in achieving research objectives.

3.2 Study population

The study targeted 260 people in Kisumu District of Kenya an industrial town located in the western part of Kenya in order to get enough information and which helped in coming up with different views about the media in the coverage of National Elections in Kenya. The people to be targeted totaled to 35 among them were Editors, producers, presenters, sponsors and advertisers who frequent to the media and the general population in Kisumu.

3.3 Sampling design

The sampling design employed was stratified random sampling where respondents were picked randomly

3.3.1 Sample size

The sample size totaled 35 respondents; 20 from media practitioners at Radio Ramogi Fm including editors, reporters, producers, presenters plus investors and advertisers, 15 respondents from the general public like the teachers, preachers and politicians. The respondents were selected randomly.

Thus using Solven’s formula to find sample size

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(0.05)^2} = \frac{260}{1 + 260 \times 0.0025} = \frac{260}{1 + 6.5} = \frac{260}{7.5}$$

$$n = 34.66 \qquad n = 35$$

Where

- n = Sample Size
- N = Research population

3.3.2 Sampling techniques

The researcher used stratified random sampling in selecting the sample from the respondents. Random sampling was also used to select the respondents.

3.4 Sources of data

In caring this research, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data.

3.4.1 Primary data source

This was first hand information that was collected from the field by the aid of techniques like interview guide, observation, among others. Questionnaires were designed and self administered by the researcher to the selected sample population.

3.4.2 Secondary data

Under secondary data, information was extracted from the text books and work of other scholars through published magazines, written data source including published and un published documents agency reports, news paper articles, internet sources, proposals books, journals, local government publications, acts among others so as to obtain relevant information.

3.5 Data collection

The researcher chose tranquilization formula in data collection by grouping different methods of data collection in order to get true data during the study. This included structured interview using interview schedule, in-depth interview in form of interview guide, discussion guide, questionnaires and observation

3.5. 0 Research instruments

3.5.1 Data collection methods

The researcher went in the field and used questionnaires and interview guide at the same time and then records taken were critically be examined, the data gathered and extra care was put on both the questionnaires and interview guide for better response and reliable findings. However the main target of the researcher was to gather primary data with the help of the specified target sample population.

3.5.1 Observation

This was conducted during the time of interview to observe the media in the coverage of national elections in Kenya

3.5.2 Questionnaires

This gave the respondents an opportunity to express themselves and work independently hence reducing on bias. Different type of questionnaires were administered to different categories of respondents.

These were designed in the way that the respondents were required to give a single answer among other alternatives on the question paper.

The respondents were approached and distributed with questioners which they filled with the answers of different views.

This method was used in seeking to find the media in the coverage of national elections in Kenya

3.5.3 Interviews

Personal interviews were used to obtain the required data. Respondents were interviewed face to face while filing together answers on the schedule. This method was the most preferred because the data given was accurate and reliable since it was from the original source.

The researcher involved interpersonal talk between the researcher and different respondents in order to obtain useful information about the media in the coverage of national elections in Kenya

3.5.4 Focus group discussions

These were used mainly for testing preliminary findings and filling in gaps in data required. This tool was chosen because it brought together experts whose experience was varied and hence enriched the findings, the information given was accurate and reliable and mistake given by one respondent was easily corrected and also allowed in-depth probing.

3.5.5 Documentation

Documentation was also applied since it was a source of supportive information from agencies that deal with facts on the topic and had put them in a number of documents, reports, journals and bulletins, textbooks and work of other scholars whether published magazines, written data source including published and un published documents agency reports, news paper articles,

internet source, local government acts among others so as to obtain relevant information.

This method was used to obtain information about an inquiry into post-traumatic problems on women and children in Uganda.

3.6 Data analysis and processing:

This section dealt with the organization, interpretation of the collected data.

After the data had been collected, edited, coded, classified and tabulated was done responsively. The process data analysis was done on a daily basis to identify any information gaps.

The researcher used data analysis to examine what was collected in the survey and making dedications reference. Data collection was analyzed by use of quantitative techniques where simple quantitative technique such as frequency distribution curves were used.

Histograms and tables were used to present findings. Data was analyzed and presented in form of process data that were from row data information when it became relevant to the problem identified by the researcher and her findings were then presented as dissertation.

3.7 Limitations of study

The following were some of the expected limitations that the researcher faced during the course of her research;

The researcher experienced climatic change in the area of study. The researcher experienced too much sunshine in the period prescribed for the study. This was so because the researcher was familiar with the area so she has experienced these changes. This affectedd the researcher's movement in search for the required information for the study and might also affect the turn and response of the respondent.

The time given to the researcher to complete the research was too short since the maximum time for completing a research report was only two months which did not give room for detailed study.

The researcher faced the problem of money since a lot of money was needed to pay for stationary, transport expenses, typing and photocopying and necessary obligations at university.

The respondents feared to disclose off some information due to traumatic experiences, cultural differences, ideology and the making that the information was confidential, was exposed, and was not used for other purposes other than academic.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.0 Introduction

The media and the coverage of national elections is very essential in a democratic society like Kenya, it influence voters in many ways especially on issues that guide the society on choosing the parties or candidates to support. George (1992,pg 285) argued that, "reporters cover elections primarily to help people learn enough about the candidates and ballot propositions to make intelligent, informed decisions once they enter the voting booth." He added, "To do a thorough job, reporters need to dig beneath surface impressions to explore issues, qualifications and motives." These arguments were similar to a quote from a politician in, Nyakach constituency Mr. Peter Odoyo as his answer to a researcher's questionnaire, who said, "One should not talk about free and fair elections without involving media practitioners in the process."

This chapter is going to concentrate on the presentation of findings got from the field. During the study, researcher found some findings showing relationships and differences while compared to the existing literature and the data collected in the field when related to the objectives of the study and research questions under the topic the media and the coverage of national elections in Kenya. Similar to that, findings of other researchers concerning the study topic have been included in this chapter which is sectioned under the following themes:-

4.1 To identify media programs designed to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during and after elections.

Media programming during elections should capture the attention of voters and politicians in the country in order to make them aware of all procedures during elections. Robert, (1995 pg, 82) comments, "media experts coach the candidates on how to make a favorable impression on and off camera during

press conferences, interviews, talk shows, speeches, and all other appeasable and how to keep the press corporation happy. Media experts also recommend the best use of all forms of communication, including bill boards and direct mail, as well as television and newspapers.

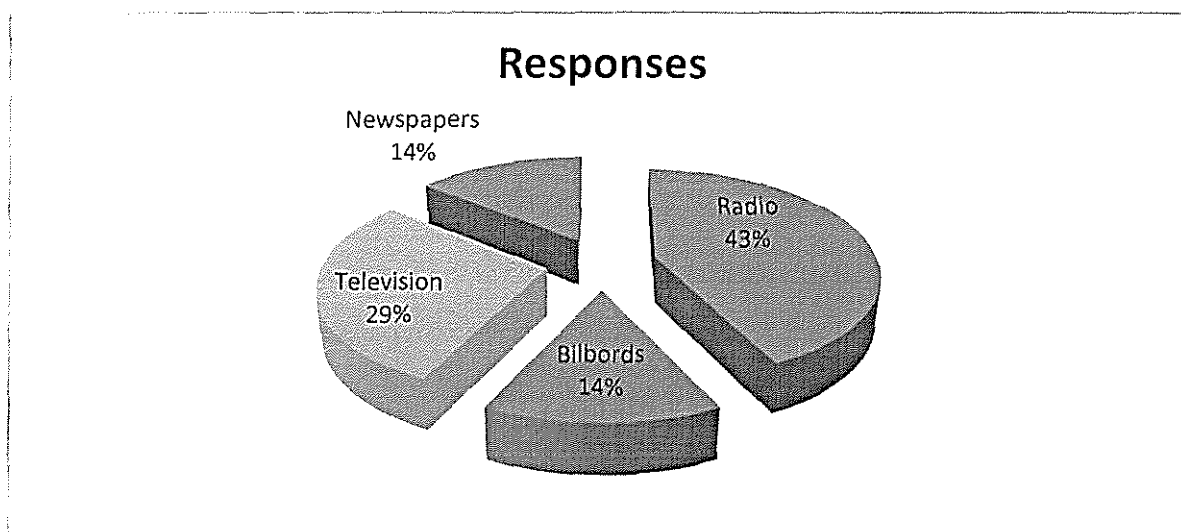
Media programming during elections is a vital role of the mass media especially in the radio stations. According to the researcher findings was that about 70% of the population in Kisumu district switch to the radio stations as the cheapest means of receiving information during elections. The voters in this district rely on the radio stations during and after elections for the purpose which is sectioned under the following sub headings:-

Table 1: Showing media programs designed to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during and after elections.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
News papers	5	14.3
Bill boards	5	14.3
Television	10	28.6
Radio	15	42.8
Direct mail	-	-
Total	35	100

This can be further illustrated on a pie chart as below

Figure 1: Showing media programs designed to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during and after elections.



Source: Primary Data

4.2.1 Party and candidates advertisements

"Political advertising is now the major means by which candidates for the presidency communicate their messages to voters," writes Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and Director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center.

Robert McChesney (Aug. 24, 2004) "The thing to remember about these adverts is that they cost a fortune, not just these adverts, but advertising in general, and it raises the cost of campaigns, and the money comes overwhelmingly from the wealthiest handful of Americans."

Political advertising during elections plays a much bigger role in influencing voters over some issues especially the competition race between parties and candidates owing to the fact that the advertisement promotes the brand image of these actors in political arena and attract the voters towards choosing their

favorite candidate. In the area of study the researcher found that political advertising is the major platform where politicians play their level best to influence voters by displaying that they are the only favorite people to be elected in the parliament.

4.2.2 Citizen participation

The researcher noted down most answers written by respondents showing many people in Kisumu district listen to election programs which involve them on radio because most of them do not have television sets.

Before the campaigns, the radio stations were instrumental in stimulating the registration and political participation. Moreover, owing to their proximity to the grassroots, the community radios were true watchdogs, and vigorously put politicians to task over critical national issues.”

The views of many respondent shows that political participation programs are inevitable since voters learn to bring politicians answerable to some issues of public interests. This is because voters ask specific questions which demand direct answers from their political candidates and since these contestants wish to be elected, they find themselves trapped to answer such questions during voters participation election programs Such programs are the best when it comes to finding opinions in fact finding on how voters, parties and their candidates express their feelings during elections especially under issues of national interests. The researcher noted that most questionnaires returned by the respondents shows that Radio Ramogi designs citizen participation programs mostly in Luo language during elections, but many people in this district are of different tribes which cannot understand this language therefore they opt to switch to other national stations like radio citizen which most of it's programs are designed in Kiswahili language.

The relation of the mass media to contemporary popular culture is commonly conceived in terms of dissemination from the elite to the mass, the long-term consequences of this are significant in conjunction with the continuing concentration of ownership and control of the media, leading to accusations of a 'media elite' having a form of 'cultural dictatorship'."

4.2.3 Party and candidate interviews

Media programming during elections should capture the attention of voters and politicians in the country in order to make them aware of all procedures during elections. Robert, (1995 pg, 82) comments, "media experts coach the candidates on how to make a favorable impression on and off camera during press conferences, interviews, talk shows, speeches, and all other appeasable and how to keep the press corporation happy. Media experts also recommend the best use of all forms of communication, including bill boards and direct mail, as well as television, radio, and newspapers."

Media interviews are common ways of presenting an individual's personality and reputation to the public; this is done through his or her answering of scheduled questions designed by the interviewer. The public listens to the way an interviewee answers the questions related to elections and this may involve some key personalities such as political analysts, party leaders or anyone perceived to have an experience in elections and how they are done in democratic countries like Kenya.

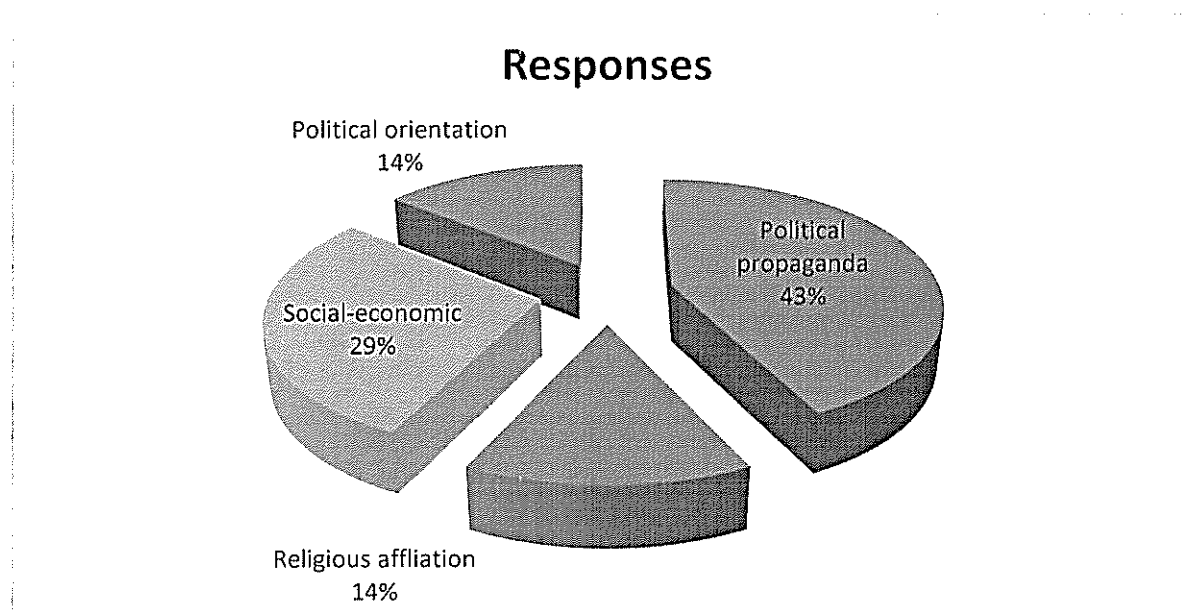
In conclusion the literature agrees with the study because the researcher noted that most people in constituency listen to interviews placed on the media but they mainly rely on national radio stations since the local radio Ramogi is dominated by Luo language. few minority citizens, claimed , "For them they always listen to Radio cirizen during political interviews because Radio Ramogi is a Luo Station yet their family is kisii tribe and we do not understand the language." Asking her on what should be done to the station so that many

Table 2: Showing influence of media to the voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates they wish to support during elections.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Political Orientation	5	14.3
Social-Economic	10	28.6
Religious Affiliation	5	14.3
Political propaganda	15	42.8
Total	35	100

This can be illustrated on a pie chart as follows;

Figure 2: Showing influence of media to the voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates they wish to support during elections.



Source: Primary Data

4.3.1 Voter registration

To prepare for the December general elections, in March the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) initiated nationwide voter registration and this was done using the media. Registration was slow because many persons lacked national identification cards, especially in districts that border neighboring countries. The slow issuance of identification cards in these districts was due to lengthy vetting of applicants to ensure non-Kenyans were not issued the document, due to Kenyan security concerns. From January until the close of the pre election registration period in November, the ECK registered 1,831,686 voters. Altogether, nearly 14.3 million citizens were registered to vote. The researcher asked most respondents whether Radio Ramogi announced voter registration information and one of them in a discussion said, "The first information about registration I heard it from Radio Ramogi." However some respondents within Kisumu town said they listened to voter registration campaigns from other stations in Nairobi because they don't understand Luo language.

4.3.2 Party and candidate choices

The primary objective was to focus on those issues essential for successful democratic elections, including the role of the media in ensuring that voters vote from a well informed position about their parties and candidates.

The researcher discussed with respondents who were media practitioners on how Radio Ramogi influenced voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates and noted that they used advertisements and civic education which persuaded voters to refuse bribes by voting wisely according to personality and leadership qualities. In the Questionnaire by a local school teacher who refuted to be named, wrote, "Radio Ramogi was dominated with hate speeches which divided the community to vote along tribal lines, for example I heard a reporter who persuaded the 'Luo' tribe not to vote for the kikuyu people and this really changed the attitudes of these voters against the kikuyu and their parties."

According to observation the researcher listened to Radio Ramogi during election time and noticed that this station was a home of opposition who majored since the flag bearer in the opposing side was a Luo politician who used it as a platform for publicity and mostly used the local language to attract many voters in the district.

4.3.3 Voter turn-out

Media influence voter turnout by persuading the voters to go at different polling stations in large numbers and participate in voting their favorite candidates who can work hard to bring development and represent community interests in the parliament.

According to the Human Rights Report on Election, the researcher noted that voter turnout was approximately 65 percent, the highest level influenced by the media in the Kenyan history. Voting and counting at polling stations was generally conducted in accordance with democratic standards.

In conclusion, the literature agreed was because during an interview at Radio Ramogi, the researcher discovered that the station really played a much bigger role of influencing voters because most 'Luos' really listen to the station during elections because they are the majority in the district but those voters who could not understand the language switch to other stations in Nairobi.

4.4 To find out the Associate relationship between the media, Electoral Commission and the government of Kenya towards realization of free and fair election.

The study shows that some radio stations in Kenya provide fair and balanced reporting of the campaigns, policies, meetings, rallies and press conferences of all registered political parties and candidates during the period of campaigning.

According to the respondents at Radio Ramogi the researcher noted that some radio stations provided news of the electoral process apart from the final results on presidential race and most radio stations were warned by the electoral commissioner up to the declaration of results on KBC.

The respondents agreed that some radio stations abided by regional codes of conduct in the coverage of elections in liaison with the Commission while others did not. According to Electoral Commission of Zambia, the election (Act No. 12 of 2006) provides that, "All media organizations shall Endeavour to report election news in an accurate manner and not make any abusive editorial comment, incite violence or advocate hatred based on race, ethnicity, tribe, gender, political or religious conviction; and identify any editorial comment they wish to make and separate it from the news. Heads and other senior management staff of public or private media organizations shall not intimidate media practitioners and shall allow them to exercise professional judgment without undue influence.

The researcher asked the respondents in a discussion if they followed the election code of conduct but they gave contradicting answers as in some said the community media fueled ethnic violence by uttering incitement to violence speeches during and after elections, one respondent said a vernacular radio station in Nairobi broadcasted messages to the effect that, "in these elections some weeds should be uprooted."

This is prohibited in media laws on election especially in Kisumu District which suffers from such a problem related to language use at Radio Ramogi. Hence some argued that other community media employed unqualified practitioners as quoted by the minister of information in Kenya Mr. Samuel Pogisio as saying. Stations recruited 'quacks' as news anchors and editors and he cited a case where a media house broadcasted ethnic war songs targeting certain communities.

Responding to the question over the relevant solution to the community media use of language, the respondents said political party shall not buy more than thirty minutes air time in any given one language on public radio in any one week also radio should not schedule any party's political broadcast or other political discussion or interview, opinion poll results or broadcast prediction of the result of polling day until the polls have closed.

They added that media should disclose accurate election results and should provide updates on the progress of the vote counting process and should not speculate election results but must broadcast confirmed election results as they were announced and published by presiding officers.

In conclusion, the researcher noted that the literature agreed to some extent but some findings were negative from the literature because some radio stations maintained full records of all news bulletins and recordings of all other programmes related to the election, including party political broadcasts and instituted a close and meticulous monitoring system which ensure balance throughout the campaign and up to the close of poll and provided the Commission at any reasonable time with all such records, information and recordings as the Commission may require to fulfill its monitoring role while other vernacular stations did not.

4.5 To determine constraints that face journalists during elections coverage in Kenya.

The constitution of Kenya provides freedom of speech and of the press, but the government sometimes restricted these rights. Sometimes the security forces harass, beat, and arrest members of the media. The government force Journalists to practiced self-censorship on issues of public interests. On December 30, following the announcement of presidential election results, the government banned all live radio and television broadcasts. Under such issue

almost every voter was angry about the actions of the government. The researcher asked the respondents to comment on the action of government against the journalists, they all denounced any attack be it from the government, the police force or other electoral officials from intimidating the journalists during their role of monitoring national or any other elections. They said such violation amounts to attack on human rights which include the freedom of the media. In addition, the respondents concluded that Heads and other senior management staff of public or private media organizations shall not intimidate media practitioners and shall allow them to exercise professional judgment without undue influence.

However the researcher noted other physical constraints which face journalists during coverage of elections which includes poor communication network in remote areas, bad weather conditions with heavy rain, limited transport due to lack of transportation means especially experienced by poor management of community media as in no vehicles assigned to journalists covering election events performing their duties in different polling station. All these problems are experienced by the journalists in elections.

The literature of this study agrees with the findings in a sense that most journalists experience many problems during election coverage events because in most cases many information have been talked about the constraints that face journalists and the answers to such problems will remains until the government plus other private media organizations come to realize the significance of media practitioners in a democratic state like Kenya.

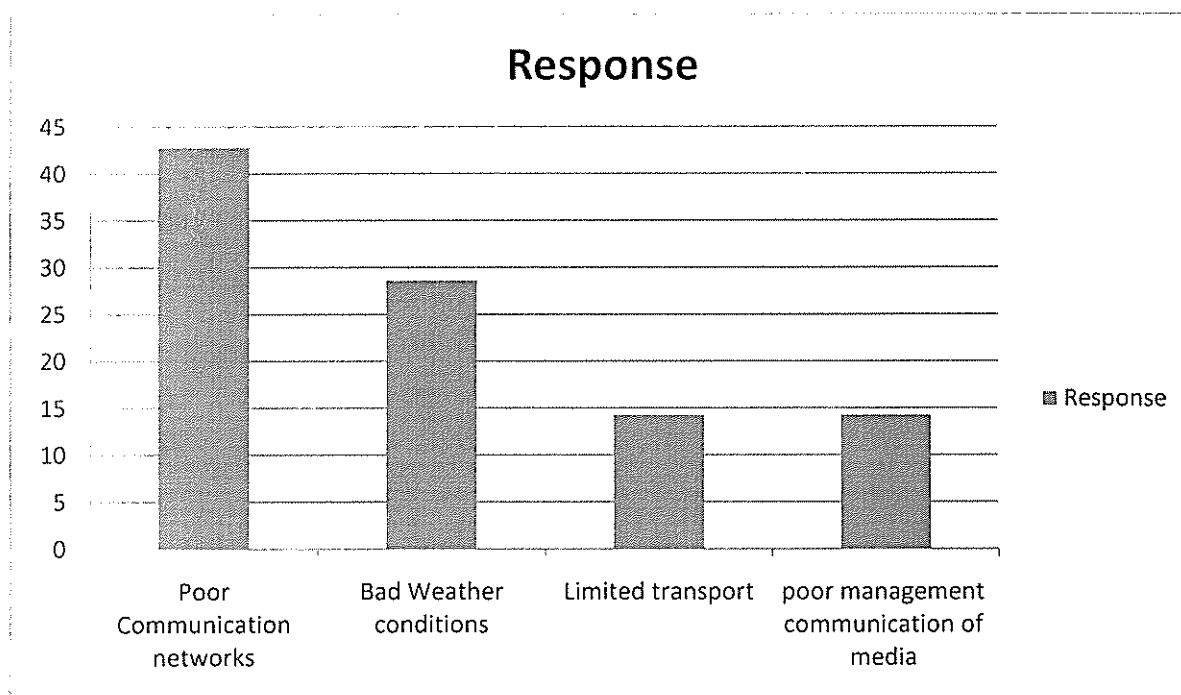
In conclusion, there is a need for the government and other owners of private media to protect journalists and equip them with enough resources that will enable them to cover the elections effectively.

Table 3: Showing constraints that face journalists during elections coverage in Kenya.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Limited transport	5	14.3
Bad whether conditions	10	28.6
Poor management communication of media	5	14.3
Poor communication	15	42.8
Total	35	100

This can be illustrated on a bar graph as follows

Figure 3: Showing constraints that face journalists during elections coverage in Kenya.



Source: Primary Data

4.6 To observe the capacity of the Radio in providing forums for dialogue among conflicting groups to voice concerns during election in Kenya.

On January 22, 2008, international reports began to appear, claiming that media, and particularly local language (commonly called vernacular) radio stations in Kenya, were responsible for fanning ethnic hatred and fuelling violence. The reports echoed previous such allegations, including around the 2005 referendum campaign in Kenya.

While the mainstream media was praised for trying to calm the situation, the respondents argue that it failed to live up to professional and ethical standards and contributed to the crisis. Other respondents in discussions observed that Abugidainfo.com (March, 2008) published, "Following the eruption of post-election violence, the community radio stations played important roles in promoting peaceful co-existence. For instance, they supported the "Chagua Amani Zuia Noma" campaign." But still the hardliners maintained that community media only realized later that the hate speeches aired contributed to fueling ethnic violence after airing live coverage of post election aftermath either insisting that elections were rigged and after an attack from the government, radio buried their heads in the ground and started promoting peaceful coexistence campaigns as a bargaining power to calm down the government temperature from attacking their freedom of live coverage of unfolding events.

Samuel Poghisio, Minister of Information was quoted as saying, "Stations recruited 'quacks' as news anchors and editors, " and he cited a case where a media house broadcast ethnic war songs targeting certain communities. The respondents observed that apart from election rigging such hate speeches prompted the government, which carries out its own monitoring of stations, to impose a month long live media ban when the violence started.

The respondents however observed that all radio stations personnel shall conduct interviews with candidates with fairness both in the style of the interview and in the amount of the time given; and refrain from broadcasting their own political opinion, commentary or assessment and where they wish to do so, they shall clearly identify the opinion, commentary or assessment as their own and shall carefully balance it in order to avoid bias.

The researcher observed that part of the literature agrees with the study yet there are other factors which did not rhyme with the literature whereby the study shows that some community media were blamed by the government as sections which spearheaded post election skirmishes through airing hate speeches which incited communities to fight one another. On the other hand, the same stations assumed what they did and started airing peaceful coexistence campaigns after many people losing lives, some suffering from internal and external displacement with more damages to properties worthy billions of shillings.

In conclusion the researcher observed that, since the community media are placed closer to the people, they should put aside their ethnic differences and work in hand with other humanitarian organizations towards designing media programs that can unite communities especially during national crisis like the one experienced in Kenya after December, 27 elections. The respondents viewed that they should do this by laying an emphasis in promoting Kiswahili in programs as the only national language that can fight tribalism in Kenya. President Julius Nyerere applied this formula in Tanzania and succeeded to fight tribalism in that country.

4.7. To correlate media monitoring reports on fair and unfair practices observed during election coverage in Kenya.

There were irregularities in strongholds of both the opposition and pro-government parties. The tallying of the presidential results by the ECK in Kisumu district was marked by irregularities which were reported to Radio

Mambo. International observers concluded that these irregularities undermined the credibility of the ECK. However, the ECK announced that President Kibaki won the election. After the ECK announcement of the presidential election results on December 30, violent protests ensued. The respondents observed that in Kisumu, the Member of Parliament results were free and fair as in no election irregularities were reported by the loser following the last year elections. But in 2002 there was no community media in the district; hence the national media reported that the winner forced the voters to take an oath.

The struggle over who gets what, when, and how is largely carried out in the mass media. The arenas of political conflict are the various media of mass communication which from this report involves the radio stations.

The researcher studied on what media reports during its coverage of national elections in Kenya and according to the findings the study was sectioned under the following categories:

4.7.1 Announcement of Election results

Edmund Burke (1970) argued, "Democratic representatives should serve the interests of the people. The researcher discussed with six groups of the respondents comprising of ten people in each group and asked them to give information on what radio reports during elections. However one of the respondents said, it reports about election results from different constituencies countrywide. Following that answer the researcher then asked an insight question over what happens to areas which have no media network then another respondent answered, "in such areas people rely on mobile phones as means of communication used to update the media on election outcome then the media pass these news to the public."

The information from the respondents agreed with that in the literature, but to some extent following what was observed by the researcher after December 27, 2007 presidential elections in Kenya, the ECK disbanded the media from

announcing the final results, and censored on live coverage of the unfolding events, until the commissioners chairman Mr. Samuel Kivuitu announced on state media that the incumbent president Mwai Kibaki, the presidential winner. This information erupted in to ethnic violence and the media was eventually blamed as the main agents who fueled ethnic violence.

The government has argued that the local language media have a responsibility for the violence that followed the elections. "The violence after the announcement of the polls was due to the polarity in the media, especially vernacular media which were turned into political tools," Samuel Poghio, Minister of Information is quoted as saying. Stations recruited 'quacks' as news anchors and editors according to Poghio, and he cited a case where a media house broadcast ethnic war songs targeting certain communities.

It was this coverage which prompted the government, which carries out its own monitoring of stations, to impose a month long live media ban when the violence first started, according Poghio. "The media had and were likely to inflame passions, if editors did not delay broadcasts," said Poghio speaking on January 24, 11 "Then, emotions were high and lives were at stake and as someone rightly said desperate times call for desperate measures. Materials that were broadcast before the ban was imposed, especially on a few vernacular FM stations, were actually incitement to murder and mayhem," he said.

Nearly all commentators on the current Kenya crisis strongly resist and resent comparisons to the role of the media in the genocide in Rwanda. From the evidence that the authors of this report have seen, they are right to do so. Broadcasts from Rwanda's Radio Mille Collines urging, "mass murder were part of a carefully orchestrated, systematically planned process of killing, and the political dynamics of Rwanda in 1994 are completely different from those in Kenya in 2008."

However the researcher discussed with respondents as to whether community media fueled ethnic violence and according to the findings the study shows that during the campaigns, voting and tallying of results, the radio stations provided consistent flow of update information on unfolding events across the country but at long last it was prohibited by the government and the ECK when it started live coverage of violence which erupted after announcing the presidential results.

4.7.2 Media reports on the winners and the losers after elections

Credible media monitoring projects provides the citizens with information on the reporting of the whole election process because it is an acceptable tool which observes elections. The researcher quoted one of the media practitioners during the study interview who said, “On the day of general election, the community media scrutinized the performance of election officials. They broke news of late arrival of election officials and ballot papers and prompted the ECK to act by in order to allow them freedom to disseminate information over the winners and losers in presidential race. The study shows that the community radio stations were the first to report election results because the research findings shows that they were the proximity to the polling stations and knowledge of the ECK officials on the ground. When the ECK drugged their feet in releasing results, the radio stations filled the gaps through analysis and update of news about elections on the ground.

4.7.3 Media reports election rigging complaints

The researcher discussed with the respondents at Radio Ramogi under the question of rigging elections and they argued that radio rigorously put the politicians to task over critical national issues and they invested heavily in public education election programming. As public watchdog the respondents viewed, “media brought to public attention the tallying anomalies of presidential votes that let to the current political crisis in Kenya.” Added,

'media showed live the sharp political divisions and fights at the ECK media centre, where the results were being read."

The researcher observed live on KBC television, where the commissioners convened in front of the reporters chosen by the government officials and the ECK chairman Mr. Samuel Kivuitu declared president Mwai Kibaki the winner with 4, 584, 721 votes compared with 4, 352, 993 for Raila Odinga a spread of about two percent. Listening to KBC Radio, the researcher quoted the commissioners who said, "There were indeed irregularities, but it was not their job to deal with them. "The judicial system provides peaceable avenues to address these complaints," said the chairman, Samuel Kivuitu.

As for the restriction on the news media, which many journalists said were a severe setback to what had been considered one of the freest media in the world, the researcher observed Mr. Kivuitu on KTN who uttered, "the only thing the president wants to do is to heal this nation, and the media is not part of that process because it has been propagating hate."

However the researcher noticed that to some extent the findings agreed with the literature since the radio stations played a much bigger role of informing the voters over what was happening to the ground in the polling stations as in updating the citizens with incoming results especially at parliamentary level but coming to the release of final presidential results they did not and the respondents said they were disbanded the ECK. This is the point where the literature fails to agree due to the role of media in updating the citizens with election news until the final release of results.

In conclusion radio stations plays a much bigger role in coverage of national elections alongside other media and the Kenyan government must promote the responsibility of media through supporting quality training to journalists, that upholds high professional code of conduct not only in the coverage of national elections, but launching a powerful peaceful coexistence campaigns that can

unite different communities to respect one another as Kenyans united under Swahili national language.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendation for policy and for further research under the role of media in the coverage of national elections. The limitations to the study are also presented in this chapter which is sectioned under the following:

5.1 Summary

Long time ago, the overall conclusion drawn from the early work was that media had little direct impact on coverage of elections and if they did, that the impact was in the form of reinforcement.

Briefly, the radio stations have played a vital role in the coverage of elections in Kenya. Radio stations have designed made programs to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during and after elections. They have influenced the voters in making informed choices of parties and candidates they wish to support during elections and coordinated with the Electoral Commission and the government of Kenya towards realization of free and fair election despite all the constraints that face journalists in the process.

In addition, the stations played a vital role in providing forums for dialogue among conflicting groups to voice concerns during election and updated the citizens with monitoring reports on fair and unfair practices observed during election coverage in Kenya.

On the other hand, what is confusing however is that the media has both promoted and discouraged violence at the same time, it has fueled ethnic violence in Kenya through dissemination of hate speeches which divided the

communities along tribal lines, positive to that it has issued the civic education on voting and peaceful coexistence programs to the society during elections. The radio station has been blamed for promoting tribalism by concentrating on vernacular language instead of uniting all the tribes under Swahili as the national language. It has also tarnished the reputation of journalism as a profession by employing unqualified practitioners with no clear professional code of conduct. Under that note, the community radio has failed to monitor the elections up to the final release of presidential results in Kenya. And finally, it has become biased in reporting rigged results due to bribes or support to a candidate from their own tribe.

5.2 Conclusion

The conclusion was made in line with the various themes of the study and is based on the findings of the study as under:-

The first question asked was, “which programs that media design to encourage voters to participate in decision making on issues that shape the agenda for the country during elections?” study conducted came up with the following results that radio programs party and candidates advertisements during elections which plays a much bigger role in influencing voters over some issues especially during the competition race between parties and candidates owing to the fact that they promote the brand image of these actors in political arena and attract the voters towards choosing their favorite candidates.

The findings also indicates that media programs citizen participation programs that are inevitable since voters learn to bring politicians answerable to some issues of public interests. This is because voters ask specific questions which demand direct answers from their political candidates and since these contestants wish to be elected, they find themselves trapped to answer such questions during voters’ participation election programs. Such programs are the best when it comes to finding opinions in fact finding on how voters, parties

and their candidates express their feelings during elections especially under issues of national interests.

During the study, the other finding was that media programs interviews on election topics and invite the contestants to present their personalities and reputation to the public and this is done by asking them scheduled questions designed by the interviewer. The public listens to the way an interviewee answers the questions related to elections and this may involve some key personalities such as political analysts, party leaders or anyone perceived to have an experience in elections and how they are done in democratic countries like Kenya.

The second question was, "How do media influence voters during elections?" Answer from the respondents indicated that the mass media announce the date, time and venue of registering voters. The findings also shows that media monitors and inform the citizens over number of people registered as voters, and encourage people to go and register as voters in order to exercise their democratic rights to vote for the favorite candidates of choice.

In addition, the findings also shows media influence voters in making party and candidate choices by using advertisements and civic education which persuaded voters to refuse bribes and vote wisely according to personality leadership qualities and party manifestoes that favor them.

Also the findings provides that Media influence voter turnout by persuading the voters to go at different polling stations in large numbers and participate in voting their favorite candidates who can work hard to bring development and represent community interests in the parliament.

Following the fourth question on how do media coordinate with the Electoral Commissioners and the government towards realization of free and fair

elections? The correspondents viewed that some radio stations provide news of the electoral process apart from the final results on presidential race and most radio stations are warned by the electoral commissioner up to the declaration of results. The respondents agreed that some radio stations abide by regional codes of conduct in the coverage of elections in liaison with the Commission while others did not. The respondents discussion that some community media fuel ethnic violence by uttering incitement to violence speeches during and after elections, one respondent said a vernacular radio station in Nairobi broadcasted messages to the effect that, "in these elections some weeds should be uprooted."

The findings under the fifth question, "What constraints that media encountered during elections?" shows that, the constitution of Kenya provides freedom of speech and of the press, but the government sometimes restricted these rights. Sometimes the security forces harass, beat, and arrest members of the media. The government force Journalists to practiced self-censorship on issues of public interests.

However the findings shows other physical constraints which face journalists during coverage of elections and these includes poor communication network in remote areas, bad weather conditions with heavy rain, limited transport due to lack of transportation means especially experienced by poor management of community media as in no vehicles assigned to journalists covering election events performing their duties in different polling station. All these problems are experienced by the journalists during coverage of elections.

The sixth question was, "How does media conduct itself when violence erupt during and after elections" Following the eruption of election violence, the community radio stations should play an important role of promoting campaigns for peaceful co-existence amongst different communities to love one another by staying peacefully. The respondents however observed that all radio

stations personnel shall conduct interviews with candidates with fairness both in the style of the interview and in the amount of the time given; and refrain from broadcasting their own political opinion, commentary or assessment and where they wish to do so, they shall clearly identify the opinion, commentary or assessment as their own and shall carefully balance it in order to avoid bias.

The last question was asked, "What do media report during elections?" and the study findings shows that it reports about election results from different constituencies countrywide.

The findings also shows that media reports the information about the winners and the losers in the election competitions. The researcher quoted one of the media practitioners during the study interview who said, "During general elections, the community media scrutinize the performance of election officials. They break news of late arrival of election officials and ballot papers and prompt the ECK to act in order to allow freedom to disseminate information over the winners and losers in presidential race."

Lastly the findings reveal that media reports information on election rigging. However, some radio rigorously put the politicians to task over critical national issues and they invested heavily in public education election programming. As public watchdog the respondents viewed, "media bring to public attention the tallying anomalies of all votes and showed live the sharp political divisions and fights and they are threatened by denying them much coverage of political events during elections.

5.3 Recommendation for Policy

The government and the media through the media council of Kenya should work closely to eliminate or significantly reduce breaches of law and public trust by a section of the mass media.

The media council of Kenya should enforce the provisions requiring the professionalization of all media houses and newsrooms across the country with specific attention to community media.

The media council should undertake comprehensive public education to increase public knowledge of human rights and to influence media content in a positive way.

The government must come up with clear guidelines on monitoring media content.

The mass media must initiate and develop new forms of media criticism.

The government should quickly address the issues of media ownership particularly ownership by politicians.

The government should remove a ban on live coverage but take action against those who breach the law and public trust.

The media should increase its social responsibility programming through opinion polling, focused group discussions, in-depth coverage of issues, continuous feedback mechanisms, and timely reactions by experts on sensitive issues.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Research

1. I suggest that, the government, NGO's, religious organizations, and media institutions should come out in full support to finance this research in order to be carried out at national level.

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APPENDIX 1. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

(a)QUESTIONNAIRE

Kampala International University

Department of Mass Communication

Research Topic:

The media in the coverage of national elections in Kenya(2007-2008).

Area of study,

Ramogi FM in Kisumu town, Kenya.

SECTION A: Personal information

Age.....

Sex.....

Marital status.....Married ☐ Single ☐

Occupation.....

Education background.....

SECTION B: Media programs designed to encourage citizen participation in decision making that shape the country during 2007 elections.

Do you listen to radio?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

If yes, which programs do you tune to during elections? Select your choices and tick in the boxes in front.

(a) Group discussions! ☐

(b) Interviews ☐

(c) Citizen participation through opinions ☐

How many days do you listen to radio per week?

(a)One day ☐

(b) Two days ☐

(c)Three days ☐

(d) Every day ☐

Do you participate in decision making programs during 2007 elections?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

5. If yes, in (4) above, why do you participate?.....
.....

How does radio encourage you to participate in 2007 election programs? Briefly describe.....
.....

Does Ramogi FM design election programs for the public participations?

Yes ☐

No ☐

8. If yes, in (6) above, how does it design it? Please write down what you know.....
.....

SECTION C: Influence of media to voters in making informed choices about parties and candidates they wish to vote.

Do you have radio at home?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

If yes, how does it help you during 2007 elections? Briefly explain.....

Did Ramogi FM advertise parties during 2007 elections?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

4 If yes, what did it teach you about making party choices?.....
.....

Did politicians use Ramogi FM to launch their personal manifestoes?

- (a)Yes ☐
- (b)No ☐

If yes, how did Ramogi FM report about their manifestoes during (2007) general elections?

.....
What lesson did you learn from Ramogi FM during (2007) general elections?

Choose any that you know by ticking in the boxes in front.

- (a) Mobilizing voters registration ☐
- (b) Educating voters on how to vote ☐
- (c) Fueling ethnic violence ☐
- (d) Advertising parties and candidates ☐
- (e) Dissemination of news ☐
- (f) All of the above ☐

Did Ramogi FM play above roles?

- (a)Yes ☐
- (b)No ☐

Please using few words, comment on your answer from above choices.....
.....

SECTION D: The relationship between the media, electoral commissioners and the government during elections.

1. How does media coordinate with the electoral commissioners?.....
.....

2. Do media link up with the government during election coverage?

- (a)Yes ☐
- (b)No ☐

3. If yes, how.....

4. Is Kenyan media independent during coverage of national elections?

(a)Yes ☐

(b) No ☐

5. In which way is Kenyan media not independent? Briefly describe showing how.....

SECTION E: Constraints that face journalists during election coverage in Kenya.

1. Do journalists face constraints during election coverage in Kenya?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

2. If yes, what constraints do they encounter during election coverage?.....

3. Does Ramogi FM provide a forum for dialogue among conflicting groups during election time(2007-2008)?

(a)Yes ☐

(b)No ☐

4. If yes, comment on your answer siding an example from (2007) elections.....

.....

5. Which reports does media make during elections?.....

(b) INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Why do we use Media during Elections?
2. How do media influence voters during elections
3. Which programs that media design to encourage voters to participate in decision making on issues that shape the agenda for the country during elections?
4. How do media coordinate with the Electoral Commissioners and the government towards realization of free and fair elections?
5. What constraints that media encountered during elections?

APPENDIX.II. BUDGET

STATIONARY	UNIT	COST IN KSH	COST IN USH
Printing		500.00	12,500.00
Photocopy papers	3rim	1,500.00	32,500.00
transport		2,000.00	50,000.00
Pocket money		5,000.00	125,000.00
Internet		3,000.00	65,000.00
Pens		50.00	1,250.00
Research proposal typing	20pgs	800.00	20,000.00
Air time		500.00	12,500.00
Research proposal binding		200.00	7,500.00
Research assistant	1	500.00	12,500.00
miscellaneous		1000.00	25,000.00
Total		17,250.00	420,250.00

APPENDIX.III. WORK PLAN

TIME/PERIOD	ACTIVITY
October-November (2011)	Topic identification
November-December(2011)	Research proposal writing
November(2011)	Data collection
November-December(2011)	Data analysis and interpretation
Dccember(2011)	Preparation of report and presentation