



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**ASSESSING THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA PRACTICES IN SHAPING DEMOCRATIC
PROCESSES IN EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY STATES; A CASE OF KENYA**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this Masters Project is my own original work and has not been published or presented in any other institution. Any thoughts from others or literal quotations are clearly acknowledged.

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I hereby declare that this project paper has been presented for examination with my recommendation and guidance as the appointed supervisor.

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This Masters Project is dedicated to the most significant persons in my life – my parents; Mr. & Mrs. Marakis. Dear Mom and Dad, you two have been my mentor, my guide, my savior and my best friends whenever I was in need. Thank you for your immense care, appreciation and effort behind my academic activities. I am forever grateful to you! May almighty God bless you and lift you on high forever endeavors for all the encouragement, prayers and support and for being great advocates of Education.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TV - Television

ICT - Information Communications and Technology

GOK - Government of Kenya

AU - African Union

UN - United Nations

UK - United Kingdom

LGBT - Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender

KANU - Kenya African National Union

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

VOK - Voice of Kenya

KBC - Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation

ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

NTV - Nation Television

ECK - Electoral Commission of Kenya

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

IFJ – International Federation of Journalists

ABSTRACT

The mass media constitute the backbone of democracy and the media provides voters with political knowledge on which to base their decisions. The relationship between mass media and democracy in Kenya has not been sufficiently studied. Therefore, this study aimed at assessing the influence of media practices in shaping democratic processes in East Africa community states; a case of Kenya. The study was guided by the following objectives; to analyse the role of mass media in the democratic process in Kenya, to assess the audiences' attitudes towards mass media contribution towards the democratisation process in Kenya, to examine how audiences use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya and to expound the factors that impedes mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya. The study was guided by Agenda Setting Theory. The agenda-setting idea describes the media's powerful role in informing the public about important matters to consider. The study adopted the quantitative method and qualitative methods. The study employed the use of simple random sampling to select 200 individuals using purposive sampling. The sample included all members of the public who are 18 years and above. The study's findings show that one of the media's most important tasks in any society is to inform the people about important topics that might assist them in making decisions. The current study indicates that the media in Kenya has made its audience aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country. The goal of agenda setting is to enlighten the public about the relative importance of issues and to reinforce those messages through media coverage. When people are exposed to issues through news articles, their perceptions of how important that issue is shift. The importance of the media in affecting public perception and attitudes is central to the agenda-setting idea. The study has made the following recommendations based on the findings that have been obtained and the conclusions that have been drawn; the governments should fully implement the constitution of Kenya provisions on media freedoms by not engaging in illegal media regulations such as gagging and harassment and the general public should be educated on matters related to the role of the media in the democratic process and also on how they should protect media freedom.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Democracy is characterized as a system of administration that offers structures for the expressing the will of the people on basic matters of social orientation and policy in a particular nation. The following classical traits are present¹. All adults are granted the same rights to free speech, association, and voting in all elections, including recurring ones. They also have the same rights to seek for office. Second, the ability to participate in politics, such as choosing leaders and deciding on broad policy lines, including the ability to overthrow a government. Finally, there is the responsibility to respect the other person, and this is in terms of each and every one to show respect to the opinion that other people have².

Democracy is sometimes referred to as government of, by, and for the people. In this system, everyone is subject to the law and the people's lawful rule is supreme. Individuals in high positions, on the other hand, may be. Democracy is a kind of government that is based on public debate and discussion rather than individual will or command.³

Election observers and voters have commonly perceived the media as a tool used in political campaigns to mobilize support for and opposition to influential political leaders. The freedom of

¹ Robakidze, N. (2019). Political Polarization and Media: Threats to the Democratic Process in Georgia. *Policy Brief Journal*, (19), 12-24

²Ibid p.8.

³Tugtekin, E. B., & Koc, M. (2020). Understanding the relationship between new media literacy, communication skills, and democratic tendency: Model development and testing. *New media & society*, 22(10), p.1924

the press is the responsibility of the media outlet's owners. This somewhat erroneous viewpoint is why media ownership is a hot topic in today's media studies. It may also explain why politicians have a proclivity towards acquiring media outlets in order to spread their political views to the general public.⁴

According to Park and Gil de Zúñiga, the media is the foundation of democracy.⁵ Voters can learn about politics via the media and use that information to inform their judgments. They give a debate space and identify challenges that are emerging in our culture. Investigative journalists who expose issues like nepotism and bribery among others by those in positions of power are also public's watchdogs⁶. Because of this, it is reasonable to demand certain standards of the media in such areas, and our modern democracy is based on the premise that they do⁷. The democratic roles of the media include keeping an eye on political and social advancements, recognizing the most important issues, offering a platform for different points of view, holding politicians to account by asking questions and revealing them for abusing their positions of authority, and encouraging citizens to become informed, make choices, and engage in the political process⁸.

⁴ Park, C. S., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2021). Learning about politics from mass media and social media: Moderating roles of press freedom and public service broadcasting in 11 countries. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 33(2), p.316.

⁵ Park, C. S., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2021). Learning about politics from mass media and social media: Moderating roles of press freedom and public service broadcasting in 11 countries. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 33(2), 318-333

⁶ Ibid p.318.

⁷ Mason, L. E., Krutka, D., & Stoddard, J. (2018). Media literacy, democracy, and the challenge of fake news. *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, 10(2), p.8.

⁸Ibid 9.

In addition, the media plays a facilitative, supporting, and integrative function. To improve the efficacy of the media in supporting democratic principles and governance in Africa⁹. Although historians such as Ramaprasad, Dubey, and Masood, the media in Kenya significantly contributes to the dissemination of political information and the setting of political discourse's agenda.¹⁰ The objectivity and professionalism of media sources, especially those owned by the elite like Standard Group, which has ties to the family of former president Moi, should be called into doubt.

1.2 Problem Statement

According to Guess, Munger, Nagler, and Tucke, the public has faith in the media because it can serve as a watchdog for the interests of the public¹¹. It has the potential to uncover government omissions and commissions, as well as corruption, waste, inefficiency, and neglect. Democracy is distinguished from other political systems by the accountability of those in power, and to the extent that the media serves as a tool to ensure day-to-day accountability, it aids in making democracy real and effective.

In order for democracies to thrive, citizens must take an active role in every facet of it. As history has demonstrated, a small number of elites have always controlled Kenyan politics. The elites who dominate the channels of cultural production and consumption have influenced politics to their

⁹Imoh, G. (2013). Mass media and democratic consolidation in Africa: Problems, challenges and prospects. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 16, p.44.

¹⁰ Ramaprasad, J., Dubey, S. Y., & Masood, Z. (2018). News under Pressure from Profit and Politician: Influence of Corporate Ownership and Political Alliances on India's Journalism. *International Communication Research Journal*, 53(2), p.4.

¹¹ Guess, A., Munger, K., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. (2019). How accurate are survey responses on social media and politics?. *Political Communication*, 36(2), 34-56

advantage. They can afford to buy media licenses, guaranteeing that the media only advertises what interests them.

Kenyans play their role in democracy by participating in elections, respecting other people rights however there is an assumption that they have not played their best role in promoting democracy, owing to a lack of engagement in critical democratic procedures such as holding their officials accountable and taking bribes and kickbacks, among other things. Civic education in the country is not sufficient (they ought to have been fully aware on the various aspects of democracy and the role they need to play), as some sectors of the country, such as rural areas, have a poor level of civic education. Most of the Kenyans get their civic education on their democratic rights and roles from the politicians and the government which they indicate is not sufficient. Kenyans, and more so those who are in the rural areas are not aware of the roles that they have in the democratization of Kenya except voting as their knowledge is limited to what they hear from the politicians who visit them¹².

Kenya's constitution includes provisions for freedom of the press and of speech, and the nation's media offer critical reporting and a variety of viewpoints, as stated in the 2010 Constitution's bill of rights and Article 33(2). Although government officials have shown hostility for independent media, notably by introducing and passing restrictive laws that has been utilized to detain media personnel, lawmakers and the government have been the main forces behind the growth of democracy in Kenya¹³.

¹² Ibid, p.35

¹³ Ibid, p.35

Kenya has advanced significantly in the area of media and democratization and is today seen as having a better press than numerous other African nations, both in terms of independence and the function played by the media. The government, on the other hand, continues to use strategies used by previous regimes to suppress the media, denying them the independence they require. As a result, it appears that the government's and politicians' roles in promoting democracy are skewed. As a result, the study sought to determine the role of media practices in creating democratic processes in East African community nations, with Kenya as a case study¹⁴.

1.3 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions;

- i. What is the role of mass media (television and radio) in the democratic process in Kenya?
- ii. What are the attitudes of audiences towards mass media contribution towards the democratisation process in Kenya?
- iii. How do audiences use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya?
- iv. What are the factors that impedes mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya?

1.4 Research Objectives

- i. To analyse the role of mass media in the democratic process in Kenya.
- ii. To assess the audiences' attitudes towards mass media contribution towards the democratisation process in Kenya.
- iii. To examine how audiences, use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.38

iv. To expound the factors that impedes mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Introduction

There is little doubt that the Kenyan press has significantly aided the nation's fight for democracy. As this is a research project seeks to discuss the influence of media practices in shaping the democratic processes in East Africa a case of Kenya, it will review literature on: Mass media under the elements of mass media, mass media influence and mass media practices. It will also look at literature on process of democratization with direct and representative democracy discussed.

1.5.2 Mass Media

In a mass media study conducted by Pratt and Strenberg, mass media is influential because of its wide reach and its cumulative influence over time of exposure to media messages. Media agencies are organized to reach as many people as possible at the same time with similar messages. Therefore, the media is undoubtedly unmatched by any other institution, even families and religious groups¹⁵.

According to Pilar, Rafael, Félix, and Gabriel's study, both private and public life are affected by the media's portrayal of religion, politics, families, education, and health.

Impacts on public health may result through daily media consumption for news and entertainment or from deliberate initiatives by health officials to convey hazards, prevention, and treatment

¹⁵ Prat, A., & Strömberg, D. (2013). The political economy of mass media. *Advances in economics and econometrics*, 2, p.135.

¹⁶. They have also indicated that public's perception and comprehension of sport is shaped by the media. Under certain instances, the press fabricates a story that affects how sports and physical education are taught in schools. The mass media is seen as a source of information on a recent occurrence that raises people's interest. Furthermore, the transmitted message is created using criteria such as relevance, objectivity, and simplicity, all of which aim to provide a message with the broadest possible reach

1.5.2.1 Elements of Mass Media

Saragih and Harahap¹⁷ have indicated that print media such as magazines and newspapers refer to information and news that is printed on paper. Well before printing press, printed materials had to be penned by hand, which made wide distribution all but impossible. Print media is one of the important types of mass information since it is so widely used and accessible to a wide audience. When it comes to mass media, newspapers are the second-oldest following conventional mass media, as the general populace relied on publications to maintain pace with what was going on in their towns and throughout the world for decades. However, print media has now expanded to include magazines and tabloids, as well as advertising and promotional pamphlets. ¹⁸.

Iosifidis and Papathanassopoulos¹⁹ note that broadcasting is simply the sharing of multimedia content to a large number of people over the internet. Broadcasting originally referred to the farming operation of dispersing seeds over a large field. Broadcast media is one of the most

¹⁶ Pilar, P. M., Rafael, M. C., Félix, Z. O., & Gabriel, G. V. (2019). Impact of sports mass media on the behavior and health of society. A systematic review. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 16(3), p.486.

¹⁷ Saragih, M. Y., & Harahap, A. I. (2020). The Challenges of Print Media Journalism in the Digital Era. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, p.545

¹⁸ Ibid p.545

¹⁹ Iosifidis, P., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2019). Media, politics and state broadcasting in Greece. *European Journal of Communication*, 34(4), p.349.

lucrative forms of mass communication since it attracts to both the aural and visual senses. Television and radio were established after newspapers were used as the main medium of information dissemination for centuries. Radio served as the general public's primary source for news, sports, and entertainment during hostilities. TV shows, live shows, as well as other kinds of entertainment were the most popular forms of amusement when tv was first introduced, and it swiftly rose to become the most efficient mass communication method because it was primarily used for the provision of news.

Due to its accelerated rate of information dissemination and upgraded digital technology, the Internet has quickly replaced all other forms of popular communication since it was first introduced in 1989 by British physicist Tim Berners-Lee. New media is an interactive two-way communication in which users are active producers of knowledge and information. The Internet can be referred to as a "network of networks" because of its high level of interactivity. Due to its brilliant integration of all main modes of communication, it has swiftly become the media's epicenter. Online newspapers, broadcast TV shows and online radio stations can now be accessed via the internet.²⁰

The media audience is the individual who rejects or decodes the information provided by the mass media through all channels available to them. The effect on customers is overwhelming despite the fact that that mainstream media shapes currents, alters opinions, develops or devastates personalities, and intentionally or unintentionally promotes models. This is because no one who consumes it can reject non-value, poor taste, lack of education, kitsch, dilettantism, moral depravity, and other things. Journalists, and critics are concerned about the media's expanding

²⁰ Nossek, H., Adoni, H., & Nimrod, G. (2015). Media audiences| is print really dying? The state of print media use in Europe. *International Journal of Communication*, p.21.

power and potential negative consequences. Even when the mainstream media consciously or accidentally promotes models, it also alters attitudes, creates or destroys personalities, and forms currents and currents of thought. This is because nobody who consumes it could also refuse things like moral decay, lack of knowledge, poor taste, kitsch, and non-value.

In his study, Rölle²¹ claims that the media has an impact on people's perceptions of reality. The audience is told what is genuine and what is not, what is relevant and what is not by the media. According to various research, people's perceptions of reality are more closely related to media reality than to objective fact. Uniformity (consonance) in media reporting helps to amplify this effect. The perception of media reporting is influenced by consistency. This aspect has an impact on our selective perception of reality in the media. If media reporting is regarded as uniformly unfavourable, public sentiment toward the subject of the reporting, in this case public administration, may be uniformly negative as well. Individuals who read the mass media frequently over time adapt their political philosophy and finally vote openly in a different way, according to Albanese, Tessone, Semeshenko, and Balenzuela²². Furthermore, it has been established that persons in the United States who are exposed to the news media are more likely to take public views on specific topics, participate in national policy discussions, and express themselves publicly than they would otherwise be.

²¹ Rölle, D. (2017). Mass media and bureaucracy-bashing: Does the media influence public attitudes towards public administration? *Public policy and administration*, 32(3), p.233.

²² Albanese, F., Tessone, C. J., Semeshenko, V., & Balenzuela, P. (2019). A data-driven model for Mass Media influence in electoral context. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1909.10554*.

1.5.2.2 Mass Media Influence

1.5.2.3 Mass Media Practices

There are various practices that are applicable within the mass media. According to Zerfass, Verčič and Wiesenberg²³, regulation of action, is a problem in media practice. The specific regulation in the media activities connected to media, as well as the regularities of context and resource that make certain sorts of media-related acts possible or impossible, likely or unlikely, are the focus of media sociology. As a result, persons in the media industry should follow the rules that have been established. The social practice is the second. This necessitates a major shift in thinking about language as action in the world, as opposed to an older conception of language as the expression of meanings that must correspond in some way²⁴.

Third, practice refers to what the media performs in relation to human needs. That does not imply a predetermined set of human wants based on a universal human nature. The practice is used to ensure that the media is committed to fostering social development in societies, such as encouraging positive behaviour²⁵.

Fourth, the relationship between practice and action provides a unique and significant foundation for thinking normatively about media through the question of how individuals should interact with media. This is founded on media ethics, and it addresses topics such as media accountability,

²³ Zerfass, A., Verčič, D., & Wiesenberg, M. (2016). The dawn of a new golden age for media relations? How PR professionals interact with the mass media and use new collaboration practices. *Public relations review*, 42(4), p.508.

²⁴ Anderson, C. W. (2020). Practice, interpretation, and meaning in today's digital media ecosystem. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 97(2), p.359.

²⁵ Mergel, I., & Bretschneider, S. I. (2013). A three-stage adoption process for social media use in government. *Public administration review*, 73(3), p.398.

among other things. The practice of media should be ethical and in accordance with the industry's and society's acknowledged ethical standards²⁶.

1.5.3 Process of Democratization

The development of a democratic state as well as the expansion of citizenship rights are a part of a wider definition of democratization. This is also characterized as rights-based or "substantive" democratization, in contrast to "formal" democracy. The true measure of democracy not whether rights are guaranteed on paper but rather if they truly matter to individuals. This always calls for a power redistribution²⁷.

It became evident as the democratic process advanced that while some nations managed to make the transition to democracy, others failed, and a large number fell into the classification of problematic democracies, as observed by Professor Terry Flew. Finding the factors that support developing democracies versus those that, on the contrary hand, cause fragility or weakness are now of greater scholarly interest. Research in the 1990s was mostly concerned with strengthening democracy. This signaled a change in emphasis in the democratization argument from one that formerly emphasized architecture and action and their different positions in causation to one that now emphasizes how political climate, economics, and institutionalism impact outcomes²⁸.

Democratization began in the United Kingdom, several sections of Western Europe, the United States, and various British colonies, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It was facilitated by the existence of well-defined geographical borders, which allowed for the consolidation of

²⁶ Flew, T. (2016). National media regulations in an age of convergent media: beyond globalisation, neo-liberalism and internet freedom theories. In *Global Media and National Policies* (p.81). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

²⁷ Ibid p.300.

²⁸ Edgell, A. B., Mechkova, V., Altman, D., Bernhard, M., & Lindberg, S. I. (2018). When and where do elections matter? A global test of the democratization by elections hypothesis, 1900–2010. *Democratization*, 25(3), p.424.

nation-states and the progressive increase of the state's tasks and capacities. However, it was equally crucial that capitalism expand fast in these countries. Capitalism created systems that allowed non-elites or subaltern classes, sometimes referred to as "the people," to gradually gain influence, eventually leading to recognition of their political rights²⁹.

In general, African countries have a poor democratic record, which is mostly due to both foreign and domestic forces. British colonialism in Egypt plundered the country's resources while tolerating royal excesses. This resulted in a revolution in July 1952, as well as a succession of authoritarian rulers. A popular movement in early 2011 hastened President Hosni Mubarak's exit after nearly 30 years in office. This scenario is comparable to what happened in Tunisia, where after 23 years of authoritarian government, President Zein El Abidin Ben Ali stepped down³⁰.

Africa has been able to experience the wave of democratization despite the challenges that have been there. For instance, despite the fact that a single party has ruled since independence, Botswana has an excellent track record of healthy multiparty elections. In 1991, Benin set an example by peacefully changing governments after the ruling party lost an election. Ghana has made progress in terms of democracy and development. While Africans must determine the path to democratization, democratic nations around the world have an obligation to assist Africans in their efforts. The challenge for the United States and other democratic countries is to accelerate

²⁹ Flora, P., & Alber, J. (2017). Modernization, democratization, and the development of welfare states in Western Europe. In *The development of welfare states in Europe and America* (p.43). Routledge.

³⁰ Lynch, G., & Crawford, G. (2011). Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment. *Democratization*, 18(2), p.307.

democracy without jeopardizing the possibility of radical parties winning control of their governments through via electoral victory³¹.

The majority of the time, the people such as former Zimbabwe President, Robert Mugabe who benefited from democratization were not the best advocates for it has been seen in most countries. Many of those who benefited from post-1990 democratization initiatives used their countries' electoral systems and constitution-making processes to ensure that they remained in power. In Nigeria, in 1966, a Nigerian military officer named Chukwuma Nzeogwu, and a series of other majors in the army overthrew the government and began setting up a junta, or military dictatorship. The leader of this junta was Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, who was himself overthrown and murdered in a second coup, or military overthrow of the government, that same year³².

Furthermore, elections held after the first multiparty elections in Kenya have not been marked by improved electoral quality or democratic consolidation. In the worst-case scenarios, tyrants refuse to resign peacefully after losing elections³³. In 2007 election. Kenya experienced democratic turmoil when the elections were disputed and post-election violence occurred that led to the killing of thousands of Kenyans³⁴.

The majority of critics, including Plato, have positioned themselves in a range of stances from a minimum to an absolutist interpretation of democratization. The regular conduct of open elections

³¹ Lynch, G., & Crawford, G. (2011). Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment. *Democratization*, 18(2), p.307.

³² Omaka, A. O., Nwamuo, B., Alaku, E., & Nmaju, U. U. (2021). The January 1966 Military Revolt in Nigeria and the Ethnic Conundrum. *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 10(2), 51-68.

³³ Njeru, J. (2010). 'Defying' democratization and environmental protection in Kenya: The case of Karura Forest reserve in Nairobi. *Political Geography*, 29(6), p.339.

³⁴ Awobamise, A., Jarrar, Y., & Owade, J. (2020). An analysis of media reportage of conflict during the 2007, 2013 and 2017 Kenyan presidential elections: A peace journalism approach. *Universidad y Sociedad*, 12(2), 184-191.

and the adoption of fundamental norms (including the absence of intimidation, the presence of at least two major parties, and free elections) that facilitate free elections are the essence of democratization. A significantly wider definition calls for civil freedoms (peaceful assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, the right to run for elected office, etc.) or the creation of a polyarchic government³⁵.

1.5.3.1 Direct Democracy

In a system of government known as direct democracy, regular voters vote on laws directly, as opposed to candidates for office. The town meeting, which dates at least as far as ancient Athens, is the oldest example of direct democracy. To make public decisions, people gather at a set location and time. Only the smallest of polities still hold town meetings, and their significance has diminished. The most common type of direct democracy in use today is the ballot measure, or proposition, when voters are asked to support or oppose specific laws that are presented on the ballot. Ballot initiatives vary in terms of their method of submission submitted for voting and whether they call for the creation of new laws or the repeal of old ones. A suggested new legislation is qualified for the ballot as an initiative by amassing a predetermined number of valid voter signatures.³⁶

A vote on a law that has already been authorized by the parliament and that has been certified for the vote by the gathering of a specific number of signatures is known as a referendum (also referred to as a petitioning referendum). Ordinary persons can influence the agenda through initiatives and referendums, which are also the most prominent examples of direct democracy. The legislature

³⁵ Byness, A. A. (2021). Note: The Ebb and Flow of the Democratization Process in Africa. *Mizan Law Review*, 15(1), p.299.

³⁶ Serdült, U., & Welp, Y. (2012). Direct democracy upside down. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 8(1), p.78.

directly adds a legislative issue (sometimes referred to as a parliamentary plebiscite) to the ballot. It might be a purely symbolic decision (advisory resolution) to gauge public opinion, or it might be required under the constitution before a law can become enforceable. European integration has been facilitated by advisory measures; all U.S. states, with the exception of one, require popular permission for constitutional revisions, and many also want direct approval for bond issues³⁷.

Activist and started from the bottom up (public initiative) or the top down (command and control), direct democracy tools can be used in either way (by the legislative or the executive bodies). It might be considered the final option in the decision-making process. Democracies are considered as progressing when citizens have the power to initiate a judgment process that, after going via Executive and the legislature, is finally settled by themselves (by the people for the people). The representational system of government becomes more responsive as a result of this ability of initiating, as politicians establish programs without having to seek the public's consent³⁸.

Citizens can have a substantial impact on the development of institutional arrangements through direct participation. Eastern European countries conducted successful referendums in support of European Union membership, a good attitude that eroded in certain countries throughout the debate over the EU's constitution in Europe. After extensive discussions with elected figures in the General Assembly and ratification by the heads of state of the European Union, many nations were asked to ratify the new draft constitution. As a result, the new legal system's adoption was put on hold in France and the Netherlands. On the opposite hand, other continents have had more success.

³⁷ Ibid p.78.

³⁸ Ibid p.79.

Many Latin American nations, such as Uruguay, Ecuador, and Venezuela, appear to be experiencing direct democracy for the first time³⁹.

During the apartheid era, South Africa had referenda at various times, but not in the post-apartheid era. Direct democracy has been used in Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, and Djibouti, while it is also allowed in Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Uganda.⁴⁰ With administrations in these regions using plebiscites or coerced plebiscites to address specific constitutional amendments, are mostly employed to solve constitutional concerns in Southern (South Africa's 1992 Apartheid election) and East Africa (Kenya's 2010 constitutional referendum). These required referendums are governed by legislation, even in autocracies and dictatorships. Among the nations with such a legal requirement, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Tanzania, Lesotho, Eritrea, Rwanda, Sudan and Somalia, are just a few. Both Madagascar and Djibouti permit the president to conduct a plebiscite, which in Djibouti can be conducted without Parliament's approval. Plebiscites have been regularly used within Botswana and Madagascar.⁴¹

Based on the discussion in this chapter, it can be concluded that direct democracy is a system of political procedures in which ordinary voters vote on laws directly rather than through candidates for office. Second, a referendum (sometimes known as a petition referendum) is a vote on a law that has already been authorized by the legislature and has been qualified for the ballot by gathering a certain number of signatures. A proactive direct democracy tool can be initiated from the bottom up (citizen initiative) or from the top down (command and control) (by the legislative or the

³⁹ Yonk, R. M., & Reilly, S. (2012). Citizen involvement & quality of life: Exit, voice and loyalty in a time of direct democracy. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 7(1), p.12.

⁴⁰ Kersting, N. (2014). Referendums in Africa. In *Referendums around the World* (p. 189.). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

⁴¹ Ibid p.190.

executive bodies). Through direct participation, citizens can have a significant impact on the formation of institutional arrangements.

1.5.3.2 Representative Democracy

The word "representative democracy" encapsulates the complexity, variety, and uniqueness of the contemporary political system, that is the unique synthesis of two diverse and, in some respects, diametrically opposed political traditions.⁴² Direct popular government is referred to by the word "democracy," that is a Greek word without even a Latin equivalent (or "getting things done"). A delegation of authority from one side to another is referred to as representation, a Latin phrase without a Greek equivalent. Combining these two components results in representative democracy, which has four fundamental aspects: (a) the people's superiority conveyed in the election initial appointment of representatives; (b) depiction as a connection between free mandates; (c) electoral mechanisms that ensure that lawmakers who speak and act in the kids names are able to react to the people; and (d) the pervasive franchise, which also grounds representation on a crucial element of political equality⁴³.

It is mandatory, not optional, to express the people's independence and authority since representative democracy is, first and foremost, a name for a form of governance. Therefore, even if residents frequently contest elected leaders' claims to operate in the interests of the people, electoral representations are essential in communicating the will of the people. This contradiction is at the heart of representation, underscoring the difficulty of representative government. The voting establishment that fosters interaction between government institutions and society is where

⁴² Urbinati, N. (2011). Representative democracy and its critics. *The future of representative democracy*, p.33.

⁴³ Ibid p.35.

the processes that keep a democratic country in movement are found. The representational process is at the core of this. A image of representational government that just stresses elections does not adequately portray what it takes to be democratic, even though political representation begins with elections since it begins with the allotment of equal electoral rights⁴⁴.

The way they are chosen must be governed by the electoral process, in addition to the laws and voting rules that establish it. Despite the fact that there are numerous elements that can be derived from the three main voting processes (congregation, legislative power, upper chamber, representative lower house, among many others) for having elected fair portrayal bodies, the vast majority system is primarily paired with a wide range of political options for selecting the president directly from the election. When the candidate with the most votes wins, it is the simplest way to choose a president. There are presidential elections taking place in Mexico, the Philippines, Kenya, Malawi, South Korea, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Iceland. It is obvious that such a method is simple, affordable, and effective in the extremely competitive campaign with multiple candidates, leaving open the possibility that the presidency could be won with few ballots, despite the possibility that now the majority of the citizens may well have voted against him. In order to assure that someone will be elected to the presidency based on a large majority, a threshold must be established.

1.6 Justification of the Study

The current study focuses on Kenya as a case study of how media practices affect democratic processes in East African community nations. Studies, reports, and investigations of a similar nature to the one at hand have been done on the relationship between democracy and the media.

⁴⁴ Tormey, S. (2014). The contemporary crisis of representative democracy. *Democratic Theory*, 1(2), p.105.

But the majority of these research⁴⁵ based on the role that the media played during the 2007 elections, which polarized the nation and led to election violence, are divided over the media's responsibilities to the democratic process in Kenya. Consequently, this investigation is crucial.

This study will also provide insights into how the media can report on political issues in a democratic state with a diverse ethnic population. This is noteworthy since the Kenyan media has been accused of fanning the flames of the post-election violence. This information can then be used to improve current media rules.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

1.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory

This study is guided by the Agenda Setting Theory. The notion of setting the agenda describes the media's significant function in educating the public about issues that need to be taken into account. Through news media, the public learns how much significance to give to some topics and how little significance to others. This is due to the media elevating subjects' stature and increasing audiences' importance of them.⁴⁶ Agenda setting is mostly based on the prominence of issues, or how much a problem is valued relative to other issues on the agenda. The agenda-setting process includes competition amongst advocates of a group of issues to get attention from the media, public attention, and the attention of policy elites⁴⁷.

⁴⁵Ogola, G. (2011). The political economy of the media in Kenya: from Kenyatta's nation building press to Kibaki's local-language FM radio. *Africa Today*, 57(3), p.83.

⁴⁶McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2013). *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*. Routledge, p.23.

⁴⁷Ibid p.34.

The first stage and the second stages of agenda formulation have been studied for decades. At Boston University, a third level known as network agenda setting (NAS) was created in 2011. The first level discusses how people's perceptions of the most pressing issues facing their nation are influenced by the themes that receive the most attention in news media reporting⁴⁸. The second-level agenda setting, on the other hand, illustrates how mass media bring their listeners' attention to specific features by focusing on them when presenting situations or objects. Similarly, agenda setting theory's first and second levels reveal a hierarchical rank order of the importance of distinct discrete objects and attributes as they are transmitted from the media to the public agenda. As a result, mass media determines whether individuals believe it is desirable to have an opinion about an issue or thing by altering its importance and qualities⁴⁹.

The relevance of networked connections between objects and/or qualities can be transferred between media and public agendas, as well as between media agendas, according to the third level of agenda-setting. The news media can not only inform us on what to believe and how to think about it, but also show us how to connect these objects and traits. According to network agenda setting, the relevance of interrelationships among items and/or qualities can be transferred to the public agenda⁵⁰.

McCombs and Shaw have authored one of the most important studies that contribute to Agenda Setting Theory⁵¹. They look at the role of the media in swaying public opinion during the 1968

⁴⁸Aruguete, N. (2017). The agenda setting hypothesis in the new media environment. *Comunicación y sociedad*, (28), p.44.

⁴⁹Ibid p.46.

⁵⁰Dunaway, J., Branton, R. P., &Abrajano, M. A. (2010). Agenda setting, public opinion, and the issue of immigration reform. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(2), p.373.

⁵¹ McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.

presidential campaign. McCombs and Shaw discovered that the media had a specific percentage of people who frequently referred to information provided by the media as a result of their research. This percentage rises for individuals who are motivated and enthusiastic about following up on presidential campaign material⁵².

Agenda-setting is, at its most basic level, the process by which the news media raises the public's knowledge and concern about important subjects. Assumptions of agenda setting are that the press and media do not represent reality; rather, they filter and interpret it; and that media attention on a few issues and themes causes the public to regard those topics as more significant than other subjects. Among the most important components of the job of agenda shaping in mass media is the time limit for this⁵³.

The theory is relevant to the study in various ways. The first relevance is that it examines the media's influence in shaping a country's democratic agenda. Because the media boosts the prestige of issues and the importance that audience members place on them, this is the case. Second, the theory supports the function of network agenda setting (NAS) in steering the study, such as how the prevalence of democracy as an agenda in news media reporting influences people's judgments of their country's most pressing concerns. Third, according to the third level of agenda-setting, the theory is crucial to the research because networked relationships between objects and/or qualities can be transferred between media and public agendas, as well as between media agendas.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

- i. Mass media plays a role in the democratic process in Kenya.

⁵² Ibid, p.179.

⁵³ Ibid, p.180.

- ii. The audience has attitudes towards mass media contribution towards the democratisation process in Kenya.
- iii. The audience uses information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya.
- iv. There are factors that impedes mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya.

1.9 Research Methodology

The study adopted the quantitative method and qualitative methods. The study used primary data that was collected from members of the public eligible as voters. The study employed the use of simple random sampling to select 200 individuals using purposive sampling. The sample included all members of the public who are 18 years and above. Purposive sampling was used to ensure that the researcher uses participants who meet the eligibility criteria. Data analysis was done using SPSS v.25.0. Data was analysed using descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, mean and standard deviation). Qualitative data was collected from published materials (journals and books). Qualitative analysis was done based on themes.

1.10 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study is assessing the influence of media practices in shaping democratic processes in East Africa community states; a case of Kenya. The study was limited to; the role of mass media in the democratic process in Kenya, audiences' attitudes towards mass media contribution towards the democratisation process in Kenya, how audiences use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya and factors that impedes mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: It details the background to study, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, and justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, study methodology and the chapter outline.

Chapter two: Mass media and democracy. The section covers the following areas; mass media and its influence, democratization process and mass media and democratization.

Chapter three: Democracy in Kenya. This chapter covers democracy in Kenya. It covers the initial stages of democracy in Kenya, its growth and the laws that have been passed within the 2010 constitution that guarantees the democratic practices.

Chapter four: Mass Media and Democracy in Kenya. The section covers mass media and democracy in Kenya based on the findings, analysis and discussion that have been done.

Chapter five: It will provide summary, conclusions and recommendations as well as provide suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS ON MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

2.1 Introduction

This section covers mass media and democracy based on the component of the agenda setting theory. The section covers the following areas; mass media and its influence, democratization process and mass media and democratization. The findings indicate that mass media and its practices have an influence on democratization process.

2.2 Mass Media and Its Influence

A medium is a "communication channel," which is how people convey information to one another. When we browse a newspaper or journal, for instance, we are engaging with the printed word in some way as a medium⁵⁴. Television, phones, movies, and other related technology are examples of electronic modes of communication that are also media⁵⁵. We are concerned in how and why various forms of media are used to connect with and be accepted by enormous groups of people because the word "mass" means "many" (the audience) Television, phones, movies, and other related technology are examples of electronic modes of communication⁵⁶. Since the word "mass" refers to "many," we are interested in how and why different media are utilized to communicate with and be viewed by large groups of people (the audience). Consequently, the concept "mass media" makes reference to media channels that in one way, shape, or form involve information is

⁵⁴ Gondwe, G., & Muchangwe, R. (2020). Agenda-Setting theory in African contexts: A Jekyll and Hyde in the Zambian Presidential elections. *Gondwe, G. & Muchangwe R.(2020). Agenda-Setting theory in African contexts: A Jekyll and Hyde in the Zambian Presidential elections. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development, 7(5), 93.*

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.93.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.93.

transmitted to large populations of individuals. However, it is unclear exactly how big of a "large group" must be to meet the criteria as a "mass" but then again, we already know that whenever we come across it⁵⁷.

The word "mass media" refers to a multitude of media techniques that make use of information dissemination to reach a broad audience. The technology used to carry out this communication are numerous. Electronic information is transmitted through broadcast media such as movies, radio, music, and television. Phones and the internet are examples of digital media for mass communication.⁵⁸ Internet media includes things like email, social media platforms, websites, and Internet radio and television stations. Many various types of mainstream media have an online presence, such as connecting to or displaying Television advertisements online, or dispersing Bar code in outdoors or newspaper adverts to guide phone devices to a website. By doing so, they can take use of the Industry's access and outreach capabilities, effectively and simultaneously streaming information to several different parts of the world⁵⁹.

The agenda setting theory has encapsulated the media's influencing function. The public's mentality is influenced by the media's depiction of news stories and concerns. Because of the way news stories are set up, viewers will automatically believe that a story with more emphasis than the rest has information and events that are more significant⁶⁰. Depending on what the public believes and how much of an impact each piece of news will have, the media decide which stories

⁵⁷ Ibid p.95.

⁵⁸ Park, C. S., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2021). Learning about politics from mass media and social media: Moderating roles of press freedom and public service broadcasting in 11 countries. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 33(2), p.316.

⁵⁹ Ibid p.318.

⁶⁰ McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2014). New directions in agenda-setting theory and research. *Mass communication and society*, 17(6), p.783.

to present first and which to present second. According to agenda setting theory, agenda setting is facilitated by a cognitive process known as "accessibility." The media delivers the most up-to-date information that shapes public opinion, portrays key societal concerns, and represents people's thoughts⁶¹.

According to the agenda setting idea, media impact happens on two different levels: the first and the the second. The first stage is always employed to examine the functions and goals of media, in addition to the impacts that media have on people and the most immediate reaction that individuals have to the news that media outlets report. According to Vargo, Guo, and Amazeen, the media is based on how individuals perceive the character of second-level challenges. In order to get the attention of the audience, media attention may therefore be sensationalized. In actuality, the media's purpose is to attract public's attention and implant opinions about significant topics in their heads. As a result, the press causes some issues to go viral⁶².

2.3 Origins of Democratization Process

Democratization is a process through which a political regime becomes democratic⁶³. As countries began to appreciate the value and benefits of freedom and democracy starting in the middle of the 20th century, they significantly changed the global political scene. Due to the establishment of international norms that connect democracy to a wide range of desirable outcomes, including as

⁶¹ Ibid, p.784.

⁶² Vargo, C. J., Guo, L., & Amazeen, M. A. (2018). The agenda-setting power of fake news: A big data analysis of the online media landscape from 2014 to 2016. *New media & society*, 20(5), p.2029.

⁶³ Ibid p.252

the preservation of human rights, economic progress, and security, scholars, bureaucrats, and activists are all growing more interested in democratization⁶⁴.

Around the world, shifts to and away from democracy typically occur in waves, which implies they are clustered in both time and space as opposed to being dispersed randomly. American political scientist Samuel Huntington identified three main democratization waves. The first one, which spanned from 1826 until 1926, was contemporaneous with the expansion of democracy in Western Europe and the United States. The fall with several European democracies after World War I served as a defining characteristic of the first reversal wave, which spanned from 1922 to 1942⁶⁵.

The second major wave of democracy development included the occupation of Axis nations by the Allies during World War II, post-war attempts at democratization in independent former British colonies, and the growth of democracies in Latin America (1943–62). Almost all of Latin America returned to military rule during the second reverse phase (1958–1975), and emerging democracies in Africa and Southeast Asia collapsed⁶⁶.

The toppling of the military administration in Portugal in 1974 marked the start of the third major wave. The next 25 years saw a significant development of democracy around the world⁶⁷. Mainland Europe and South America were the first to embrace democracy, followed by Eastern Europe and Asia, and ultimately Africa. Electoral democracies increased from around one-fourth

⁶⁴ Byness, A. A. (2021). Note: The Ebb and Flow of the Democratization Process in Africa. *Mizan Law Review*, 15(1), p.298.

⁶⁵ Skaaning, S. E. (2020). Waves of autocratization and democratization: a critical note on conceptualization and measurement. *Democratization*, 27(8), p.1535.

⁶⁶ Ibid p.1536.

⁶⁷ Fishman, R. M. (2018). What Made the Third Wave Possible? Historical Contingency and Meta-Politics in the Genesis of Worldwide Democratization. *Comparative Politics*, 50(4), p.611.

to almost two-thirds of all countries throughout this time. The third wave, has crested, if not reversed. Many third-wave democracies, rather than returning to authoritarianism, have been entangled in hybrid or mixed regimes that include characteristics of both democracy and autocracy such as Rwanda.⁶⁸

2.4 Mass Media and Democratization

There are various ways through which the mass media contributes to the process of democratization. This section captures various ways through which mass media has been involved in the promotion of democracy.

2.4.1 Media and Democracy Viewership

Perception, in the context of agenda setting theory, refers to how people form opinions and conclusions about what the media promotes⁶⁹. Different people such as voters and politicians react differently to the same message, and this is all due to the decoding process, or how people interpret certain information. However, exposure to chosen media content can have a substantial effect in shaping one's perspective of a particular subject⁷⁰. Hence, mass media is key when it comes to setting an agenda aimed at changing the perception of its audiences.

One of the fundamental roles of the media in every society, according to Gil de Ziga and Diehl, is to inform the public about what they think to be relevant. Agenda setting is a function of informing the public about the relative importance of issues and reinforcing them through media coverage. When the audience is exposed to concerns through news content, their perceptions toward that

⁶⁸ Lynch, G., & Crawford, G. (2011). Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment. *Democratization*, 18(2), p.278.

⁶⁹ Bognár, B. (2018). A Culture of Resistance: Mass Media and Its Social Perception in Central and Eastern Europe. *Polish Sociological Review*, 202(2), p.228.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.228.

issue's importance change. The role of the mass media in the shaping of popular perception and attitudes is fundamental to the agenda setting theory.⁷¹

In today's democratic setting, the media has proven to be one of the most important weapons for current politicking and diffusion of political information, influencing public conceptions of democracy according to the agenda that is set within a society⁷². Politicians and media proprietors both have financial, political, and public relations goals. The media acts as a watchdog during presidency elections in the USA. However, media platforms like WhatsApp are changing the nature of communications since they are often used to spread false political news, which impedes the development of democracy, which depends on the exchange of real information. Numerous studies claim that in addition to the themes of political campaigns, the manner and techniques of media coverage can have an impact on people's preferences and expectations. He is responsible for the information's quality, correctness, and authenticity as well as for inventing myths and legends to improve the delegate's or party's nominee's character. Remember that good journalism promotes fair and free elections and is currently in short supply⁷³.

At the level of the international instruments, it is acknowledged that the media have an important role in democratic processes generally and actively participate in election processes. The media is a crucial source of information shared between candidates and the general public during each election⁷⁴. The media helps voters make an informed choice when they cast their ballots by offering

⁷¹ Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Diehl, T. (2019). News finds me perception and democracy: Effects on political knowledge, political interest, and voting. *New media & society*, 21(6), p.1258.

⁷² McCombs, M. (2007). Agenda-Setting. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p.2.

⁷³ Laila, A., Tatiyana, L., & Aleksey, V. (2020). Factors and Trends of Increasing Role of Mass Media in Democratic Elections in Kazakhstan. *Media Watch*, 11(2), p.396.

⁷⁴ Ibid p.398.

a platform for public discourse and educating citizens about the policies and channels of parties and candidates. The significance of this final argument cannot be emphasized because democratic elections depend heavily on voters' capacity for making informed decisions⁷⁵.

Mord⁷⁶ says that the topic of how the media affects politics has been studied in the perspective of countries leaving colonial rule and establishing democracies. According to Mord, the role of the media in a democracy does not have to be universalized and essentially modeled after Western media concepts. On the other hand, the processional method needs to be emphasized because it creates the themes and connections of press activity, which may subsequently be used to develop theories. The Nigerian example highlights how this is particularly true when taking into account the distinct perspective and context of African transitioning countries⁷⁷.

Allam⁷⁸ According to his research, unexpected political changes in the Arab world have had an impact on the media landscape. Political and financial constraints placed on media organizations have damaged their credibility and created a trust issue. Tunisia's media is not significantly different; nonetheless, there has been some shift in terms of devoting priority to internal issues in the national media, albeit this has not been substantially adopted and is only marginally reflected in coverage. This type of coverage derives from the belief that when using protocol news to safeguard nationhood and independence is a duty.

⁷⁵Ibid p.399.

⁷⁶Mordi, E. N. (2018). The Role of the Press in the Democratic Process: The Example of Nigeria's First Republic, 1960-1966. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 26(3), p.2039.

⁷⁷ Ibid p.2040.

⁷⁸Allam, R. (2019). Constructive journalism in Arab transitional democracies: Perceptions, attitudes and performance. *Journalism Practice*, 13(10), p.1274.

The general population, who are part of the media audience, are more likely to verify through checking if the information comes from a reliable source or if they feel the message to be true, which is mostly decided by their political leanings. Audience verification, like many other human behavior-based notions, is essential for dispelling any uncertainty that may arise from the facts that they hear. There are many factors that influence its democratic impact, including competence and motivation as well as overcoming biases⁷⁹.

Media freedom is a huge difficulty for governments that do not care about sustaining democratic norms, such as most African countries like Djibouti and Eritrea⁸⁰. Voters are distrustful of politicians because they believe they are incapable of preserving democracy. To carry out one's responsibilities, one must adhere to a code of conduct that is founded on ethics and good practice. A variety of factors, including legislation, ownership, and security concerns, influence how news is presented. Democracy is not perfect because of the many obstacles that arise from the democratic process. In order to avoid the rise of anti-government and anti-media sentiment, criticism must be conducted in an ethical manner. There is a lack of confidence between the media and the political establishment. When the government is in charge, it restricts the media's activities. In opposition, the same government party enjoys a close relationship with the media⁸¹.

The general public believes that they no longer have to constantly pursue out news since they will be introduced to it and kept updated by their peers and online networks, where people are sharing

⁷⁹ Edgerly, S., Mourão, R. R., Thorson, E., & Tham, S. M. (2020). When do audiences verify? How perceptions about message and source influence audience verification of news headlines. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 97(1), p.55.

⁸⁰ Aslam, M. J., Sarwar, M. S., Bhatti, U. A., & Shakoor, S. (2021). Status of Media Freedom and Democracy in Pakistan: Perception of Journalists and Politicians. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 58(3), 92.

⁸¹ Ibid p.92.

news on current affairs such political considerations going where in a country on the social media. According to panel survey data from the United States, the majority (94 percent) of respondents said they are less inclined to use conventional news sources and have less political awareness over time. Despite the fact that exposure to news on social media is favorably associated with the news-finds-me view, this behavior does not promote political learning⁸².

Citizens' perceptions of the media environment affect how often they use various media, and we expect that news-finds-me beliefs will have a major impact on people's media usage behaviors outside of social networks. One of the main tenets of the media perspective is the presumption that one is not required to proactively monitor the news because others with one's social media platform will provide pertinent and significant information. This suggests that people are being relied upon more heavily for communication, which is typical of the 2 different information flow. These results demonstrate that constantly pursuing news enhances political comprehension⁸³.

The agenda setting theory indicates that the media is keen on making a topic such as about democracy and theme prominent as compared to others⁸⁴. The media make the concept of democracy to be prominent and this is based on the positive aspects that democracy has such as expanding the rights of the voter. Through, having such prominence, the media will influence the perception that people have. Thus, agenda setting theory explains the process which media changes the perception of the people.

⁸² Gil de Zúñiga, H., Weeks, B., & Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2017). Effects of the news-finds-me perception in communication: Social media use implications for news seeking and learning about politics. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 22(3), 109.

⁸³Ibid p.109.

⁸⁴ Iyengar, S. (1987). Television news and citizens' explanations of national affairs. *American Political Science Review*, 81(3), p.817

2.4.2 Mass Media and Public Attention towards Democracy

Public attention when it comes to mass media refers to the manner in which the agenda being set by the media captures the interests of the audience. Mass media is often used to capture the attention of the target audience and this is based on how the information is being framed⁸⁵. For instance, when it comes to the importance of democracy, the media has been used by various pro-democracy institutions such as the judiciary and electoral bodies to inform the audience on the positive aspects of democracy such as the guarantee of the human rights among other freedoms that are associated with it⁸⁶.

The public agenda is not determined by the media agenda, despite the fact that it can have a substantial influence. The public agenda is by no means primarily determined by the information and cues about object and characteristic importance provided by the news media. The major impact of the news media on civilization's fundamental presumption that the populace as a whole has sufficient knowledge to decide the course of their country, state, and communities has not been altered or discredited in any manner. Particularly people are highly competent of assessing the fundamental significance of the information media's topics and characteristics to them and to the larger public. The media only set the agenda when people actually believe their newspaper articles are important⁸⁷.

In order to hold the audience's interest, the media's role in establishing and shaping the agenda is crucial. The extensive exposure may have an impact on mass communication. Effects on setting

⁸⁵ Gil de Zúñiga, H., Weeks, B., & Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2017). Effects of the news-finds-me perception in communication: Social media use implications for news seeking and learning about politics. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 22(3), p.110.

⁸⁶ Ibid p.110.

⁸⁷ Helberger, N. (2019). On the democratic role of news recommenders. *Digital Journalism*, 7(8), p.994.

the agenda at the first level serve to illustrate the phenomenon. As both attributing agenda-setting and priming suggest, paying closer attention to the exact content of mass communication, particularly the mood of such messages, provides a more thorough understanding of the pictures in our heads and the ensuing attitudes and beliefs based on those images. For instance, An examination of the final three weeks of the presidential elections in 1992 and 1996 in the United States revealed that viewers' opinions of the candidates were influenced by the tone of tv news broadcast of significant campaign events. Republican candidate support grew as a result of positive coverage of Republican campaign rallies on four major television networks. Positive reporting of Democrat campaign activities, on the other hand, reduced Republican support. In both years, the intensity of these media influence on voters' opinions was identical.⁸⁸ The positive rating the media created towards the democratic candidate is based on framing effects that is created by the media when it is setting its agenda based on the agenda setting theory. The media framed the democratic candidate's campaigns in a more positive manner and thus changing the view that voters had.

In modern democracies, the media fulfills critical political, social, economic, and cultural tasks such as civic education, positive behavior promotion, and cultural value promotion based on how the audience's attention is grabbed and the framing of the messages. Because no alternative means exist in such societies, the media are the primary source of political knowledge and provision of public discourse, as well as the key to an informed, self-governing population. Democracy necessitates a media system that provides people with a diverse range of opinions, analysis, and debate on critical issues, reflects citizens' diversity, and promotes democratic accountability of the powers that be and desire to be.

⁸⁸ Crouch, C. (2016). The march towards post-democracy, ten years on. *The political quarterly*, 87(1), p.74..

The media must serve as watchdogs in the face of power abuse. Based on the agenda setting theory, the media can be a watchdog against power abuser by using the influence that it has by highlighting some of the ills that are being committed by the ruling elites such as corruption, nepotism and even engaging in electoral malpractices among others. This is based on how media shapes an agenda in a manner that it wants. Thus, agenda setting theory captures the overall process that media uses in setting accountability agenda⁸⁹.

According to Bossetta, the media should serve as a conduit for crucial political information, providing direction on how to understand it so that citizens can engage meaningfully in public life. During general elections, this function gets momentum. People get to choose competent leaders based on media knowledge⁹⁰. For instance, in most Asian and African countries such as Kyrgyzstan and Zimbabwe respectively, whose elections are normally free but not always fair, the media plays a critical role in election coverage since it is responsible for informing the public about their civic rights, such as the right to vote⁹¹. In countries like Mali and Pakistan, where the majority of the population is uneducated, the media must educate voters about election processes and the political process in general so that voters can make an informed choice⁹². People may find it difficult to get accurate information about politicians if they do not have unlimited access to information and free media, which may impair their capacity to choose the best leaders. As a result, the media must provide a platform for a wide range of political interests, as well as an institutional structure and set of practices that promote broad and inclusive public discourse on matters of social

⁸⁹ Ibid p.75.

⁹⁰ Bossetta, Michael. "The weaponization of social media: Spear phishing and cyberattacks on democracy." *Journal of international affairs* 71, no. 1.5 (2018), p.104.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.104

⁹² Perito, R. M., & Planty, D. J. (2019). Saving Democracy Abroad. *PRISM*, 8(2), p.72.

and political importance. As a result, the media can only execute the above responsibilities efficiently if it is given complete independence and is not subjected to undue restrictions by the laws or the administration in question. Editors and journalists in Myanmar, Belarus, and Zimbabwe, for example, have been severely punished for publishing news critical of the government. Watchdog responsibilities and holding leaders responsible are difficult to come by in these states⁹³.

The media can give an appropriate arena for citizens to engage in debate the prospects and constraints of the topics and challenges that they face, thereby changing the audience's perception. What's more, the media can operate as an impartial and productive opposition to those who are in power through its platform⁹⁴. Opposition political groups frequently hold beliefs that are not democratic, as they may be motivated by self-interests, and frequently oppose for sake of opposing to suit their own political objectives. For fear of losing votes, both the ruling and opposition leaders may avoid saying or doing certain things, even if the debate and action on them is in the wider national interest. The media, like the judiciary, has no specific constituency⁹⁵. Its constituency is the entire country⁹⁶. Media can be able to set the agenda on how citizens are engaging on a debate about democratic issues. The media can hold a debate aimed at discussing the importance of democracy within a society. Such cases, the media will influence democratic discussion and thus capturing the attention of the audience regarding the issue under discussion⁹⁷.

⁹³ Hackett, R. A. (2016). 11. The News Media and Civic Equality: Watch Dogs, Mad Dogs, or Lap Dogs?. In *Democratic Equality* (pp. 199). University of Toronto Press.

⁹⁴ Figenschou, T. U., & Ihlebæk, K. A. (2019). Challenging journalistic authority: Media criticism in far-right alternative media. *Journalism Studies*, 20(9), p.124.

⁹⁵ Ibid p.125.

⁹⁶ Caplan, M., McMahon, N., & Alcantara, C. (2020). Representing the Constituency: Institutional Design and Legislative Behaviour. *Representation*, p.6.

⁹⁷ P.201.

The discussions that have been above indicate that mass media enhances public attention towards democracy based on the practices and components involved. Mass media is often used to capture the attention of the target audience and this is based on how the information is being framed and this can be in terms of framing the democracy and its ideals as an issue that is of great importance.

2.4.3 Mass Media and Promotion of Democratic Ideals

Transfer of democratic ideals by the mass media refers to the process in which the media spreads information about the practices of democracy to its audience. Mass media is critical in enhancing democratic ideals within a country or a society and this can be through spreading messages about the freedom and rights of the people such as those touching on their political lives such as the freedom of assembly and this is based on the agenda setting theory aspect of framing⁹⁸.

A significant factor in the impact of journalism on the audience is the entrenchment of the agenda that is currently set in the process, which is made possible by the rapid spread of mainstream press in with us daily and the daily reinforcement of messages trying to target voters about public policy issues like democratic values in the news. The people can learn about subjects and other concerns in the media with little effort because to the news agenda's regular repetition. Issues quickly transition from of the media agenda towards the national dialogue as a function of the incidental character of this understanding⁹⁹.

⁹⁸ Hackett, R. A. (2016). 11. The News Media and Civic Equality: Watch Dogs, Mad Dogs, or Lap Dogs?. In *Democratic Equality* (pp.202.). University of Toronto Press.

⁹⁹ Entman, R. M., & Usher, N. (2018). Framing in a fractured democracy: Impacts of digital technology on ideology, power and cascading network activation. *Journal of Communication*, 68(2), p.299..

Individual psychology has a role in how people react to the media agenda¹⁰⁰. The need for orientation is the most important psychological principle governing agenda-setting effects. The notion that humans have a natural interest in the world around us and a wish for becoming acquainted with it is referred to as the need for orientation. This guidance is provided by the news media for a variety of public issues, such as evaluating a new presidential candidate or evaluating the results of different public policies. Therefore, the higher our need for guidance, the more probable it is that we will seek out data, report news, and be vulnerable to forces that set policy.¹⁰¹. Thus, based on the agenda setting theory, media can be able to ensure that it frames its democratic messages in a manner that captures and influences the psychological aspects of the audience who is being targeted such as the voter.

According to Silverblatt, the media serves as a social direction because it is a social institution. A social institution is important to the process of socialization because it offers people a support system as they attempt to integrate into a larger social network. Because considerable progress has been made on media, but the majority of it is tied to media's influence and its relationship with political campaigns, this aspect of study was chosen¹⁰². Thus, the media is key in making sure that the judiciary as an institution is operating based on the democratic ideal that are associated with it such as being impartial when it comes to matters that are related to politics among others.

¹⁰⁰ McCombs, M., & Stroud, N. J. (2014). Psychology of agenda-setting effects: Mapping the paths of information processing. *Review of Communication Research*, 2, p.72.

¹⁰¹ Ibid p.300.

¹⁰² Silverblatt, A. (2004). Media as social institution. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(1), p.37.

According to Apuke and Apollos¹⁰³, the promotion of democratic ideas in the majority of the countries has been greatly aided by online media, particularly social media use. Political candidates now use social media as one of their primary means of reaching out to supporters who are interested in their political careers and objectives. Indicating the importance of the media in the dissemination of promoting principles. For example, in the 2015 senate election campaigns in southern Taraba, Facebook was utilized to persuade voters to vote for a certain candidate by making the public aware of the candidate's democratic agenda. However, the respondents believe that there were dysfunctions on the Facebook sites of electorates and candidates, such as intentional distortions in information about competitors, abusive language, misrepresentation of facts towards own performance, and disinformation as a technique for influencing¹⁰⁴.

Mass media has enhanced the spread of democratic ideals through democratic consolidation in most parts of the world such as Africa¹⁰⁵. Democratic consolidation refers to a polity's ability to foster and sustain democratic norms over a long period of time with little or no fear of the process of democratization in all of its forms being aborted. In this regard, the media has played an important part in the fight for democracy in a number of African countries, including Nigeria. The mass media has helped to entrench democracy in countries that have experienced authoritarian and totalitarian rule (military regimes) through civic education and the advancement of democratic oversight and cooperation between current rulers and the citizens of the country through

¹⁰³Apuke, O. D., & Apollos, I. N. (2017). Public perception of the role of Facebook usage in political campaigns in Nigeria. *Informing Science: International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 1, p.89.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.90.

¹⁰⁵ Imoh, G. (2013). Mass media and democratic consolidation in Africa: Problems, challenges and prospects. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 16, p.55.

ideological arguments that have helped to validate the administration and win the people's loyalty¹⁰⁶.

2.5 Conclusion

Based on the agenda-setting theory, the chapter has discussed the relationship between mass media and democratization. The discussion has indicated that the mass media's effectiveness in creating democratic space is based on the application of the components of the agenda-setting theory. The mass media plays various roles such as conducting civic education, influencing the perception and capturing the attention of their audience, as well as promoting democratic ideals and this can include aspects like educating the masses on their voting rights. The discussion captured in this chapter indicates that various functions of the media in creating democratisation are actualised based on how they frame their messages and also how they set the agenda on the issues, such as giving more prominence to democratic issues. Thus, agenda-setting theory is critical in realizing mass media's democratic role and its influence.

¹⁰⁶ Hackett, R. A. (2016). 11. The News Media and Civic Equality: Watch Dogs, Mad Dogs, or Lap Dogs?. In *Democratic Equality* (pp.200.). University of Toronto Press

CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRACY IN KENYA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers democracy in Kenya. It covers the initial stages of democracy in Kenya, its growth and the laws that have been passed within the 2010 constitution that guarantees the democratic practices and the findings which indicates that democracy in Kenya has grown over the years and it has been strengthened to ideal levels.

3.2 Kenya's Transition to Democracy

Kenya's democratic system has experienced several ups and downs since gaining independence in 1963. Under a decentralized system of government known as *majimbo*, the nation was divided into seven administrative regions, some of whose boundaries coincided with ethnic population distribution. Some geographic areas can be associated with ethnic groupings because several of the statistically significant communities have their own territories. A variety of policies have to be established and implemented by each regional administration. When the constitution was changed by Parliament in 1982, Kenya had become a one-party state. The situation persisted up until 1991, when popular pressure forced the government to remove this constitutional provision, reinstate multi-party democracy, and grant opposition parties access to fair media coverage¹⁰⁷. The adoption of multiparty democracy in Kenya is a reflection of the principles of democracy whereby there is the extension of the political rights that people have such as the right to belong to a political party of their choice.¹⁰⁸ The quantity of space accessible for the practice of political rights increased as

¹⁰⁷ Brown, S. (2004). Theorising Kenya's protracted transition to democracy. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22(3), p.326

¹⁰⁸ Ibid p.252

a result of the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991. It expanded the overall amount of space for democratic engagement. A loosening of the state's control over political space allowed for the development of opposition and civil rights campaigners. These benefits weren't well preserved, though. By forbidding them from conducting business in regions that the state considered to be stronghold of the governing party, it strangled opposition political groups. In other situations, the administration can decline to allow the opposition to host political events. The ruling party (KANU), led by President Daniel Arap Moi, and proceeded to impose restrictions on the new space despite the existence of many political parties. Particularly in the polls of 1992 and 1997, the paramilitary forces of the ruling party engaged in extensive political violence¹⁰⁹.

The above case of President Daniel Arap Moi using oppressive methods to limit the media space reflects on the findings of Lynch and Crawford who noted that, African countries have a poor democratic record, which is mostly due to both foreign and domestic forces. British colonialism in Egypt plundered the country's resources while tolerating royal excesses. This resulted in a revolution in July 1952, as well as a succession of authoritarian rulers. A popular movement (Arab Spring) in early 2011 hastened President Hosni Mubarak's exit after nearly 30 years in office. This scenario is comparable to what happened in Tunisia, where after 23 years of authoritarian government, President Zein El Abidin Ben Ali stepped down¹¹⁰.

3.3 The Electoral System and Political Parties

Kenya has established an electoral culture. It has held comprehensive and rigorous elections every five years since independence. Kenya's constitution guarantees free and fair elections, which are

¹⁰⁹ Ibid p.333.

¹¹⁰ Lynch, G., & Crawford, G. (2011). Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment. *Democratization*, 18(2), p.307.

also guaranteed under the Elections Act and the Political Parties Act¹¹¹. Additionally, Kenya has accepted a number of international conventions and treaties outlining standards for conducting democratic elections. The Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance of the African Union has been signed, but it has not yet been ratified¹¹².

Despite having a culture of elections (elections are held every five years), Kenya's first-past-the-post election system has made it difficult for politics and political organisations to become institutionalized. In the general election of 2007, the Independent Review Commission (IREC), later became known as the Kriegler Commission well after chairman, Justice Johann Kriegler, determined that Kenya's electoral system was not founded on the principle of equality of votes. The system had long been distorted by gerrymandering. According to the Kriegler Commission, the system needed to be improved in order to guarantee democratic elections.¹¹³

Kenya having transitioned to a democratic country that frequently holds elections captures assertions that have been made by Byness. Byness points out that the definition of democratization in its purest form is the regular holding of fair elections as well as the establishment of fundamental principles like the absence of harassment, challenge from at least two distinct political parties, and free elections that permit free elections. A significantly wider definition calls for civil freedoms (freedom of assembly, separation of church and state, a free press, the right to run for elected office, etc.) or the creation of a polyarchic government¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ Political Parties Act, 2014.

¹¹² Ahere, J. R. (2018). When a Compatriot Becomes a Foe: Political Parties and Violent Elections in Kenya and South Africa. *Journal of African Elections*, p.27.

¹¹³ Ibid p.32.

¹¹⁴ Byness, A. A. (2021). Note: The Ebb and Flow of the Democratization Process in Africa. *Mizan Law Review*, 15(1), p.299.

3.4 Public Participation in Democratic Process

For several years, the executive had complete power over policymaking. The government was in charge of making and carrying out major decisions, and it would do all this without regard for disagreement or criticism. The opportunity for public participation increased with the return of multi-party politics in the early 1990s, but it was constrained by bureaucratic control of the legislative and executive branches. This sector was expanded when the NARC regime came into power in 2003 by increasing citizen involvement in the development of policies such as the budgetary procedure. Additionally, organizations of civil society have increased their initiative in influencing governmental policy¹¹⁵.

The idea of public engagement permeates every section of the legislation; it is not just a prerequisite of the electoral process but also a habit of the entire governmental system established by the constitution¹¹⁶. Mass media has been able to set the agenda when it comes to the promotion of public participation on various issues as per the requirements of the Kenyan Constitution. For instance, the media emphasizes on the importance of various issues that are discussed in the country and gives the public a chance to take part and this is through the agenda that it sets based on the influence of the agenda setting theory. This can be seen in terms of media holding various debates and also taking and airing the opinion of the general public regarding certain issues such as their views on how tackling corruption among government officials¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁵ Mbithi, A., Ndambuki, D., & Juma, F. O. (2019). Determinants of public participation in Kenya county governments. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(1), p.54.

¹¹⁶ Ibid p.53.

¹¹⁷ Ileri, K., Ongus, E., Laboso, E., Mwititi, K., & Onsongo, J. (2017). First Level Agenda-Setting: A Study of Press vs. Public Opinion in Kenya. *African Journalism Studies*, 38(3-4), 26-49.9

3.5 Media and Good Governance in Kenya

According to Tormey, representation is the focal point of the processes that keep contemporary democracy in motion and is the political method that encourages contact between government institutions and the general public. Based on their level of transparency, institutions like the judiciary and parliament, among others, are crucial for advancing democracy. Transparent institutions are key to effective democracy such as the Judiciary being fair when it comes to hearing election related petitions¹¹⁸.

The ultimate goal of democracy in Kenya is to enhance Kenya's governance architecture in order to nurture and consolidate democracy, as well as to maintain peace and good governance, which are essential for long-term growth and the elimination of election corruption. Kenya has now become prone to economically destructive disputes generated by acts of systematic violence that degrade the power of government agencies and fail their objective of fostering development and social protection since the reinstatement of multiparty politics in 1991.¹¹⁹

Corruption, obscure decision-making, limited participation opportunities, and socioeconomic inequality all pose challenges to the development of democratization in Kenya and throughout the world¹²⁰. The Institute on Governance defines governance as "the traditions, institutions, and procedures that determine how authority is exercised, citizens are allowed a platform, and decisions are made on topics of public concern," according to its definition.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Tormey, S. (2014). The contemporary crisis of representative democracy. *Democratic Theory*, 1(2), p.105.

¹¹⁹ Oganga, N. C. (2016). Managing records for good governance in e-government environment: The Kenya experience. *Scholars Journal of Economics, Business and Management*, 3(2), p.64.

¹²⁰ Okiri, F. O., Ngugi, L. W., & Wandaya, J. O. (2019). Strengthening Integrity & Preventing Corruption in the Judiciary in Kenya. *Beijing L. Rev.*, 10, p.131.

¹²¹ Ibid p.68.

Media is key in setting the agenda when it comes to the promotion of accountability and thus promoting good governance. The media ensures that the issue of accountability and this is done through investigative journalism that captures issues linked to poor governance and also the media keeps promoting good governance by educating the public on its importance¹²². In order for the media to effectively conduct its oversight and accountability role, there is the need to ensure that there is free media and this is free from government interference and intimidation.¹²³

3.6 Democracy Checks and Balances

The division of powers is maintained by the use of checks and balances, which is arguably the most disputed constitutional principle. In order to safeguard against abuses of power in accordance with democratic norms, it relates to the balance of powers that emerge between various governmental organizations.¹²⁴ Good governance, honesty, transparency, and accountability are among the national ideals and principles of governance, according to Article 10 of Kenya's 2010 constitution. The executive, on the other hand, checks the Legislature by approving a law signed into law by the president, whereas the legislature, for instance, checks the executive by retaining the power to oust a president. The Court, on the other hand, makes use of its power to conduct judicial reviews to hold the Executive and Parliament accountable¹²⁵.

Mass media has been key in the promotion of checks and balances by setting the agenda on what the role of various arms of the government are and how they are supposed to perform their duties

¹²² Jacobs, S., Boon, J., Wonneberger, A., & Salomonsen, H. H. (2021). Exploring Media-Covered Accountability of Public Agencies. *Administration & Society*, 00953997211036353.

¹²³ Shraddha Bajracharya, "Democratic-participant Theory of Mass Communication," in *Businessstopia*, January 6, 2018, <https://www.businessstopia.net/mass-communication/democratic-participant-theory-mass-communication>.

¹²⁴ Deacon, H. J. (2018). Understanding the work that 'culture' does: A comparative perspective on cultural rights provisions in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. *African Studies*, 77(2), p.172.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p.172.

without abusing the powers that they have been given¹²⁶. In countries like the United States, the presence of a robust media has been able to ensure that the executive, legislature and the judiciary are performing as per the constitution. This is through the various debates that have been held by some of the leading media houses such as CNN and FOX. Such debates have been key in enforcing checks and balances especially when one arm of the government tries to control the other¹²⁷. Thus, through the use of the agenda setting theory components, the mass media is able to enforce checks and balances and thus promoting democracy.

3.7 The Role of Civil Society and Democracy

Civil society encompasses all organized groups and institutions that are self-generating and self-reliant, independent of the state. Non-governmental organizations, professional groups, the media, universities, and religious and social organizations are all included. Civil society must play a major role in averting adoption of undemocratic measures in developed and emerging democracies with weak democratic institutions and underlying power imbalances¹²⁸.

In a democracy, civil society organizations uphold the rule of law, individual liberties, and the right of other groups to express their opinions. The term "civic" includes the acceptance of variety and plurality as well as its tolerance. For decades, civil society organizations have fought valiantly against a slew of cancerous crises involving good governance, poverty, civil rights, and social disempowerment.¹²⁹ When lawmakers were stuck in a political competition deadlock following the December elections and early January 2008, it was Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) who

¹²⁶ Ginsburg, T., & Huq, A. Z. (2018). *How to save a constitutional democracy*. University of Chicago Press., p.17.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.18.

¹²⁸ Ghai, Y. (2019). Civil society, participation and the making of Kenya's constitution. In *Comparative Constitution Making*. Edward Elgar Publishing, p.43.

¹²⁹ Kanyinga, K. (2011). Stopping a conflagration: The response of Kenyan civil society to the post-2007 election violence. *Politikon*, 38(1), p.87.

took the initiative to promote mediation and peacebuilding through engaging the politicians to create a situation where they could engage each other and find a solution to the political stalemate of the time. CSOs played a critical role in implementing rescue efforts for forcibly displaced individuals in the aftermath of the conflict. Kenyan civil society groups were able to give information, contacts, and knowledge on the electoral crisis and post-election violence to both Commissions¹³⁰.

Media and the civil society are key when it comes to the promotion of democracy in any country. The civil society uses the media to spearhead their activities such as the creating a society is governed according to the principles of democracy. The civil society uses media to set the agenda and also frame their discussions. The civil society whenever they are holding their protest and rallies on various issues such as demanding for government accountability always pass their messages through the media and thus, employing the components of the agenda setting theory¹³¹.

3.8 Freedom of Media Regulation and Democracy

When it comes to the development of democratization in any country, media independence is crucial. Since independence, Kenya has faced a number of challenges that have led to the enactment of legislation aimed at regulating what the media broadcasts to the public. Government restrictions on some types of information, as well as security concerns such as extremism and political difficulties, are among these causes. Indeed, an international media watchdog, Reporters without Borders, claims that Parliament has played a key part in the dramatic decline of Kenya's standing on the World Press Freedom Index in recent years, with the country falling from 90th

¹³⁰ Ibid p.44.

¹³¹ Häussler, T. (2019). Civil society, the media and the Internet: changing roles and challenging authorities in digital political communication ecologies. *Information, communication & society*, 6, 1-8.

place in 2014 to 100th place in 2015. This is based on the role that the parliament has played in supporting the gagging of the media through the passing of the draconian media laws and also failing to protect the media¹³².

The 2010 Kenyan Constitution recognizes the value of media freedom and, in fact, protects it under Article 34. The independence and integrity of the media are guaranteed under this article. In addition, the Constitution requires the state not to meddle with the operation of the media or punish the media for their expressed viewpoints. All constitutional media freedoms, however, apply with the caveat that they do not apply to incitement to war, encouragement to violence, hate speech, or promotion of hatred¹³³.

3.9 Conclusion

From the discussion above it is evident that media is a key component in setting the agenda when it comes to the promotion of democracy and good governance. Kenya has made various strides in the creation of a democratic society and this is based on the achievements that the country has had such as the introduction of multiparty politics and also the adoption of the 2010 constitution. The discussions have also indicated that media is key when it comes to setting the democratic agenda and this is through framing the discussions based on the democratic principles as shown in other jurisdictions. By teaching and enlightening the populace, it contributes positively to the fight for democracy. However, because the government has been so unwilling to improve the conditions for media freedom, there is a lack of a conducive climate for them to play their part.

¹³² Ouma, S. (2018). Reporting for democracy or convenience? The Kenyan media and the 2017 elections. *The Round Table*, 107(2), p.176

¹³³ Ibid p.176.

CHAPTER FOUR

MASS MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY IN KENYA

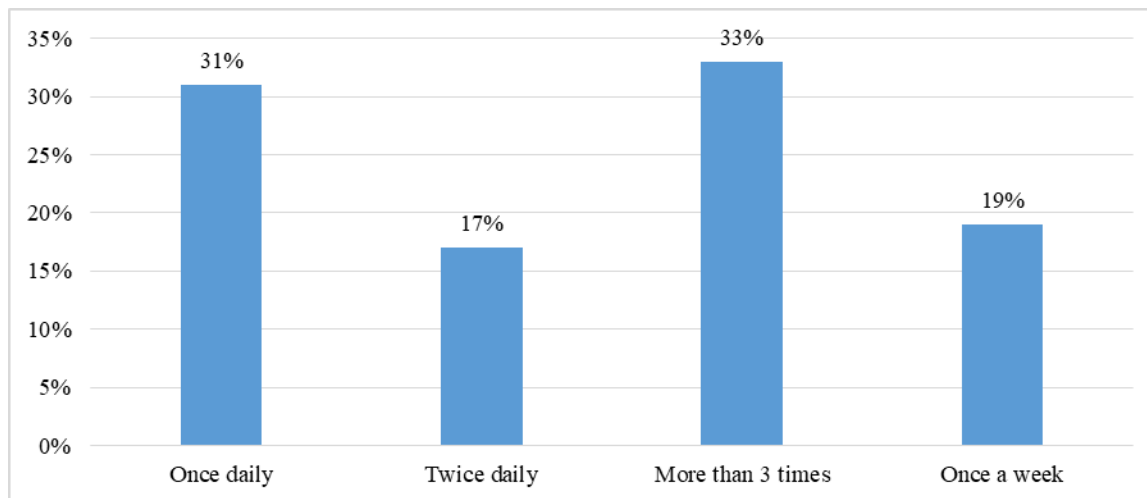
4.1 Introduction

This section captures data analysis and presentation in relation to mass media and democracy in Kenya. The study aimed at assessing the influence of media practices in shaping democratic processes in East Africa community states; a case of Kenya. The study had 100% return rate. The study issued 200 questionnaires and all of them were returned for analysis and they were accurately filled as indicated by Stokes and Wall¹³⁴.

4.2 The Role of Mass Media in the Democratic Process in Kenya.

4.2.1 Mass Media Usage

The study sought to find the frequency of mass media usage by the study participants. Findings are captured in figure 4.4.



¹³⁴ Stokes, P., & Wall, T. (2017). *Research methods*. Red Globe Press.

Figure 1: Mass media usage

The study findings indicate that 31% (62) of the study participants used the mass media once a day, 17% (34) use mass media twice a day, 33% (65) more than three times in a day and 19% (38) use mass media once a week. The findings indicate that there is a frequent use of the mass media by the respondents. This is important as their frequent interaction with the mass media exposes them to the agenda that is being set by the media when it comes to democracy in Kenya.

4.2.2 Role of Mass Media in the Democratic Process in Kenya

The study sought to find out the role that mass media (television and radio) play in the democratic process in Kenya. Findings of the study are presented in table 4.1.

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Table 4.1: Role of mass media

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Mass media (radio and TV) give true, factual and reliable information regarding democratic issues in Kenya	39 (19.5%)	64 (32%)	55 (27.5%)	9 (4.5%)	33 (16.5%)
Mass media (radio and TV) play a democratic role through the civic education that they conduct	102 (51%)	25 (12.5%)	2 (10%)	32 (16%)	21 (10.5%)
Mass media (radio and TV) ensure that there is democratic accountability	44 (22%)	56 (28%)	16 (8%)	13 (6.5%)	71 (35.5%)

when it comes to the government and
the politicians

Mass media (radio and TV) enhances democratic process in Kenya through educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government	36 (18%)	100 (49.5%)	27 (13.5%)	22 (11.0%)	16 (8.0%)
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Mean: 2.5900 Std. Deviation .69908

The study findings indicate that a majority (32%) of the study participants agreed that mass media (radio and TV) give true, factual and reliable information regarding democratic issues in Kenya while a minority (4.5%) disagreed with the statement. 51% strongly agreed that mass media (radio and TV) play a democratic role through the civic education that they conduct while 10% were undecided. 35.5% strongly disagreed that mass media (radio and TV) ensure that there is democratic accountability when it comes to the government and the politicians while 6.5% disagreed. 49.5% agreed that mass media (radio and TV) enhances democratic process in Kenya through educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government while 8% strongly disagreed.

The study has a mean of 2.5900 which falls under 2 in the Likert scale and thus indicating that a majority of the study respondents agreed that mass media plays a role in the democratic process in Kenya. The study has a Std. Deviation of .69908 which indicates that there is no significant difference in the responses that were given by the respondents.

The findings indicate that the mass media in Kenya plays a significant role in terms of setting the democratic agenda based on the premises of agenda setting theory such as priming. The mass media in Kenya sets the democratic agenda in terms of giving true, factual and reliable information, civic education that they conduct, ensuring democratic accountability when it comes to the government and the politicians and through educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government.

Findings of the study are in agreement with the findings of Crouch¹³⁵ that indicates that in modern democracies, the media fulfills critical political, social, economic, and cultural tasks such as civic education, positive behavior promotion, and cultural value promotion based on how the audience's attention is grabbed and the framing of the messages. Because no alternative means exist in such societies, the media are the primary source of political knowledge and provision of public discourse, as well as the key to an informed, self-governing population. Additionally, Crouch indicates that democracy necessitates a media system that provides people with a diverse range of opinions, analysis, and debate on critical issues, reflects citizens' diversity, and promotes democratic accountability of the powers that be and desire to be. The media must serve as watchdogs in the face of power abuse. In fact, in a democratic society, the media must promote discourse and diversity, as well as ensuring responsibility for both the ruling party and the administration's bureaucracy.

4.3 Attitudes towards Mass Media and Democratization Process in Kenya

The study sought to find out the attitudes that the respondents have towards mass media contribution towards the democratization process in Kenya. Findings are presented in table 4.2.

¹³⁵Crouch, C. (2016). The march towards post-democracy, ten years on. *The political quarterly*, 87(1), p.74..

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Table 4.2: Attitudes towards Mass Media and Democratization Process

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that the media is doing a great work in promoting democracy in Kenya	33 (16.5%)	28 (14%)	33 (16.5%)	45 (22.5%)	61 (30.5%)
I think that the media covers all democratic issues equally such as giving all politicians fair media coverage	45 (22.5%)	21 (10.5%)	29 (14.5%)	26 (13%)	80 (39.5%)
The media in Kenya has made me aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country	70 (35%)	40 (20%)	21 (10.5%)	41 (20.5%)	28 (14%)
Mass media has been key in changing my attitude towards various democratic ideals such as importance of voting	69 (34.5%)	24 (12%)	32 (16%)	35 (17.5%)	30 (15%)
Mean: 2.9825		Std. Deviation .81964			

The study findings indicate that a majority (30.5%) strongly disagreed that they feel that the media is doing a great work in promoting democracy in Kenya while a minority (14%) agreed with the statement. A majority (39.5%) strongly disagreed that mass media covers all democratic issues

equally such as giving all politicians fair media while a minority (10.5%) agreed with the statement. A majority (35%) strongly agreed that the media in Kenya has made them aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country while 10.5% were undecided. A majority (34.5%) strongly agreed that mass media has been key in changing their attitude towards various democratic ideals that I felt were not good before.

The study has a mean of 2.9825 indicating that a majority of the study participants agreed with the statements. The Std. Deviation is .81964 which indicates an insignificant variation in the responses that were given by the respondents.

The study findings concur Gil de Ziga and Diehl that one of the fundamental roles of the media in every society is to inform the public about relevant issues that can help them in decision making. Agenda setting is a function of informing the public about the relative importance of issues and reinforcing them through media coverage. When the audience is exposed to concerns through news content, their perceptions toward that issue's importance change. The role of the mass media in the shaping of popular perception and attitudes is fundamental to the agenda setting theory.¹³⁶ The current study indicates that the media in Kenya has made its audience aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country.

The study also supports Laila, Tatiyana, and Aleksey's observations that the media helps voters make educated choices when they cast ballots by giving a platform for public discourse and educating citizens about the policies and agendas of political parties and candidates. It is

¹³⁶ Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Diehl, T. (2019). News finds me perception and democracy: Effects on political knowledge, political interest, and voting. *New media & society*, 21(6), p.1258.

impossible to exaggerate how important the last criterion is since democratic elections are only possible when voters are able to make informed decisions.

4.4 Mass Media Information and Democratic Process in Kenya

The purpose of the study was to ascertain how the participants used information from the media to advance Kenya's democratic process. The study's results are shown in table 4.3.

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Table 4.3: Mass Media Information and Democratic Process in Kenya

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Information from mass media such as radio and TV have influenced my voting	80 (40%)	22 (11%)	24 (12%)	20 (10%)	54 (27%)
Information from mass media such as radio and TV have made to think and act democratically such as being keen accountability from the leaders	55 (27.5%)	33 (16.5%)	29 (14.5%)	16 (8%)	67 (33.5%)
I use the information to stay up to date with what is happening in government such as highlighting the corruption scandals or how the government is promoting accountability among others	52 (26%)	47 (23.5%)	17 (8.5%)	20 (10%)	64 (32%)

I use the information from mass media	56	57	-	61	26
to also educate other on various	(28%)	(28.5%)		(30.5%)	(13%)
democratic issues such as importance of					
voting among others					

Mean: 2.8675 Std. Deviation: .93370

Study findings indicate that a majority 40% strongly agreed that information from mass media such as radio and TV have influenced their voting while minority (10%) disagreed with the statement. 33.5% strongly disagreed that information from mass media such as radio and TV have made them to think and act democratically such as being keen accountability from the leaders 8% disagreed. 32% strongly disagreed that they use the information to stay up to date with what is happening in government such as highlighting the corruption scandals or how the government is promoting accountability among others. 30.5% disagreed that they use the information from mass media to also educate other on various democratic issues such as importance of voting among others while 13% strongly disagreed with the statement.

The study's mean was 2.8675, indicating that the majority of respondents agreed with the assertions about using news information to strengthen Kenya's democratic process. The variation in the responses provided by the study subjects was not significant, according to the obtained standard deviation of.93370.

The study findings are in line with the assumptions of the agenda setting theory in terms of mass media and setting the democratic agenda. The agenda setting theory indicates that the media is

keen on making a topic and theme prominent as compared to others¹³⁷. The media make the concept of democracy to be prominent and this is based on the positive aspects that democracy has such as expanding the rights of the voter. Through, having such prominence, the media will influence the perception that people have. Thus, mass media ensures that there is democracy in Kenya through influencing voters to vote, making voters to think and act democratically such as being keen accountability from the leaders, making the general public stay up to date with what is happening in government such as highlighting the corruption scandals or how the government is promoting accountability among others and making their audience to use the information from mass media to also educate others. Hence, promoting democratic ideals within the Kenyan society.

The findings of the study is a reflection of a study done by Perito and Planty¹³⁸ who noted that, in countries like Mali and Pakistan, where the majority of the population is uneducated, the media must educate voters about election processes and the political process in general so that voters can make an informed choice.

In addition, the international level of institutions recognizes the importance of the press in democratic systems generally and their active responsibility in electoral processes. The media are a crucial information source between candidates and the general public during any election. The media helps voters make an informed choice when they cast their ballots by offering a platform for public discourse and educating citizens about the policies and programs of both candidates and

¹³⁷ Iyengar, S. (1987). Television news and citizens' explanations of national affairs. *American Political Science Review*, 81(3), p.817

¹³⁸ Perito, R. M., & Planty, D. J. (2019). Saving Democracy Abroad. *PRISM*, 8(2), p.72.

parties. The significance of this final argument cannot be emphasized because democratic elections depend heavily on voters' capacity for making informed decisions.¹³⁹.

4.5 Factors That Impede Mass Media Capacity to Promote Democracy in Kenya

The study sought to find out the factors that impede mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya. Findings of the study are presented in table 4.5.

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

¹³⁹Ibid p.399.

Table 4.4: Factors That Impede Mass Media Capacity to Promote Democracy in Kenya

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
There is media gagging such as getting a court order against media publishing certain stories and more so on crucial issues like corruption scandals	49 (24.5%)	46 (23%)	45 (22.5%)	31 (15.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Some of the media houses are biased as they promote agenda at the interest of certain politicians or the government and avoid other issues or politicians	55 (27.5%)	19 (9.5%)	6 (3%)	53 (26.5%)	67 (33.5%)
There is harassment and violence that is meted on the journalists whenever they are covering various issues of democratic importance such as elections	75 (37.5%)	37 (18.5%)	36 (18%)	17 (8.5%)	35 (17.5%)
There are tough media regulations such as against publication of sensitive matters linked to national security that curtail the democratic role that they are supposed to be playing.	33%	18.5%	11%	24%	13.5%

Mean: 2.7950 Std. Deviation: .71407

The study findings indicate that a majority (24.5%) strongly agreed that there is media gagging such as getting a court order against media publishing certain stories and more so on crucial issues

like corruption scandals, while minority (14.5%) strongly disagreed. 33.5% strongly disagreed that some of the media houses are biased as they promote agenda at the interest of certain politicians or the government and avoid other issues or politicians while 3% were undecided. 37.5% strongly agreed that there is harassment and violence that is meted on the journalists whenever they are covering various issues of democratic importance such as elections while 8.5% disagreed with the statement. 33% strongly agreed that there are tough media regulations that curtail the democratic role that they are supposed to be playing while 11% were undecided.

The study has a mean of 2.7950 which is an indication that the overall response by the respondents on the statements mainly agreed. The study also has a Std. Deviation of .71407 which shows that the variations regarding the responses that were given by the respondents towards the statements were not significantly varied.

Media freedom is a huge difficulty for governments that do not care about sustaining democratic norms, such as most African countries like Djibouti and Eritrea¹⁴⁰. Voters are distrustful of politicians because they believe they are incapable of preserving democracy. To carry out one's responsibilities, one must adhere to a code of conduct that is founded on ethics and good practice. A variety of factors, including legislation, ownership, and security concerns, influence how news is presented. Democracy is not perfect because of the many obstacles that arise from the democratic process. In order to avoid the rise of anti-government and anti-media sentiment, criticism must be conducted in an ethical manner. There is a lack of confidence between the media and the political

¹⁴⁰ Aslam, M. J., Sarwar, M. S., Bhatti, U. A., & Shakoor, S. (2021). Status of Media Freedom and Democracy in Pakistan: Perception of Journalists and Politicians. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 58(3), 92.

establishment. When the government is in charge, it restricts the media's activities. In opposition, the same government party enjoys a close relationship with the media¹⁴¹.

4.6 Conclusion

Based on the foundations of agenda setting theory, such as priming, the findings show that the media in Kenya plays a crucial role in shaping the democratic agenda. Kenya's mass media sets the democratic agenda by providing genuine, factual, and reliable information, conducting civic education, maintaining democratic accountability when it comes to the government and lawmakers, and educating the public about the government's numerous policies and bills. The study's findings are consistent with Crouch's findings. Hence, the study concludes in modern democracies, the media fulfills critical political, social, economic, and cultural tasks such as civic education, positive behavior promotion, and cultural value promotion based on how the audience's attention is grabbed and the framing of the messages. Because no alternative means exist in such societies, the media are the primary source of political knowledge and provision of public discourse, as well as the key to an informed, self-governing population.

The study's findings show that one of the media's most important tasks in any society is to inform the people about important topics that might assist them in making decisions. The goal of agenda setting is to enlighten the public about the relative importance of issues and to reinforce those messages through media coverage. When people are exposed to issues through news articles, their perceptions of how important that issue is shift. The importance of the media in affecting public perception and attitudes is central to the agenda-setting idea. The current study indicates that the

¹⁴¹Ibid p.92.

media in Kenya has made its audience aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country.

It is possible to infer that the agenda setting theory in terms of mass media and setting the democratic agenda is correct. According to the agenda setting idea, the media is eager to make one topic or theme more prominent than others. The media emphasizes the concept of democracy, which is centered on the good features of democracy, such as strengthening voter rights. Because of its prominence, the media will impact people's perceptions. Thus, the media contributes to Kenyan democracy by influencing voters to vote, encouraging voters to think and act democratically, such as demanding greater accountability from leaders, keeping the general public informed about what is going on in government, such as highlighting corruption scandals or how the government is promoting accountability, and encouraging their audience to use the information provided by the media to educate others. As a result, strengthening democratic ideas in Kenyan society.

For administrations that do not care about upholding democratic ideals, such as most African countries like Djibouti and Eritrea, media freedom is a major challenge. Politicians are disliked by voters because they believe they are incapable of upholding democracy. In order to fulfil one's responsibilities, one must follow a code of conduct based on ethics and best practices. The way news is delivered is influenced by a number of factors, including legislation, ownership, and security concerns. Because of the numerous hurdles that develop during the democratic process, democracy is not perfect. Criticism must be performed ethically in order to avoid the emergence of anti-government and anti-media sentiment. Between the media and the political elite, there is a lack of trust. When the government is in charge, the media's activities are restricted. The same government party maintains a close relationship with the media in opposition.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the Findings

5.1.1. Role of Mass Media in the Democratic Process in Kenya

In terms of the role that mass media play in the democratic process in Kenya, a majority of the study participants were in agreement that mass media (radio and TV) give true, factual and reliable information regarding democratic issues in Kenya while a slight minority disagreed. More than half of the respondents agreed that mass media (radio and TV) play a democratic role through the civic education that they conduct while about ten percent of the study participants were undecided. Slightly more than a third of the study participants strongly disagreed that mass media (radio and TV) ensure that there is democratic accountability when it comes to the government and the politicians while less than a quarter disagreed.

Almost half of the study participants agreed that mass media (radio and TV) enhances democratic process in Kenya through educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government while slight minority strongly disagreed. The overall response had a mean of 2.5900 which falls under 2 in the Likert scale and thus indicating that a majority of the study respondents agreed that mass media plays a role in the democratic process in Kenya.

5.1.2 Attitudes towards Mass Media and Democratization Process in Kenya

The study sought to find out the attitudes that the respondents have towards mass media contribution towards the democratization process in Kenya. From the study, slightly less than a third strongly disagreed that they feel that the media is doing a great work in promoting democracy in Kenya while a few agreed with the statement. More than a third strongly disagreed that mass

media covers all democratic issues equally such as giving all politicians fair media while less than a quarter agreed with the statement.

Slightly more than a third strongly agreed that the media in Kenya has made them aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country while a slight minority were undecided. More than a third strongly agreed that mass media has been key in changing their attitude towards various democratic ideals that they felt were not good before. The overall mean is 2.9825 indicating that a majority of the study participants agreed with the statements.

5.1.3 Mass Media Information and Democratic Process in Kenya

The study sought to find out how the participants use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya. A majority indicated that they strongly agreed that information from mass media such as radio and TV have influenced my voting while minority disagreed with the statement. A third showed a strong disagreement that information from mass media such as radio and TV have made to think and act democratically while a slight minority disagreed. Almost a third strongly disagreed that they use the information to stay up to date with what is happening in government while some few respondents were undecided.

Almost a third showed that they disagreed that they use the information from mass media to also educate other on various democratic issues while slight minority strongly disagreed with the statement. The study's mean was 2.8675, which shows that the majority of participants agreed with the assertions about using information from the media to strengthen Kenya's democratic process.

5.1.4 Factors That Impede Mass Media Capacity to Promote Democracy in Kenya

The study sought to find out the factors that impede mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya. Majority strongly agreed that there is media gagging and more so on crucial issues and also on voting day while minority showed strong disagreement. A third strongly disagreed that some of the media houses are biased as they promote agenda at the interest of certain politicians or the government while a small number were undecided. More than a third indicated strong agreement that there is harassment and violence that is meted on the journalists whenever they are covering various issues of democratic importance while 8.5% disagreed with the statement.

A third strongly agreed that there are tough media regulations that curtail the democratic role that they are supposed to be playing while minority were undecided. The study has a mean of 2.7950 which is an indication that the overall response by the respondents on the statements mainly agreed.

5.2 Conclusion

The study has made various recommendations based on the findings. The conclusions of the study are as follows;

a) There are various roles that are played by the Kenyan media in terms of the democratic process. Mass media (radio and TV) give true, factual and reliable information regarding democratic issues in Kenya. Mass media (radio and TV) play a democratic role through the civic education that they conduct while about ten percent of the study participants were undecided. Mass media (radio and TV) ensure that there is democratic accountability when it comes to the government and the politician. Additionally, mass media is key to the democratic process in terms

of educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government while slight minority strongly disagreed.

b) The attitude that the general public has when it comes to mass media and democratization process in Kenya shows that there is a positive attitude. The positive attitude is based on the feeling that Kenyan mass media is doing a great work in promoting democracy in Kenya while a few agreed with the statement. Kenyan mass media covers democratic issues equally such as giving all politicians fair media while less than a quarter agreed with the statement. Furthermore, Kenyan mass media makes the public aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country. Additionally, Kenyan mass media is key in changing the attitude of the people towards various democratic ideals that they felt were not good before.

c) Information passed by the Kenyan mass media is key in enhancing democratization in Kenya. Information from mass media such as radio and TV have influences the voting pattern of the audience. Information from mass media such as radio and TV have made the audience to be more democratic. Mass media ensures that there is an informed society as it keeps people up to date with what is happening in government. Lastly, it is concluded that information that is gained from the Kenyan mass media is used to educate other on various democratic issues.

d) There are various factors that impede Kenyan mass media from promoting democracy. Media gagging in Kenya happened and more so on crucial issues and also on voting day while minority showed strong disagreement. Some of the media houses are biased as they promote agenda at the interest of certain politicians or the government. There is harassment and violence that is meted on the journalists whenever they are covering various issues of democratic importance. Another challenge is that there is presence of tough media regulations that curtail the democratic role that they are supposed.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the information gathered and the results reached, the study has made the following suggestions.

- a) The governments should fully implement the constitution of Kenya provisions on media freedoms by not engaging in illegal media regulations such as gagging and harassment.
- b) The general public should be educated on matters related to the role of the media in the democratic process and also on how they should protect media freedom.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

Respondent Number.....

Hello, I am a Masters Candidate at The University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on **“The Influence of Media Practices in Shaping Democratic Processes in East Africa Community States; A Case of Kenya.”** The data you provide will be used to create policy directives that could affect how our mass media function. I guarantee complete secrecy, won't link your name to your response, and will only utilize the information you provide for this project. I appreciate you being willing to assist us with our research. I'm grateful.

Kindly sign here (respondent) _____

Sincerely yours,

Joy Kandagor Marakis.

Appendix II: QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly fill in the blank spaces and tick where appropriate.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your gender? Male Female
2. What is your age bracket? 18-25 26-35 36 and Above
3. How many times have you voted in Kenya? Once Two-Three times
4. Over 3 times
5. What is your highest level of education?
6. Primary and Secondary
7. Tertiary/middle level college University Degree Masters/PhD
8. How often do you use mass media as your source of information?
9. Once daily Twice daily More than three times a day Once a week

SECTION B: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. According to you, what role does mass media (television and radio) play in the democratic process in Kenya?

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Mass media (radio and TV) give true, factual and reliable information regarding democratic issues in Kenya					
Mass media (radio and TV) play a democratic role through the civic education that they conduct					
Mass media (radio and TV) ensure that there is democratic accountability when it comes to the government and the politicians					
Mass media (radio and TV) enhances democratic process in Kenya through educating the public on various policies and bills adopted by the government					

Others (specify)

.....

.....

.....

2. What are the attitudes towards mass media contribution towards the democratization process in Kenya?

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
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I feel that the media is doing a great work in promoting democracy in Kenya					
I think that the media covers all democratic issues equally such as giving all politicians fair media coverage					
The media in Kenya has made me aware of various democratic issues that are on-going within the country					
Mass media has been key in changing my attitude towards various democratic ideals that I felt were not good before					

Others (specify)

.....

.....

.....

3. How do you use information received from mass media to enhance democratic process in Kenya?

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Information from mass media such as radio and TV have influenced my voting					
Information from mass media such as radio and TV have made to think and act democratically					
I use the information to stay up to date with what is happening in government					

I use the information from mass media to also educate other on various democratic issues					
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

Others (specify)

.....

.....

.....

4. What are the factors that impede mass media capacity to promote democracy in Kenya?

Key - 1– Strongly Agree, 2– Agree, 3 – Undecided 4– Disagree, 5– Strongly Disagree

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
There is media gagging and more so on crucial issues and also on voting day					
Some of the media houses are biased as they promote agenda at the interest of certain politicians or the government					
There is harassment and violence that is meted on the journalists whenever they are covering various issues of democratic importance					
There are tough media regulations that curtail the democratic role that they are supposed to be playing.					

Others (specify)

.....

.....

.....

Appendix III: UNIVERSITY INTRODUCTION LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

Tel : (02) 318262
Telefax : 254-2-245566
Fax: 254-2-245566
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E-mail : director-ids@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

November 22, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: JOY KANDAGOR MARAKIS– R50/34427/2019

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (DDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, **“ASSESSING THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA PRACTICES IN SHAPING DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY STATES: A CASE OF KENYA”**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.






Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.



Professor Maria Nzomo
Chair, DDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance

Appendix III: NACOSTI PERMIT

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 416913	Date of Issue: 26/November/2021
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
This is to Certify that Miss.. JOY KANDAGOR MARAKIS of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: ASSESSING THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA PRACTICES IN SHAPING DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY STATES: A CASE OF KENYA for the period ending : 26/November/2022.	
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