Priming effects of Television on voting patterns. The case of the March 2013 Presidential elections

By

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Declaration

This is to certify that this research is the researchers own work and in no way a reproduction of any other previously submitted work

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Dedication

I dedicate this study to my dad, my greatest cheerleader, and to my new family, my greatest inspiration.

Acknowledgments

I thank God for giving me favour to get to where I am. It is not by my might but by his free gift of life and favour.

To my lecturers, always providing a different perspective on issues, and never failing to provide me with aha! moments in class.

To my new family, I'm honored to celebrate all my victories with you.

To my parents, my dad who has never doubted my capabilities, mum, who never stops telling us that the difference between ordinary and extra ordinary is just a little bit of effort, my brothers, I say thank you. To Linda A, my friend, for making my MA experience feel like a trip to the mall.

To all whom I have not mentioned but have helped in any way during this research and during my course in Nairobi University, I thank you and may God bless you

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Abstract

This study was an evaluation of the effect of priming from TV media on the decision making patterns of the Kenyan people, during the March 2013 presidential elections. The objectives of the study were to investigate the quality of political information received from TV media in Kenya during the election period, to analyze the information seeking patterns of the Kenyan public based on their economic disposition, and to asses if the political content on TV media has an influence on their voting patterns.

The study was limited to Nairobi County and focused on three groups of people, the affluent community, middle class, and people living in the slums. The research design was mixed. Data was collected from the sample population by use of questionnaires and interviews, with both structured and opinion questions.

The study analyzed the agenda setting theory, and this was in reference to the ability of media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda, either by giving emphasis on certain issues or ignoring some.

The research brought out the element of bias in political content during the election period under study; it also confirmed the influence of such bias to the voting patterns of the people of Nairobi County. The study also confirmed the presence of other variables that tend to affect or reduce the influence of media to the public. The study found that, people living in the slums and the less educated in the middle class community, tend to be more influenced by TV content than the more educated middle class and affluent communities.

The study recommends that media should be sensitized on their influence on the public and monitored closely to ensure accountability to the public, the public should be sensitized on media roles to ensure they hold media fraternity accountable in terms of content, government should put in place firm guidelines on media, to ensure that the policies governing media are even across the board and expect quality information for the masses.

Definition of terms

1. Media:

This refers to communication channels through which news, entertainment, education data or promotional messages are disseminated.

2. Mass media:

These are diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. These vary from broadcast media, print, outdoor media like billboards etc.

3. Priming:

This refers to the changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations. It occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of a leader or government.

4. Agenda setting:

This refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media, based on relative placement or amount of coverage, and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences

5. Cognitive process:

This is a psychological term that explains an operation that affects mental contents. It is simply the process of thinking.

6. Public opinion:

This refers to the aggregate of individual attitudes or beliefs. It the complex collection of opinions of many different people and the sum of all their views.

7. Bias:

This refers to an inclination of outlook to present or hold a partial perspective at the expense of a possibly equally valid alternative in reference to objects, people or groups. It is lacking a neutral viewpoint.

Chapter One:Introduction

1.1 Background

"Media are extensions of human beings and affect our outlook and attitudes, our feelings about culture, schools, politics, studies, moral values, societal norms. They can totally disrupt our social existence and equilibrium."
-Marshall McLuhan(1964)

Media is a mirror that brings to light the events and issues that occur in society. It is a very powerful force that contributes immensely to shaping of the society's opinions. Media also acts as mouthpiece of our society and to a large extent, influences the views and perceptions of people living in that democracy.

The free flow of information between government and the public and vice versa is integral in promoting good governance in a democratic society. The sharing of information empowers citizens to make informed decisions and enable them to hold their elected leaders accountable.

According to Schlicht (1999), by ensuring that information shared in media is objective and factual, media is able to give the public, an opportunity to make up their own opinions and a responsible media is one that ensures that their opinions and feelings on an issue are not reflected as they provide information to the public.

Sustainable development can be achieved through timely dissemination of factual and reliable information. The free flow of information ensures a flourishing democracy, a transparent system that helps maintain peace and political stability since there is accountability where it matters.

The symbiotic relationship between politicians and media is evident in that, politicians make decisions that affect society and media need this kind of information to transmit to the society, and the feedback that the public give on any issue, is also relayed through media to the politicians, so that the politicians are aware of the reception of their decisions. Constructive criticism is also very important in politics. The media should be able to perform this function without bias, and this goes hand in hand with good quality dissemination of information and therefore, contributing to the success of the government and the society as a whole.

The government relies heavily on the mass media to convey message to the general public both in urban and rural areas. Media as an instrument of change is a tool to inform the public, bridge the gaps and establishing meaningful dialogue between different stakeholders in society

By being an unbiased information provider, the mass media can be trusted to be a watchdog of society. Making sure the checks and balances of society are in place. This is only done in the presence of professionalism, fairness and mutual respect amongst all stakeholders.

Media in Kenya includes more than 90 fm stations, more than 15 TV stations and a large number of publications mainly in English.(Odinga,2013)Some media houses use Swahili. Vernacular is also commonly used in broadcast media: mostly radio and more to the rural masses.

Kenya's state owned KBC Kenya Broadcasting Corporation remains the only broadcaster with countrywide coverage, it broadcasts in both English and Kiswahili and some various vernacular languages.

Royal Media Services (RMS) is the largest private national broadcaster with extensive countrywide coverage. It has a TV station and a large group of fm stations. It broadcasts in English, Kiswahili and various vernacular languages.

Media in Kenya is regulated by the Media Council of Kenya. It is an independent national body established under the Media Act of 2007, with the mandate of regulating the media and observing the conduct and discipline of the journalists. It's mandated to register and accredit journalists, register media establishments, handle complaints from the public and publish yearly media audit on the media freedom in Kenya.

There is also a body called the CCK Communication Commission of Kenya, which is the independent regulatory authority for the communication industry in Kenya. Its role is to license and regulate telecommunications, radio-communication and postal/courier services in Kenya.

Kenyan media has always been a media focused on pursuing public interests, fighting to become authoritative by providing unbiased information to the public, to allow them to make their own opinions on public issues. This is unlike in the US where media is always clear on their political leaning. This situation in Kenya is mostly due to the years of fighting for democracy which during the Moi era was absent, making it hard for media to have press freedom. Therefore, the intention of Kenyan media, is to be a watchdog, not side with any political party and by providing information to the public, they are able to help the public get a clear picture on what is happening in government and the society as a whole.

However, it is not a function that is very easy to fulfill. Influence of ownership in the case of private media, and the state broadcaster in being a government mouthpiece make it hard to provide unbiased information to the public. The influence of the ownership is not only conveyed through the editorial policy but also subtly in the in-house corporate culture that journalists are expected to follow (Odinga,2013).The political leaders have come to understand that just like in the US, he who owns the media, has the power and he who has power owns the media, therefore, forming alliances with media owners with promises of favor upon getting into government is a common occurrence in many African countries' politics.

Also the issue of few owners owning a high stake/share in the media (conglomerates) is also affecting the content of the media houses. For example, when in early 2013,the Royal Media Services owner, S.K. Macharia, who singularly owns close to half of all media in Kenya came out publicly to support presidential candidate Raila Odinga, questions were asked on how, him as a major stakeholder in the media industry, with a lot of media influence all over the country, would manage to have his media outlets provide unbiased coverage to other presidential candidates competing with Raila Odinga, questions were also asked on if, in the event of Raila Odinga failing to clinch the presidential seat, Royal Media Services, would face any consequences, or if Raila actually won, would Royal Media Services benefit in any way for Macharia's loyalty and support.

Therefore, the balance between politics and media is tricky, and it's necessary to coexist since it is a symbiotic relationship. But how to balance this for the benefit of society is quite a challenge.

According to a study on audience scape by the National Survey of Kenya in 2009, it was shown that TV is a common feature in Kenya. Majority of the respondents interviewed confirmed that they have TV sets in their homes, receiving at most 6 channels. Most of the respondents received TV services from the local stations only, and 3% of the urban respondents confirming to receive Pay TV. The most popular channels were: KBC, NTV, Citizen and KTN.

According to the survey, Citizen Kenya and KBC were the most popular in both urban and rural areas; this is in line with the extensive coverage they enjoy all over the country. The state broadcaster KBC is mainly marked as popular in the rural areas, mainly due to its accommodative content and the geographical coverage. KTN, is popular in the urban areas. It is seen as more modern, more for the urban population and more the middle and upper class and the youth.NTV is also very popular in urban areas and a good alternative to KTN where it is not available.
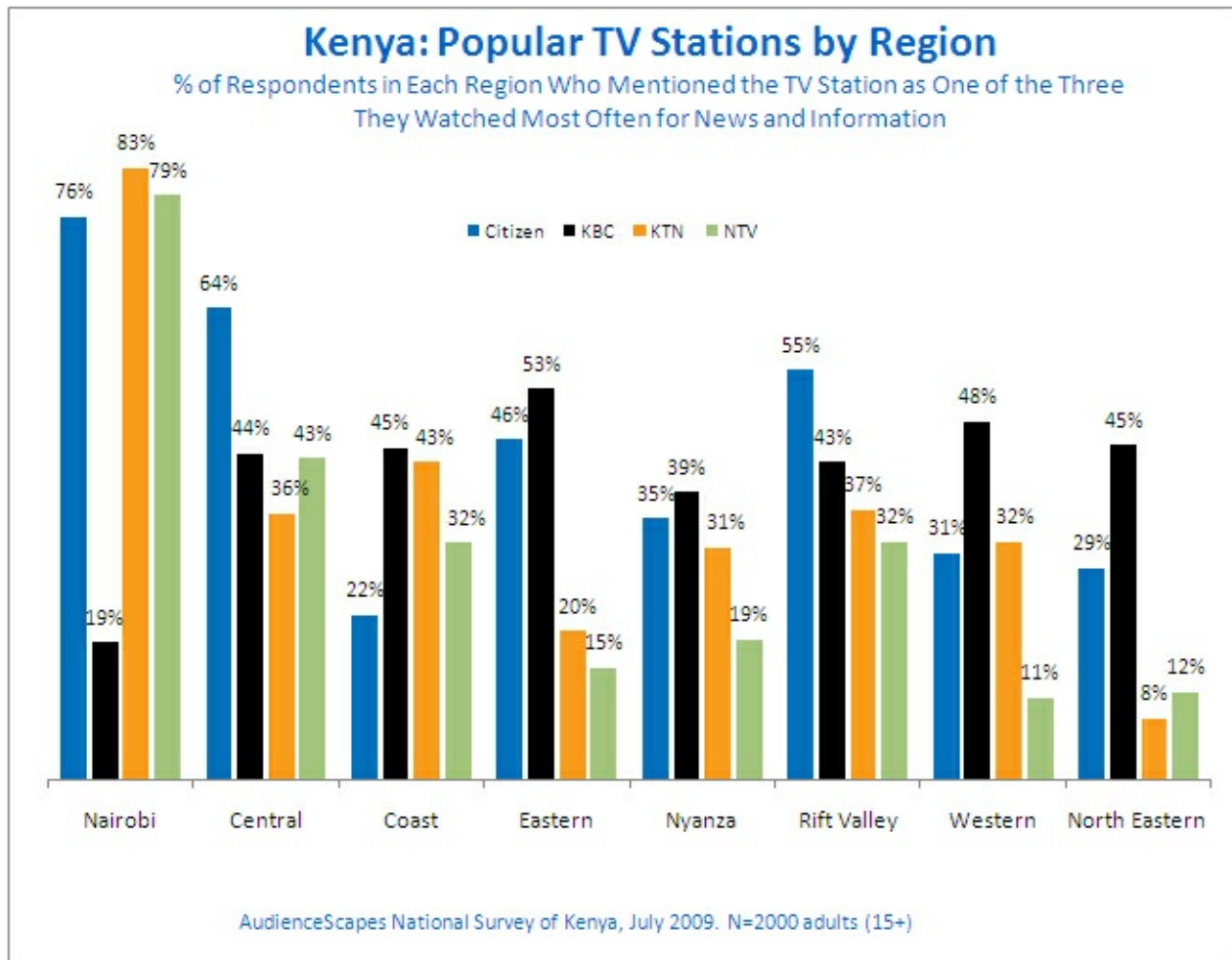
Graph 1; graph showing popular stations in Kenya by region (audiencescapes 2009)

According to this 2009 study, the graph shows the preference of the respondents and their preferences in TV stations for news and information. It is very clear, that the geographical coverage is very dependent on the popularity of certain channels.

TV in Kenya is used as frequently as radio for news and information and entertainment.50% of the respondents in the 2009, said that TV is a very important source of information for them, and expressed their trust in the content, and less than 5% finding TV reports untrustworthy.

Based on the study, TV was found to be more regular in the urban areas, with 63% watching TV on daily basis, and 25% in rural areas.
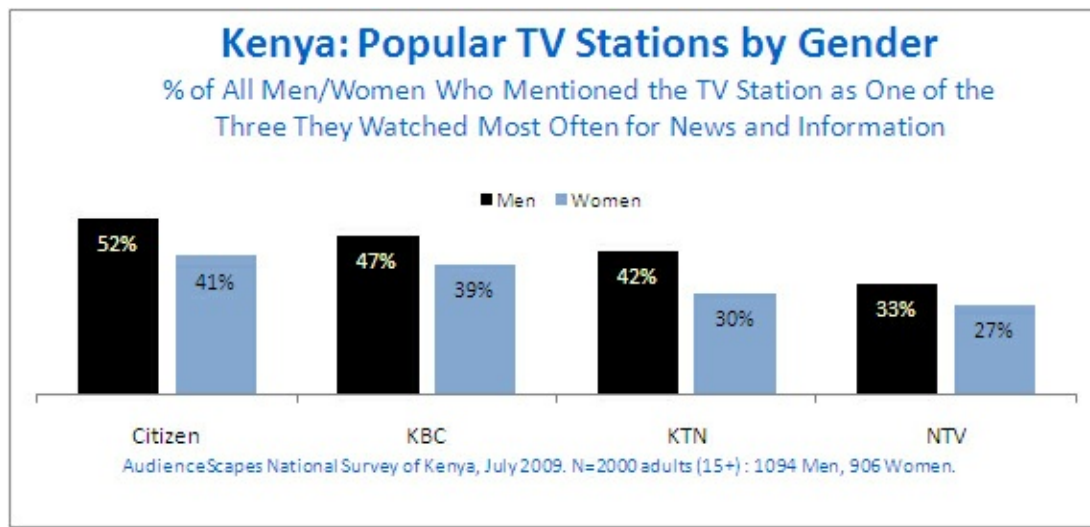
Graph 2:Graph showing popular tv channels based on gender.

The above graph shows that more men watch tv than women,and the most popular is Citizen TV as a source of information and news.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Television is a form of media that provides information and entertainment to the masses. It provides Kenyans with an avenue to access political, economic and social information, and together with radio print and new media, provide the public with a chance to know, assess critique and develop opinions over issues affecting the society.

According to the National survey of Kenya, 2009, it is estimated that 50% of the Kenyan population get their political information from the media and TV in particular, with half of these having TV sets in their homes and the rest accessing TV in social settings like hotels, social halls, pubs etc.

With this in mind, the period before the March 2013 Elections in Kenya saw TV become a great source of political information. The public was very attached to the political situation in the country then and the television industry made sure they provided this very important information to them.

Considering that the television industry in Kenya has stakeholders, the need to analyze if the information provided to the masses during the period before and during the elections was factual, unbiased is of major importance. To evaluate if, the information provided through the TV media had any influence on their voting patterns is the main baseline of this study.

The findings to this study showed that in as much as there was the element of priming in the Kenyan TV industry during the period before and during the March 2013 presidential campaigns, it's influence in the voting patterns was considerably lower than expected and it brought out the aspect of other variables at play, that determine if priming would influence voting patterns.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This study sought to analyze the impact of political information from TV media on the voting patterns of the Kenyan public during the March 2013 presidential elections.

This study is important as it will shed light on the information seeking behavior of the Kenyan urban public; bring to light feedback from the public on quality of political information from TV in Kenya, which can be a guideline in future election periods.

1.4 Research objectives

i. To analyze the role of TV media in information provision to the Kenyan urban population
ii. To analyze the impact of TV media on decision making to the Kenyan urban population.

1.5 Research questions

i. What kind of information did the public get from TV media during the election period?
ii. Was the information biased or impartial?
iii. Did the public use the information from TV media to select who to vote for?

1.6 Significance of the study

TV media is a major source of information for the kenyan population.A study to evaluate the impact of it's content on the decision making process of the masses is very important.The study will also be able to analyze if the kenyan public use TV as a source of political information.By providing an analysis of how the public view the content and quality of different tv medias in kenya,media practitioners will be able to review their perfomances and make necessary changes to improve on what the public feel is lacking or needs to change.

1.7 Theoretical framework of the study

Agenda setting theory:

This is a theory that describes the ability of media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. Therefore, a news item covered most prominently and frequently, the audience will regard the issue as more important. This theory was developed in 1968 by Dr Max Combs and Dr Donald Shaw. It is a theory of communication that asserts that, based on relative placement or amount of coverage, there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues and the

importance attributed to these issues by the mass audience.

Therefore in this study, the agenda setting framework was used to evaluate if media was able to influence voting decisions, by the Kenyan urban public by their political content during the period before and during the March 2013 presidential elections.

Chapter Two:Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the issue concerning the media situation,the relationship between media and goverments,elements that may introduce aspects of priming in media,in Kenya,Uganda,South Africa and The United States of America.This is to bring out an analysis of the status of the four selected countries in reference to the issue of goverment,politics and media.

Media power is political power. Politicians hesitate to offend the handful of media operators who control how those politicians will be presented — or not presented — to the voters.(Bagdikian,2000)

2.2 Priming as a communication concept

Priming is a situation where by activating of one thought may trigger related thoughts.

The priming theory is in such a way that, media images stimulate related thoughts in the minds of audience members. This theory is grounded on cognitive psychology, and is derived from the associative network model of human memory (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2006).In it, a concept is stored in the network, and is related to other concepts by semantic paths. Priming now will be the activation of this stored information, which may serve as a filter, to interpret further, and for further information processing of forming judgment.

Political priming is when the media focuses on some issues, and ignores others, and by so doing, they do not give fair hearing to all angles of an issue, and therefore, affect the opinion making of the public that rely on them for information. It is very clear that media is a very important source of political information in society. Therefore, the presence of priming, might mean that in the absence of alternative sources of information, the public will have to form political opinions, based on just what they get from media, so, if there is any element of priming in the media selected as a source of information, then the opinions formed by society will be biased to the information provided, which might not be entirely factual or the best.

Priming is very evident in agenda setting as a theory. Both focus on information recall, that people will use information that is most readily available when making decisions. That once agenda setting has made an issue salient, priming is now the process where the media can shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about an issue. In essence, ease of availability of information in the mind can enable someone to sway or enable someone to develop an opinion over something, based on just the available information. Priming is something that can occur over a period of time after exposure to a given piece of information.

Priming can be a very effective campaign strategy for presidential candidates, by using well calculated public opinion on policy issues to influence voters' standards for accessing the candidates attributes.

In the John F Kennedy's 1960, presidential campaign, innovative public opinion surveys were added into his campaign strategy and it enabled him to use position taking to shape his image. It was found that a relationship exists, between Kennedy's position on policy matters and results from his private public opinion surveys. His campaign combined image building with position taking on issues that responded to perceived public opinion. It clearly showed that the priming process is powerful enough to be used intentionally by political candidates as a tool to influence public opinion during elections campaigns.

In 1982, Lyengar, Peters and Kinders conducted a study on priming. They set out to investigate if intentional priming might have an effect on the public's evaluation of president Jimmy Carter. Their hypothesis was that by making certain topics salient through primetime media, e.g. defense or government spending, it would cause viewers to evaluate candidate Jimmy based on the said topics only or mainly. The findings showed an influence of agenda setting and priming. It was found that there was a positive correlation between exposure to a given political topic and its importance when evaluating the president. Standards affected the actual evaluation of the president's performance, and this demonstrated priming. This clearly highlighted the potential of media to direct public attention and perception of political figures. However, it was also found that subjects with a higher knowledge of politics showed decreased levels of priming. Leading Lyenger's team to the conclusion that priming depends on an individual's knowledge prior to the exposure of the political information intended to set agenda for him.

Framing has become a strong communication tool for modern campaigns and has led to more research on cognitive campaign effects like agenda setting and priming.

According to (Mcquail,2005)Political communication research has undergone some major paradigm shifts. From the hypodermic needle and magic bullet models in the early 1920's,to Lazerseld research, that media effects were much more complex and depended more on people's homogeneous networks and their selective informational diets which tented to reinforce existing attitudes rather than change them. In the 1970's,Garbner's development of the theory of cultivation which assumed that media had strong long term effects on audiences, based on the constant stream of messages presented to them, and later, still in the 1970's,research on agenda setting on political communication was born. The 1980's and 90's brought forth the current researches on political effects research. These negotiation models affirmed that approaches like priming and framing were based on the idea that mass media had strong effects on attitudes of the public, but that these effects depended strongly on predisposition, schema and other characteristics of the audiences that influenced how they processed messages in the mass media.

Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that media

place on certain issues, and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences.

Priming refers to changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations. It occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and government. It is basically, enhancing the effects of the media by offering the audience a prior context, which will be used to interpret subsequent communication.

2.2 Media in the USA

American media is profit oriented. In the capitalist society that defines the America, Media is among the topmost contributors to the booming national economy. However in recent years, it has proved hard for the American public to get an objective view on issues involving politics and the economy. (Shah,2012).

Mainstream media in the US have a lot of pressure to make profit and by avoiding controversy and sensitive issues that might not go down well with a section of their audiences, they are able to attract and maintain the society which is in essence an audience satisfied with being in ignorant bliss, ready to purchase, which works well for Corporate America.(Moyers,2012)With this in mind, a lot of the content therefore is driven by government and business, less criticism. So over time, the audiences are used to a lower quality of content and therefore, easily prone to propaganda. (Shah,2012)

According to Pearson (2010), TV has changed the face of American politics, the average American watches 4.3 hours per day, and most homes have at least two TV sets. While TV is mostly for entertainment in America, most Americans watch some kind of television news network on a daily basis either over breakfast, or before dinner, allowing citizens and leaders to have firsthand information on issues affecting them. This coverage increases the pressure to leaders to react to issues covered and therefore, the media here, acting as observer, participant in politics, stakeholder, checking on abuse of power and making sure that information on public issues gets to the public.

In the 2011 Press freedom index, USA was ranked 47, which is quite a surprise seeing as it is the world's super power and issues such as press freedom would be high on their list of priorities.

Americans get very little information about the outside world (Cornog, 2005). Information contained in their news is usually about the US and more about any contact with a specific region e.g. the Middle East (Iraq, Pakistan) etc. Very little is known about other continents in America. It gives Americans very narrow information on world issues. Therefore it easy for them to be brainwashed and conditioned in terms of content since they do not have access to information in any other way.

Majority of Americans get their news from TV. The internet is surpassing the traditional newspaper as information sources, Broadcasting on radio and TV has changed news media and they are used as primary news sources.(Pearson,2010)the role of corporate ownership of media outlets, especially media

conglomerates has emerged, raising questions about media competition and orientation.(Shah,2012)

According to Bagdikian (2000),"the inappropriate fit between the country's major media and the country's political system has starved voters of relevant information, leaving them at the mercy of paid political propaganda that is close to meaningless and often worse. It has eroded the central requirement of a democracy that those who are governed give not only their consent but their informed consent."

The war on terror in America awakened a sense of unlimited patriotism such that there has been a lot of self censorship in media and generally, the US media has been overwhelmed by patriotic fever such that they are afraid of asking the tough questions since it will be seen as lack of patriotism from the masses (Rather, 2012). The lack of this mainstream media that can ask these hard and unwanted questions makes it very easy for the government and corporate media to stay unaccountable and do as they wish and rely on the guise of patriotism to sell propaganda.

Seeing as the first amendment offers the press some unlimited freedoms, there is no formal censorship in the USA (Shah, 2012).Market censorship is what is evident. This is basically when mainstream media opt not to run stories that might offend their advertisers and owners, and in so doing, censor themselves, by not reporting on the important or sensitive issues for fear of offending a major stakeholder, owner, or segment of the audience.

Dan Rather, in a media conference in 2007,expressed his concern on the state of media in the US, he said that so many journalists, with notable exceptions had adopted a go along to get along attitude, and because of this, journalism had degenerated into a very perilous state. In his talk, he continued to say that he thinks that many people have lost faith in journalists, because, questioning power especially at a time of war can be perceived as unpatriotic or unsupportive of America's fighting troops. This was a media talk that took place immediately after the 2001, September11[th] terrorist attacks in the US. He continued to say that the nexus between powerful journalists and people in government and corporate power has become far too close.

"The consolidation of power in a small number of media companies has also hurt the search for the truth in the US.As media conglomerates get bigger,the gap between the newsrooms and boardrooms grow and the goal becomes satisfying shareholders,not citizens"Rather also said this in the same media talk.

Political bias in media is also believed to affect the state of media in the US (FAIR,2001).The fairness and accuracy in reporting fair, a media watchdog in the us did a study on a particular talk show program on a popular news channel in the us and found that the higher percentage of the interviewed followed a specific patterned and were most certainly aligned to a specific political orientation. Without generalizing the findings, it was obvious that there can definitely be political biases on even popular mainstream media outlets.

Such a concentration results directly from the commercial ownership, through company buyouts, and dominance by powerful people in society, and when these media interest have made sure they produce content that reflect the interests of those in power, it has very serious implications for diversity of views, and for a healthy democracy.

Few ownership in media leads to less diversity since content will always reflect the owner's alignment on issues. This means therefore that the political discourse that shapes the nation is also affected.

The Chomsky/Herman propaganda model, attempts to demonstrate how money and power are able to filter out the news, marginalize controversy, allow government and dominant private interests to get their message across the public. This models relies on certain elements, that allow for such filtering in content in media.

1. Size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms

2. Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media

3. Reliance of the media on information provided by government, business and experts funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power

4. Flak as a means of disciplining the media

5. Anticommunism as a national religion and control mechanism.

According to a blog, frugaldad.com, 6 media giants control 90% of the US media, which is quite a change from 1983, when 90% of all American media was controlled by 50 media companies. In 2010, revenue for the big 6 was $275.9billion, $36 billion more than the GDP of Finland.

Clearly he who owns the media in the US has the power and he who has power own the media

The US has a system of government that is based on representative democracies. And therefore, elections are a costly affair, leading to fundraisings, wooing the public, corporate etc to donate. With this in mind, both the democrats and republicans have had to court big enterprises for their financial backing and have led to better candidates losing out due to lack of finances for marketing and advertising.

Having these big companies backing a candidate means that they can use the media to push their agendas and interests, which might not necessarily be what the public need but due to massive exposure, the audience might be conditioned to opt for this candidate over the more viable one. Getting a company to assist in campaign financing in the US which is rife in conglomerates, means that it's very possible to find a big business, owned by the people owning one of the big 6 media giants, will ultimately mean, that this candidate will enjoy much airplay on the media owned by this conglomerate (Shah, 2012).

In a country with a lot of concentrated ownership of media, there is always a risk of conflict of interest,

but since the mainstream media stand to benefit a lot from this political bankrolling in terms of advertisers rates, and goodwill if their backed candidate makes to be elected, then they do not feel obliged to discuss this issue in detail.

To try to justify the interplay between the media and politics in the US, the right wing in US politics keep attempting to portray the mainstream media as having a liberal bias. Trying to convince the public that they have a liberal press and that it's not affected in anyway by politics or anything is propaganda and very misleading.

The recognition of this by independent minds has led to rise of political blogs, and this has led to an emergence of a trend of partisan journalism as opposed to free press since these bloggers tend to be rightwing and evoking reactions from the left wing and therefore the bias cannot be ignored(Moyers,2011).

Ultimately, what comes out very clearly is that the US has a very vibrant media industry; the major focus is mainly inland politics and entertainment. However, due to the capitalistic nature of the country, conglomerates have ensured that the content in these media outlets is dependent on its ownership. Political influence cannot be ignored, from propaganda to campaign politics and corporate influence stemming from the American culture of consumerism. As much as America is at the fore front of development and progress, its deliberate ignorance on media independence, and press freedom, and the need to guide the audience to a specific opinion means that it has discovered that he who owns media has the power and he who has the power, owns the media.

2.3 Media and politics in South Africa

South Africa's media infrastructure is very developed and is considered to be one of Africa's major media centers. The country's political legacy shaped both the media and political structures and this is evident in the Cape times: the oldest newspaper and the national broadcaster SABC which were based on the models of British newspaper and national broadcaster BBC (Glenn & Mattes, 2011).In post apartheid, the South Africans' Daily Sun is a replica of the British leading tabloid too. Meaning, the fact that South Africa was colonized by the British, has a lot to do with their media structure, with four local national free to air television channels and subscription satellite TV, and with most major cities with newspapers, in English or Afrikaans.

The newspapers, radio and local TV enjoy a strong culture of political discussions, and of late, an

emerging element of internet debates and political blogging (Glenn & Mattes, 2011).Therefore, media in South Africa is very alive in terms of political content.

However, political communication in South Africa does not lack the influence of a leader, or news or blogs. For the black South Africans, access to broadcast news in local languages, for wealthier South Africans, media is post modern, with fragmentations, unlimited choices and no political destiny (Vapi, 1999).

Press freedom in South Africa has been a process. Before 1994, some sectors not aligned to the then government openly criticized the government, forcing some journalists e.g. Donald Woods to go into exile in the UK after exposing the truth behind Steve Biko. After the end of the apartheid movement, a new constitution was enacted and in it, the bill of rights expressly stated that every citizen has a right to freedom of expression, which also includes freedom of press and media. Currently, these freedoms are generally respected, and the laws concerning the media are and political interference is moderate. In the reporters without borders worldwide index of press freedom 2011-2012, South Africa was ranked 42nd.

Television is most tightly regulated in South Africa and broadcast rights are issued by invitation only. Broad cast licenses mandate percentages of local, community and educational content and broadcasters have to comply in order to get a license.

As much as media infrastructure is developed, the citizens seem to be politically conscious and engaged. South Africans have displayed low levels o cognitive engagement in politics after the 1994 elections. According to (Glenn &Mattes, 2011) less than 1/5 of South African citizens follow politics.

After the 1994 elections, newspaper sales dropped drastically, and a theory that South Africans were experiencing post transition exhaustion from politics was in place. But since no pre 1994 data exists, it's hard to put the theory into question (Dalton, 2009).

Cognitive engagement dropped dramatically but slowly the radio news listenership and TV viewership has recovered.

Many South Africans have abandoned newspapers that that carried government and political affairs in favor of less political oriented tabloid newspapers aimed at engaging the young black vibrant working class black community (Glenn &Mattes, 2011).

Most South Africans get their political news from SABC, the state owned TV station, as it dominates news in indigenous languages making it very accessible to all people, both rural and urban.

According to Dalton (2009), 6/10 South Africans read regular newspaper. As at 2009, even with high mobile phone penetration, access to internet is still for the minority. With just 2%using the internet to follow news on the political elections campaigns.

There is a passive form of viewership in terms of South Africans virtual engagement with the political systems, dominated by state not private news organizations.

2.3.1The racial aspect

According to Glenn and Mattes (2011), there are some racial differences in levels of cognitive engagement but most clear is that there are low across all races. Virtual engagement however in radio and TV is high in all groups.

Whites, Indians and mixed race (colored) have shifted from the state owned TV station SABC, owing to distrust and dislike of news content or lack thereof and have opted for international entertainment available on satellite TV.

Newspaper readership has a major baseline on economics and education level. Urban resident readership rates are understandably high at whites 82% Indians 86% black 48% color 57%.The black middle class has led to a lot of changes in media style to accommodate them and their needs but no studies yet to evaluate their political importance.

2.3.2 Media role

SABC the state broadcaster in South Africa broadcasts in 11 languages on radio and TV. It plays a huge role in forming political opinion since 4 out of 5 South Africans use it as a source of information.

In the apartheid period, SABC was used as a tool of state, a government mouthpiece. However after 1994,it was developed better to offer unbiased coverage especially in political aspect(Horwitz,2001).For a while, it worked, but political interference from presidents office has dented its credibility especially instances like the non coverage of the booing of the deputy president phumzileMlambo-Ngcuka, the lengthy coverage of the ANC election manifesto launch in January 2009 which did not follow the election coverage rules set in place(Mofokeng,2005).

The change in party leadership from Mbeki to Zuma in 2008 led to more balanced coverage of the 2009 elections by the SABC. The opposition party COPE received a lot of coverage.

However it is still not perfect.

The loss of monopoly on domestic news of SABC to subscription channels MNET, ETV also led to their loss of revenue. ETV won viewers as it offered a change for them especially those not affiliated to ANC

The decision for the state to rely on advertising revenue for it to run hence forcing it to compete with the rest of the made SABC pressurized between pleasing the political masters and at the same time remain relevant to the masses who prefer unbiased coverage and remain relevant to them(Duncan & Glenn 2009).

Although still facing stiff competition from ETV and satellite pay TV, SABC has increased its black

viewership, but lost former viewership of the white and Indian demographic due to increased options, public opinion still regards it as the most trustworthy channel.

Print media in South Africa before the end of apartheid was divided into 2 categories

I) Most Afrikaan medium press that strove to justify apartheid for the internal white audience

ii) Most of white liberal English medium press and private radio opposed the apartheid and the national government

iii) Black owned papers strongly opposed apartheid

Post apartheid era saw the convergence of the former white English and Afrikaans media in terms of ideology to become critical of current government on ANC and the radical left wing owned by the blacks disappeared. Therefore there was no daily newspaper to regularly convey and support government policies (Dalton, 2009).

Critique of ANC in print has continued despite even being owned by blacks. Therefore to a large extent destroying the theory that media ownership controls content (Berger, 2004).

In line with the apartheid struggle, what is clear is that most reporters in South Africa are careful and scared of appearing racist from either side and afraid of questioning the new democracy and have therefore abandoned the fourth estate function, overlooking flaws and any information given needing to be politically correct and tasteful to the black community especially. But with the liberal media, the opportunity to turn South Africa's media into a strong watcher of the government is there, driven by professional standards, issue based, therefore closer to a polarized pluralist model than liberal or democratic model, but still showing characteristics of the two, therefore, South Africa is a mixture of political communication and makes any imported model an imperfect fit (Hardland, 2007).

2.4 Media and politics in Uganda

Uganda has had an unstable political past. It was an unhealthy environment for media and so the emergence of a vibrant media industry in Uganda can be credited to the stability arising from Yoweri Museveni taking control in 1986. (Tegulle, 1999).The last 27 years, growth in terms of media and media freedom has been experienced.

Print media was set up in the beginning of the 19th century in Uganda. The press laws were prohibitive, as at 1910, and since then, till 1986, press freedom was unheard of in Uganda.

During independence, Uganda had a daily newspaper called the Argus, with a circulation of 12000

(Tegulle, 1999). Good transport and rich people made it easy for the paper to reach all corners of the country. Reasonable press freedom existed between 1962-1966 when Obote toppled Kabaka Mutesa II, declared Uganda a republic and himself president .His idea of presidency was control and control he did. In 1967, he gave himself as president sweeping powers, making Ugandan journalists timid and scared, those who opted to stay put In journalism ended up becoming party activists and propagating his party politics on paper.

Idi Amins' take over in 1971, made the situation worse, after the expulsion of the Asians, the Uganda Argus was nationalized, and became voice of Uganda, becoming part of the political system (Kyemba, 1977).

The return of Milton Obote into power did nothing to change the media situation in Uganda, it remained in control of the government, and with every information outlet being a government mouthpiece. This remained the trend until Museveni took over in 1986.

The Museveni government felt that the press should be liberal, but for two reasons: to run the country in an ideal manner, and as a reward to the journalists who had been supportive to them during the bush war (Tegulle,1999).

Broadcast media was a government monopoly, TV, UTV and radio Radio Uganda. Media seemed not to be a threat.

In 1991,the electronic media in Uganda was liberalized, the media seemed to be on the right path, political issues, corruption issues often involving government officials were brought to light, and the media stopped being so much just a government mouthpiece, especially after the emergence of the independent media outlets. However, when the strength of the media seemed to be gaining tread, and becoming a threat to the politics of the day, the conflict between the media and the Museveni government begun(Tegulle,1999).

There are many newspapers in Uganda. The new vision is the oldest newspaper; it is owned by the state and has the widest circulation. The Monitor is an independent newspaper owned by the nation media group of Kenya and these two dominate the print media in Kenya .At some level, the new vision is seen to be aligned to the government in terms of content while, over the last decade, the daily monitor seems to be pro opposition. (Palmowski, 2003).Case in point was the extensive pro coverage by the monitor on the 2011 walk to work protests in Kampala. The government accused the daily monitor of having an anti government agenda and favoring the opposition in terms of coverage, and the content on print was somehow twisted to be pro protest.

Uganda also has a state owned daily in Luganda language called Bukkede, which attracts most of the rural folk and a weekly tabloid called red pepper which is very popular. Other small newspapers are also in

print in Uganda, including *The idependent, the weekly observer* etc, and some tabloids which focus on soft erotica and sensationalism for example the onion, Red pepper.

Just like print, the government dominated the airwaves with radio Uganda until the early 1990's when the independent radio stations got licenses. Capital fm and Radio Sanyu are among the radio stations with high listenership in Uganda. Gradually, more fm stations have gained popularity, e.g. Dembe fm, Samba fm, etc. The programming in these radio stations is mainly entertainment, predominantly music, with very few opting to include politics in their daily schedules. Talk shows are also popular and comedy is also a feature on radio in Uganda. The lack of political information on radio apart from the local news which are read during peak hours 7am,9am,midday,4pm and 7pm and 9pm,might mean that Ugandan people are not very interested in political issues or they do not view the radio as the ultimate source of political information.

Uganda had only one TV station until the late 1990.Uganda broadcasting television formerly Uganda television was the state owned TV station. The first alternative TV station, Sanyu fm was licensed in the late 1990's, but it went down and privately owned Wavah Broadcasting Television popularly referred to as WBS is what provided an alternative viewing in early 2000's.After this, other stations came up e.g. Top TV, EATV etc. The arrival of NTV a sister company of NTV Kenya jolted the TV industry in Uganda, making TV more competitive and brought out emergence of more TV stations like Bukkede, NBS etc. Content is mainly entertainment. However, there has been a lot more political shows than before especially on the independent TV stations, a lot of political analysis shows and extensive prime time news and NTV is the most favored for authoritative news in Uganda.

According to Tom Gawaya-Tegulle, (1999) the media in Uganda faces some challenges and these include the following:

I) State intimidation

Because finances for development in Uganda were provided as from 1991 by the World Bank and the IMF, facilitating the liberalization of the electronic media, on condition that there is press freedom, the government could not openly repress the media but subtle ways of repression seem to work the same way. Allowing for press freedom but still refusing to abolish the sedition law, which gives the government sweeping powers, to close offending medium if provoked or arrest journalist seems like a major way to intimidate journalists. Using the police and army to repress the journalists' content is also another way the government intimidates the press in Uganda.

Museveni, forbade the media to write negative content on leaders such as Moi, then president of Kenya, since he was a good friend and together they had ruled the two East African Community countries for too long.

Influencing the judiciary to punish the press is also a way the government intimidates the press, with huge fines in libel suits, or charging extremely high bails to journalists.

In 1993-1996, the government intended to kill of the Daily Monitor, the leading independent newspaper, and ordered no government advertising in it. However, the high circulation of the paper saved it and it stayed afloat.

When fm stations begun having too many political discussions especially to criticize the government, providing a channel that the public can speak out on the poor governance, the government started arresting the controversial presenters. When that failed, with no grace period offered, through the broadcasting council, the annual license fees were hiked tremendously, protests were met with threats to close the stations.

ii) Deliberate denying the journalists information on pretext of security reasons is a way that the government is limiting access to information to the journalists and the public.

iii) Cheque book journalism

Most Ugandan journalists are retained by politicians for PR purposes, making sure that the politicians remain relevant, until election date and this for exchange of money.

iv) Untrained journalists who seem not to know what, how, why and other fundamental questions tend to drag the Ugandan media behind.

v) A divided press that is split on basis of union. This division makes the two organizations strive to discredit one another and this and the end of it all tends to work against the media fraternity in Uganda.

vi)Unethical editorial policies where the editors are careful to keep their biggest advertisers happy and get involved with shady politicians for coverage.

As much as Uganda has made great strides in media, press freedom is not at its best. Government interference on content is rife, and there is a constant call for the government to allow the media to be free to exercise the fourth estate function, but despite the great strides in Museveni's time in power, it seems that his government is keen on silencing anyone who tries to be anti-government. For example, in 2011, NTV Uganda was shut down by the government on grounds of dissent. But was later put back on air. Such kind of intimidation make it necessary for editors and journalists in general to be careful over what they write, lest they face the wrath of the government which does not hesitate to use the military to invade and shut down stations that write or report against the ruling government.

Chapter Three:Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design, population used, and the sample and sampling techniques that were used to select the respondents, how data was collected, analyzed and presented in this study.

3.2 Research design

The research design for this study was mixed. It was largely quantitative since it is easier to evaluate and bring out statistical evidence, and qualitative design was used to bring out executive summaries for opinion questions. It was an exploratory research where the researcher investigated if political information from TV media in Kenya had any influence on the voting decisions by the Kenyan urban population.

3.3 Scope of study

The area of study was Nairobi County. This was selected for its convenience and for the fact that Nairobi County has a mixture of tribes from all Counties in Kenya.

3.4 Study population

The research included all categories of the Nairobi population: the rich, middle class and the poor.

The total population in Nairobi is 3.375 million (indexmundi.com). Since this population is too large to be part of the research, a sample size was needed.

3.5 Sample size

Enon (1998) Sampling is the process of selecting participants from a target population. The researcher used a random sample of 150 respondents, 50 from the upper class category,50 from the middle class and 50 from the lower class. The selection of the sample size was purely based on convenience. Due to financial and time constraints, it was logical to use a manageable amount for the success of the study.

3.6 Sampling techniques

Since the researcher needed to split the population into three categories, rich, middle class, and people living in the slums, by using the recently designed county wards, the researcher wrote down the names of 5 random areas where the rich live, five areas where the middle class live, and five areas where the poor

reside. For each category, the researcher randomly selected 2 each for purposes of this research.

Simple random sampling: it will be used to select the 5 areas from which the researcher will select the 2 from each category by lottery method. It will also be used to select the 6 areas overall to be part of the study.

3.7 Data collection methods

Questionnaires
These were mainly used to get information from the affluent and the middle class respondents. It also facilitated the collection of large amounts of data in a short period of time.

Interviews
These were used mainly in the slums and the affluent respondents. This was convenient since there was no need for follow up to collect the questionnaires and it would have been hard to track them later as some did not have phones, and some travel for work.

3.8 Data collection instruments

These are the instruments that were used to collect data when using the various data collection methods.

Questionnaires:

They are specially designed set of questions that were used to collect data from the literate population. They contained both open and close ended questions.

Interview guide:

This is a pre designed set of questions that guided the researcher during the interviews with the respondents. It was be used for less educated respondents.

3.7 Data presentation and interpretation

Data collected was analyzed so as to assess the respondent's responses. Structured questions were represented in percentages and some open ended questions were coded and represented quantitatively. Other opinion questions were grouped together, answers from different people to common questions was documented and analysis of different perspectives on central issues was also noted. Tables, graphs and charts were used to represent the collected data.

3.8 Problems encountered

1. In the slums, the respondents expected a kickback for the information they were providing. Making it expensive for the researcher to buy tea or milk as the respondents were being interviewed.

2. Initial skepticism was a major problem, most wanted confirmation that it was not a government project, and it took a lot of persuasion for the people to feel free to share in the study

3. Westgate siege-This was a major problem in the affluent areas in that, the researchers initial plan of action was to approach individuals in social areas, café's, malls, but the week following the Westgate siege, which was the period the researcher was to collect data from the affluent areas, most malls experienced limited traffic and those available were not willing to sit and discuss an academic study. The researcher had to wait for 2 weeks for normal traffic to resume in malls and collect data.

Chapter 4:Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the presentation of the data collected and analyzed. It brought out the findings of the study and interprets the findings to bring out their impact on the research study. The aim of the study was to establish if TV content in the Kenyan TV during the election period, had an impact on the voting patterns and if the voters in Nairobi felt inclined towards a certain political candidate after watching the political coverage on Kenyan TV during the period before and during the voting exercise in the March 2013 presidential election.

The researcher collected data from Nairobi County voters, from affluent areas, middle class areas, and the slums and came up with the following findings.

4.2 Analysis and interpretation

4.2.1 Data collection instrument used

The study had 150 respondents.

The researcher interviewed 50 respondents from the slum areas of Kibera and Mathare. The researcher then distributed 50 questionnaires to the middle class respondents.21 respondents from the affluent community agreed to be interviewed, 29 questionnaires were also distributed to the affluent respondents.

All questionnaires from the middle class community were returned fully filled.22 questionnaires from the affluent respondents were returned fully filled, and 7 questionnaires were lost.

This means that the data used in the analysis, 48% came from questionnaires, and 47% came from interviews while 5% of the questionnaires were unreturned.

Instrument used	Frequency	Percentage
Questionnaires	72	48%
Interviews	71	47%
Lost instruments	7	5%
Total	150	100%

Table 1: Table showing data collection instruments used

4.2.2Age of the respondents

The researcher interviewed respondents of different ages. The purpose of getting the age of the respondents was to analyze the priming effect of TV at different ages, and to see if age and economic status have any correlation to a respondents' understanding and analysis of political information from

Kenyan TV during the pre election period.

Age range	Frequency	percentage
15-25	10	7%
26-35	27	19%
36-45	50	35%
45 and above	56	39%
Total	143	100%

Table 2: Range of the respondents' age

Age range	slums	Middle class	Affluent	
15-25	3	5	2	
26-35	5	14	8	
36-45	10	22	18	
45 and above	32	9	15	
Total	50	47	46	143

Table 3: Range of respondent's age and economic status

4.2.3 Gender of the respondents

The researcher also interviewed respondents of both genders. The purpose was to establish which of the two genders were willing to share and participate in the survey, and which gender is more open to discuss political issues.

Figure 1: Gender of respondents

The findings show that men were more willing to share and get involved with the study, than the female population. With 68.5% of the respondents being male and 31.5% being female. It might also reflect that men prefer talking about political issues than women and/or men watch more TV for political reasons than women.

4.2.4 Level of education attained

This was to analyze if the academic levels had any influence in their understanding of poltical information from TV.

Graph 3: Academic levels of respondents

4.2.5 Media outlet used

With the study being carried out among 3 different economic communities, the researcher analyzed the finding separately for clarity and for a better analysis based on the two variables of economic status and academic levels.

1) Slums

The respondents from the slums use radio and TV as their media outlet.

50% of the slum respondents use radio as a media outlet. All the respondents from the slums use TV as a media outlet.

Table 4: media used by slum respondents

	Radio	TV
Number of slum respondents	25	50
Percentage	50%	100%

2) Middle class

The respondents from the middle class use radio, TV, newspapers and the internet as their media outlets.

Table 5: Media used by middle class respondents

Media outlet	radio	TV	newspapers	internet

Number of middle class respondents	46	47	40	40
percentage	98%	100%	85%	85%

3) Affluent community

The respondents from the affluent community use tv, newspapers and the internet as their media outlets.

Table 6: Media used by affluent community.

Media outlet	Newspapers	Internet	TV
Number of affluent respondents	26	29	46
Percentage	57%	63%	100%

4.2.6 Information got from media

The researcher found that the respondents use media for four major purposes: entertainment, current affairs, economic information and political information. The table shows that all the slum respondents consider TV as an entertainment avenue. The middle class, apart from it being a source of entertainment, also use TV to keep abreast of on goings in the country. The affluent respondents mostly use TV as source of economic information and are the least of all categories to consider TV for entertainment.

	entertainment	Politics	Economic information	Current affairs
Slum respondents	50	45	4	47
Middle class respondents	48	60	24	62
Affluent respondents	12	24	27	19

Table 7: Information got from TV media

4.2.7 Ownership of personal TV sets

80% of the total respondents, confirmed to owning a personal TV set, the 20 percent who happened to be from the slums, confirmed that despite not owning a TV set, they frequent neighborhood social areas for a meal or a drink and these areas have TV sets.

4.2.8 Source of political information during election period
The respondents confirmed to getting most political information during the election period from radio and TV.85% of the respondents used TV as their source of political information during the election period,60% used radio,58% used newspapers and 24% confirmed to use the internet.

4.2.9Adequacy of political information from TV during the election period
80% of the respondents said that they did not feel that they received adequate political information from TV during the election period.20% felt they were satisfied with the amount of information provided.

Table 8:Channels watched during the election period

	Citizen	KTN	NTV	K24	KBC
Slum respondents	50	12	26	7	3
Middle class respondents	60	38	24	5	1
Affluent respondents	12	30	8	0	0

42% of the total respondents which comprised mainly of the slum respondents and 41% of the middle class said they felt inclined towards a certain political orientation after watching the political news on TV.

They explained their answers in the following ways

- Some politicians were given a lot more coverage than others in some TV channels
- Some TV channels portrayed some politicians in bad light and some in very good light
- Some TV stations gave little if any coverage to some politicians and they remained unknown
- They felt that some TV stations trivialized some political candidates in the presidential elections and used them for comic relief instead of as a serious candidate.

58% said they did not feel swayed in any way after watching the political news on TV. The majority of this category comprised of the affluent respondents and 59% of the middle class

They explained their answers in the following ways

- Even before the increase in political information during the election period, they already had their preferred candidate
- The propaganda surrounding some TV station backing certain candidates made them skeptical of TV information
- Information received from news is not necessarily always the truth
- They choose to use other avenues to judge the candidates and not just the information from TV.
- Kenyan TV has in the past been very superficial in coverage and focused only on the controversial and not the facts, so they opt not to trust it completely.

4.2.10 Fairness of coverage during the political period

35% of the respondents felt that the coverage of the political parties was even in the channels they watched

They justified it by:

- They were comfortable with what they saw
- They got the information they wanted from TV
- They did not feel shortchanged from TV

50% of the respondents felt that there was no fairness in coverage of the political parties in the channels they watched.

They justified it by:

- They did not see a lot of the candidates until the last moments
- The open support of one TV station for one candidate overshadowed the rest of the candidates

15% of the respondents did not have an opinion on the fairness of the coverage.

They justified it by:

- They do not watch much TV
- They do not rely on TV for political information
- They did not look out for bias in the coverage

Figure 2: showing fairness in coverage during election period

4.2.11 Inclination towards a certain candidate after watching TV during the election period

80% of the respondents confirmed to having an inclination towards a certain candidate after watching a specific TV channel. 8% of the respondents said that they did not have any inclination towards any candidate after watching a specific channel. 12% of the respondents said that they do not know if any TV channel caused an inclination towards any candidate.

4.2.12 Impartial or openly biased media?

56% of the total respondents preferred to have an impartial media in Kenya that will ensure fairness in coverage, and enable them to make independent decisions and to also ensure that there is a clear division between media and politics

24% percent of the respondents preferred to have an openly biased media, where the media declares in advance their support for their preferred candidates, the respondents feel that by so doing, they will be able to decide on which channel to watch, and the media will stop the cover ups of trying to sway the viewers indirectly and come out openly and for accountability in future in terms of rewarding in the event their preferred candidate wins.

20% of the respondents felt the Kenyan media should remain as is. They feel that the Kenyan media is ok, and is doing a good job, and they have no complaints in terms of political coverage.

4.2.13 Quality of political information from Kenyan TV

80% of the respondents felt that the media is not providing good quality political information.15% of the respondents felt that Kenyan media is providing good quality political information to the public.5% of the respondents have no opinion on the quality of the political information from media

4.2.14 What needs to change in Kenyan media, in terms of political information provision?

15% of the respondents felt that Kenyan media is ok and should remain as it is, as their political information needs are being met adequately, majority of these respondents are the slum respondents.80% of the respondents, who are predominantly from the middle class and all of the affluent community, felt that the Kenyan media could improve on their provision of political information provision and a sample of what they feel could improve is

- Accuracy of facts
- Focus on core issues
- Fairness in coverage

4.2.15 Will respondents use Kenyan TV to follow political issues in Kenya in future?

70% of the respondents said yes, they will use TV in future for political information, however, some said that they will follow because they have no option. This category mainly was from the slum respondents and of the middle class.

30% of the respondents said they will not use Kenyan TV for political information; because it is biased, not focused on the real issues and capitalizes on controversy and will prefer to make their own decisions based on their personal parameters.

4.2.16 Opinion on Kenyan TV industry

56% of the respondents felt that Kenyan media is trying hard to improve quality of TV, but there is a lot of room for improvement

34% of the respondents feel that it's too commercialized and that sometimes, focus is on entertainment and not informing.

68% of the respondents felt that there should be a strict control over Kenyan TV industry to avoid the extreme modernization of the content

4.3 Summary of chapter

From the study, the researcher established that people of all ages, economic status and geographical disposition all over Nairobi have an interest in the political issues of the country.

It was also found that a majority of the Kenyan people depend on media for information of all types. Different people, of different ages, and economic status, depend on media for different information needs. The most common media used by all of the respondents is TV.

Most of the people in the city of Nairobi own personal television sets. This is across all three groups, and for those who do not own personal sets, they are able to access TV in social areas and is still a major source of information for them even in the slums.

It was also found that TV and radio were the major media used as a source of political information during the election period. TV being the most common across all classes, it's the common media across all the three classes of respondents.

From the study, majority of the respondents felt that political information from TV was not adequate and they did not receive satisfactory information from TV to form personal political opinions. Those who had this opinion were from the affluent respondents, and a portion of the middle class. This can be interpreted to mean, their higher academic level, has refined their information seeking behavior, making them see a deficit in information provided, and expect more from media. A small portion of the respondents felt comfortable with the political information from media, and these were from the slum respondents. This makes it possible that, the academic levels is a huge determinant on analyzing adequacy of the political information provided.

From the study, it was found that the most popular TV channels during the election period were CITIZEN TV, KTN and NTV. Majority of the respondents watched Citizen TV, those interviewed confirmed that the good quality of picture and simplicity on Citizen TV gives them an advantage over other channels, and also it was found that KTN is elitist in stature and is patronized by a lot of the affluent community than by

the lower and middle class. This could mean that the quality of their coverage is different, not necessarily better but appeals to the richer society than to the people living in the slums.

The study also confirmed the presence of a bias in coverage during the election period from the different TV channels viewed. A larger majority of the middle class respondents and a portion of the affluent respondents felt that the coverage of political candidates was not fair/even .And this was a negative point for the TV media since it was expected by law to provide fair and unbiased coverage, to allow people to make their own judgments .A large group of the slum respondents felt that the coverage was fair and were comfortable with the coverage. This leads to the theory that, academic levels have a lot of influence on the analytic aspect of the information processing by the public. That the more educated, felt the need to have more information, about all the presidential candidates, despite probably having a preferred candidate in the first place, means that they have an appreciation for information, and they do not appreciate the TV channels trying to sell certain candidates over others. The less educated, do not notice the attempt by TV media to market a candidate over another.

A small group of the respondents also did not have an opinion on the fairness in coverage during the election period. This could be interpreted as, lack of interest, lack of expectation from TV media or simply, lack of the intellectual ability to analyze the content on TV and notice information gaps.

80% of the respondents confirmed to having an inclination towards a specific candidate after watching certain TV channels during the election period. This was across all three categories. However a significant point to note is that, the slum respondents and some middle class respondents in this category said that this was a major deciding factor when voting, however, majority of the middle class and the affluent in this category, confirmed that even after feeling the inclination towards a certain candidate from watching TV, they did not solely use this as a basis for voting. This could mean that, the education level of people, affects the analysis of information, and pre conceived opinions also contribute a lot to the decision making process and not just new information. Also, it can be confirmed that, other factors, might affect an individual's decision and despite media being a powerful information source, other elements come into play when making decisions.8% of the respondents did not feel inclined towards a candidate after watching TV. This can mean that as much as media has a big impact on the decision making, some elements or variables might be more powerful than media when it comes to certain issues.12% of the respondents did not know if watching TV inclined them to any candidate. This could mean that, either, they did not use information from TV for decision making, or they did not know if they did and this can be attributed to subliminal messaging, which means, media might have used an indirect way of conditioning the respondents towards a certain orientation without them knowing, or simply that they did not watch TV to form opinions but just to be aware of what is going on.

On the issue of an openly biased media or an impartial media, 56% of the respondents, preferred an impartial media. This means that the public prefer to be given information and be allowed to make personal judgments and opinions, rather than the media giving them one sided information in favor of who they support. This category was formed by the middle class and some affluent respondents.24% of the respondents preferred an openly biased media. This could be interpreted to mean that the public prefer to know the stand of the media unit openly, to avoid indirectly affecting the massage. By openly proclaiming their stand on political issues, the public are able to be alert, and probably use other avenues to get the whole picture of the situation, and then make judgment rather than receiving information, that has been structured to look as impartial, yet has subliminal messages favoring one side.20% of the respondents felt that media in Kenya should remain as is. This could be interpreted to mean that they are comfortable with the quality of political information, or they fully trust the media to give them all information they need, or that they do not truly understand what they should expect from the media industry.

On quality of political information on TV, 5% of respondents had no opinion if the Kenyan media is providing quality political information. This could mean, that they either do not use TV media as a source of political information, or that they do not have the knowhow, to analyze if the quality of political information is good or not.15% of the respondents felt that the quality of political information from TV is good, and should remain as is. This could mean that, their expectations in terms of political information are being met and feel no need for extra information.80% of the respondents felt that the quality is wanting, and could do better. This could mean that their expectations in terms of political information from TV is not being met, or that they have refined their tastes for political information based on their academic levels and want more. This is because, majority of this category were middle class and affluent respondents. On what should change in Kenyan TV industry, they felt that it should improve on accuracy, fairness and focus on core political issues and not side shows. This can be interpreted to mean, that Kenyan people are serious about political issues, they prefer that media take s it's role on political reporting seriously, because majority of the public rely on them for information to make personal judgment on issues like voting.

70% of the respondents confirmed that they would use Kenyan TV as a source of political information in future, mostly because they do not have an option or because they did not know better. This brings to light the importance of the media and how much influence they have on the public.30% of the respondents confirmed that they would not use Kenyan TV as a source of political information, because it is biased, does not focus on core issues and based on previous experiences, they do not feel it is the best. This can be confirmed as saying that media credibility is very important, and media should strive to maintain the trust that the public have in them, since once it is broken, it is almost impossible to recover.

56% of the total respondents felt that Kenyan media is trying but has a lot of room for improvement,34% of the respondents felt that it has become too commercial, focusing on entertainment more than core

issues, and 68% of the respondents felt that Kenyan TV industry has become too modernized, forgotten the Kenyan and African culture, focusing more on western lifestyles, and they felt that it needs to come back to the roots.80% of the respondents who complained of the modernized nature of Kenyan TV were female respondents and this could be interpreted to mean that women are more inclined towards culture and wary of effects of excessive modernization more than the male gender.

The fact that the researcher was able to capture data from three categories of people in Nairobi, was representative, and that from 150 respondents, only 7 respondents did not return their questionnaires can be termed as a successful academic research study.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at providing a conclusive summary of the study. It aims at assessing the findings of the study in relation to the primary objectives of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

The research aimed at evaluating if priming in Kenyan TV has any effects on the voting patterns of people living in Nairobi County.

The researcher used questionnaires and interviews to collect data from a total of 150 respondents, received data from 143 respondents who were from three categories of respondents.

From the slums, the researcher got 25 respondents from both Kibera and Mathare slums totaling to 50, for the middle class, the researcher got 25 respondents from both Langata Dam estate and Parklands area. For the affluent respondents, the researcher got 25 respondents from both Nyari estate and Runda estate.

At the end of this study, the researcher came to the conclusions that:

Media is an integral part of the lives of Kenyan public. It has an influence in the decision making process of the public, but is not solely responsible for the decisions that everyone makes.

The researcher found that education is a major determinant of how public assimilate information from TV media. That other variables come into play when more educated people make decisions on public issues than just from TV media, than when less educated people make decisions.

The power of the media is therefore more in place when dealing with less educated people, who cannot ask a lot of questions and most of the time, accept information at face value. However, educated people, have refined information needs, do not take information from media as gospel truth and prefer to use more than media information to make decisions.

The researcher also found that should media decide to use their platform to change opinions or perceptions, they would be successful mostly if the society is not very educated. However, it is possible that over time, if the same information is relayed even to the educated, it might affect their decision making since it might generate the impact of repetition.

5.3 Recommendations

Following the findings of the study, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

1. The media should understand and appreciate their level of influence on the public, and use it positively. If not, the government must come into play and ensure that media is not being misused to propagate any agenda, more so, any agenda negative to public development.

2. The government should consider providing an avenue for media to either be openly biased or firmly impartial. By so doing, the status is clear and no aspect of subliminal messaging or conditioning is necessary to the public.

3. The public should be sensitized on their expectations from media. It will improve their understanding of what should expect and what should not be condoned.

4. All media houses should improve on the quality of their content, not only political information but on all sectors of society life. Avoid excessive modernity since it alienates and erodes the Kenyan and African culture.

5. Media should focus on core issues affecting society; avoid sideshows, especially on issues regarding governance. This will bring to accountability all public servants who will appreciate that the media cannot be compromised to their favor.

5.4 Recommendation for future research

Following the completion of this research, the researcher feels that the following recommendations would be useful for future researches

1. Duration for research should be increased such that the students have enough time to collect data from larger sample sizes that will be more appropriate to generalize. The short period between proposal approval and project defense makes it necessary to select a smaller sample for convenience, which may lead to generalization and may not be an accurate representation of the true picture of the situation being investigated.

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Questionnaire

Dear respondents

You have been randomly selected to participate in the study on the effects of priming on TV on the voting patterns of the Kenyan public,based on the March 2013 presidential elections.It is a study being carried out by Njagi Mercy Murugi,a graduate student of Nairobi University,school of Journalism.Your participation in the study and all the information you give for this study will be considered confidential and highly appreciated.Please answer all the questions and tick where appropriate.

1. What media outlet do you use?
   [A]Radio
   [B]TV
   [C]Newspapers
   [D]Internet
   [E]Others

   If others, please specify,

2. What kinds of information do get from media?
   ....
3. Do you have a personal TV?

   [A]Yes
   [B]No

3b. If not, do you have any access to TV?

   ....

   ....

   ....

4. Where did you get political information from during the advent of the March 2013 presidential elections?
    [A]Radio
    [B]Newspapers
    [C]Television
    [D]Internet
    [E]Others

    If others, please specify
    ……

5. Do you feel like you got adequate political information from TV before and during the March 2013 presidential election?

    [A]Yes
    [B]No

6. What channels on TV did you watch during the political period in March?
    [A]KBC
    [B]NTV
    [C]KTN
    [D]CITIZEN
    [E]K24
    [F]Others

    If others, please specify

    ……
7. Did you feel inclined towards a certain political orientation after watching political news on TV?
    [A]Yes
    [B]NO

8b).For your response, kindly explain

    ……
    ……

8. Did you feel the coverage of political parties was even in the channels you watched?
    [A] Yes
    [B]No
    [C]I don't know

    8b. For your response,kindlyexplain,

    ……
9. Would you prefer a politically impartial media or an openly biased media?

    [A]Impartial

    [B]Openly biased

    [C]Other preference

    9b) If your response,kindly expound

....
....

10. Do you feel that the Kenyan media has been providing the public with good quality political information

    [A]Yes
    [B]No

  10b) Please explain,

    ....

11. In your opinion, what needs to change or be improved in the Kenyan media in terms of provision of political information? Or do you feel that everything is fine?

    ....
    ....

12.Will you use Kenyan TV to follow political issues in Kenya in future?

    [A]Yes
    [B]No
    [C]Not sure

    For your response,Kindly expound

    ....

13.In your own words, what do you think of the Kenyan TV industry.

    ....

Personal iinformation

14.Age

    [A]15-25   [B]26-25   [C]36-45   [D]46 and above

15.Gender

[A]Male

[B]Female

16.Highest education level attained

[A]Primary level

[B]Secondary level

[C]Tertiary level

[D]Others

If others,please specify

………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix 2

Interview guide

1. What media do you use?

2. What kind of information do you get from media?

3. Do you have a personal TV?

3b.If not, do you have access to any TV?

4. Where did you get political information from during the advent of the March 2013 presidential elections?

5. Do you feel like you got adequate political information from TV on the 2013 presidential elections?

6. What channels did you watch during the political period in March?

7. Did you feel inclined towards a certain political orientation after watching political news on TV? Expound

8. Did you feel the coverage of political parties was even in the channels you watched? Expound.

9. Would you prefer a politically impartial media or an openly biased media? Expound.

10. Do you feel that the Kenyan media has been providing the public with good quality political information? Explain.

11. In your opinion, what needs to change or be improved in the Kenya media in terms of political information? Or is everything fine as is?

12. Will you use Kenyan TV to follow political issues in Kenya in future?

13. In your words, what do you think of the Kenyan TV industry?

14. Age-

15. Gender-

16. Highest education level attained-