FRAMING THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE: AN ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION FRAMING OF THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE BY CITIZEN TELEVISION

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DECLARATION

This Project is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This Research Project is dedicated to the two most important figures in my life: David Kamau and Jacinta Njeri. This work is a fruit of their fruit.

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IEBC: Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

CORD: Coalition for Reforms and Democracy

KDHS: Kenya Demographic and Health Survey

TV: Television

Abstract

The media remains a critical source of information to the masses especially on public policy. For Kenya especially political matters and issues of governance are heavily brought out in the media but majorly as contest between political factions. In the multiparty era of Kenyan politics, the media has been credited for facilitating the expansion of the democratic space for politicians as well as the citizenry. This study stems from the National dialogue proposal by the opposition CORD coalition and the ensuing debate for a period of 39 days. The study sought to identify the media frames employed by Citizen TV journalists in the coverage and facilitation of the national dialogue. Key themes of Media framing and Agenda setting informed this study as it sought to identify the frames and nature of arguments advanced. Having reviewed existing literature and finding out that gaps do exist in as far media framing study is concerned. Previous studies have focused mainly on newspaper literature. This study reviewed Citizen TV content specifically on the national dialogue to identify the frames. A case study design was chosen for its descriptive nature to probe this topic. The study used content analysis on the content aired during the target period and complemented by interviews with journalists who were involved in the national dialogue. The interviews also provided insights on the editorial policy used by journalists in framing the national dialogue. The findings were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively to respond to the research questions of media frames, prominence of the national dialogue as well as in identifying the key arguments advanced in the national dialogue coverage. This study identified three key media frames adopted by Citizen TV in its reportage and coverage of the national dialogue. These were the political rivalry, Episodic and political sobriety frames. The study also found out that the national dialogue was accorded high prominence by the station with the public interest concern guiding the prominence. Further the study established key issues that guided the coverage as Security, CORD agenda and retrogressive activity advanced by political leaders. The study recommends that journalists involved in political coverage do due diligence in verifying claims floated by politicians. They should carry out prior research before conducting talk shows to check the actual status of issues of concern. The study also recommends for further research into the media effects of the media frames identified. This study was conducted between July and September 2015.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, assumptions, scope of the study, limitation and delimitation of this study. The theoretical framework is later discussed followed by description of operational terms used in this study in the last part of this chapter.

1.2 Background of the study

In today's society people access much of their information on politics, social trends and crime from the media. While the media has grown to include a more expansive new media aided by the expansion of internet connectivity and technologies, broadcast media still remains an important forum for information access and public sphere. "The new media such as the Internet can be used for both points to mass communications as well as point to point and mass to point message distribution." Salman, Ibrahim, Abdullah, Mustaffa & Mahbob (2011). Most online conversations are however cued by what is aired by broadcast media, with television having a bigger impact. This is because much of the information that audiences access is second hand and therefore prone to media frames chosen by media outlets. McCann (2010)

Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (2010), indicates that 34 percent of Kenyan women access television while 49 percent of men access television, at least once per week. This means at least a third of the Kenyan population relies on television media for information, be it for entertainment or news.

Table 1: Media exposure by gender

Gender	Female	Male
Watch TV at least once a week	34%	48.9%

Source: KDHS (2010)

McCann (2010:5) views that "historically, news media has gathered and disseminated news for public consumption. The news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know". The media houses make conscious editorial decisions in coverage of events and therefore underscores that meaning is assigned to media texts by the nature of frames chosen. According to Entman (1993), Communicators and/or journalists make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief systems.

This study will explore the frames used in reporting the national dialogue debate by Citizen TV for the 39 days in the lead up to the "Sabasaba" rally, and a day after the rally.

1.2.1 Political Climate in Kenya

The General election of 2013 polarised the country into two opposite and idealised political fronts. This can be inferred going by the 2013 presidential election results that put the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) and Jubilee coalitions at the top two with 43% and 50% backing respectively, (IEBC, 2013). The Jubilee coalition was led by Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto and on the other hand the CORD team was steered by Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka into the election. Towards the general election both camps had campaigned across the country selling their ideals to the voters.

According to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, the Jubilee coalition won the presidential vote with over 50% and thus satisfying the constitutional requirement for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner. (Constitution of Kenya, art. 139)

The CORD coalition was opposed to the declaration citing electoral irregularities in the process. The coalition lodged a petition at the Supreme Court contesting the result. Two weeks later the Supreme Court of Kenya dismissed the petition thus handing Uhuru Kenyatta a win: This is according to the Supreme Court of Kenya (2013). Kenyatta was sworn in as President of Kenya on the 9th of April alongside his running mate William Ruto.

The discontentment of the Odinga led coalition was evident from the onset: "Although we may not agree with some of its findings, and despite all the anomalies we have pointed out, our belief in constitutionalism remains supreme," Odinga, 2013. On the day of presidential inauguration,

the coalition (now in opposition) did not attend the event and was reportedly out of the Country. (Kimola, 2013)

The political rivalry heightened in May 2014 as the opposition accused the government of laxity in dealing with insecurity in the country. This was after a series of terror-related attacks in the country since the September 2013 Westgate mall attack in Nairobi, that left 67 dead and hundreds of others injured.

The second worst attack had been the massacre of 61 people in Lamu County in what was described as terror attack. While the CORD coalition was leveling accusations against the government of failing in its mandate, the politicians on the government side were keen at defending the system.

Eventually the situation became a contest between both coalitions. When the CORD leader Raila Odinga returned to the country from the United States after three months away, the anti-government campaign persisted. According to *Daily Nation* (2nd July, 2014), during a rally at Uhuru Park organized by his supporters, Odinga announced the opposition would be pushing for dialogue with the government.

In a clip aired by Citizen TV on 31st May 2014, Odinga gave the government an ultimatum of up to 7th July, 2014 to hold talks with them and other stakeholders on how to address the following issues: insecurity, Electoral system, sharing of resources across the country, public appointments and devolution.

The May 31st rally set the stage for political contest for the subsequent 40 days during which opposing coalitions pulled in different directions in regard to the national dialogue proposal.

1.3 Statement of Problem:

On May 31st 2014 the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD), announced a call for national dialogue with the Government of Kenya. According to Guguyu (2014) this call was made on a day the former Prime Minister of Kenya Raila Odinga returned to the country from the United States where he had been for three months. CORD intended to have national deliberations on how to address various challenges facing the country at the time; including: Insecurity and terrorism, public appointments, electoral systems among others.

The Government of Kenya initially responded with the President expressing readiness to dialogue but would later retreat and take a defensive approach, (Daily Nation, 2nd July, 2014). The debate resulted into a conflict with the government and the opposition taking antagonistic positions.

The Kenyan media reported extensively on the "conflict" up to and until the "Sabasaba" rally called as the ultimate pressure event against the government to yield to the opposition demands.

Research on media framing especially on political contests in Kenya has not been extensive. Research has majorly focused on the agenda setting roles of the media. However global research has been growing even within the media framing theory especially in the Western countries. Although media can yield positive and negative impacts, research specific to media framing of controversial issues suggests that powerful interests often take precedence over public interests. Herman and Chomsky (1988) [as cited in Culley, Oliver, Carton, & Street, 2010:499] argue that "the primary function of mass media is to mobilize public support for powerful interests that saturate the government and private sector".

Media framing is accomplished in a number of ways, including through the use of linguistic techniques to sympathize or slight a viewpoint to frame an issue in ways that benefit powerful interests and marginalize dissenting views (Angelique & Cunningham, 2006 as cited in Culley et al., (2010).

This study aims to establish the quantity and quality of coverage given to the national dialogue discourse and the subsequent event of Sabasaba rally at Uhuru Park, Nairobi.

The study seeks to identify the media frames adopted by the Citzen television while focusing on: Coverage of events of both antagonists, coverage by exclusive interviews for antagonists and peace messages towards the Sabasaba event.

1.4 Objectives of the Study
The research was guided by both general and specific objectives

1.4.1 General Objective
The overall objective of this study is to investigate how Television media framed the National dialogue debate with Citizen TV as a case study.

1.4.2 Specific objectives of the study

i.   To find out the media frames used in the national dialogue

ii.   To find out the prominence given to articles on national dialogue

iii.   To determine the key arguments advanced for and against the dialogue

1.5 Research questions

i.   What frames did journalists employ in debating the national dialogue push?

ii.   What prominence did Citizen TV accord the national dialogue?

iii.   What key arguments were covered by Citizen TV journalists?

1.6 Significance of the study

The focus of this study is not to debate the pros and cons of the national dialogue proposal. It stems from the fact that this was a crucial matter in the public sphere touching on matters of national interest that attracted division of opinion nearly by half. Since the public is fed of the matter mainly through the media that acts as the main link between the debate and the audience themselves, how the news media frame national dialogue is an important issue to be researched.

Of the three main media platforms in Kenya i.e Radio, Newspaper and Television, it is only television that employs more than one sense. It employs the senses of sight and hearing. It has the advantage of relaying news content faster than newspapers that traditionally publish once every day. Most political contests are won or lost through the media as has been seen on the electoral process of Kenya since the multiparty democracy was installed. Entman (1993) views that politicians seeking support of the audiences and/or electorate are compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames. This Entman argues is because frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions. This therefore suggests that political parties and politicians compete with each other through the political texts they spread, mostly through the media.

This research provides information on whether Citizen TV provided audiences with a conducive platform to understand the question of national dialogue. It will identifies particular frames that were used by journalists in covering the 39-day long political contest between the opposition coalition, CORD and the government and Jubilee politicians.

The findings of this research will be useful to political strategists who rely on the media to advance their agenda. It will also be useful to media scholars intent on advancing media research into political framing.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study is concerned with investigation of the frames used or followed by the media in packaging information relating to the national dialogue proposal by the CORD coalition and the debate that ensued thereof.

The study focused on the broadcast content of Citizen TV between 31st May and 8th July 2014 in relation to the national dialogue debate.

The study also focused on the prominence given to such content. This was assessed in respect to the positioning in the news running orders for the period of focus. The choice of news angles, the choice of pictures and time allocation were key in this study.

While appreciating the role played by other news media, this study was limited to Citizen TV and subject to the objectives.

1.8 Theoretical framework

This study used Robert Entman's Framing theory as the key theory to investigate the media frames employed by Citizen TV in its coverage of the National dialogue. The other theory that informed the study is Agenda Setting by McCombs and Shaw.

According to the Framing theory, the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. The media provides the context for audiences to decipher meaning of media texts supplied by journalists.

1.9 Citizen TV

The traditional media (radio, television and newspaper) do give timely coverage to political discourses especially during electoral campaigns. (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). While television offers daily coverage just like the newspapers, it has severe time constraint. For instance in Kenya, the television media has predominantly allocated time for news to three major hours: i.e. 1300 hours for the lunch time news, 1900 hours for evening news mainly in Swahili and 2100 hours for the English night bulletin that is mostly more detailed and comprehensive. It is

therefore of importance to interrogate the kind of stories that go into TV bulletins especially the most watched and the most comprehensive.

Citizen television is one of the leading TV channels in Kenya owned by the Royal Media Services limited, which also owns 13 radio stations most of them broadcasting in vernacular languages. The TV Channel has been in existence for more than ten years and has been touted as one of the top four news channels. As such, any political content aired on Citizen TV has the potential of being consumed by a significant portion of Kenya's television audience.

The study focused on content aired by Citizen TV for news and political talk shows (The Big Question, *Cheche* and the Opinion Court).

1.9.1 The "Big Question"
This is a show that aired every Tuesday night during the 9.00 pm news programme. It focused on topical matters mostly of the week mainly of political nature. During the show the host would engage one or two guests in studio, extensively interviewing them over an agenda they pushed or one that they had strong opinions against or in support of.

1.9.2 Opinion Court
The Opinion court was a political talk show that aired every Thursday during the 9.00pm news programme. It took the format of panel discussions where the host would be joined by a permanent resident panelist who would be matched with one or two other guests.

1.9.3 The Cheche Show
The Cheche show was a weekly morning show aired every Wednesday between 7.00 am and 9.00 am. It focused on topical issues majorly political where a panel of three persons: a host and two co-hosts would engage a guest or two guests in a discussion about specific public interest matters.

This study therefore is squarely appropriate as it is based on a channel that is watched by a significant section of Kenyan populace.

1.10 Operational definition of terms
Sabasaba: Rally staged by the CORD coalition as the ultimate pressure event against the government to yield to the national dialogue push. Held on 7th July, 2014.

CORD: Coalition for Reforms and Democracy – the opposition coalition (2013-2017)

Jubilee Coalition: the political coalition that formed the government (2013-2017)

National Dialogue: the proposed talks by the CORD coalition with the government over challenges facing Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter critically examines the available literature and studies that have been previously carried out with regard to media framing and political reporting. It looks at literature in the local context i.e. Kenya, as well as studies done from other jurisdictions in Africa and the world. In this chapter communication theories guiding the study have also been discussed.

2.1 Review of theoretical literature:

News stories can be understood as narratives, which include information and factual elements, to be sure, but also carry an implicit message. While this is true of journalism in   general, it is especially evident in television news which is replete with metaphors,   catchphrases,   and other symbolic devices that provide a shorthand way of suggesting the   underlying   storyline. – London S. (1993)

2.1.1 The Kenyan politics:

The political playfield in Kenya has been likened to a do or die scenario where contestants compete for a win. The winner especially in presidential contests proceeds to form a government, while the loser has to play the opposition role for five years or until a subsequent election is held for the desired position.

After the 2007 general election that ended up in 2007/2008 ethno-political violence, the Kenyan politics have evolved into a game of ethnic numbers. In the 2013 general election, the ethnic matrix was at play with the infamous "tyranny of numbers" metaphor coined by a political commentator. "Mutahi Ngunyi held that Uhuru-Ruto coalition had already won the elections hypothetically based on the high number of registered Jubilee voters nationally. This assumption was made in disregard of the fact that voter registration and actual voting are two separate events."(Ogenga 2013:135)

 The term would eventually turn into a tool used by Jubilee coalition operatives who were presumed to have had the ethnic numbers required to propel their candidate into presidency by voting along tribal lines affiliated with the coalition leaders. Nyabuga (n.d.) says the dominance

of ethnicity, governance, corruption; violence and reconciliation have come to dominate the national socio-political discourses in Kenya due to priming accorded to them by the Kenyan media. As such the Kenyan political landscape is rooted on ethnicity and ethnic numbers.

2.1.2 Political news content and the Media in Kenya

Wanjohi (1994) defines Politics as "the sum total of activities which individuals and groups engage in as they seek to arrive at collective decisions" (p. 29). Okolo (1994) sees politics as "a game of competing ideas and interests in which the people have to make a choice" (p. 33).

The Kenyan media has been accused and correctly so to have abundance in political coverage. Nyabuga (n.d.) states "…there is popular acknowledgement that the media plays a significant role in society by providing information upon which critical decisions are based."

"A political system largely determines the political culture in a country. Considering the Kenyan context, critical political economy of the media indicates that the media has some degree of autonomy and freedom to report and even criticize the government but still identifies certain authoritarian tendencies that prevail through censorship and control (McNair 1998)."(as cited in Ogenga, 2013:125)

The media in Kenya is largely commercial with the leading media houses surviving on advertisement revenue. Bourgault notes, "the emphasis on commercialization of media has been one designed to respond to the information needs of investors and the business community in general." As such even as media houses strive to cover news content that is of public interest, the penetration of commercial interests to a certain extent influences content and extent of coverage. According to Chambers news and investigative reports that journalists produce have user value for maximizing profits (as cited in Ogenga, 2013.)

The media is thus obliged to meet the needs of owners, the audiences, advertisers as well as media employees by employing a delicate balance between these stakeholders (Picard 1989). This obligation influences media content (Gandy 1997). Mbeke (2008) argues that the Kenyan media has never been in a comfortable position with regard to the political, economic, technological and social environment. Often the media environment has been politicized and little has been done in terms of policy to address issues that could lead to a stable, independent

and critical media which means elitist ideas are circulated to the masses through the media with no opportunity for contest." As cited in Ogenga, 2013

Okolo (1994:35) agrees that in deed the media frames news stories based on value judgment. "Television news producers provide cues about the relative salience of the events they package for their news audience by not only the placement of the news stories within the news segment but also by the amount of time and the nature of illustrations." This assertion puts in context the priming and framing contexts of news.

According to Entman (1993:53) salience may be defined as "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences". Salience raises the probability of receivers of the iformation discerning the information and storing it in memory.

2.1.3 The *Sabasaba* significance

The term *Sabasaba* referring to the seventh day of the seventh month was first coined in Tanzania being the day that the independence party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed in the 1954. Krieger & Crahan (2001)

The term gained its form in Kenya in 1990 during a protest rally that had been staged by the opposition demanding for a return of a multiparty regime. According to Throup & Hornsby (1998), the protest had been outlawed by the Government and three days to the protest, key leaders of the opposition faction were arrested and detained without trial. These were Former ministers Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia and Raila Odinga. Eventually the opposition carried on with the planned demonstrations at the Kamukunji grounds, an event that Throup & Hornsby say turned out chaotic in which at least twenty people were killed and scores injured. Widner (1992). "The riots reportedly lasted four days and left 20 people dead, many others injured, and more than 1,000 people in Jail" Refworld (1994)

The similarity between the *Sabasaba* agenda of 1990 and the 2014 National dialogue cum *Sabasaba* rally of 2014 is that in both:

A call for constitutional amendment was made. In 1990 amendments were for return to multiparty-ism; in 2014, the amendments were for among other things raising the revenue allocation to the devolved system of governance.

The opposition's agenda in 1990 also included the reorganization of the Electoral system (Throup & Hornsby 1998) just like the CORD's 2014 push.

Both agenda were launched in May, almost two months to the eventual *Sabasaba* rallies. "Matiba's main asset was his popularity among the Kikuyu masses, who regarded him as a hero who had defended their community's interests against the Kalenjin and Asian encroachment since Kenyatta's death, and his courage in launching the campaign for multi-party democracy in May 1990." (Throup & Hornsby, 1998:126).

"the ruling regime found *Sabasaba* threatening enough for President Moi to announce that the use of this politically charged phrase was officially prohibited." Haugerud (1997:20)

"…before opposition parties were legalized, Kenyan lawyers and clergy teamed up to discuss 'justice and peace in a free democratic Kenya.' These plans received front page coverage in Nairobi newspapers." Haugerud (1997:21). The CORD coalition seemed to borrow this strategy by pushing for their agenda in different public meetings in different parts of the country in the lead up to the *Sabasaba* day.

CORD's push for National Dialogue was similarly launched on May, 31st with the eventual pressure event being held on the *Sabasaba* day to symbolize the "unofficial" day of liberation.

The significance of the *Sabasaba* day could also be illuminated by the handling by the Security agencies of the political event. The Inspector general of police had in the run-up to the event outlawed it only to later retreat and issue strict instructions. "Any individual, whatever their status who acts in a manner that threatens the law, will meet the full force of law. We only passed a new constitution in 2010. Let us live by it. The listed speakers should steer away from hate speech, incitements and sentiments which can and will polarize the people, " Inspector General David Kimaiyo Kimaiyo as cited by the People Daily, 6th July 2014.

2.2 Communication theories

This study has been majorly informed by two media theories i.e. the framing theory and the agenda setting theory. Both theories have undergone intensive research and application over the years in informing communication scholarship.

2.2.1 Media Framing

Framing has been defined by various scholars differently but they all seem to agree that it is about the media attempting to provide a context of thinking through an issue. Entman defined framing as "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (as cited in Boycoff & Laschever, 2011: 345).

Entman (1993:52) describes framing as "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Tankard et al (as cited in Weaver, p. 143 n.d., Griffin E. (2012)) described a media frame as ''the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.''
Recipients of a news story build their opinion based on how the news story was framed and their own individual frames. Viewers interpret and process information based on the tone of the news story (Scheufele,1999, p. 107).

According to Baran and Davis (2012), framing theory challenges the widely accepted notion that journalism can or should be objective. Instead, the theory implies that journalism should aim at providing a forum in which ideas about the social world are routinely presented and debated. "As it is now, the forum is dominated by social institutions (like media) having the power to influence frames routinely used to structure news coverage of the social world. These institutions are able to promote frames that serve to reinforce or consolidate an existing social order and to marginalise frames that raise questions about or challenge the way things are. (p. 397).

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Boycoff & Laschever (2011: 345) allude that journalists place figurative picture frames around the ever moving target of events and actions, thereby focusing our attention on particular issues, ideas, and individuals while obscuring what lies outside the frame. Journalists therefore continuously create news frames sometimes consciously but most times unconsciously, latgely informed by prevailing circumstances.

In framing, the media selects the language, slant and focus of a story to give a certain reaction or interpretation (Entman, 1991; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele, 2007; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

Framing Process:

Figure 1 shows how media frames result. They begin with claims presentation by the politicians, social movements and the public opinion. But for claimants to make it to media frames, they must make claims that are coherent with the cultural set-up of the audiences. If this resonance is established it is highly likely that such claims would make it to the news.

Figure 1: Framing Process
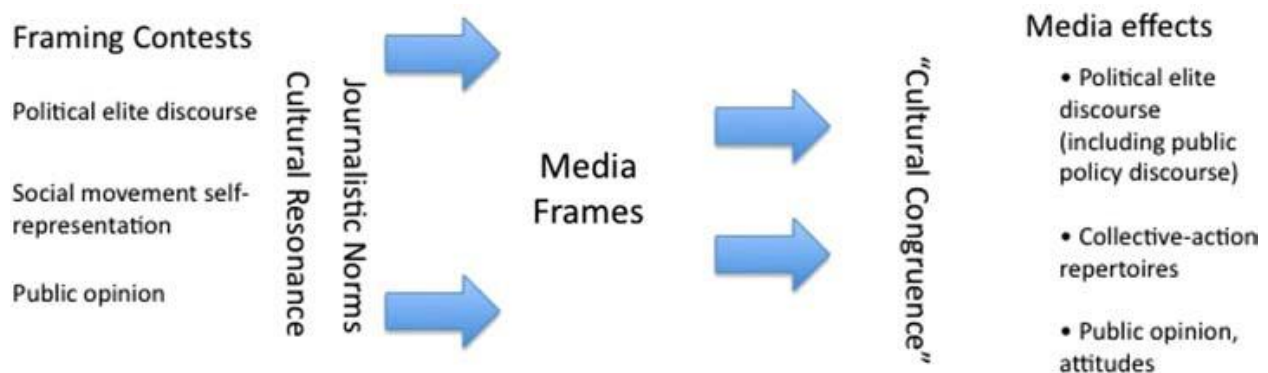
Source: Boycoff and Laschever (2011)

Boycoff and Laschever (2011) however find that the journalistic norms and values that guide news production are critical at determining the frames adopted in media coverage. "The more congruent the frame is with schemas that dominate political culture, the more success it will enjoy," (P 346). As such for media frames to last individuals or groups making the claims must stick within cultural context. According to **Figure 1** the media frames do have impact upon the audiences in the name of media effects. However this study did not study the impact of frames as it was limited to identifying the frames.

Research has shown that media institution frame political contests differently depending on the particular contest. As such media frames are most times dependent on issues of discourse in the media but in respect to the cultural set up of audiences.

2.2.2 Agenda Setting Theory

According to Weaver (2007) Communication and media research has heavily dwelt on the agenda setting theory that focuses on the power of mass communication in determining what the public think about.

The Agenda setting theory of mass media was first coined by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972 (Griffins 2012: 379). The theory focuses on the relative salience/perceived importance of, or assigned to issues or subjects by media houses in their reporting.

The theory seeks to assign the media a role that it determines what audiences/public thinks about. The theory was generated from a political contest through which it was determined that the media shapes the public opinion and the direction contests take.

"Walter Lippmann claimed that the media act as a mediator between the world outside and the pictures in our heads," as cited in Griffin (2012).

Weaver, 2007 finds agenda setting theory to be majorly about the issues that are covered by the media: i.e. the issues the media gives salience in their reportage. But Media framing is deeper: It focuses on the real attributes chosen by journalists through processes of selection, exclusion and emphasis. Framing seems to pull out angles that provide unique definition to problems.

Weaver continues that "The perspectives and frames that journalists employ draw attention to certain attributes of the objects of news coverage, as well as to the objects themselves, and some of these perspectives can be very general," (2007:142). This may explain why media outlets are able to sustain political coverage over a long period, long before official campaigns up to and including election time.

2.2.3 Relating Agenda Setting to Media Framing

According to Chyi and McCombs (2004:22), "the news media often reframe the event by emphasizing different attributes of the event, consciously or unconsciously, in order to keep the

story "alive and fresh"; it is often the case that various media outlets have differing viewpoints on high-profile news stories.

The difference between framing and agenda setting therefore is that while the latter focuses on what issues are given presence by the media, framing is concerned with how such issues are depicted in the media and what recommendations go into them in shaping the public opinion.

The importance of framing is exemplified by Idemili (1994:74): "Straight news reporting while still important is no longer enough. Although mass media audiences will still want to know what happened, when and where it happened and who was involved, it will be very important to them to know why it happened and what it means."

According to Entman (1993), frames have four functions:

a) Defining problems: this involves determinant what a causal agent is doing with what benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values
b) Diagnosing causes: frames do identify the forces generating the problem
c) Make moral judgments: frames evaluate the causal agents and assess their effects and
d) Suggest remedies: frames do offer and justify the solution or treatments for problems while predicting the likely effects.

McCombs (1997) (as cited by Weaver, 2007), holds that there are many other agenda of attributes besides aspects of issues and traits of political candidates, and a good theoretical map is needed to bring some order to the vastly different kinds of frames discussed in various studies.

This study sought to identify the maps used by Citizen TV to pursue the expansive debate on national dialogue.

To operationalize media framing research Gamson (1992) (as cited by Weaver, 2007) sees framing to contain condensing symbols such as "catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, visual images"

2.2.4 Identifying Media Frames

Freyenberger D. (2013) narrows media framing to the tonality of media stories i.e. whether a story is positive or negative to the subject. "Reporters play an important role in the development

of opinions among the public and when the focus is framed only negatively or positively toward the subject, the other aspects of the story are excluded. (p. 12)"

London (1993) opines that to identify frames, the informational content of news reports is less important than the interpretive commentary that attends it.

London (1993) identifies two major categories of framing: episodic and thematic. Episodic framing," he says, "depicts concrete events that illustrate issues, while thematic framing presents collective or general evidence."

Episodic framing may for instance be seen in a story featuring two poor individuals which may push the audience to blame the individuals of laziness or lack of education. But a story on general level of unemployment would attract the audience to blaming the government over its policies. The situation is seen to be beyond the victim.

Shanto (1994) argues that viewers are "sensitive to contextual cues when they reason about national affairs. Their explanations of issues like terrorism or poverty are critically dependent upon the particular reference points furnished in media presentations."

He asserts that media frames are a reflection of the cultural understanding of journalists based on the contextual realities of society being covered as well as consuming the media texts.

> Since electoral accountability is the foundation of representative democracy, the public must be able to establish who is responsible for social problems. Yet the news media systematically filter the issues and deflect blame from the establishment by framing the news as "only a passing parade of specific events, a 'context of no context.— Iyengar (1987)

A general definition of framing seems to reduce to "the way the story is written or produced," including the orienting headlines, the specific words choices, the rhetorical devices employed, the narrative form, and so on. (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 39).
A politician who emphasizes economic issues during a campaign employs an "economy frame" that suggests economy issues are important.

Gamson (1992) has conceived of framing in terms of a ''signature matrix'' that includes various condensing symbols (catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, visual images) and reasoning devices (causes and consequences, appeals to principles or moral claims).

It can also be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretive textual analysis alone. In studying media frames therefore one must put into consideration that frames may be stated or implied arguments. Entman (1993:54) views that "most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience." In looking for frames therefore in media texts, a researcher must be on the lookout for the selection and exclusion processes in texts. Framing is concerned with how issues or other objects (people, groups, organizations, countries among other topics) are depicted in the media.

2.2.5 Media Prominence

Prominence may be defined as the state of being important, famous, or noticeable. Media prominence may be defined as the value given to particular topics in the various news bulletins or positioning of articles in newspapers. While framing also involves making certain attributes salient, the agenda setting role of news media contributes to prominence of news items. McCombs (n.d.) holds that Television news offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. The cues if repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic.

The prominence shown in the media for any issue becomes a major factor in creating an impact in a person's judgment. But on the contrary, this can result to less concern on the more important issue that may be positioned lower in a news bulletin. Ryan, Carragee and Meinhofer (2001) [as cited in Koga, 2014], hold that "because journalists define issues and events over time, frames can change and may lose or gain prominence in media depending on the event or issue and the social acceptance of the frames"

2.3 The Research Gap

Framing does seem to include a broader range of cognitive processes—such as moral evaluations, causal reasoning, appeals to principles, and recommendations for treatment of problems.

This study sought to investigate the particular frames employed by Citizen TV journalists covering the national dialogue debate. It will also assess the peace messages issued by the outlet and whether they had a role in shaping opinion.

Although past research has examined frames especially on newspapers, not many have looked at the physical aspects of framing, such as the inclusion of pictures or section choice. This study will conduct a content analysis of TV broadcasts including placement in running orders of various bulletins.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology adopted in this study. The chapter covers the following subsections: the research design, research site, sample selection, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and analysis. Lastly the chapter highlights some of the legal and ethical considerations the researcher took to account. The field research was carried out on Citizen TV content of between May 31st 2014 and 8th of July 2014. This was done in the months of June and July 2015. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources using a code sheet and an interview schedule.

3.2 Research population and Sample selection

There are different types of sampling methods but the one that was used in this research project is purposive sampling. It is a technique that allows the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). For this study consequently, the researcher selected those news items containing content of the national dialogue over the period of interest.

3.2.1 News Stories

During the subject period of the study spanning across 39 days, an average of eight news stories was broadcast in the nine o'clock night bulletins of Citizen TV. There was therefore a pool of 312 news stories produced for the 9.00pm bulletins of Citizen TV during the period of focus. This is according to News running orders of the station.

Out of these, 45 stories were identified to be related to the national dialogue proposal of the CORD coalition. The stories were identified through the running orders after which the particular stories were searched and retrieved from the Citizen TV library as per the titles in the running orders.

3.2.2 Political talk shows

A second set of content analysis was conducted on interviews and talk shows hosted during the station's political talk shows i.e. the "Big Question", "Opinion Court" and the "Cheche" Show.

During the period of study there were sixteen such shows: six Big Question, and five for Cheche and Opinion Court each. Purposive sampling was used to identify relevant shows for content analysis of which each category had two relevant shows.

3.3 Research site

While the electronic content reviewed was portable via electronic hard drive. all of it was broadcast material of Citizen TV, Kenya. The interviewees for the study were interviewed at the place of work that is in Nairobi. Citizen TV is located in the Kilimani area of Nairobi and housed alongside thirteen radio stations owned by the Royal Media Services limited.

3.4 Research Design

This study used the descriptive case study design to find out the frames employed by Citizen TV in covering the national dialogue between May 31st 2014 and July 8th 2014.

The national dialogue was a phenomenal discourse in the country ignited by the political class. For full comprehension of the way the media defined the discourse, a case study design is appropriate to enable descriptive understanding. A Case study seeks to describe a unit in detail. It enables looking at the unit of study as a whole. This study focused on how Citizen Television framed the National Dialogue. Interviews were conducted to complement the content analysis source of information for the study.

3.5 Data Collection

The study adopted two methods to gather data: content analysis and interviews.

3.5.1 Content Analysis

This involved a thorough review of sampled broadcast content of Citizen TV. A systematic code sheet (appendix 1) was used to assess each article selected for the study.

Research using qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967).Text data might be in verbal, print, or electronic. In this case the data was electronic making use of both audio and visual texts.

3.5.2 Interviews

The second method for data collection was interviews. Interviewees were selected on basis of persons who handled the broadcast content under study.

Data from interviews was recorded through computer aided note taking on Microsoft Word.

3.6 Research instruments

To execute the research a Code sheet (Appendix 1) was used to analyse the sampled broadcast content. This was done systematically and exhaustively to pick out the frames employed in each media article.

To complement the data gathered from content analyses, interviews were conducted with persons who were involved in the national dialogue discourse. The interviews were conducted subject to pre-determined questions as per appendix 2.

3.6.1 Validity of Research Instrument

Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) assert that instrument validity is the ability of research instruments to measure what they are intended to measure. To do this, the designed code sheet and interview schedule were pretested before execution of the study. Appropriate changes were made for optimal utility.

3.7 Data analysis and presentation

According to University of Leicester, data gathered from content analysis may be analyzed on two levels:

1. Basic level or the manifest level: This is a descriptive account of the data i.e. this is what was said, but no comments or theories as to why or how.
   As such, the data collected has been analysed on the face value based on length of news stories and/or political shows and the priority placing of such stories that informed prominence judgment.

2. The second level is a higher level or latent level of analysis. This is more interpretive analysis that is concerned with the response as well as what may have been inferred or implied. Data collected was subjected to critical analysis of the pictures used, the tone of news scripts as well as the focus of stories. Questions of whether media texts were favourable or not to the debate were answered from this analysis.

To achieve the objectives of this research, the study used mixed (qualitative and quantitative) approaches of data analysis.

3.7.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis of this study provided an overview of Citizen TV coverage of the national dialogue: frequency of stories, sources, frames and images used. Frequencies for the variables of interest to this study were analysed by way of descriptive statistics (counts and percentages). This information has been presented in bar graphs, pie charts and tables.

3.7.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis on the other hand offered an in-depth view of the implication of texts, words or phrases used in national dialogue stories. The information has been presented in prose form.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Before commencement of the study, consent was sought from the Royal Media Services that owns the Citizen TV upon clearance by University of Nairobi. The consent enabled undertaking the research on the station's content. Information gathered from the station has only been used for the purposes of this study and shall not be shared or distributed without consent of the Company. While the researcher worked at Citizen TV at the time of the study, there was no conflict of interest. This was ensured through independent review of content and execution of interviews on basis of academic research. This clarification was made to the interviewees before commencement of the actual interviews. The study also adhered to laid out procedures for Research project by the University of Nairobi. Field work was conducted upon clearance with the School of

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study and makes interpretations. The study investigated how Television media framed the National dialogue debate with Citizen TV as a case study. This was guided by three objectives, one to find out the media frames used in the national dialogue. Second, to find out the prominence given to articles on national dialogue and finally to determine the key arguments advanced for and against the dialogue.

The Researcher used purposive sampling to select data of Citizen Television news stories on the National Dialogue and eventual sabasaba rally. Purposive sampling was also used in selecting political talk shows content that was analysed for this study. In identifying respondents for the interviews, purposive sampling was used in accessing journalists who worked on the national dialogue stories or were part of the team producing such content.

4.1.1 News Stories

Of the 45 news stories identified to be related to the national dialogue proposal, 43 were deemed relevant to the study and therefore included for content analysis. The two stories that were dropped only mentioned the CORD coalition as attribution or were produced as an extra story to the main package. The number (43) was deemed manageable within the study period and therefore adopted as the sample size representing a 100% sample.

The 43 stories were produced and aired on 28 days of the 39 days period under study. For five days two stories were produced each day. For two non-consecutive days three stores were produced. On the sabasaba day a record 7 stories related to the national dialogue/sabasaba rally were produced, following each other in the running order. Most of these stories focused on the events of the day as will be seen in the frames analysis in chapter four.

4.1.2 The Big Question

Since a record of topics discussed during the shows was not available to the researcher, a search in the Citizen TV library was conducted complimented by a search on the Youtube channel of

the station. Three key terms were used in the search: Big Question, National Dialogue and Sabasaba.

The results were filtered within the period of between 31st May 2014 and 8th July 2014. Out of the search, two shows were retrieved: "The Big Question with Raila Odinga 10th June 2014 that ran for 45 minutes" and "The Big Question: Sabasaba Rally 8th July 2014 that ran for nine and a half minutes." Both were analyzed for this study.

4.1.3 Opinion Court:

Similarly a record of topics of the shows was not available and therefore the researcher searched the Citizen TV library complimented with Youtube channel of the station using the terms: Opinion Court, National Dialogue and Sabasaba. Two Opinion Court shows were found relevant for the study: "Opinion Court – Jubilee and CORD dialogue wars, 5th June 2014" and "Opinion Court – what is Sabasaba, 3rd July 2014." Both were analyzed for this study.

4.1.4 Cheche Show

During the focus period there were five Cheche shows. Upon searching the Citizen TV library and the Youtube channel of the station, two shows were found relevant for the study. They were: "Cheche Interview: National Dialogue and Impeachment motion, 11th June 2014" and "Cheche Interview National Dialogue, 2nd July, 2014." Both were analyzed for this study.

The findings are discussed hereunder as far as the broadcast content is concerned and perspectives from the interviewed journalists.

4.1.5 Interviews

The content analysis showed that seven reporters were involved with writing and or producing the stories on national dialogue. They were therefore primary candidates for interviews. Out of these, six of them were interviewed for the study. In addition two editors who at the time of the coverage worked with the station were interviewed. One of them was a news producer/editor while the other was a planning/assignments editor. They were decision makers in determining what story appeared in the news bulletin and what angles were taken in presenting the stories.

Two hosts of political shows: Opinion Court and the Big Question were interviewed upon review of the shows aired during the period under study.

Since the focus period was over one year before this study, briefing was essential to familiarize interviewees with the subject matter. Replaying of relevant clips was done for appropriate questioning and answering especially where an interviewee pleaded they had forgotten about the national dialogue coverage.

4.1.5.1 Qualification of the journalists

The junior-most journalist had the experience of three years while the most experienced had practiced journalism for twenty years. Similarly the journalist with the shortest tenure at Citizen TV had worked there for two years. The longest had worked with Citizen TV for ten years.

Three of the reporters interviewed specialized in political stories while the other three handled general news that would sometimes include political assignments.During the period under study they were involved in coverage of the national dialogue discourse half of them regularly and the rest occasionally.

They were all interviewed as per the interview schedule developed (appendix 2). The interviews were semi-structured to allow for predetermined questions as well as follow up questions where necessary.In an interview with a planning/Assignments editor, journalists who covered the national dialogue were chosen on basis of familiarity with the national dialogue politics and knowledge covering the Kenyan politics.

4.2 Presentation Method

Findings have been presented using the objectives of the study. This easily helps to answer the questions of the study. Under each objective various parameters have been addressed as per the research questions.

4.3 Media frames used in the national dialogue

Identification of media frames used in the national dialogue coverage was one of the main objectives of this study. This was achieved on two levels: identifying the tone used in the stories as well as identification of particular frames in the coverage.

4.3.1 Tonality of Stories

From Chapter two of this study, the tone of a media piece may be positive, negative or neutral. When it's neutral it would either be balanced in terms of representation of views or factual in that the content is backed by either factual or historical knowledge. Freyenberger D. (2013) narrows media framing to the tonality of media stories i.e. whether a story is positive or negative to the subject. Table 2 and Figure 2 show the spread of the tone by Citizen TV's news stories.

Table 2: Tonality of news stories

Tone	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	9	20.9 %
Negative	10	23.3%
Factual / Balanced	24	55.8%
Total	43	100

Figure 2: Tone of stories
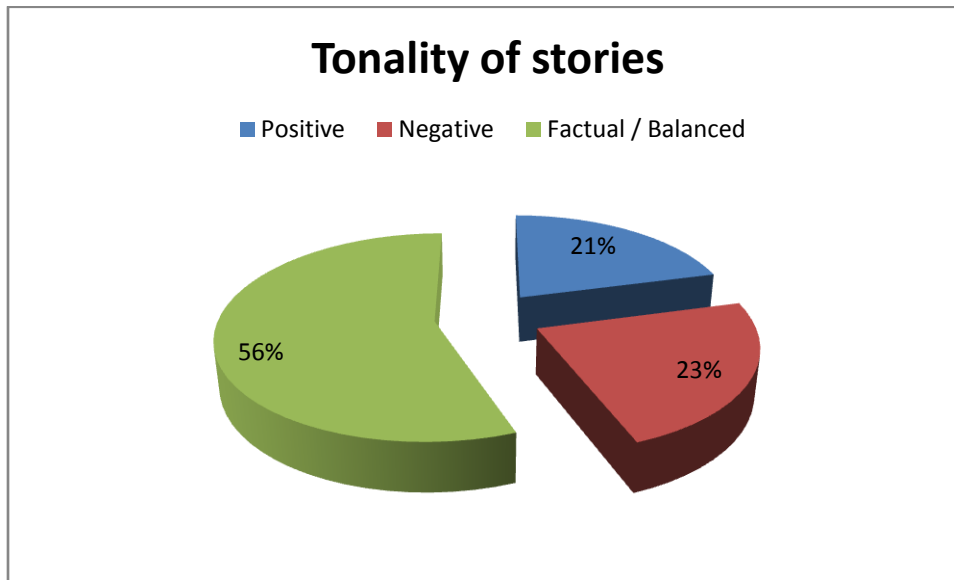
Source: Researcher 2015

While majority of the stories were deemed factual or balanced, a significant 44% (n = 19) was not. Primarily a media house should be objective in reporting public affairs matters. While

objectivity was not measured in the study, that 44% was found to lean to the positive or the negative indicated that not all stories fostered balance or fairness.

4.3.1.1 Negative Tone

23% (n = 10) of news reports by Citizen TV favoured the anti-national dialogue arguments. They were negative in that the inherent narrative was contrary to the proposal to have a national dialogue. This was majorly on pieces produced featuring the Jubilee politicians leaving out the opinion from the CORD fraternity. For instance the 15th June story "Jubilee responds to CORD in church at Kangemi", was adjudged negative in that the entire script featured the jubilee politicians opposing the CORD proposal. The story further features the voice of a CORD politician who was opposed to the national dialogue proposal. The reporter concludes by saying "the Jubilee leaders admit that Kenya faces challenges but insist that CORD needs to channel their grievances through laid down constitutional provisions." The script provides a context of opposition to the dialogue.

4.3.1.2 Positive Tone:

21% (n=9) out of 43 stories were found to favour the national dialogue proposiotion. They either contained the Dialogue proponents' perspectives or were scripted in support of the call. For instance on the 13th of June 2014, a news story titled "CORD Rally in Migori", the reporter features a national dialogue drum up event in Migori. CORD leaders among them Raila Odinga the chief proponent are seen advocating for the idea. While the story seeks balance by featuring William Ruto who was part of the government, the reporter indicates that Ruto kept off the dialogue issues instead focusing on economic empowerment.

4.3.1.3 Factual/Neutral tone

Stories adjudged to have been factual or neutral were found to be representative of both political rival groups' views. These stories contained informational text that was not overtly pro- or anti-national dialogue. Most of them were also considerate of factual content mostly quoting constitutional framework that guides different political processes. For instance the story broadcast on 8th of July 2014 entitled "CORD agenda on referendum issue"; while it carried the voices of CORD leaders, the reporter went ahead to put into context the process of amending the Constitution of Kenya as laid out in law. The story was analytical.

The story reads in part "A proposal to amend any of the clauses of the constitution must be supported by at least one million registered voters. CORD will have to submit the draft amendment Bill together with collected signatures to the IEBC for verification."

In an interview with a news producer who was in charge of the news production at Citizen TV then, they had to practice fairness and balance in their coverage while making an attempt to look for a neutral voice in the ensuing political conflict and rivalry. "We were trying to give a neutral voice like churches calling for people to sit and talk despite the hard positions taken."

4.3.2 Frames Identified

As noted in Chapter two, media frames may be expressed or implied. . According to Entman (1993), Communicators and/or journalists make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief systems.

Table 3: Story frames

Frame	Frequency	Percentage
Political Rivalry	37	37.4%
Inclusivity	2	2.0%
Episodic	23	23.2%
Political Sobriety	15	15.2%
Economic Empowerment	2	2.0%
Violence	3	3.0%
Victim Frame	3	3.0%
Political anxiety	6	6.1%
Thematic Frame	3	3.0%
Security	5	5.1%
Total	99	100%

The content analysis assessed the pieces both graphically and textually. The language used in the writing of the news stories, the words, the catch phrases and contextual connections were interrogated. London (1993) opines that to identify frames, the informational content of news reports is less important than the interpretive commentary that attends it.

As per **table 3** below ten main frames were picked out. However most of them were found to be overlapping, therefore it was possible to sight more than one frame in a single story. The frames are discussed below.

Figure 3: Frames of stories
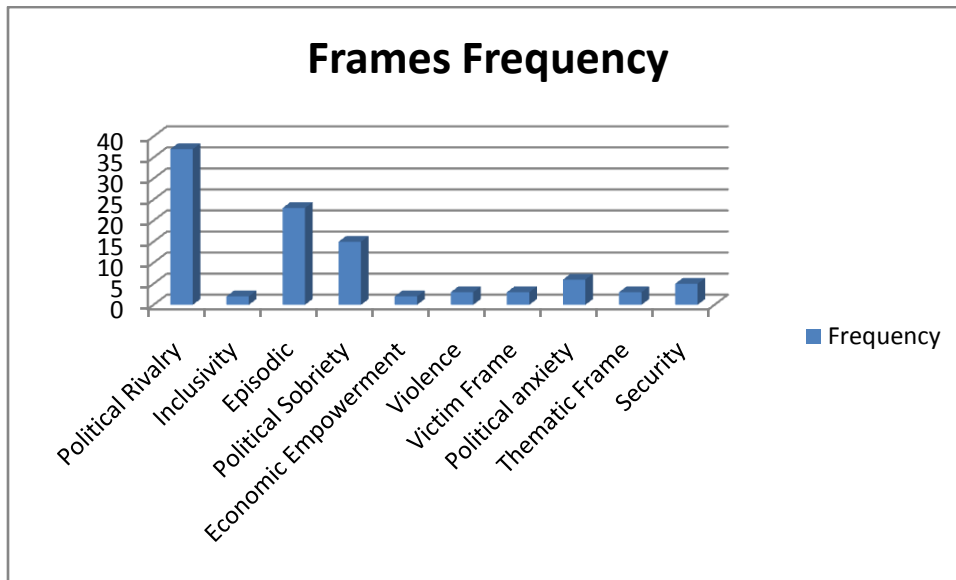
Source: Researcher 2015

The frames identified form the news reports were largely consistent with those identified in a review of the political shows: Opinion Court, Cheche and the Big Question. The frames have been discussed below.

4.3.2.1 Political Rivalry frame

37 stories of the total 43 analyzed contained this frame. This has been described as the political competition between and among political antagonists. This study unearthed that hard stances taken by CORD and Jubilee political sides were heavily emphasized in the broadcast content of Citizen TV. This frame was evident as soon as the national dialogue push was launched by the protagonists on the 31st of May, 2014. For instance the story "CORD rally at Uhuru Park – Raila Homecoming, Ababu Namwamba Baba while you were away" reads in part, "the expectation that Raila Odinga would immediately lead push to kick out the Uhuru Kenyatta government was

an immediate agenda that could not wait another day." The paragraph is followed by exemplifying quotes of CORD leaders:

> "You have heard them say that CORD wants to remove them from leadership, yes we want to do so, but we will do so only in accordance with the constitution. We shall only do so lawfully." –CORD leader

The political rivalry frame is repeated in 36 other stories out of 43, understandably political conflict attracts audiences in Kenya. This assertion is confirmed by an editor at the TV station who said "The national dialogue was very important. It was something touching on all Kenyans. As a country coming from problems in 2007/2008 post election violence, it was an opportunity to reconcile Kenyans. We had to do enough well balanced stories for peace.

One of the most effective portrayals of political rivalry is a rally that had been planned for Uasin Gishu County on 27th June 2014. Prior to the event the County government of Uasin Gishu had opposed the rally within Eldoret town saying it was a threat to the security of residents. Citizen TV in a big way focused on the conflict pitting the CORD leadership against the county government headed by a Jubilee elected governor.

Four stories were produced between 24th and 27th June 2014 for each day until the material day. Initially both sides maintained hard lines.

As a reaction to the county government resistance the reporter in a story aired on 24th June 2014 wrote "The coalition's leadership in parliament has also claimed that the government had embarked on a process of muzzling divergent opinion after nine CORD members of parliament were directed by Director of Public Prosecutions Keriako Tobiko to record statements with the police, over claims of hate speech and incitement to violence."

Eventually the rally was held with the County Governor alleging his was only a recommendation to postpone and not to cancel the rally. In a story featuring the Eldoret rally on 27th June 2014, the reporter begun with "contrary to the expectation of many that all would not be well at the Eldoret cord rally, a reasonable crowd turned up at the 64 stadium to give Raila Odinga an ear." The phrasing clearly shows the focus of Citizen TV on political rivalry extended beyond political leaders into followers.

In the rivalry of the political sides one of the reports is seen to foster political superiority for the government. In the story aired on 1st June 2014 titled "Uhuru's response to CORD- National Dialogue", the reporter concludes the story by posing a question:

> The opposition leaders may have snubbed today's celebration at the Nyayo National Stadium but the President has addressed all the issues they raised yesterday during the homecoming of Former Prime Minister Raila Odinga; But will the opposition now approach the government in a structured manner for dialogue on the issues that are touching on the nation?

The journalist presents the opposition as secondary and the government as superior deserving proper and official addressing rather than in political public announcements.

Political rivalry frame was heavily present in the political shows discussions. In the first show of such kind on 5th June 2014, the Opinon Court; political rivalry plays out from the onset based on invited panelists. A member from Jubilee was matched against a member from the CORD side. The host questioned the panelists on main areas of disagreement pitting the two political sides. At one point the host asked: "why can't CORD address their issues before parliament where dialogue happens all the time? This question raised reaction form both CORD and Jubilee representatives each holding on its position.

Similar interview set up was repeated in a Cheche interview where both political sides were represented. The two sides disagreed on whether the national dialogue should be held within existing institutions or government would be persuaded to organize a special forum as pushed for by the CORD coalition.

4.3.2.2 Episodic Frame vs Thematic frame

London (1993) identifies two major categories of framing: episodic and thematic. Episodic framing," he says, "depicts concrete events that illustrate issues, while thematic framing presents collective or general evidence."

4.3.2.2.1 Episodic Frame
Episodic frame was present in at least 23 stories about the national dialogue. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the broadcast pieces were based on the political activities of

parties involved in the dialogue. The reporting was found to be restricted to the events and mostly adjudged to be shallow.

For instance a story broadcast on 15thJune 9.00pm bulletin titled: "Jubilee responds to CORD in church at Kangemi", has three frames one on political rivalry depicting the contest between CORD and Jubilee; the second frame is violence in which the writer uses the voices of politicians allied to the Jubilee alliance to indicate the violence potential, that the rallies would have repercussions against the political perpetrators. A third frame in the same story is episodic majorly due to the nature in which the reporter marries events of the day from different parts of the country.

The reporter says "The Jubilee leaders have stuck to their script that CORD calls could lead to instability and chaos they warn." Followed by a Jubilee politician's quote as follows: "For what does it profit a politician to gain power and lose the country to violence?"—Kipchumba Murkomen.

4.3.2.2.1 Thematic Frame

Three of the stories analysed contained the thematic frame which basically has to do with using general or collective evidence to pass across information. Such stories were the "What is Sabasaba? historical perspective". This was produced on the 3rd of July as story number four in the bulletin. It focused on the origin of the word sabasaba and the events that led to it in 1990. The reporter interviewed some of the politicians or former politicians who were involved in the 1990 event, assessing through them whether the 2014 clamour for a sabasaba event was justified. The reporter wrote:

> The original Sabasaba will for long be remembered for radically opening up democracy in the country. But as Monday Sabasaba rally approaches, the jury is still out on whether the gains will be reinforced or seriously jeopardized.

The thematic frame is equally present in the political shows. In a Cheche Interview aired on 2nd July, 2014; the panelists question the historical background on sabasaba and the relevance it would have in the national dialogue calls and subsequent sabasaba rally. The evolution of the national dialogue push is also assessed with one of the hosts indicating: "the initial idea of dialogue didn't sound so bad. But subsequently it changed. Why didn't Raila Odinga talk to

Uhuru Kenyatta in person upon return? Failure to have done that renders the national dialogue push sound as self-seeking." This assertion and subsequent response is seen to have put into consideration the general feel assessment of the national dialogue cause.

4.3.2.3 Political Sobriety frame

Out of the 43 stories studied 15 of them were found to carry the political sobriety frame. This was deciphered from the angles taken by reporters in the scripts they wrote and people they quoted. The frame was especially evident towards the sabasaba rally, a moment that according to journalists' interviews presented uncertainty and rising political tension in the country.

For instance eight days to the sabasaba rally a story titled "Uhuru inTransnzoia" the reporter quoting two Jubilee allied leaders and one CORD leader packaged a report dwelling on sobriety.

> "A section of cord politicians have expressed concern on the political upheavals and are calling on leaders to tone down their political rhetoric."

> The report quotes Ababu Namwamba saying "If I challenge the two of you, President Uhuru you wish Kenya well, my party leader Raila Amolo Odinga, you wish Kenya well. Between the two of you and the good will you have for Kenya, you can actually tone down the political temperatures and find away to drive Kenya forward.

The station also produced a story titled, "Reactions to Sabasaba" on 3rd July 2014. The story focused on attempts by a parliamentary caucus group that was seeking to mediate the Jubilee and CORD political divides with the intention of putting off the sabasaba rally. In it private sector players were also quoted asking the CORD coalition to maintain peace on the day of the sabasaba rally, threatening that they (private sector players) would hold CORD responsible for any loss of property or life.

The sobriety frame is supported by one of the Citizen TV news producers who during an interview indicated that, "We've had dirty politics since 2007 Post election violence. In every way we would call for leadership sitting together and soberly iron out issues based on best interests of the country. As journalists we'd want to push that agenda as opposed to conflict."

A senior reporter responded "Having witnessed how the country disintegrated because of discord in 2007, Citizen TV believed it's important to repeat the message of national cohesion to foster national unity considering the volatile political environment in Kenya."

In an Opinion Court show titled "Jubilee and CORD wars", Citizen TV held a mock dialogue session with panelists after about 24 minutes of heated debate among parties. At conclusion the Host appealed to both political sides to seek a middle ground and resolve issues of concern in an agreeable manner. This instance signifies Citizen TV's call for sobriety at the wake of rising political temperature which all the same the channel was partly propagating in the stories it aired showing the political rivalry.

In a Cheche interview aired on 2nd July 2014, just five days before the anxious Sabasaba rally, the host accused participating politicians (from both CORD and Jubilee coalitions) of looking at national issues in a partisan way. The host challenged them: is there any point of convergence and something you can do differently from the owners of your parties? The host suggested to CORD politicians about their nationwide rallies: "perhaps the language can be a bit responsible".

This is consistent with the political sobriety frame identified in the news reports and information from interviews.

4.3.2.4 Political anxiety frame
From interviews with Citizen TV journalists who covered the national dialogue proposal until the sabasaba rally, they all agree that the rallies were generating tension in the country. However from the stories interrogated, the frame of political anxiety was not so explicit. It was cited in six stories out of the 43. Similar to the political sobriety frame, the political anxiety frame was evident in the last one week towards the sabasaba rally.

On 4th July 2014, a news report "Court_ruling_on_Sabasaba_rally_by_CORD", traditional religious persons were featured conducting cleansing rituals at Uhuru Park the CORD chosen venue in anticipation of the rally that was just three days away.

In the story, "Reactions to Sabasaba" on 3rd July 2014, the Kenya Private Sector Alliance was quoted warning of consequences against CORD if they perpetuated any destruction or violence. The same story showed images of residents in Naivasha fleeing their homes.

With the rally just four days away, residents of Naivasha have been camping at Naivasha bus terminus seeking to reassure fleeing families to rethink of their decision.

Dozens of families have been fleeing their homes in Naivasha which was one of the hotbeds of the 2007/2008 post election violence. Many of them were fearful of a repeat of the events.

In an interview the journalist who produced the story indicated that the company adopted an editorial policy to downplay stories of people fleeing their homes as it would create tension in the country.

We were advised by management to downplay the tension in different locations in the country. In Naivasha and Kisumu for example some residents were moving out. The tension was never given prominence. What we aired wasn't as alarming as it would have been, had it been prioritized. –Journalist.

Apparently the political anxiety frame was equally excluded in the political shows at the station even in the final countdown days. On the 2nd July 2014 Cheche show a co-host when he was asked what to expect in the sabasaba rally, he said "we wait to see how the rally will be." The tension in different regions was greatly downplayed and excluded from coverage. This finding is consistent with the definition of framing by Griffin E. (2012)) that it is ''the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.'' Citizen TV used exclusion to downplay the political anxiety concerns.

4.3.2.5 Inclusivity Frame

Though one of the least emphasized frame in the National dialogue coverage, Citizen TV highlighted CORD's perceived agenda of joining the government. The report titled "CORD rally at Uhuru Park – Raila Homecoming, Ababu Namwamba Baba while you were away" broadcast on the 31st October 2014, signals CORD's desire to join the government. The report quotes one of the speakers at a rally at Uhuru Park, "we are inviting Jubilee to come to the talks because it's not right to have 60 percent of Kenyans outside the government; we are talking about an all inclusive government. The reporter continues to insinuate that the CORD leaders intend to join government in a power sharing arrangement.

This frame is repeated in a subsequent story aired on 1ˢᵗ of June 2014, where the Jubilee leaders led by President Uhuru Kenyatta dismiss any plea for negotiated coalition government. "Uhuru's Response to CORD National Dialogue" reads in part:

> The only agenda not up for discussion between his government and the opposition said the President was any talk about sharing of government. "We thank Kenyans for giving us a five year mandate to lead the country, and we are ready to do so. And therefore those thinking of a 'half-loaf' arrangement should forget about it."—Kenyatta.

4.3.3.6 Victim Frame

A day before a rally in Eldoret for the CORD coalition, Citizen TV aired a report titled "CORD Eldoret Uasin Gishu Rally What Will Happen?" In the story the reporter narrates the approval by Uasin Gishu County government for CORD to proceed with their rally. In the same report the journalist ropes in events in Kajiado and Narok county.

> but seemingly CORD's wars are far from over as elders of the MAA community who are claimed to be drawn from 5 counties dominated by the Maasai warned that their regions are now a no-go zone for CORD because they have not been consulted.

The story portrays CORD as one opposed by various establishments both at national and regional levels, making them appear like victims and helpless.

This frame is replicated in the Eldoret rally coverage on the 27ᵗʰ June 2014. The journalist states:

> The numbers that turned up at the 64 stadium, in Eldoret may have acted as a morale booster for the cord coalition which has now vowed to push for national dialogue with a renewed vigour until president Kenyatta heeds to their call.

4.3.2.7 Economic empowerment frame

This frame was sighted in only two occasions. One of them was in a story aired on 13ᵗʰ June 2014 titled "CORD rally in Migori" while the title in no way reflected the economic empowerment frame, an attempt to balance between the political opinions did. The story upon dispensing with CORD matter tells of the Deputy president William Ruto who was in Turkana on the same day. He is quoted calling on the youth and women to take up government initiatives aimed at empowering them economically.

But even as the opposition maintained its national dialogue demand, Deputy President who is in Turkana for a three day official visit, steered clear of politics: "Uwezo fund resources have already been released totaling to 6 billion shillings. For this constituency you have been allocated 29 million shillings. Go borrow that money and do business", Ruto.

4.3.2.8 Violence frame

The violence frame was found to have shaped Citizen TV's coverage of the national dialogue. This was both evident in three of the stories aired as well as a guiding principle by journalists at the station.

One of the stories "Jubilee responds to CORD in church in Kangemi" reads in part: "Jubilee leaders have stuck to script that CORD calls could lead to instability and chaos…." Jubilee leaders were then quoted associating the expected Sabasaba rally to the 2007/2008 post election violence.

In the interviews with journalists at the station, this line of thought heavily influenced framing of stories. A senior reporter indicated: "After the 2007/2008 post election violence, you'd not want to have flare ups when people get emotional as you report the story. There was personal censorship to ensure you didn't incite people in the name of dealing with the problem"

In the Opinion Court show of 3rd July, the host revisited a story in which residents of different cosmopolitan parts of the county were afraid violence would erupt during the sabasaba event.

4.3.2.9 Other frames:

During the analysis of political shows of Citizen TV two more frames were picked out different from those in the news reports. They were political instability and institutional/structural frame.

4.3.2.9.1 Political Instability

In the Big question show on 10th June 2014 titled "The Big Question with Raila Odinga, the host played a video clip featuring a CORD leader threatening that if the government didn't heed to national dialogue calls, then they would go home. The host used that basis to query if CORD and Raila Odinga in particular were seeking to oust the government through a revolution.

A similar frame is used in a Cheche interview of 2nd July 2014. The host remarks to a CORD panelist: "It appears you want to heckle instead of address issues in a structured way". This kind

of framing put the CORD on its defense to clear a perception that it was after making the country ungovernable.

4.3.2.9.2 Institutional/structural frame

In two of Big Question shows, the institutional/structural frame was identified. During the discussions and the national dialogue coverage by Citizen TV the Jubilee affiliated politicians preferred that issues of concern be handled through constitutional procedures and parliament. The Big question host questioned why CORD could not push their agenda through parliament and in a structured manner.

> Host: You want the IEBC disbanded , why can't this be done through parliament?
>
> Odinga: "there is tyranny of numbers in parliament. Some Members of Parliament are just voting machines; they'd oppose our agenda regardless of merit." –Big Question with Raila Odinga 10th June 2014.

4.4 Prominence given to articles on national dialogue

Chapter two of this study defined media prominence as the value given to particular topics in the various news bulletins or positioning of articles in newspapers. While framing also involves making certain attributes salient, the agenda setting role of news media contributes to prominence of news items. McCombs (n.d.) holds that Television news offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. The cues if repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic.

This study found used two categories to measure the prominence of items on national dialogue i.e. the durations or length of stories which showed the amount of time allocated to the topic and the ranking of those stories in the news running orders of Citizen TV.

4.4.1 Durations/Length of stories

According to table 4, 95.3% of stories aired on the national dialogue were allocated or took at least two minutes of airtime. Majority of stories (as per Figure 4) were between two and three minutes long, while just two stories were below the one minute mark.

Table 4: Durations of stories

Duration	Frequency	Percentage
0.1 – 1.00	2	4.7%
1.01 – 2.00	0	0
2.01 – 3.00	18	41.9 %
3.01 – 4.00	12	27.9 %
4.01 – 5.00	9	20.9%
5.01 – 6.00	1	2.3 %
6.01 - Above	1	2.3 %
Total	43	100 %

This partly shows that the stories on national dialogue were considered important and therefore were allocated sufficient time. According to the running orders perused by the researcher most of the stories were allocated between two and three minutes, only for the reporters to produce longer pieces. One of the stories published on the Sabasaba rally day, (7th July 2014) titled: "Cord Sabasaba Rally at Uhuru Park, main speech" took six minutes and ten seconds, despite having been allocated a maximum of five minutes.

Figure 4: Duration/length of stories
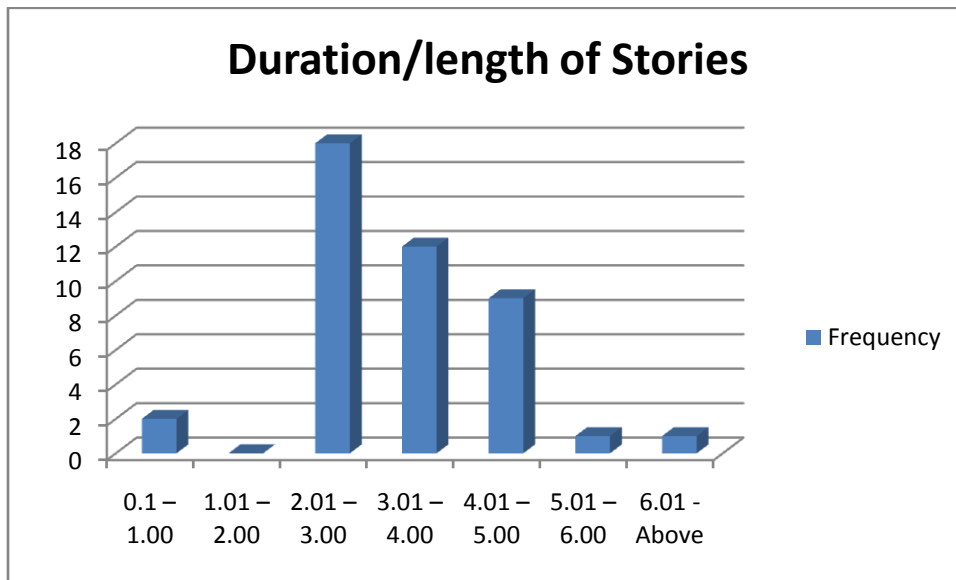
Source: Researcher (2015)

In an interview one of the editors when asked how much time was allocated to national dialogue items responded "most of the stories on national dialogue were allocated enough time between two and five minutes". That the story was allowed to air for longer than six minutes shows the importance it was regarded by the station.

4.4.2 Story Prominence in Ranking
The story prominence was also assessed in accordance to the ranking in the running orders. As per table 5, over 79% of stories were regarded highly prominent and were thus allocated slots in the top three stories. Most of the stories were lead stories of the night news bulletins.

Table 5: Story Prominence

Prominence	Frequency	Percentage
High	34	79.1%
Middle	8	18.6%
Low	1	2.3%
Total	43	100 %

It is significant to note that only one story was found to be in the low prominence bracket in the running orders. Coincidentally however it was the seventh story in a running order of seven stories on the national dialogue and the sabasaba debate. It was produced on the sabasaba rally day (7th July 2014), entitled "Uhuru and Government activities on sabasaba day". It too aired for four minutes and 52 seconds indicating the importance it was regarded by Citizen TV.

This finding is consistent with Okolo (1994) view of depicting salience in news placement and duration allocation. "Television news producers provide cues about the relative salience of the events they package for their news audience by not only the placement of the news stories within the news segment but also by the amount of time and the nature of illustrations."

Figure 5: Prominence of stories
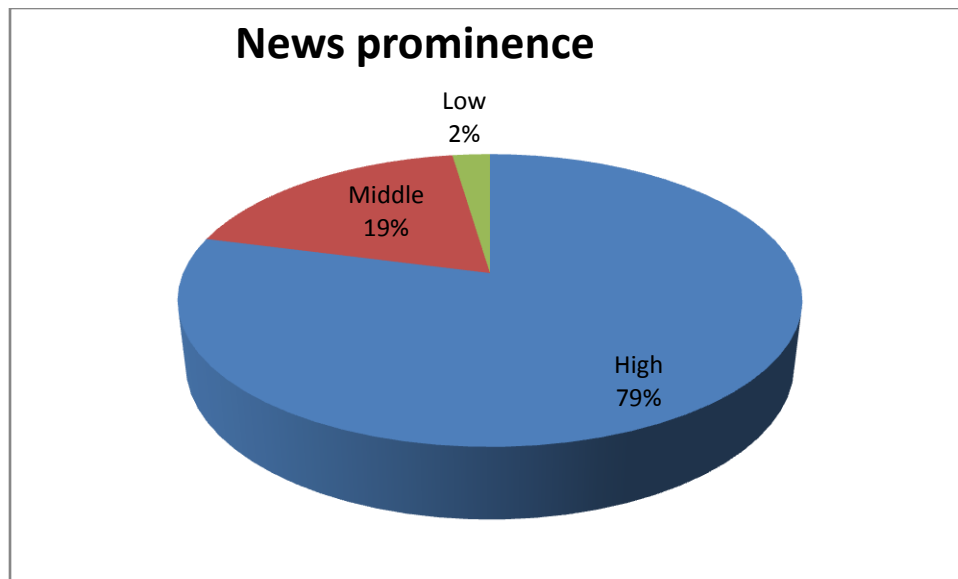
Source: Researcher (2015)

4.4.3 Prominence of National Dialogue in talk shows

The prominence of the national dialogue as a topic was also found in the special shows of the station. Within six weeks, at least six intensive live discussions were held during prime time focusing on the national dialogue and issues that had emerged out of it. This is against a total of sixteen such shows of which six were for the Big Question while Cheche and Opinion Court has five each.

One of the journalists interviewed when asked how important stories on national dialogue were responded:

> The stories were important because it looked like it would be a turning point coming from CORD speeches in terms of governance. It was an either/or affair. Depending on how demands would be met, that would shape the country's subsequent direction.

The "either/or affair" was explained by an ultimatum issued by CORD While announcing the push for a national dialogue. The CORD leadership stated that if the talks were not to happen then the coalition would hold a rally on the sabasaba day to push for their agenda. This as seen in the Frames identified caused tension among political leaders as well as the citizenry something that also according to the analysed data caught the attention of journalists at Citizen TV.

Another journalist indicated that the national dialogue discourse was important news as it raised public interest:

> It was the mood of the country. Citizenry wanted to know whether there would be a meeting between the two political sides. They wanted to know what CORD was pushing for as they insisted that the country was heading in the wrong direction. In our estimation our audience needed this information.

4.5 Key arguments for and/or against the National Dialogue

This study also sought to find out what key arguments were covered by Citizen TV journalists as per objective number three.

Having determined the frames that Citizen TV used to tell the stories of the national dialogue and having determined that such stories or content was given high prominence, this section tells of key issues that formed part of the discourse about the national dialogue. Weaver, 2007 finds agenda setting theory to be majorly about the issues that are covered by the media: i.e. the issues the media gives salience in their reportage.

Table 6: Key Issues

Issue	Frequency	Percentage
CORD Agenda	9	22.5%
Economy	5	12.5
Inclusivity / New government	3	7.5%
Retrogressive activity	8	20%
Security	10	25%
Democracy	1	2.5
Hate speech/penalty	2	5%
National cohesion	2	5%
Total	40	100%

The content analysis identified eight of them: CORD agenda, economy, inclusivity / new government, retrogressive activity, security, democracy, hate speech/penalty and national cohesion. Table 6 and figure 6 show the frequency of the key issues as identified in the news reports.

Figure 6: Key arguments
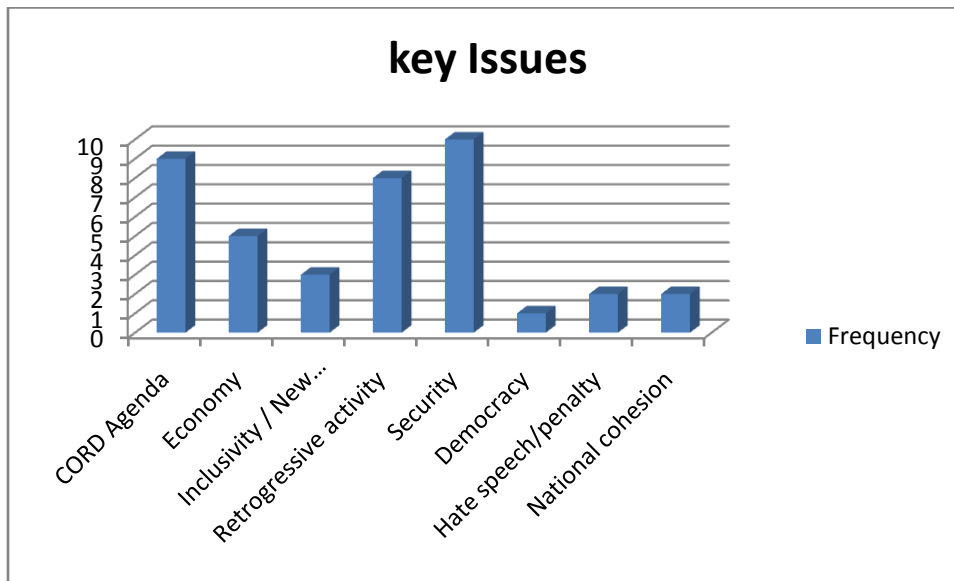
Source: Researcher 2015

4.5.1 CORD Agenda

Eight of the 43 news stories were found to contain issues raised by CORD coalition in their push for national dialogue. These issues included the disbandment of IEBC, security/insecurity situation in the country, cost of living among others. A story produced on 7th of July 2014 just after the sabasaba rally, "What next after Sabasaba" enumerated a thirteen point agenda adopted by CORD that would form a basis for a referendum strategy by the coalition. A story aired on 3rd July 2014 had enumerated issues that formed basis for CORD's national dialogue.

While the news stories as well as political shows mentioned the issues raised by CORD before and even after the sabasaba rally, it is critical to note that content analysis showed that there was never indepth analysis of the issues in all the news stories by Citizen TV. The only instance that some of the issues were interrogated at length was during the 45 minute interview with a CORD Leader, "the Big Question with Raila Odinga, 10th June 2014."

In all other shows and news reports the querying of the issues was based on political views of the protagonists: CORD vs Jubilee.

The findings validated Iyengar (1987) view that, "the news media systematically filter the issues and deflect blame from the establishment by framing the news as "only a passing parade of specific events, a 'context of no context.""

4.5.2 Security

While security wasn't found to be a major frame employed in Citizen TV's coverage, security and insecurity were found to be key issues mentioned in the news stories.

In a story aired on 10th June 2014, "Kenyatta Cohesion Forum – Raila", the then Cabinet Secretary in charge of Security was quoted calling for observance of safety and security in enjoyment of rights and freedoms.

> This even as the government has warned politicians from hate speech

> "While we encourage the freedom of speech and expression, we are also cognizant of a line beyond which an individual will not go beyond to undermine national security national cohesion and intentions of transforming this country"—Interior Minister.

Security also formed basis of discussions in the run up to the sabasaba rally. On 6th July 2014, a news report "preparations for sabasaba" disclosed the security arrangements for the rally. The report put a figure of 15,000 police officers who had been deployed to the venue of the event.

During an opinion court show on 5th June 2014, the security sector issue was part of the discussion. The CORD panelist criticized the government saying it had allowed tribalization of the security sector. The show host questioned the validity of the claim to which the Jubilee panelist denied.

4.5.3 Retrogressive activity

In eight of the stories mostly those that were negative in tone to the national dialogue, claims by Jubilee politicians that CORD's agenda would result to violence and chaos in the country were rampant. In a story "Reactions to Sabasaba" aired on 3rd July 2014, the journalist used the political anxiety frame to revisit the post election violence of 2007/2008.

In another news story "sabasaba cord politics" broadcast on 14th June 2014, Citizen TV symbolizes CORD national dialogue campaigns as intended on violence and retrogression on peace gains made since the 2007/2008 PEV. The journalist does this using the voices of selected Jubilee politicians.

This argument is corroborated by a journalist at the station who during an interview stated, " The rallies were causing a lot of anxiety in the country. Coming from the scars of 2007 PEV, when media was blamed for failing to censure what went on air or was published. Sometimes it was prudent to downplay stories on national dialogue. The back and forth showed that it was becoming political rhetoric while the country had to move forward."—Journalist

4.5.4 Economy

Economy was not found to be a major issue of argument during the study period just like the economic empowerment frame. However in a few times it was mentioned as a cause for concern. On the 31st May 2014 in a story featuring a rally at Uhuru Park when on return from the USA Raila Odinga launched the push for national dialogue; the issues of cost of living and tax regime were mentioned. However like many other issues, it was never interrogated.

The issue of economy was revisited in a Big Question interview on 8th July 2014, where the host asked interviewee (a Jubilee affiliated legislator) the estimate cost of a referendum as recommended by CORD to the economy. Apart from giving an estimate figure on 20 billion, no further information was provided.

4.5.5 Other Key arguments

Other issues picked out of the news stories and political shows were found not to be exhaustive and were mentioned just in passing. These were: inclusivity/ new government, democracy, hate speech and possible penalties as well as national cohesion.

However in an interview with one of the journalists who covered the national dialogue for Citizen TV, national cohesion was a consideration that even though it may not have been rampant in the stories, it was a consideration. When asked what information they considered most important in the stories they wrote or produced about the national dialogue the journalist responded: "National cohesion and unity".

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the data analysis ad presentation. The summary presented is in relation with the objective of the study which was to investigate how Television media framed the National dialogue debate with Citizen TV as the case study. The conclusion integrates the whole study while the recommendations are in regard to possible areas of further study and areas of intervention by media institutions.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Chapter four has shown the frames that journalists followed at Citizen TV in covering the national dialogue. The key frames come out as Political rivalry, Political sobriety and Episodic frame.

The presentation has also established that the national dialogue was prominent in the news agenda of Citizen TV in the 39 days of coverage.

In reaching key arguments for and against national dialogue news stories, there was never a strict standing policy. Much of the coverage was done on a day to day basis meaning that decisions were made as events unfolded.

While the media may truly set the agenda by choosing what to highlight in news bulletins, how and which agenda they set has always been a contention. There is even contention if media still sets the agenda. Even though this study didn't specifically study the agenda setting role of Citizen TV, it is clear that the power to set the agenda has shifted from solely being media institutions' purview to the extent that news makers influence the agenda. This was exemplified by the very nature that political event drove the national dialogue media discourse. This view is corroborated by Wolsfeld's view that journalists are often not able to bring other perspectives to the fore if political leaders do not.

The overall objective of this study was to investigate how Television media framed the National dialogue debate with Citizen TV as a case study. This has been established.

5.2.1 Media Framing

The media framing theory has been proven existent in the coverage of Citizen TV. While journalists may not have deliberately or expressly chosen the frames, there was a consistent

pattern of contextualization. The political rivalry frame has been proven all through most of the news stories. It was corroborated in the political talk shows where every panel had to have representatives from both CORD and Jubilee sides apart from one interview. Wolsfeld, 2011 holds that "Many talk shows also encourage a lively debate because that always makes the show more appealing" "The Big Question – Sabasaba Rally" on 8th July 2014. The interview comprised of just one guest affiliated to the Jubilee coalition. However the show host made a disclaimer saying a member from CORD had been invited and had indicated would be attending only to fail to appear. This is consistent with interviews held with journalists. One of them said "we had to make sure that we balanced the speakers from both political divide. We also respected ranks for instance if you had Uhuru Kenyatta in a story, you'd have to get the voice of Raila Odinga. A senator from Jubilee would be matched with one from CORD."

This view is consistent with Wolsfeld position that the news media strive to balance their news. "this means that even if they give a great deal of coverage to a presidential speech they will then allow the opposition to respond." P10

This attempt to balance political representation may have led to the 57% neutrality rating. From the content analysis while part of the 57% may have been due to presence of facts in a story, much of it was out of desire to balance the news reports. But the balancing was at times a formality as was seen in a story published on 13th June 2014 titled "CORD rally in Migori". The story carried the CORD rally in Migori County but was merged with a tour of Deputy President William Ruto in Turkana that had nothing to do with the national dialogue. The report transitioned, "But even as the opposition maintained its national dialogue demand, Deputy President who is in Turkana for a three day official visit, steered clear of politics." What followed the transition was about economic development therefore showing an attempt by Citizen TV to strike a balance among political rivals in its coverage.

5.2.2 Media Prominence
From the frames identified the researcher concludes that the perceived public interest value of the national dialogue drove Citizen TV to grant the topic prominence. Since the debate involved some of the senior-most political leaders in the country and that they were in a political contest exemplified by political rivalry frame drove the journalists to accord it prominence in terms of time allocation and ranking of news stories in the news running order.

The Kenyan populace has been described by Makumi, 2008 as extremely political. the national dialogue contest which put two major coalitions with nationwide significant backing must have attracted a significant number of audiences and therefore the media prominence it was granted.

5.2.3 Key Arguments for and/or against the National Dialogue

Much of the coverage by Citizen TV was found to have been neutral/factual. One of the key issues identified in stories that were negative to the national dialogue was that the national dialogue rallies were brewing retrogressive activities, including the potential of ditching the country into a wave of political violence similar to the 2007/2008 post election violence.

Other key arguments that formed point of discussion were the CORD agenda, security and economy.

5.3 Conclusions

It is clear from the study that Citizen TV never made enough interrogation of the issues raised by CORD. The coverage largely thrived on political exchanges by the two protagonist parties. According to Griffins (2012) the agenda setting theory focuses on the relative salience/perceived importance of, or assigned to issues or subjects by media houses in their reporting. While this may be apparent in the coverage and prominence given to national dialogue issues, Citizen TV failed to consistently set the agenda beyond voices of politicians. Even when CORD and Jubilee representatives were invited for talk shows, the focus mainly dwelt on opinions of either side. There was no evidence of independent verification of claims and especially the CORD concerns that led to call for national dialogue. The finding is consistent with the literature review that media act as a conveyor belt of personalization, drama, and novelty. Boycoff & Laschever, 2011: 358.

It is also critical to note that while the dominant media frame (political rivalry) was present in at least 37 news stories, the key arguments security and Cord agenda that attracted a frequency of ten and nine stories respectively seemed to be downplayed. The essence of the national dialogue call by cord agenda was majorly to achieve issues contained in the CORD agenda, however such did not form key component in the frames adopted.

This therefore emphasizes the inference that Citizen TV pushed the debate into a political conflict, probably because the politicians pushed it to that direction. Wolsfield (2011:1) agrees with this inference, "The Media pursue their own interests when they construct the news; sometimes these goals complement what political actors are trying to achieve but at other times the press can make leaders' lives downright miserable."

This is consistent with the view that research specific to media framing of controversial issues suggests that powerful interests often take precedence over public interests. Herman and Chomsky (1988) [as cited in Culley, Oliver, Carton, & Street, 2010:499] argue that "the primary function of mass media is to mobilize public support for powerful interests that saturate the government and private sector".

The focus was mainly on the political exchanges rather than interrogating how issues of concern could be of impact to the citizenry. Wolsfield (2011) states "journalists almost always react to political events rather than initiate them."

As media, the television channel failed to independently set the agenda, instead relying on political events. This is again confirmed by the frequency of the episodic frame in the coverage as opposed to thematic frame.

Media framing involves selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item prescribed" (Entman, 1993, p.52).

5.4 Recommendation
After analyzing the national dialogue content of Citizen TV and making the findings enumerated in Chapter four and concluded in chapter five, the researcher makes recommendations for media practitioners and scholars who would want to engage in scholarly work around media framing.

5.4.1 Recommendation for Television journalists
The analysis of Citizen TV broadcast content both the news reports and political talk shows has shown significant level of currency in content. Most of the news reports were based on daily event held by politicians in regard to the national dialogue. However the study noted that the content especially the news content largely flowed on reporting events as they happened.

While journalists offered contextual background of the stories especially in the first two paragraphs, most of the news stories were found to lack in depth analysis.

The researcher recommends that journalists embark on independent verification of claims made by politicians. Journalists should conduct prior research on an issue to assess the inherent facts. They should interrogate institutional reports like Parliamentary reports, Kenya Bureau of Statistics reports and other relevant ministries and government agencies on particular issues raised by political class.

Had such research on hard facts been done, the talk shows and exclusive interviews Citizen TV had could have yielded better results in putting leaders to account and avoid rhetorical political rivalry based on conflict.

Such due diligence will also cultivate trust and transparency of media institutions before the public. Research to countercheck claims by politicians will add value to content broadcast to the audiences beyond the news sources.

5.4.2 Recommendation for further Research

This study focused on the actions of a media house in shaping the national dialogue in its coverage. The study established the media frames, prominence and the key arguments present in the national dialogue reportage. The interviews with relevant journalists also identified the contribution by media practitioners in shaping the coverage. While the data presented here admittedly cannot speak to how public perceptions were shaped by media coverage of the national dialogue proposal, it seems the presentation of seemingly the presentation of information with a negative, positive or even neutral/balanced tone could shape perceptions. The study was limited in establishing the effect of the media coverage on audiences.

Future research should focus at establishing the media effects that the framing established in this research has on media consumers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

	Media Framing Code Sheet			Content Analysis		July - Sept 2015
Topic	Citizen TV's Framing of National Dialogue Debate					
0	Unique Sample number					
Section A	**General Information about Sample**					
1	Sample Title					
	Category					
	News Story (1)	**Show/Interview**	Big Question (2)	Opinion Court (3)	Cheche (4)	
	Journalist/Moderator					
	Sample Date aired	DD.MM.YY				
	Sample Broadcast hour	Hour				
	Sample Duration	HH:MM:SS				
	Sample Prominence	High (1)	Middle (2)	Low (3)		
	NB: Define prominence of sample with regards to location within the news bulletin sequence					
	High = 3 main stories; Middle = Secondary Stories; Low = towards end of broadcast					
SECTION B	**VOICES OF PERSONS FEATURED**					
	Voice ID	Individual Name	Title	Gender	Political Affiliation	Speech Time
i				M/F		(HH:MM:SS)
ii						
iii						
iv						
v						
vi						
SECTION C	**TONALITY OF MEDIA PIECE**					
Positive (in support for National Dialogue)			1			
Negative (against national dialogue)			2			
Factual or Balanced			3			
SECTION C. 2.	**FRAMES IDENTIFIED**					
i						
ii						
iii						
iv						
v						
SECTION C. 3.	**Catch Phrases or Key Words e.g. Story IDs**					
i						
ii						
iii						
iv						
v						
vi						
Focus of Story/Key arguments of media piece e.g. democracy, Economy, Security						
i						
ii						
iii						
iv						
v						
vi						

Interview Schedule

This interview schedule is intended for the research on "Framing the national dialogue: An analysis of television framing of the national dialogue by Citizen Television". It shall provide the questioning guidelines for the interviewer. It contains open-ended questions.

Section A:

1. What is your role at Citizen TV? E.g. Editor, Senior reporter, Anchor/Host
2. For how long have you been a journalist?
3. For how long have you been working with Citizen TV?
4. What was your role in the coverage of the national dialogue at Citizen TV (May 31st, 2014 to July 7th, 2014)?

Section B:

iv. **Theme: What frames did journalists employ in debating the national dialogue push?**
   a) What information did you consider most important in the stories you wrote or produced about the national dialogue?
   b) What were your considerations while producing stories on the national dialogue?

v. **Theme: What prominence did Citizen TV accord the national dialogue?**
   a) How important were the news stories on the national dialogue?
   b) What prominence did citizen tv give to the stories on national dialogue? Why?

vi. **Theme: What key arguments were covered by Citizen TV journalists?**
   a) What issues came up during your coverage and how did they inform your framing of subsequent stories?
   b) How did you reach arguments for and against the national dialogue?