

**CENTER CONTROLLED MEDIA AS A DEVELOPMENT
VEHICLE:
A CASE STUDY OF TELEVISION AND RADIO IN KENYA**

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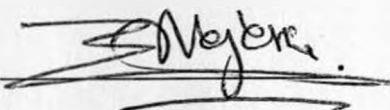
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DECLARATION

This Research Paper is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

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This Research Paper has been submitted for Examination with our approval as University Supervisors,

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For Mary Wanjiku, My mother, counsellor,
Educator and friend

And for Peter Moses Kuria, who was relentless in the question when are you
going back to school?

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This is a study of the role of the media as a development vehicle, and specifically within an environment in which the centre controls key institutions. The centre here is meant the political, commercial and legal inhibitions posed by government as well as commercial interests of proprietors and the ruling elite. Kenya has gone through very significant political changes from the monolithic one party state to a multiparty system. The role of the media under a monolithic one party system and under the multi party system has been confusing. The growth of the sector and its diversity is seen as seriously compromised by the political controls and the state and party ownership of various critical channels of communication. These kinds of political interferences and control have tended to reduce the effective functional roles of the media as a watchdog on behalf of the majority who do not belong to the ruling elite.

The media, it is believed, must in this era of political changes and beyond, take its place in various development processes in Kenya. The media must be seen to be serving the ends of development. The role of the media in development is summarized by Ansah 1992 who argues that: communication is first and foremost a bridge building exercise, the foundation of which is trust in peoples' own ability to cope. People's participation is not something, which can be mobilized and created from the outside. It is based on people's right to decide for themselves.

The main argument of this study then, is that, there is a critical link between communication and development of the people. If we accept that the direct participation of the people is essential to their own development, then we must also recognize that such participation will not be possible if people are denied the means to express themselves, to exchange ideas and knowledge on their experiences. If they cannot openly learn what is going on in their own country, in their region or in the rest of the world, if they cannot openly and freely discuss and formulate strategies to strengthen their economies and

improve their lives, then change will be slow with limited participation and with benefits for only a few

The study assesses the issue of accessibility. It argues that access should be seen in the form of a continuum that ranges from ownership of receiving sets, through to the quality of the reception and the language used, and the concentration of media facilities in the urban areas.

The problem of ownership of radio and television stations and access to channels and receiving sets has been with us for a long time. The present economic situation is such that many people can barely afford the price of some of these sets. There is no policy in place that informs the media managers, and the state, of the need to lower the prices of communication equipment. Instead, the equipments are regarded as luxury mainly because of the expenses so associated. Thus, the duty demanded for such goods make the television, radio, video camcorder and other receiving sets look like expensive trinkets, thus, negating their important role in society. The usefulness of mass media then, has been limited by the fact that few people can afford these media channels.

The paper argues that the quality of reception of radio and television signals is an important factor to consider when we are talking about democratising and using the media for development. We cannot talk of free flow of information in a situation in which reception is so poor that the target audience does not see or hear clearly what is being transmitted.

Respondents of this study in Coast, Rift Valley and even parts of the City of Nairobi complained of poor reception. This factor, no doubt can be considered a serious obstacle to the utilization of the radio by the masses seeking development information.

According to the findings, one cannot discuss accessibility to information without mentioning the factor of location of media facilities. In Kenya, the situation on the ground is that the majority of the available media facilities are located in Nairobi. The impression is that events occur only in Nairobi.

This impression ignores that fact that there may be problems of relevance, language and viewpoints, which may have an impact on the context of messages and their reception. A related issue is that, liberalization of the media must take into account geographical spread, so that both urban and rural areas benefit from the illuminating effects of the media.

This research was undertaken before the December, 27th, 2002 General Election, that saw the KANU government lose power to the opposition. Thus when reference is made to the government, it is the KANU government which is being referred to.

1.1.2 Background

Rogers (1975) defines development as a widely participatory process of social change and material adjustment including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment. Inayatullah, (1967) goes further to state that such change must allow the society to have greater power over its own political destiny and enable individuals to gain increased control over them.

Communication on the other hand is a process by which information, knowledge, experience, ideas and motivations are shared. Communication, it is argued, facilitates the process of development. It is the use of principles and practices of exchange of ideas to further development objectives. Broadly, communication is important for speeding transformation of a country, and the mass of its people through identification and utilization of appropriate expertise in the development process that will assist in increasing participation of the intended beneficiaries at the grass roots level, (Moemeka, 1987, Rosario Braid, 1979)

In the same vein, communication and change should be conceived as a social process and not just for transmission stations, documentaries, film etc. Neither is communication merely the informing or passing of a message to another person. The process of communication follows a pattern where there is the sender of the message and the

receiver of the message. The sender designs a message and using a certain channel sends the message to the receiver. The receiver in turn acts in a certain way upon receiving the message, hence feedback. Thus, merely passing on a message is not complete even though it has been the most common in communication efforts.

If communication is thought of as embracing the whole spectrum of motivation, transfer of information and stimulation of innovation especially through non-formal out of school channels, then its essential role in social development is indisputable. Communication and development are thus strongly correlated especially in terms of goal achievement. Development plans advocate participation, national cohesion, and human development, implying that there is a relationship between communication and development. The linkage between communication and development of the people is therefore, critical due to the fact that proper communication processes empower people in making rational decisions.

Gwagilo, (1976) notes that most developing countries are plagued with limited resources, but it is a fact that there are plenty of people who can and will do something to help themselves if they understood what to do, where to get assistance from, and- above all- if they get proper guidance and assistance on how to deal with their immediate pressing problems.

No nation, and in particular a developing one, can realistically aspire to being a total welfare state providing essential cradle-to-grave services to all of its citizens through state revenue alone. Central to this, is the idea, that some aspects of basic services in such fields as health, agriculture, nutrition, home improvement, better agricultural technology and the like, must be provided through community action, which in turn requires communication. This correlation could be seen as part of the reason why the Sessional Paper No 10, of 1965 On African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, outlined the evils of development as ignorance, poverty and disease, and the efforts to prevent these as being centred around education at mass levels, information, and documentation with a view to influencing behaviour. Self evidently, the role of the mass

media is critical in providing the requisite mass education.

Mass media is a key vehicle for carrying development information (education) from one source to another. Others include individual channels of communication such as usage of extension services and group channels such as symposia, workshops, word of mouth, drama and music.

1.2 Kenya: Development Strategies, Communication and the Mass Media

A critical analysis of development strategies in Kenya reveals that there has been central control of institutions through which development has to take place. The mass media has not been spared from this.

1.2.1 Kenya's Development Strategies since Independence

Successive development plans have espoused the centrality of popular participation in the national development endeavour. In the first decade after independence, 1964-74, the state focused on promotion of progress. There was the implication that progress would be tantamount to increased living standards, improved health and well being for all. As argued by Alila (1997), development planning in the decade focused on urban areas as points of origin for benefits that would trickle down to the rural areas.

The 1967-70 development plan highlighted determined efforts to stimulate development in all areas of the republic. Programs alluded to ensuring that all the available resources in the country would be used, and that the benefits of development would be spread evenly with people in every area, given the knowledge and strength to develop the resources available. The government acknowledged that it could not give people the will to move ahead.

In some areas the process of economic and social development had been held back by the "unwillingness" of the people to accept new ways and the necessity of planned and coordinated development.

As implied by Sessional Paper No 10, of 1965, there was a principle of state direction of overall development processes and thus implied centralized government. Reading through it, one notes that one of the characteristics of African socialism, as stated, is that society, has a duty to guide and control the use of all productive resources. Rapid equitable economic, social, and regional development cannot occur when development activities are allowed to take their own course.

Arguably, this in essence was a justification for a centralized process necessitating a national level planning of economic and social development activities (Alila, and Omosa, 1997). Thus, while there was acknowledgement of the need to promote participation of all people in the task of nation building as well as in the enjoyment of the fruits of progress, participation was envisioned as centred in the administrative units of the local government system, thus essentially as an extension of national planning.

From the concerns of this study, Sessional Paper No 10, essentially argued that, education could lead to social transformation, community development and information to transform rural people. From this perspective, it underscored the importance of participation by all Kenyans in the development process. Indeed, the paper seemed to regard participation in terms of mutual social responsibility by society and its members in the struggle for prosperity, but it failed to outline the specific role of the same members of the society.

Development planning in the period continued to echo the sentiments of the 1966-70 development plan that no real development could take place unless the people wanted it and were prepared to work for that development and to accept the necessary changes. Subsequent development plans continue to extol participation of the people, and further the aims of maintaining and promoting valuable traditions notably mutual social responsibility and unfettered political democracy. There must also be a fight against those prejudices and suspicions whose removal is a precondition for rapid development.

Between 1974 and 1984, the general emphasis in development planning was the

accelerated development of the economy. The target of the plans was to raise the standard of life through national production, but with the rural areas as the focus. Development planning in this period then, stressed self-help and self-reliance. Here the governments' stated aim was to help the people to help themselves and to give clear guidance to the people where this was needed. Reading through the development plans in this period, one begins to see the contract between the state and the people. "The government would provide or give or ensure... while the people would initiate or educate or avail..."

The idea here is that the government would assume a greater role in directing the economy than it had in the past, but the efforts of the people would be needed. The government would provide leadership and the people would be expected to follow. (Development Plan, 1974-78, page iv-v)

In a nutshell, the development plans between 1964 and 1974 outlined how greater opportunities could be created (by the state) for the citizens to participate to a greater degree in the nations' productive process. It was assumed that as long as the way was open for education, for other personal improvements and for employment, it was reasonable that each citizen should share in the common product in proportion to his/her individual effort.

Development plans between 1979 and 1989 and subsequent plans recognized the need to address the low incomes that persisted for the majority of people. At the same time, services available to the majority of people were still below the desired level such that there would be need to diversify the income. In order to promote development, the basic philosophy and objectives of the plans was centred on individual freedom, growth of the economy and equitable distribution of increased income and wealth among the people.

Indeed, by 1984, the National development plan called for increased responsibility... "Put bluntly, we must work harder, especially where incomes are lowest, and we must all save more of our incomes to build an even stronger base for development"(Development Plan, 1984-1989;page ix) The concern here is that there should be an improvement in the

well being of the people. In a sense, the plans reflect the theme of alleviating poverty through broadened participation of the people in the development efforts and the need to share out benefits accruing from that development.

In order to, more committedly, capture peoples' participation in development plans in the decade espouse the need for the district to be the centre for development. The district focus strategy attempted to not only decentralize decision making, but also to build up a system where a participatory or "bottom up approach" to development planning is obtained and the phenomenon of popular participation in development thus is institutionalised.

The nature of the development process in Kenya arguably lay in widespread participation, diversity of organizational forms and incentives, government participation and mutual social responsibility. In terms of widespread participation, all Kenyans are expected to participate in the development process. By creating and dispersing opportunities for such participation, the government plays a decisive and leading role in initiating and directing development. The plans also had implications for education and information; here the government was to extend control to capture even the most "remote" peasant. Indeed, the 1966-70-development plan urged for mobilization of the people in the long struggle against poverty, ignorance and disease, declaring that the spirit of Harambee must pervade all activity.

Deriving from the African family tradition, a concept of mutual social responsibility was propounded. Here, competition and the diffusion of ownership were to be encouraged in order to limit profits, exploitation and concentration of economic power. To enhance efficiency, community initiatives, as exemplified by the Harambee movement, were to be encouraged. The thrust of development planning and strategy in this decade encompassed greater participation in mobilising domestic resources for equitable development. This was to be achieved through making the district the focus for development and thus bringing the people into the forefront in their own provision of things for their own welfare.

However, Mbithi (1974) noted that this was still a trickle down approach which assumed that all spheres of life could be subjected to rational analysis, rational manipulation and objective change and that message flows from an advanced structure to a less sophisticated one, and feed back is not necessary.

In offering a critique to this, Van Dorne (1979) argues that by being so preoccupied with bureaucratic efficiency, planned development reduced society to just an extension of the administrative machinery, a process that ended up reaching only a small portion of the whole.

One notes, that as a result of the call for people to participate in the development process through increasing efficient utilization of resources, and specifically manpower, capital and land, the government introduced claw backs to participation by introducing cost sharing. The idea of cost sharing was introduced in the Development plans 1984-1989. Herein, was the idea of asking the people to cooperate with the government in paying small sums to enable the government to expand facilities which can enhance the people's welfare such as education and health services, the less favoured areas would benefit as the sums paid would be used to develop services for such areas. However, the fact that cost sharing was also enforced in the areas with poor economic endowments in the people, only de-emphasised participation.

Development planning in the period 1997-2001 emphasized what was a milestone in new economic policies that would steer the course of future development. The Eighth National Development Plan (1997-2001) was a departure from tradition as it focused on industrialization as a strategy for achieving rapid and sustained economic growth. The plan states the government's intention to alleviate the twin challenges of poverty and unemployment through an integrated approach. The integrated approach implied that the government would play a role in strengthening its institutional capacity, maintaining peace and security, and in protecting the environment

All sectors of the economy therefore were expected to play a complementary role in

contributing to high productivity in the industrial sector by increasing their own productivity and efficiency in the utilization of available resources, and by facilitating the participation of all citizens, investors (foreign and local) in the development of this country.

The issue of participation as used in development plans continues to beg the question of how one enhances participation when the process of development planning is highly centralized. Perhaps because of this dilemma, the beautiful development plans remain just that, intentions with no will. Indeed the idea that development involves growth in order to benefit people, that there must be participation in the generation of this growth and lastly that there must be distribution of the consequences of growth remains unfulfilled.

1.2.2 The Perceived Role of Communication and the Media

(AFRICA)

The first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta (1976) summed up the role that the media was expected to play in this period. According to him, the role of the media was to create national consciousness and unity. Thus, development communication should encourage co-operation and peaceful co-existence among diverse and sometimes hostile communities.

African Communication scholars like, Kasoma (1994), Ansah (1990), have observed that the media's role in development should be perceived as that of, first and foremost a bridge building exercise, the foundation of which is trust in people's own ability to cope. The participation of people, it has been believed, lies in their mobilization from within rather than from the outside. The people then are seen as having some right to decide for themselves after prompting from the media.

Under Kenyatta, the government was in full control of the electronic media. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was charged with the responsibility of informing and educating the people of Kenya and in providing a varied and suitable range of entertainment through both television and radio. The mass media was seen as a tool for

passing on ideas from an enlightened urban-based elite to illiterate, traditional and conservative masses in the rural areas.

The goal of such communication was to persuade and mobilise the masses in the rural areas to begin to follow in the paths of the national consciousness elaborated by leaders like Jomo Kenyatta. Sessional Paper No 10, then, was important in outlining the idea that mass education and information could lead to social change, community development and information to transform rural people.

The first development plan of 1966-70 highlighted the role of communication and the media as essential instruments in the governments program of building a prosperous and united nation. It was appreciated that in order to have a strong impact, the broadcast sector must operate efficiently. Efficient information services, that gather and disseminate news and information throughout the nation, were seen as crucial. Thus, it was perceived that visual, written and spoken media should be used to the full in order to discharge the responsibility of informing and educating the people of Kenya. “ The government of Kenya is convinced that rapid economic growth and the modernisation of the nation cannot be fully achieved without effective and comprehensive systems of communication designed to awaken the entire population.”(Development Plans, 1970-74, Page 540)

Therefore, between 1964-74, Development plans emphasise the strengthening of transmission facilities in order to provide strong and reliable signals over the greater part of the country and the facilitation of program production to cope with an increasing number of locally produced programs. There was thus the erection of national medium wave transmission stations at Ngong and Timboroa, with repeater stations in Kisii, Limuru, Nyambene and Mazeras.

One other commitment of the government was to provide high priority training facilities for future staff of the Information department as well as the Voice of Kenya. This priority was realized in the plan period with the genesis of the structure, function and curriculum of the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication. The Kenya Institute of Mass

Communication (KIMC) was conceived and operationalised to provide all forms of training required in the broadcast sector.

It was observed that given the highly sophisticated information and broadcasting services which were now existing, there should be sufficient and properly trained personnel to man them. KIMC was expected to provide training in technical aspects of radio and television management, programming, production, sales, engineering, audio-visual equipment operation and maintenance and other allied skills as are required for the effective use of the mass media.

Mass media in Kenya especially radio and to a lesser extent the television have been part of a long history of the tools for development. They have been associated with the diffusing of innovation, social mobilization, attitude change, and the creation of psychic mobility and empathy (Laver 1977). For instance, various development plans including the National Agricultural Strategy have viewed the role of public media as that of mobilizing massive support for national development measures and programs (PRSP 2001). "Information management will be increasingly important in a liberalised economy where the private sector will play a dominant role. Availability of timely and reliable information is crucial for decision making in both public and private sectors. (Development Plans, 1997-2001, Page 77)

Within its stated plans, the government has been convinced that, rapid economic growth and the modernization of the nation cannot be fully achieved, without the effective and comprehensive system of communication which is designed to awaken the entire population to the need for change. Therefore development plans have aimed at ensuring that at least 85 per cent of the landmass of Kenya has clear radio signals, ensured through continuous replacement of old transmitters with booster and relay stations.

There have also been plans to increase the percentage of area covered by television signals from 40 to 65 per cent in order to improve the quality of locally produced television programs.

One other proposal in the plan centred on streamlining and centralising administrative services and restructuring and revitalising the Kenya News Agency to make it more professional and to produce more local films that are culturally relevant.

The 1997-2001-development plan had important implications for the role of the media. The plan noted that information management was to be an increasingly important component in a liberalised economy where the private sector was expected to play a dominant role. Availability of timely and reliable agricultural information was seen as crucial for decision making in both the public and the private sector.

While highlighting the constraints to efficient and timely provision of agricultural information, the plan advocated a free flow of information to the public on a timely basis and widespread awareness in both rural and urban areas. The mass media was seen as important, inculcating industrial thinking among the citizens and in assisting the nation in developing an industrial and commercial culture especially among workers and consumers.

The stated aim of the government then, is to disseminate proposed policy changes and the development path outlined through the electronic and print media. Other channels like development committees and public meetings would also be used.

The existing public media including Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) are viewed as having the capacity to assist the government in achieving these objectives. The 1997-2001 Development plans, therefore propose to raise KBCs coverage to 99 per cent of the population for radio, and to 70 per cent for television. Following from this plan, the KBC launched FM commercial stations in addition to three FM stations to cover the whole country. While the government stated its satisfaction with the capacity of the print media existing, to achieve maximum dissemination of information, it commits itself to further liberalisation of the airwaves “ It is expected that further liberalisation of airwaves will be undertaken. This development, together with the existing newspapers and private television stations constitutes a sound basis for informing and educating the public on

industrial opportunities and problems” (Development Plans, 1997-2001: page 124).

The primary job of the media then, has continued to be perceived in terms of the need to train, stimulate, and guide the local people to provide for their own community services in a better manner. Still, this role has quite often been ignored in that the mass media is often left out of the development process until something goes wrong. Thus mass media professionals have voiced resentment over the “fire brigade” role that they are often assigned to play by the various ministries, government officials, NGOs etc. This is where they are called upon for advice only when projects have run into serious trouble. Examples of this can be seen in the Kenya Water for Health Program in Kwale, the CIDA project in northeastern Kenya, and the Condom project in India.

1.2.3 The Issue of Central Control

For over 30 years of independence, the pattern of media ownership and development in Kenya continued the colonial legacy, where the government was in full control of the electronic media. The media was run under a Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and headed by a Minister appointed by the President. This has always been assumed to be the order of doing things, as evidenced by the fact that the issue of central control has barely been addressed in the Development plans.

Indeed, the development plan of 1970-74, while elaborating on the need for increasing facilities for the free flow of information and ideas, alludes thinly to the overall role of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as that of being in control of informing and educating the people of Kenya and providing a varied and suitable range of entertainment through radio and television.

The Plan is silent on who is to judge the suitability of material and to the ideas to be exchanged. There is a sense in which the Plans localised the people of Kenya. Indeed, the development plans are overly concerned that the information and broadcast services must be improved so that they offer better programs from the provinces. Under such a regime,

then, the overall objective of the media has been to inform, educate and entertain, and to propagate all that consolidates national unity, peace and stability in Kenya. Essentially, they were therefore government communication organs, fully controlled by the government of the day.

This predominant pattern of state ownership, management and control provided little leeway for the free access to information of the media and the expression of critical or opposing views. Further, the constitution of the country contained clauses or claw backs to freedom of speech and expression where there was little explicit guarantee of the media freedom and the free flow of information.

With liberalisation of the airwaves in the 1990s, there were concerted efforts by individuals and private companies to establish stations that are privately owned and managed. This aspect was misinterpreted as the freedom of the media. However, without a fairly strong financial base, many stations have not been immune from government controls, which take the form of political presentations to the owners and threats to sue through courts of law. As shown above, a critical analysis of development in Kenya reveals that there has been centre-control of institutions, including the media, through which development has to take place.

The history of centre control of the mass media can be traced to Western Europe and the authoritarian governments that existed before the democratic revolution in the region. These, being aware that the mass media can arouse the people against the power centres, remained keen in controlling the mass media thus safeguarding the hegemony of the ruling class. Centre control in Kenya, can be seen in the licensing of persons regarded as politically safe to publish or broadcast or in the censorship of books, magazines and programs in the areas of politics.

In Kenya for instance, the new media bills seek to punish or threaten to punish what they consider are publishers of seditious materials that cause disaffection with the government of the day. Centre control therefore is aimed at preserving the government in power.

Centre control of the media poses policy problems. A high proportion of the media's public policy problems grows out of either an attempt to balance freedom and responsibility in the media performance, or a conflict of rights where the public's right to know versus the individuals' rights, including privacy are the issue. Implied here are the owners' right to free expression versus the public's right to a choice and balance of viewpoints and interpretations.

Centre control is broadly in the form of political and legal control, ownership control and social control. Here, there is interference with buying, reading and listening-although almost any mass media system is subject to certain basic statutory controls. The usual keeping of a tight hold on the channels of debate may have consequences for information, education, and ultimately for development, and consistently distorting them.

Secondly, ownership and control as tied to commerce suggests that advertising is seen as a convenient means for financing programs. Adverts thus become a main feature to carry programs. Adverts are regarded as bait for commercial interests. The pressure on such a system is that there will be a natural drive to stress on entertainment programmes rather than on information and education. Commercial aspects of the media may override other factors such as social responsibility, and good taste. Centre control of the media, its content and its meanings, has direct implications on participation, social interaction, imagination and shaping of lives.

It is inevitable, therefore, that a lot of development programs, plans, projects, and even media messages are planned, produced and executed by experts and program officers in the urban headquarters of any sector with very little or no reference to the views and opinions of the receiving audiences, majority of whom are based in the rural areas.

The introduction of District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) did not change the structure much. The centre still controls virtually all the institutions of development, including the mass media. Liberalisation has also not brought much change, much of the

mass media is still seen to be exhibiting the old symptoms of being controlled by the centre.

Radio - a most accessible medium for rural audiences, and newspapers- whose content are meaningless unless one is literate- or television which is an urban elite medium with minimal impact on rural communities, follow the same principle of planning messages and executing them without consulting the audience to whom the messages are eventually directed.

CHAPTER TWO

PROBLEM STATEMENT, STUDY OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Problem Statement

The above review of the perceived role of the mass media in Kenya's development, and the role of central control in facilitating or hindering media contribution to development suggests the questions: Can the media play its' perceived/ expected role in the context of central control? Furthermore, is legal liberalisation of the media, in itself, enough to guarantee that the media plays its' expected role in development? The answer to the two questions seems to be "no"

In the run up to, and in the clamour for multi partyism in Kenya, there was an equal fervour for liberalizing the airwaves so that the masses of the people would have media alternatives and participate in the content and programming. The objective was to allow more people to have strategies for handling problems (including decline, stagnation and conflict) emanating from the citizens.

The government had no option but to liberalize the broadcasting sector. It was even quicker to introduce new broadcast stations under state control and to diversify its operations to vernacular services like Coro and Metro. Other investors took up the opportunity to invest in new radio and television stations hence, the establishment of stations like Capital, KBCTV2, KISS, Kameme etc.

Liberalisation of broadcasting has then allowed for the expansion and growth of new radio and television stations in Kenya. However, one would have expected liberalization to lead to a more revitalized content in terms of news, programs, documentaries and issue- based fora on development. The problem is that we are yet to see a concomitant development, measuring up to the existence of these new vital institutions.

In the main, we should expect development to benefit from the mass media, since the contribution of the mass media to development is not in doubt. One can borrow from Gikungu who, in a study on newspaper coverage of agriculture, concluded that much of the media does not sufficiently cover agriculture, which is the mainstay of Kenya's economy. The issue then becomes why is this the case?

One of the outcomes of liberalization of the broadcast media has been the expansion of broadcast stations that are foreign owned and financed through arrangements with large European based corporations. This situation suggests that, such media is exotic, with little possibility of integrating into the daily life of the people because it is removed from the consumers (Matu Nguri, 1999).

Communication for development in Kenya, therefore, presents a peculiar challenge of understanding the content, target, professional standards and finances. For example, do professionals in the communications sector handle their own content and programming? (Mshindi, 1995) or does the search for profitability or revenue as an essential means of survival dictate the media strategies thus reducing their effectiveness as a watchdog for the society? (Danladi 1996).

If commercial pressure dictates the behaviour of the media, then we would expect the media to adhere to formats that are acceptable to a wide range of potential consumers of advertisements rather than consumers of information. The implication here is that a wide range of potential viewers is necessary for advertisers to be convinced to advertise more so as to reach the big buyers. These viewers might not be the ones in need of development messages.

Big buyers then generate revenue to sustain and continue the existence of media houses and programs. One sees this commercialisation of programs as implying that those who are financially weak will be excluded in terms of sensibility and discourse-the weak are the large segment of society, who are in dire need of development messages.

As Danladi (*ibid.*) concludes, the spectre of financing implies that the media, as a public sphere, has been commoditized and therefore has dis-empowered the financially weak actors in the society and the ultimate consumers of development messages.

There would seem to be a relationship between elites, who own and control media messages, and actual programming for development. Indeed one can argue that, the media in Kenya are controlled from the centre, and this has implications for content and programming schedules. Historically the mass media in Kenya have claimed to inform, educate and entertain. However, much of the media arguably entertains firstly, informs second and least of all educates. This takes place in spite of the fact that education and information is important for persuading the masses to participate in development.

The issue then, is that mass media institutions should be structuring and organizing education for the masses. The inability, (or is it refusal?), to balance education, information and entertainment content could, in theory lead to a slackened pace in the transformation of society to the desired ends of development, which includes an informed citizenry that participates in planning and managing development.

Communication necessitates that the mass media is open to address people on their own terms (Moemeka, 1987). A gap however exists in communication and development in Kenya, when one considers the centre-control of the media, and development. Development, according to communication scholars, requires that lessons of the past are adapted and channels of communication are appropriately employed to sustain public information (Boafo, 1985)

In a nutshell, the problem confronting the Kenyan society is that continued control of the mass media has reduced the role of the mass media as a development vehicle. This reduced role is further complicated by the liberalization of the media that has created further centres of control by elite groups and politically corrects individuals, thus leading to distortions and detouring of the development agenda.

At the level of research, the problem is that this relationship, - that is the relationship between centrally controlled media in a liberalized context- and the media's ability/intention to facilitate development participation through education and information, has not been systematically analysed.

This study therefore, echoes a sentiment that while liberalization has been admirable and more information and awareness certainly have helped Kenyans, few people are doing anything constructive with the many new media venues available. More fingers are being pointed, more squabbles aired for all to see, but few actual solutions are being promoted.

2.2 Research Questions

This study focused on the following core questions:

1. What is the relationship between the structures and organizations of mass communication and development?
2. What is the content of mass media programs in Kenya in terms of development?
3. Do mass media development messages reach the audience, and what is the reaction of the audiences?

2.3 Study Objectives and Working Argument

2.3.1 General Objectives

The general objective of the study was to evaluate the role of the mass media in development in Kenya.

Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study aimed at addressing the following objectives:

1. To analyse the development content of mass media messages.
2. To examine the source of development messages and how the messages are received and perceived.
3. To determine whether the messages and the nature of their reception have anything to do with the nature of the source (controlled or not controlled).

2.3.2 Working Arguments

The study was guided by the following working arguments:

- a) The more controlled the mass media, the lower the development content/messages.
- b) The less controlled the mass media, the more they serve as sources of development messages.

2.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The mass media in Kenya includes both print and the electronic media. In the electronic media there are at least 17 radio and 7 television stations in operation. In the print media there are at least 20 registered publications that inform and educate the wider public. There is therefore, need to limit the study in terms of media stations as not all the mass media available can be studied at once. The reality on the ground in Kenya is that the electronic media, and specifically the radio and television, have more reach in terms of numbers and diversified audiences for development messages.

The radio does not especially require literacy in audiences as compared to the print media and, therefore, may have more impact in terms of the study. The radio –even before the advent of liberalization- has been very popular as a medium for development news and it has a long history of being a conduit for development support communication. The radio and television channels in the country are seen as credible because they present issues and experiences of peoples lives. In this case, distortions that would be the norm in gate keeping are minimized. It is not uncommon to hear people in the most remote corners of the country quoting this media as an authority

For the above reasons, it was deemed appropriate that the study limits itself to radio and television stations.

2.5 Methodology of the Study

2.5.1 Types and Sources of Data

This study required different types of data, which was generated, from a variety of sources:

- (a) Data on program content. This was obtained from radio and television programs with a view to assessing the degree to which the programs have development content and the intended audience of the development messages.
- (b) Data on the degree of central control of the media. This was obtained with a view to assessing whether the nature and degree of control affect the program content. Policy makers were the source of data on this aspect. Legal documents and records detailing ownership were scrutinised for the generation of data. Further, data from policy makers was obtained in order to assess their recognition and appreciation for development messages and agenda and if so, to understand what constraints they face (including control) in actual programming for development. The policy makers here included media managers and editors, the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- (c) Data on source and reception of development messages. This was necessary in order to assess whether development messages were being received and if so, from which source? The data was obtained from the ordinary listener at the household level.
- (d) Data on problems facing the mass media. This was obtained from the academia in order to analyse their views on the problems facing the mass media in Kenya in its attempts to meet the information and development needs of the wider society. This type of data was also obtained from mass media reports.

2.5.2 Selection of Data Sources

- (a) For lay consumers of mass media development messages, households were to be selected on the basis of location (rural and urban), and their access to the media. The number of respondents, however, was picked using the convenience sampling procedure. It had originally been proposed that the selection of households be based on clustering of respondents on the basis of gender and age in order to systematically capture the selection, perception and retention of development messages. However, this method

proved to be problematic. The reasons for this lay in the fact that: 1) it would have meant use of more resources and time than were available- recording programs and logistics would have been insurmountable, (2) it would have assumed that all regions in Kenya had equal reach, access and ownership patterns for the mass media and, (3) it would have been a much bigger study on its own. Subsequently, data was gathered from 25 respondents in rural, peri-urban and urban locations, selected on the basis of convenience.

(b) In respect to the media houses, a purposeful sample of 4 media houses was done. The sample selection was based on the electronic media (radio and television). Therefore, the media houses sampled included two radio and two television stations, representing two categories of ownership and control, that is, privately managed and controlled on one hand and state managed and controlled on the other. The selection procedure also considered geographical dispersion, reach (in terms of language and technology), and the ability to combine media house packaging. This implied that where a media organization has both radio and television stations they were more likely to be selected for study. The outcome of the procedure was the selection of Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (State owned) and the Nation Group. In order to capture reach and access the researcher elected to obtain material from KBC National Service, which broadcasts in Kiswahili, which is Kenya's official language.

(c) In respect to the members of the academia/researchers, a sampling frame was developed from communication institutional staff lists and the respondents were selected randomly. There was a problem in capturing academia in the communication field from both the public and the private institutions of learning. The problem is that such academia is thin on the ground. Inevitably, the researcher relied on presentations made by local and regional academia in order to capture an African perception of development communication.

2.5.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The study utilized various data collection instruments, relevant to each category, as indicated below:

(a) Program content

Content analysis of programs from selected media houses. The media houses here

included two radio and two television stations representing two categories of ownership and control, that is, privately managed and controlled and, state managed and controlled. The study analysed the content of programs from the selected media houses and isolated those with development content. The programs isolated are highlighted in the Table over leaf.

Development here was understood to mean programs that address the basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, housing, health, and education), individual development, economic growth, and political realizations and aspirations of the public.

Programs were analysed over a three week period in order to capture their volume, placement and content on a daily transmission schedule including repeats-Monday to Sunday. Because radio programs are transient, one may not be able to record all the content and thus there was the need to view or watch programs over a three-week period in order to capture content and changes in transmission schedule. Transmission schedule was important because of the change in quarter scheduling.

The unit of analysis was the program. The variables taken into account included: the station; the program type including news, features and editorials; content, frequency and the rate at which success or failure of development is reflected; number of programs and their distribution; the source of messages including place of origin by region; placement including time scheduling and duration.

To determine the relevance of programs to the Kenyan society, themes were observed in relation to actual content, peak or non-peak viewing time.

Table 1: Name and Number of Isolated KBC and Nation Programs

KBC TV	Nation T.V	KBC Radio	Nation Radio
	National Geographic (5)	Habari za Mkoani (6)	Feedback (5)
Science World	Business Journal	Historia na Maendeleo	
Dunia Wiki Hii	Up Close and	Bima na Jamii Yako	

	Candid		
Germany Today (5)	Africa Journal	Lugha Yetu	
VOA Feature	Countdown 2002	Tembea na Majira	
Mabibi na Maendeleo	Week in Review	Madawa ya Kilimo	
Japanese Journal	Eyes on the People		
Medical Journal		Uchumi na Biashara	
Professional View		Ufugaji was Kisasa	
Good Morning Kenya		Darubini	
France Feelings		Wadudu wa Nafaka	
Living with Health			
Totals =15	11	15	5
			Grand total 46

Source: Daily program schedules

(b) Degree of media control.

In order to assess the degree of media control, open-ended interviews were held with respondents in media houses who are the policy makers. Media control is a policy issue but it can also be determined by ownership, (private or public), and the expected audience, (elite or not). The respondents were better placed to provide information on the institutional responses and activities aimed at addressing the information needs of audiences particularly for development, as well as the audience reception particularly as pertains to influences and effects. However, as indicated earlier, this was a difficult exercise because most editors and journalists are still to convince themselves that they are free to talk. The main focus of the interviews therefore, was the awareness among policy makers about the information needs of the consumers. Some of the data captured included issues of ownership (including who is in control of the content and management, or who controls what?).

(c) Household data.

Originally, it had been envisaged that structured questions would be administered to the

lay consumers of mass media messages. These were to be selected at the level of the household, both rural and urban. The audiences would provide data on their appreciation and use of media messages in development. The audience was to be part of the follow-up to the content analysis. For reasons stated earlier, the researcher was able to carry out a small survey, which was used to some small extent to capture what audiences expect, reception of messages and also their exposure, perception, and message retention. Thus, the researcher was able to interview 25 respondents from rural, urban and peri-urban areas.

(d) Data from academia.

Originally, it had been envisaged that members of the academia would be selected on the basis of their specialization in media studies. However, an assessment of the academia at the University and in training institutions, indicated that staff is thin on the ground. The researcher thus was forced to rely on presentations by local and regional communication scholars. From the works of these scholars, the researcher was able to obtain data that could contribute towards the problems facing the mass media in Kenya as it attempts to meet the information needs of the target society.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Mass Media and Society

Littlejohn (1983) asserts that we are living in an environment of constant mass communication, which we experience hourly, and daily. Because we take this environment for granted, we may have lost touch with the reality of its influences. This argument is extended further by Gerbener and Gross (1976 a, b) who assert that the television socializes people into standardized roles and behaviours, not so much by affecting specific opinions and attitudes as through the cultivation of more basic assumptions about the nature of social reality. Gerber (1979) continues the argument, by asserting that, the ability of television to do this derives from (a) the uniformity of its message system, which acts to maintain and reinforce conventional values and behaviours and by the reach and scope of the medium and non selective use made of it; and (b) by the realism with which it presents its views: a realism that hides the synthetic, selective nature of television drama

Gerbner and Gross, (1976), and Katz, (1980), argue that, in the last 20 years of the 20th century, there was a revival of the view that mass media exerted powerful influences on the way that people perceive, think, and ultimately, act in the world. These scholars were concerned that persuasion and attitude change had given way to the worry that the media were exerting a powerful influence on the consciousness and world view of their audiences. Clark and Kline (1974), and Chaffee (1979) point out that the media has the ability to cultivate a conscience that seldom differs from the worldview and expectations of the establishment.

Tor (1977) notes that the media has the power of pacification and stupefaction of the masses. One can see this as the work of the ruling elite, to which media managers belong. These managers create, process, refine and preside over the circulation of images and information, which determines beliefs and attitudes and ultimately behaviours. This is why Schiller (1973) called the media "mind managers" who deliberately produce

messages that do not correspond with the realities of social existence. Such messages that cannot comprehend or reject the actual conditions of life, personal or social, are manipulative messages which facilitate the domination of the masses by the elite.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1977) remark that the radio is apparently democratic but, in reality it turns all participants into listeners and authoritatively subjects them to broadcast programs which are exactly the same – a technological rational which is the rational of domination itself. Cohen (1962) succinctly expressed the social impact of such mind management when he pointed out that the mass media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think. Rather, they are stunningly successful in telling the audience what to think about. This is domination of the consciousness.

The Glasgow Group (1976) argues that the latent structure of mass media messages distorts, or, selectively presents reality, in ways that perpetuate the interests of the existing power structure. The group, drawn from the University of Glasgow, reportedly analysed the still and moving picture images and evolved the argument that the images on film set and on television are constructions of reality by the producer rather than the reality decoded by the audience. Producers can manipulate the picture to distort reality. These theorists see the mass media as the handmaiden of the establishment, arguing that news programming legitimises managerial power. Indeed, asserts Gerbner et al, (1978) the mass media has been allowed to exercise its power only by the political elite and only when this power leads to the maintenance of the elite culture.

The mass media thus seem to view the public as a big “don’t care, don’t know and don’t bother me” receptacle for the use of communicators who have become adroit at finding vulnerability in human need and in the human psyche. As noted by Barmesh (1974), the primary goal of those in the power structure is the preservation of their dominance and the promotion of their own interests.

Independence of active public input and public involvement consists primarily of passive acceptance of the power elite's domination mostly due, to the indoctrinating influence of the mass media. In Kenya, for instance, one will be told in the rural areas, that "the radio said", thus giving credence to mass media domination.

While liberalization has been admirable and more information and awareness certainly help, few people are doing anything constructive with the many new media venues available. More fingers are being pointed, more squabbles aired for all to see but few actual solutions are being promoted, very little consensus built or action taken. Writing a letter to the Daily Nation's watchman column about one's miscalculated bill is still likely to be one's best bet for concrete action (Ecoforum Session 2000)

In a sense then, the media can and do, effectively achieve objectives at the will of those that direct, own or control them, or those who use them as channels of messages. The history of the mass media shows clearly that such control is regarded as a valued form of property for those seeking political or economic power. Control over the mass media offers several important possibilities in attracting and directing attention to people, problems and or solutions. Control has possibility of directing attention to ways that can favour those with power and correlatively diverting attention from rival individuals or groups. It is evident in ways in which the media confers status and ascribes or confirms legitimacy.

Harno and Hardt (1979) allude to the subtle but firm hold that the power structure has on much of the media. This hold enables the power elite to direct the media to propagate their political ideology and to maintain the status quo. The effectiveness of modern technology stems from their seeming neutrality, which is in fact enslaving. By hiding behind the neutral media, the elite are able to manipulate the masses and secure popular social order that might not actually be in the majority's long-term real interest.

This massification of society leads to a one-dimensional society in which individuals lose the ability to think critically and negatively about society.

In a sense, the Kenyan society has been massified. This massification is achieved through alienation and social isolation so that intimate relationships are not emphasized on, while both ethnic and religious groups tend to lose their coherence. Massification of the society involves elements of dissolution of class-consciousness and solidarity into mass consciousness and solidarity with activities that are mobilized from the centre, rather than generated through the various groups within society. The mass arenas then include national electorates with management of such activity through the mass media of communication. It is only through this way that the entire population can be presented simultaneously with the same objects of attention

People have participated in the mass arena through the selection, from among the alternatives presented through the mass media. Since the alternatives are standardized, in order to reach the entire population, simultaneously, and since they are directed to individuals as differentiated members of society, participation transcends the individual's social relations. Such mass media in Kenya has continued to be used as a tool for passing on ideas from an enlightened urban based elite to an illiterate, traditional and conservative mass of the population in the rural areas. The goal of such communication has been persuasion with assumption that the people must share a common consciousness. The Sessional Paper No 10, of 1965, underlies the observation that, education can lead to social transformation, community development and information to transform rural people.

Interestingly, all members of the mass society have been seen as being of equal value. For example, as voters, buyers or spectators. Numerical superiority therefore has tended to be the device or criterion of success. In politics, it is the number of voters, in economics it is the number of sales, in culture it is the size of the audience.

Harno and Hardt (*ibid*) question this mass society view, a view that revolves around the core idea of the media digesting its views for the benefit of the mass society. Such an attitude can be seen in the CNN coverage of the Gulf War in 1990 and, to a lesser extent, in Kenya with KISS FM'S news previews. Our reality on the ground is that the same

technology -the mass media- is used at cross purposes, dishing out opposing views, one way very strongly believed to be true and the other to be false by adherents of each view. This way, not only does the mass media control the minds and thinking of the people, they also succeed in “proving” that they are neutral instruments, thus hiding the real power of media managers.

This subtle but consistent use of the mass media to achieve elite purposes is possible because the majority of the population have very little impact on the power structure. The mass media by their nature are not amenable to informed dialogue with the public; they are mostly designed for one-way flow of information. Thus members of the mass society are virtually nothing more than on-lookers in mass communication. Mills (1959) argues that because most members of the mass society have very limited first hand knowledge of national and social issues, not to mention the very limited nature of informed dialogue with one another on social issues, the operators of the mass media are able to manipulate public opinion and attitudes, which is achieved through simplified presentation of public issues.

In a nutshell, centre control of the media is a conquest of the consciousness. According to Moemeka (1988), the role of the mass media in creating this false feeling of understanding acceptance is substantial. Media confers status on those they want to be seen as good and considerate. They can set this agenda for public discussion and bring to focus those topics they want to propagate and sustain. They can interpret to justify issues, individuals, and information and they can take stands and persuade. All these they do within the dominating climate dictated by the ruling class.

As Moemeka concludes “ in a world that is half capitalist and half pseudo socialist, it is almost impossible to imagine that the domineering influence of the media through the prompting and control of the power elite can be eliminated.” Further, “ as long as social, economic and /or political status continues to determine who is important and who is not, and as long as the mass media continues to be the most versatile and pervasive means of disseminating information and getting views and opinions across to populations scattered

over wide areas, so will the socially, economically and/or politically powerful do everything and anything to control the media and use them to their own advantage". (Moemeka 1996 page 81)

The ability and opportunity for them to do so successfully is enhanced when media infrastructure and administration are centralized and therefore distant from the masses.

The result is that the professionals and the power elite behind them are either unable to appreciate problems that are local to the audiences, or are able to pretend that such problems do not exist or are of no real consequence. They turn their own class needs and aspirations into the needs and aspirations of the nation and under the shelter of structural factionalism plead collective goods (Moemeka: 1996:81)

3.2 Communication and Development

Discussion of communication and development inevitably invites discussion on the contradiction of control of institutions and the imperative of development as a participatory process. The discussion is complicated by the fact that, communication as a discipline is still evolving and it, like development studies, tends to borrow from other disciplines like political science, sociology and economics.

Communication theory looks at the task of the government and politics in the sense of a process of steering and coordinating human efforts towards the attainment of a set of goals, in our case, development, (Varma 1984). Communication is part of the decision making process where, what is perceived as important is the decision in contrast with the actual consequences of the decision. The flow of information constitutes the basic unit of analysis and effort.

Deutsch, (1949) a pro-pounder of communication theory, points out that as in communication engineering, the transfer of extremely small amounts of energy or effort in relatively intricate patterns can sometimes produce a very large change in the receivers of the message. Here the emphasis is on change. Information is seen as triggering change in the suitable receiver, with available alternatives having the same effect.

The basic concept in the communication theory therefore, is that, decision-making by the government is based on various information flows. According to Deutsch, there are concepts related to operating structure and concepts focusing on various flows and processes. Here Deutsch seems to regard communication as dependent on various flows so that, for example, it is not always the government giving decrees and instructions to the public, but rather, a free process where the people are confident that they too can initiate or join in the process of communication. This is because they too have something to say about how their lives should be governed, for instance, how an agricultural innovation will affect them.

The top-down approach to communication, where one party assumes that they are the most significant person or organization as is common in most African countries, has led to very deficient communication processes. The weakness of this approach is that the needs, culture, opinions and the situation of the public or the people, are not taken into account.

Deutsch is concerned with the way a communication system should work especially in governance. He identifies what he calls receptors or receptive systems, which receive information from their domestic and foreign environment. The received information is selected, retained and processed before a decision is made. Implementation of decisions is based on further digestion, analysis, and feedback of information in a systematic and continuous process.

The second important aspect in Deutsche' theory is that of dealing with flows and processes. Here, information will flow based on the number and types of channels available, responsiveness, fidelity, background noise and distortion. Accuracy and credibility of sources, is as important for information flow as is background noise, which is capable of distorting messages. According to Deutsch then, the communication system is capable of associating, locating and bringing forward past experiences that are relevant to the analysis of the incoming information. This can be described as the notion of recall.

The importance of communication theory as postulated by Deutsch is that it enables one to analyse the communication process in Kenya by asking the following questions:

- Are the various channels able to transmit information with comparatively smaller amounts of distortion? Or
- Does the information flow get bogged down at various stages?

If the distortion or the loss of information is less, and the information does not get mixed up with irrelevant messages (noise) we can say that the communication channel is good and has a deep potential to receive and transmit information on a wide range of different topics with relatively little delay or loss of relevant details.

Deutsch elaborates on the concept of feedback, which can be seen as controls in the system based on actual performance rather than expected performance. The idea here is that in development, goals cannot be reached in a satisfactory manner unless the system is constantly receiving the correct information regarding the position of the goal, the distance between the goal and the ground covered and the speed at which the system is in a position to cover up the distance. Implied here is that in order for a system to be viable, it should be able to respond to the information received by bringing about necessary and adequate changes in its own position and behaviour.

This communication theory however is limited. It focuses on the flow of information and on the nature of various structures, which shape the flow of that information, rather than on the substance of the information itself. However, the politics of a country is a complicated phenomenon. Power, which is the basis of political action and development, is itself treacherous and thus cannot be dealt with as the communication theory suggests. There are varying degrees of power in terms of scope and depth. There are also differences between power and influence, which the communication theory, postulated above, does not handle. In addition, the theory might find it hard to handle demarcations in the structures needed to deal with the information flows concerning political change, transformation and growth.

The theory of communication is based on the premise that true and effective development must be internally originated. However, it is not immediately clear, at which of the two levels of coordination internal origination can occur. Is it origination at government offices, by officials of the government and development agencies, or is it origination at the social system level by government officials, development agencies and the intended beneficiaries? Origination at the first level leads to thinking and deciding for the people and it makes target social systems see development and participation in activities as government responsibility, because the government controls these activities. Effective communication should be all-inclusive.

Kennedy (1984) notes that what passes as discussion between government officials and the people is always conducted in bureaucratic sub-language, which has different meanings for the officials and the people. In this situation, communication has not broken down; it has never even begun. What has taken place is information dumping.

Origination at the second level is what development is about, because it creates the opportunity for government officials to listen to the people and learn from them, and it encourages target social system participation, motivation and commitment. Participation here means democratisation of information and development-oriented activities. In this context, Narula and Pearce (1986) conceptualise development as the improvement of the quality of life for specific individuals, and that planning and implementation of development programs should be carried out with full cooperation and participation of people in the target social system.

The communication theory, as revised by Narula, will be important in revealing that what is essential is not to create a need for the information that one is disseminating, but rather, disseminating the information for which there is a need (Servaes 1994)

3.3 Pluralist and Critical Models

Two major models of mass media control will be particularly useful when combined with the communication theory. **The pluralist model** and the **critical model** give a number of considerations in terms of who controls the media and its meaning, and in what fashion.

The theories may be used to draw attention to two alternative views from communication scholars (1) that the media is not all dominating nor is it all-liberating, (2) that the media can be used for good or for evil depending on the social, political, economic, and cultural environment in which it operates (Moemeka 1988).

Mill (1959), asserted that the mass media is the most important instrument for 20th century capitalism, and for maintaining the ideological hegemony, in that, it provided the framework not only for perceiving reality, but also for manipulation by political, economic, and academic elite's who controlled the system or industrial production in culture.

The pluralists led by Foucault (Writing on Madness, www.mamma.com), argue that the media in the society is made up of many interacting groups, institutions, interests and many sites of power (including government). It therefore, has differing and, at times competing interests, stakes and interpretative frames. These situations are supported by social traditions, relatively open and pluralist societies, and by the ideology that supports the right of different voices to speak.

In the Kenyan situation, this may be particularly useful given the fact that a lot of the values in society are shaped, and distributed, according to more or less distinctive patterns or institutions. Such institutions include communications, which are supposed to be invoked in support of the network as a whole. (Lasswell 1940) One can borrow from Foucault who saw power, as operating in society through many centres and in many ways, and who pointed out that power is not inherently negative- it is what is necessary for anything to happen. In a sense, Foucault focuses attention on the restrictive forces of

institutions and on the central role of ideology, imagining a world much less predictable and much less controlled by socially dominant forces than the critical position imagined.

The other position on centre control of the mass media is that held by the **critical theorists**. The critical theorists have varying positions, but they are tied by a common perception that societies are managed through ideology and through the economic interests and controls that the ideology privileges.

The idea here is that the ruling class influences the understanding of the populace through a broad socializing process including the churches, schools and so forth; through the economic and leadership self interests of the business and cultural institutions and; through the consistent exercise of control in society by the power elite.

Different critical traditions put different emphasis on these forces. The tight control model emphasizes the belief, that the economic forces in any society are central in determining and driving the formulation and operation of the political, judicial, education and cultural structures, methods of operation and beliefs. The loose control model discerns dominance more in form of a loose alliance of controlling groups. These exercise power mainly through the general socializing process which privileges the ideas and values as well as the political and economic interests of the ruling elite

3.4 The Models and Their Kenyan Application

In the Kenyan situation, the critical position may be useful in perceiving the mass media as part of the ruling class where an institution, its leaders and professionals are trained in institutions which are shaped through and serve the interests of the dominant ideology.

The critical position is important when one envisages control as structural (operating through the control of money, power, and controlled expression)

The pluralist and critical positions will be useful in practice when one is analysing the control of the media, its content and meaning. Here, one takes into consideration factors that include the market forces on the immediate level (who will pay for what media program and with what restrictions and expectations). Another important factor is that of the powers of the regulating bodies, in terms of ownership and control and the support of livelihoods. Further, control by media professionals who are institutionalised by the norms of the media, and of censorship form another important factor to take into account.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

The study's findings are organised around identified themes, patterns and categories with similarities, relationships, as well as differences in the problem under investigation. The content analysis details are contained in the appendix 1.

4.2 Major themes

The study analysed all development program broadcasts in 4 media houses in the two-week period in August 2002. The specific programs analysed, addressed a number of development areas/themes. A tally sheet was designed to record the appearance of such themes. The themes are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Themes Isolated

Theme	Nation T.V	Nation Radio	KBC Radio	KBC T.V	Frequency
Political Issues	5	8	8	6	27
World Affairs	13	5	4	10	32
Socio-economic Issues	10	11	13	12	46
Edutainment	A main theme in both Radio and Television				112
Innovation	2	2	13	10	27

Source: Own Survey

The political issues theme is quite prominent in all the stations. The theme appears 27 times. This theme is evident in 10 programs identified. The specific programs include “Up Close and Candid”, “Eyes on the People”, “Countdown 2002”, News round ups from the provinces, “Germany Today”, “Japanese Documentary etc. The media would seem to act as political observers on the issues that cannot be divorced from the daily life of the community.

The political content in the programs covers a wide range of issues that range from elections and electioneering; political systems; allocation of resources; ethnicity and racial tension; an exploration of the gap between the rich and the poor; politicians and their greed for power and lack of an agenda; power games within the ruling party; African leaders and business.

Another aspect of politics as discerned from the content is nepotism and the apathy and helplessness evident in many communities. To a lesser extent, ethnicity is discussed in an attempt to sensitise the public about the pitfalls of nationhood. At a very low key in the discussion of politics is the role of the government in local development and especially where the ailing economy is concerned.

The theme of world affairs appears 9 times. It's prominence is reflected in ten programs analysed. Such programs include "Dunia Wiki Hii", "National Geographic", "Africa Journal", "Germany Today" etc. Some of these programs are repeated while others are screened everyday. The stations indeed have a preponderance of foreign productions that discuss affairs in the world. The media seems to be playing a role of social commentator.

According to Makali (Media Review, May 1999:13) television is a potentially influential media especially for most developing countries where the low literacy rates make the broadcast media and radio in particular, rather than the press, the most accessible source of information. Some 80 per cent of the Kenyan population listen to radio (KBC Survey 1997) it is estimated that only about 3 per cent of Kenya's 30 million people can afford newspapers daily, with the percentage of those who can afford dwindling daily.

The world reports however do not contain stories of Kenya or indeed the third world unless where poverty, squalor and ignorance are the order of the day. One here notes that if the media is supposed to critically inform, analyse and possibly suggest solutions to the conflicts and disasters or events that complicate development, one should expect to see the media playing the role of commentator on world affairs with lessons for Kenya. This does not seem to happen.

Another theme is that of socio economic issues. The theme appears in 46 instances, this is an important theme and has broad elements that include health, education, business, and innovation in medicine and sanitation. The 4 stations delve into discussing effective strategies for health care delivery, attainment of education for all. The environment is important and a number of programs discuss the environment and nature in relation to man and beast. However, environmental issues programs avoid discussing the depletion of forests, an act, which obviously affects our environment.

Entertainment is another theme. The media have experimented with a mix of education and entertainment hence the theme edutainment. This theme appears in 112 instances. The media wants to emphasize relaxation and enjoyment by people in terms of good music, soaps and dramas. In a sense, the media attempts to provide light relief to audiences, away from the hard physical and mental exertions that one needs in order to survive in the harsh economic times.

To the discontent of moralistic Kenyans who blame the media for eroding public morality, honesty and discipline, the media goes ahead to promote what some viewers call pornography in terms of music, discussion and audiovisual explicit sexual programs. Programs to note here include "Passions", "Weekend movies", "The Bold and the Beautiful", "La Mujer", "Maria De Los Angelas", "Heart and Soul", "Cross Roads Café" etc. More important than the lists, is the idea that on average, the media stations especially television have 4 to five programs daily to entertain audiences.

Tribalism and nepotism are also discussed in a light-hearted way in an attempt to bring them to the fore as key problems.

It is odd that of all possible categories, the media rarely considers the all-pervading poverty in the country. Indeed if poverty is highlighted consistently, it would suggest the freedom under which the media operates. Only one program addresses this topic- Nation televisions "Up Close and Candid." The Nation FM radio's "Feedback " program also

stressed elements of poverty when it discusses investment and mortgages and peoples dreams of owning a house.

The Case Study 1 will illustrate this:

Case Study 1

Program: Up Close and Candid

Date Wednesday 21st August 2002

Time: 7.30 pm

Station: Nation Television

Topic: State of the Economy

Presenter: Wahome Muchiri interviews Bill Way, Prof. Mwangi Kimenyi, and Dr. John Omiti

Issues: How can the poor state of the economy be reviewed especially after the elections? What roles can we assign to the politicians, to business and to the people of Kenya.

This program discussed the poor infrastructure and poor economic record of Kenya, and encouraged the audience to report on how poverty was manifest in the daily lives of Kenyans who were surviving at the bare minimum. It was suggested that in a way poor governance exacerbates poverty and thus poverty is a political rather than economic issue.

Participation: Callers suggested that it was time the business community declared its stand on what sort of candidate they need to champion their interests. Other participants warned the business community not to attempt to impose leaders (read Asians) into matters of leadership.

General remarks: The presenters were skilled speakers and they allowed good participation as well as raising issues on the general poverty in Kenya.

Another major theme was innovation. Innovation as new ways of doing things was emphasized in a number of programs. One notes however that a lot of such innovation is reported from other countries. Here one should note the issue of local versus foreign program production and its impact on the development content. In a sense, one can question the relevance or efficacy of such innovation to Kenya.

4.3 Comparative Thematic Analysis of Programmes

The 4 media stations do not share the same preoccupation as far as themes are concerned. It is true that while one station might have a preponderance of a certain theme, another would downplay that theme. Radio and television seem to be separated even though owned by the same proprietor.

The Nation television takes some lead in political content. In terms of specific programs with political content in their development programming, one can isolate at least 6 programs on television. These programs are “Count Down 2002”, “Eyes on the People”, “Inside Africa”, “Nation Business Journal”, “Up Close and Candid” and “Africa Journal”. At least one of these programs is broadcast daily. One should note however that, one reason for the establishment of the Nation television and radio stations was to give the people of Kenya a new voice and new centres for political expression. The Nation Television has been accused by the KANU political establishment of being pro opposition in that they are deemed to give more time to opposition and dissenting views especially in their “call in” programs.

Nation radio basically runs chitchat, humour section interspersed with comments on the news of the day. It is not possible to isolate a single program with a purely political content on a daily basis. However, the anchorpersons may from time to time make comments and innuendoes that are political in nature. This may be the deliberate stance taken by the media houses’ management in order to present politics, but couched in chitchat. Either way the comments are passed home!

The KBC radio/national service also considers political issues seriously. This is more so in news broadcast and provincial news roundups where there is a preponderance of utterances and statements by politicians and statesmen considered politically correct. Ironically, political statements by opposition figures, apart from some news variety, for instance when they pledge to work with the government is ignored.

The KBC television avoids audiovisual expression of a local political nature. Rather, the station prefers to have a whole range of political issues from Germany, Japan, England and France, hence programs like "Germany Today", "VOA Features" and French and Japanese fillers. KBC being state controlled and managed advertently or inadvertently does not carry the political expressions of members of the opposition. It is suggested that the editors and producers are hesitant or fear overstepping their public relations function on behalf of the state. One can argue here that, the KBC stance against the opposition has implications for the countries development, in as far as, informing the state on what their priorities should be.

When it comes to world affairs, the KBC television takes centre stage. One notes that KBC television uses quite a lot of foreign productions for world affairs. The foreign productions are indicated in the sample for foreign production.

Socio-economic issues especially on health, business development and innovations in new investment and foreign capital seem to be the preoccupation for the Nation television. One notes this in programs like "Up Close and Candid", " Eyes on the People", " Business Journal", and " Africa Journal" which discuss corruption, the role expected of the government and its failure in investment, how to invest and attract foreign capital.

Nation Radio is a different issue. It is basically entertainment and news. The Nation television and radio are moving into pure entertainment. Nation radio has a lot of chitchat and music. The television has soaps of all kinds, music programs and thrillers. Late night movies are a main feature but titles are never advertised beforehand. One program however stands out in terms of socio economic issues. This is the daily program titled "Feedback". Interspersed in the chitchat, issues are raised on problems of housing, issues on relationships between men and women and dating, issues of women being elected into Parliament etc.

The KBC national service radio has a number of programs that address various socio-economic issues. Many of these programs are focused on agriculture and livestock development as well as on general development in the provinces. International corporations largely sponsor the programs and thus one may raise questions of efficiency and relevance.

Entertainment is a theme that is captured differently by each station.

KBC radio and television, while attempting to entertain, end up boring many audiences. One senses some arrogance in the scheduled programs. For many years, KBC was the sole source of entertainment. Today, it airs programs that it feels are right for people to watch regardless of their needs. A bad history of imposition has led to apathy in audiences. Indeed, "popular culture" as we know it can be produced better to entertain, but does KBC care?

The Snap Shot 1 illustrates the imposition, and lack of sensitivity to audience preferences on the part of KBC management.

Snap Shot 1

Kinyonga- This is a local drama; the setting for the stories is the low-income family tenements. The drama takes a peek into the life of these families who are dual in nature (linked to their rural belief system in witchcraft). Some of the audiences insist that, this program encourages superstition and assumes that people are not educated nor sophisticated enough to enjoy better programs that will enlighten and inform.

African /Kenyan Rhythms- This is a music program in the sense that it presents some music from the African region. However, there is a preponderance of music from music festivals over the decade 1990-2000. In other words, the programs are repeats, and are used as fillers. The quality of sound and film is poor, sometimes colour fades, and some times the film is in black and white.

WWF Wrestling- These are screened wrestling matches from Europe. The bouts are normally violent with a lot of blood. The programs are repeated as fillers. These programs have been seen as over done for many audiences.

Kiinimacho- This is a children's program. There is conjuring and lots of puppets and silly tricks. This program has been on for the last thirty years. The conjurer is now an old man.

Crossroads Café- this is a sitcom. As the name suggests, the happenings at a roadside cafe are reported. The program is at least 15 years old and the picture quality is poor.

Kenya Charity Sweepstake- This is a program to draw up the lucky winners of the sweepstake. This is an old program and the production techniques remain the same over the last thirty years.

The Snap Shot 1 suggests that the KBC continues to belabour slogans like "you heard it only on KBC" while some of their programs may have outlived their usefulness.

As observed by academia, KBC is a public service institution that has been operating as if its mission is only to cover the president and the politically correct. Thus, its management has never deliberately come up with ideas on what its role should involve as a public sector.

4.4 Thematic References

A tally sheet was designed to record the thematic references in the programs isolated. The thematic references were tallied in terms of frequency or the number of times that they appeared. Whereas themes can be seen as general identification tags for analysing content, thematic references are centrally identifying tags for defining meaning and significance. In other words, it is not enough to say that a program is political; one must look for references to the politics, hence the diversion to thematic references.

The total thematic references and their tally are indicated in the comparison section. The references ranged from elections, agriculture, the KANU presidential candidate “project Uhuru”, the environment, relationships, education, culture, economy, business, patriotism, science and technology amongst others. Table 3 tallies thematic references for each station

Table 3 Thematic References

Reference	Nation T.V	Nation Radio	KBC T.V	KBC Radio	Total
Sports	6	2	4		12
Constitution	7	4	2	3	16
Elections/rigging	7	5	3	2	17
Environment	5			5	10
Health(including diseases)	2	3	3	8	16
Information/education			5		5
Science/technology		1	5	7	13
Business/investment	5	4	2	9	20
Agriculture			10	17	27
Eco-tourism			2		2
Conflict/man/beast	1		2	1	4
Family life/orphans	1	3	4	8	16
Economy	1	1	5	1	8
Governance	1			4	5
Patriotism	5	1	2	2	10
The Public	1			1	2
Poverty	1		3	4	8
Education	1		2	1	5
Innovation	1	2	5	3	9

Project Uhuru	2	9	7	7	24
Security/violence	3	3		3	9
Culture				3	3
Nepotism	2	5			7

Source: Own Survey

A predominant thematic reference in all the stations was that of elections. 2002 is election year, and all sorts of politicians and political “wannabes” are gearing themselves up as candidates and kingmakers. Elections and electioneering form the bulk of news, current affairs programs as well as spot- on programs. The media is setting an agenda for the people by focusing on elections and political candidates. Questions of the electoral system to use, the levelling of the “playing field” especially within KANU as well as the efficacy of secret ballot or acclamation is evident. Alongside voting systems, the media also treats, to some extent, the concept of election rigging in the different call- in sessions of programs.

Another thematic reference is that of agriculture which has been perceived as the mainstay of our economy as well as the key activity in rural areas. Agriculture is viewed as undergoing much turmoil due to liberalisation, falling exchange rates and poverty. Farmers are exhorted and encouraged to continue planting, harvesting and distributing food. There is little effort to agitate for better prices for farmers and for policy to provide better incentives including credit. The media is almost quiet on how to assist farmers to reap benefits from agriculture. Agriculture is predominately featured on the KBC national radio. The presentations however are passive and there is little inquiry on the performance. The focus is mostly on what the so called progressive farmers are doing, rather than on what policies ought to be formulated and /or effected to make agriculture contribute positively to the country’s economy. The Nation is quiet on agriculture as the mainstay of the economy probably due to its limited urban/Nairobi geographical reach.

Health, medicine and disease are another thematic reference. Malaria, HIV/AIDS, and Typhoid feature in such programs. Problems of sanitation, community participation in health provision, care of widows and orphans are emphasized in the news and current

affairs programs especially from the provinces. The Nation radio has interesting programs on health including prostate cancer.

Science and Technology also feature in terms of thematic references. These are tied up to innovations and new ways of doing things in order to meet targets/goals of development. All over the world, there is an interest in developing technology that is appropriate, relevant and easily replicable. The media capture this in programs that explain science and technology and their development, both locally and internationally.

4.5 Thematic References-A Comparison.

For purposes of comparison, the research selected 6 core thematic references out of 26 thematic references in general.

The election/electioneering reference appeared in 17 instances. For purposes of further analysis, the constitution reference was added to this reference, the perception being that, issues of elections can be tied to issues of constitution. The total reference then, appears in 33 instances. The reference included aspects of who will be selected, their agenda and even questions of rigging in of candidates. The Nation television had 4 programs that stressed on electioneering.

Related to elections, the issues, and controversies of succession, at the time was a reference to “Project Uhuru”. The Nation was outright in its bias against “Project Uhuru” despite according Uhuru, the project, over 100 hours of airtime in the period August-October 2002. Project Uhuru refers to President Moi's imposition and promotion of Uhuru Kenyatta as his preferred successor. (See Case Study 3 on reportage). There was an attempt to repackage Uhuru who at the time was perceived as a novice in national politics in order to make him more acceptable to the public. There was speculation that huge state resources were channelled towards achieving this objective, including airtime allocations by the state run media house KBC. The “Project” appears 24 times.

The Nation radio, as stated previously was covert in its treatment of politics. Of course there was reference to elections, electioneering and even to Project Uhuru. In a subtle fashion, the chitchat and news tended to poke fun at politicians, the elections and politics in general. A main joke in the Nation radio over "Project Uhuru" was to insistently refer to him as the "Boston secret". The Boston secret was a reference to his alleged escapades when he was a student in Boston. There was a range of speculation about his misdeeds, from allusions of homosexuality, to murder of his girl friend and to the allusion that this preferred candidate had pleaded insanity in the American Courts. The truth was left to speculation and jokes.

Both KBC radio and television carried frequent news stories and provincial roundups that gave pride of place to "the project". On the broadcast front, there was little effort to analyse the merits and demerits of "Project Uhuru". All the same KBC radio and television gave 155 hours to the project in the period August-October 2002.

Another prominent reference was that of the environment. For purposes of further analysis, the study amalgamated the environment reference with the reference to conflict/man and beast, and the Eco-tourism reference. Thus, the thematic reference environment appears in 16 instances. Environment features more on the Nation television, where it is given prominence in the program "National Geographic". While the programs are interesting, one may fail to see their relevance in development until one appreciates the human angle to conflict between man and wildlife. One problem with the programs is that they require some sophistication to appreciate. This sophistication may not be common to a majority of viewers. A case in point was the series on Anthropods. The immediate reaction in viewers is to ask what relevance the life of an Anthropod has, other than its value as a pest. The idea that Anthropods can be used to attract Eco tourists was an eye opener.

Business, investment and the economy also featured, especially on KBC radio, which focuses on business in programs like "Biashara", and in provincial news round ups with a focus on income generation. Provincial news roundups are spread over the week.

“Biashara” is a program aired every two days with repeats in the course of the day. For purposes of analysis, the business and investment reference can be amalgamated with the economy reference. Thus, the thematic reference for business and the economy appears in 28 instances.

The Nation television also focuses on business but from the socio-economic point of view in programs like “ Up Close and Candid”, “ Your Shout” and “ Daily Dilemma”.

Nation radio is mainly focused on entertainment, especially in music and chitchat. The daily program “Feed Back” discusses varied issues ranging from relationships to owning a house. It may or may not carry the theme of business and the economy consistently because of its strong and dominant socio-economic perspective in its formulation/structuring.

Agriculture, as a reference, was very important in KBC. Indeed, the National Service had at least five programs on agriculture and livestock development. The programs here included “Wadudu na Nafaka”, “ Ufugaji wa Kisasa”, “Historia na Maendeleo”, and “Madawa ya Kilimo” The news broadcasts also carry a good amount of agricultural-based stories including calls by the local administration to farmers to maximise production including livestock keeping. Agriculture is presented in 28 instances.

A sample of news broadcasts is produced as Snap Shot 2. One notes the government rhetoric referred to by government journalists as a caution, warning, appeal, lauding, and exhortation. Some of the reports were old fashioned in the sense that there is no mention of the government’s role; rather, the farmers were basically being given information, or worse still, instructions.

Snap shot 2

KBC Radio

Subject News/Habari

Monday 19th August

-Water and sanitation are part of the earth summit debate-7pm

Tuesday 20th August

-A story on sugar-6am

-Revamp agriculture say Mwai Kibaki-9am

-FAO story on population-7pm

-Mwea rice improvement strategy -9pm

Wednesday 21st August

-Godana focuses on food security-7pm

Thursday 22nd August

-Seeds, caution that there is bogus seed around-9am

-Isiolo, livestock story on the erection of a cattle dip-9am

Source: Own Survey

As mentioned elsewhere, Nation is quiet on agriculture.

One however, could take issue with the programs like “Mkulima” on KBC television, because while they have been informative, they have not told farmers exactly what ails agriculture and how they could capture the benefits of liberalisation. As indicated by one of the audience, “it is not enough to bring extension officers into the studios who have not been militant enough to engage in advocacy for farmers. That is, the farmers selected as show cases, based on their success as farmers, were not effective communicators to warrant change of attitude and practice to the rest of the farming community.

4.6 Local production vs. foreign imports

A 1984 study on the structure of news and foreign programs in Kenyan mass media concluded that foreign news and programs from western countries dominated television (Mbindyo 1984)

An extract of the scheduled programs for Sundays, in the period June-August, 2002, on KBC television is produced as Table 4 overleaf, and suggests certain implications:

Table 4: Local Production vs Foreign Importation

Station	Program	Program type	Schedule	Day	Length	Origin
KBC	Opening CNN	News	6.00am-9.00am	Sunday	3hrs	Foreign
	Celebration Time	Religious	9.00am-9.30am	Sunday	30min	Local
	Sports Discourse	Sport	9.30am-10.00am	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Cartoon	Children	10.00am-10.30am	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Spunky's Camping	Children	10.30am-11.00am	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Totally Awesome	Religious	10.00am-11.30am	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Turning Point	Religious	11.30am-12.00pm	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	The Core	Religious	12.00pm-12.30pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Songs of Praise	Religious	12.30pm-1.00pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	KBC/DW News	News	1.00pm-1.45pm	Sunday	45min	Foreign
	Smack down	Religious	1.45pm-2.30pm	Sunday	45min	Foreign
	Heart and Soul	Thriller	2.30pm-3.00pm.	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Kuna Nuru Gizani	Religious	3.00pm-3.30pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Garden of Hope	Religious	3.30pm-4.00pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Sports World	Sport	4.00-4.30pm	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	URTNA	Information/ world affairs	4.30pm-5.00pm	Sunday	30min	Foreign
	Sports Round up	Sports	5.00pm-5.45pm	Sunday	45min	Local
	Mkulima	Agriculture	5.45pm-6.00pm	Sunday	15min	Local
	In Search of an Answer	Religious	6.00pm-6.30pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Kasheshe	Drama	6.30-7.00pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Habari	News	7.00-7.35pm	Sunday	35min	Local
	Kinyonga	Drama	7.35pm-8.00pm	Sunday	25min	Local
	Omo Pick a Box	Game Competition	8.00pm-8.30pm	Sunday	30min	Local
	Goodness Gracious Me	Comedy	8.30pm-9.15pm	Sunday	45min	Foreign
	Queen of Swords	Thriller	9.15pm-10.00pm	Sunday	45min	Foreign
	News	News	10.00pm-10-45pm	Sunday	45min	Foreign
	Secret Woman	Thriller	10.45-11.30	Sunday		45min

Source: Daily Program Schedules

From the extracted program schedule Table 4; one notes that there are 13 local productions and 14 foreign productions. The total number of broadcast hours is 18. The total number of hours of local broadcast is 8 hours, while; the total number of foreign broadcast is 10. Foreign productions take up as much as half the schedule or more hours of the daily broadcast schedule on KBC television, irrespective of their suitability in the Kenyan situation.

Schram et al (1989) had argued that a diversity of media would diversify media material, however, the advent of new technology has tended to reinforce the traditional reliance on foreign programs. One notes from the table that KBC transmits 18 hours. However, this mass station with over 6 million viewers does not have enough local programs to sustain the many hours it is open. Thus, the station has resorted to importation of programs for entertainment, education and information. On average, 8 programs each day on the television are foreign; they may be fillers or scheduled. This explains why on Monday-Friday there is a series on "Germany Today". Other documentaries and news format programs that are foreign include "DW News", "VOA features", "Transtel" and "DW television".

This situation is not peculiar to Kenya. It also obtains elsewhere in the third world, where foreign programs are a major element in programming because they are said to attract substantial audiences as well as national and trans-national advertisers. This may also be used to measure whose interests the media serves: local or foreign, or better still whether the foreign investors are deemed superior to the local ones. By 1997 estimates, a local production cost about 500,000ksh on the minimum, compared to the cost of one imported episode at 200 US dollars a production. It is thus easy to understand why a cash strapped KBC would prefer to import programs, rather than produce local programs.

The Nation television also has foreign programs, which include not only entertainment but also documentaries like "National Geographic" One notes elements of a "foreign hangover" from the tradition where program controllers and departmental heads travelled

to France annually to purchase films. These trips were viewed as perks and a good chance to reap benefit. It is thus difficult for KBC producers to be keen on local productions, especially where there is a perennially low budget for such productions.

One would be tempted to ask about the relevance of these programs to Kenyan society as well as their true value. In terms of policy and regulation, there does not seem to be an established minimum requirement in terms of national production and screen time. The "travel and buy" remedy adopted by KBC has spread to the Nation television. It should not be lost also that the Nation recruited producers formerly employed by KBC, these may not have changed their attitude to local productions. One can further suggest that, while initially, the Nation television had plenty of local productions that included "Redyculus", "Changamuka", and "Shikamore", there has been a rising trend to import programs and a decline in the number of local productions.

The KBC, as well as the other broadcast stations must realize that they have the potential as mass media channels, to reinforce measures to the effect that no more than 40 per cent of foreign programs should be transmitted. Academia and scholars, in mass media, have suggested the quota above. Secondly, the relevance of the programs to the needs of Kenyans must be stressed. In terms of programming, there is also the tendency to use foreign productions to fill the gaps. The KBC is especially good at this. At least once a day, the station will use fillers to back up local content. These fillers are not advertised before hand, and even if they were to be relevant, the target beneficiaries may not even be aware of these programs existence.

Program exchange is also a common feature in KBC programming. This is a trend that has continued from the 1970s when Transtel Cologne provided a number of cheap features, mainly based on Germany and socio-political livelihoods. One notes that there never was, and to-date there is no attempt to make such presentations have a corollary or an interpretation to suit local needs. One may add here that, media professionals in Kenya are constrained by both internal and external obstacles that include; a rush to cover as many programs as possible, to stick to schedules, the poor quality of some of the

equipment, the logistics involved in recording (including poor transport), a perennially low budget that constrains one's efforts to record quality programs, the human factor (where media professionals feel that they are not earning enough money), and elements of training where the media often recruits people who are not trained. One argument is that, if one was to be a producer with no budget, there is little you could do to produce a good program. The other argument is that, few professionals have the ability to operate in the political vacuum, especially where traces of oppression and censorship still linger on.

One may call attention here to the fact that the media houses differ in terms of quality and of the people employed. In Kenya currently there is debate among the members of the academia on who to include as a communicator. Other questions are centred on the definition of a communicator. Is it necessary to train such people in production? Or is it more important to train people in the subject area (e.g. economics, business, political science etc) in order to improve their reporting and production skills? This is an area that may remain contentious for a long time.

A few academics observe that while it is true that there are political whims everywhere, many professionals are still able to carry out their duties because within constraints there is a degree of freedom. The KBC then should be no exception. The problem with this media house, as observed by the academia, is that many of its staffers have lost confidence in their production skills. Lewis Odhiambo of the School of Journalism was quick to add that, developing good and effective radio programs is not a question of training journalists. "We do not teach economics or politics at the school, we teach students how to write an economic story. The best journalists are not those who study the subjects they write about, rather a good journalist is effective because he/she has trained themselves to be effective". His argument is that, no profession is self-contained in terms of training- the society is dynamic and therefore, professionals are supposed to be in continuous self-education in keeping abreast of not only their fields, but also of fields that affect their profession.

4.7 Audience Preferences

Table 5

Location	Preferred Channels	Preferred Programs	Reasons/uses/benefits	Balance	Likes to Surf
Urban (13)	Nation T.V (9) Nation Radio (8) Capital F.M (4) KISS (6) KBC T.V (5) KBC Radio (4) Kameme F.M (5) Family (3) STV (3) KTN (11)	Up Close and Candid (11) News (5) Documentaries (3) Comedies (3) Eyes on the People (5) Music programs (6) Count Down elections (6) Soaps (4) Kamuzi ya Changamuka (3) AIDS updates (3) Farming Programs (4) Wrestling (5) How to Programs (3) Development Programs (2) The 3 rd Opinion (6) The Summit (4) Business Journal (2) Feedback (5) Africa Journal (3) National geographic (3) Canjamuka (3) Githingithia (4)	Entertainment (3) Politics (6) Humour, chitchat (4) Good music (6) Culture (2) Current Affairs (5) Business (3) Health (2) Easy Language (5) Gossip (1) To learn (2) Keep in touch (3)	(3)	(6)

Source: Own Survey

Table 5 indicates the preferences of audiences. The number in brackets indicates the number of audiences who prefer that station, or program. As indicated in Table 4, the KBC transmits 18 hours daily from 5am to 12 midnight. One notes, however, that in the 3 weeks under review, entertainment from comedy programs as well as, some programs that are viewed as promoting violence had a higher audience especially among the youth

than others with an information or science base. The younger audiences find these programs thrilling. From discussions with the youth, this researcher was able to cite programs that the youth find thrilling and which they prefer. Such programs like WWF Wrestling, Movies with crime scenes and even horror thrillers are mentioned by the youth.

We may add here that content does not equal effect. This is because of the many ways in which messages may be interpreted and applied by the receivers. People select the information that they have use for and this is when it can be said that the media is shaping cognition.

A number of the youth prefer foreign programs to local ones, which they call substandard. These youth are excited by the entertainment offered on Capital and KISS FM stations. Onyango (1999), in a study of the presentation of foreign programs on the KBC television, asserts that soap programs like Beverly Hills and Santa Barbara were popular and when the station abruptly stopped screening them, the youth were livid and wrote to the media house to demand their return. But there was less demand for local programs like "In Search of an Answer", "Tausi" and "Insight", which were also off schedule and which, specifically, more related to the youth.

As indicated earlier, both the Nation and the KBC tend to use foreign features as fillers. Irritatingly, there is no attempt to interpret and have a corollary for local needs. There is no commentary to draw out local experiences; one could refer to these feature packages as cheap documentaries

It is not easy to determine and to assess audience preferences. Preferences here are influenced by what is available. For instance, one needs electricity to run televisions. Without this, more people in the rural areas are denied access to television. The other question to address, in terms of access, is that of the reach of the radio and television. The licensing and regulation of frequencies, which is controlled by the CCK has ensured that KBC retains the monopoly to broadcast all over the republic. The other broadcast stations

have been restricted to urban areas like Nairobi, Kisumu and Eldoret. Broadly speaking, more rural areas are covered by KBC radio and television than are covered by stations like Nation, KTN etc. These rural audiences then, are limited, when it comes to preferences, as they have no other option when making comparisons.

A quick survey of audience preferences, Table 5 and Table 6, revealed that urban audiences, especially in Nairobi, have access to stations like Capital FM, KTN, Nation, KBC, KISS, Kameme, Family, and STV etc. These audiences thus spend time “surfing” from one station to the other in search of programmes that suit their interests at any one time, and finally settle on what is of the greatest value to them or comparatively the best from a sample of available programmes.

In terms of programs that uplift people and develop them, programs like Nations “Up Close and Candid”, “Eyes on the People”, “Changamuka”, “News”, “Daily Dilemma” etc were quoted by people in Nairobi as being good journalism. “They were well presented and researched and the presenters speak well in proper English with no accents (regional or affected)”.

These programs were also seen as entertaining and breaking monotony of people’s drudgery in a bad economy at the time. Nation radio is on full time for these audiences. Other stations, like KISS and Capital, also provide some light relief e.g. music, humour and chitchat.

Table 6: Audiences Preferences- Rural

Location	Preferred channels	Preferred programs	Reasons/uses /benefits
Rural (12)	Nation T.V (11) Nation radio (1) KTN (4) Kameme (4) Coro (1) Kiss (1) Metro (1) Family (1) Citizen (4) KBC T.V (5)	News (3) Face-off (2) Feedback (1) Wrestling (6) Up close and Candid (10) Third Opinion (4) Wadudu wa Nafaka(5) Historia ya Maendeleo (3) Mkulima (3) Madawa ya Kilimo (4) Soaps (2) Adverts (3) Movies (2) Unduire Witu (4) Maria de los Angelas (3) Uchumi na Biashara (6) Music (5) News roundups (7) Ufugaji wa Kisasa (6) Sun downer (7) Githingithia (9)	Entertainment (3) Politics (7) Current affairs (5) Humour (4) Farming (7) Business (3) Makes you alert (3) Language is easy (4) National outlook (3) Information (2)

Source: Own Survey

Audiences in the rural areas are limited and had to make do with KBC. Table 6 outlines audience preferences for rural areas. As noted elsewhere, the reach of KBC television signals was weak in a number of rural areas and as such people hardly watched it and thus they may have had little opinion about their preferences for programs. However, the National Service radio station had a wider reach and clearer signals. It had carved a niche with its programs. Such programs like news (preferred by politicians because they get prominence), “Habari za Mikoani” and “Uchumi na Biashara” were the most preferred programs.

Rural audiences were essentially regarded as agriculturally based. A preponderance of programs for farmers and livestock breeders was also available. Audiences of this type enjoyed listening to “Ufugaji wa Kisasa”, “ Wadudu wa Nafaka”, “ Historia na Maendeleo”, and “Madawa ya Kilimo” As indicated elsewhere, these were sponsored programs, that were quite interesting, but one doubts that sponsorship can last for long.

A few of the audiences, especially those from Central Province noted that while they liked these programs, they preferred Kameme FM because it broadcasted in their language, and so they could easily identify with it and understand more quickly. Kameme also enhanced their participation as they could call in or write to ask questions of the experts. KBC stifled such participation as one's questions were attended to long after the expert had finished the series.

One other aspect of audience preferences was that of their use of radio and television. A number of the respondents used radio during the day and television at night. Radio was seen as useful for entertainment during the periods when people are not busy. Television informed and entertained at night, especially the soaps, which people watched as they were having their supper.

Both Nation and KBC television and radio had distinct uses. Radio was used to ascertain the political goings on and, thereby exposing people to policy and business issues. Radio channels that packaged entertainment, humour, music and chitchat was regarded as useful by more of the audience; they abhorred radio channels that pre-digested news and current affairs for the audience. Thus, the audience lauded KBC and Nation because they maintained the right balance of news reportage allowing people to think (even about what was not said).

The measure of success for development communication programming was the degree to which the average listener was unable to distinguish it from general entertainment programming, or the absence of feelings of disappointment or dismay, including the desire to turn the dial or flick the off switch when such programming appeared. (Bogue 1979). At this point in time, there may be more political consciousness and, this may explain the conviction in audiences to express their will and understanding of issues.

A number of the respondents did not see the need for balancing media use." One should be able to surf through, as many programs and stations as one fancies" was an interesting response. For such an audience, the remote device signified that one was in control of

what one is watching or listening to. This has implications for the viability of more stations. Switching on or off may look, or seem like, the proper and rational thing to do when you do not like what you see or hear. However, from a communication point of view, it suggests that the alternatives offered by mass communication are lacking.

An aspect of audience preference that one has to consider is that of access. As stated elsewhere, there are people who access radio and television but do not actually own these sets. Audience preference here is determined by how much they can watch or listen to. Indeed, those who did not own a television or radio relied on interpersonal communication, where other people told them what was contained in the programmes. This reminds one of the professional newspaper readers on Muindi Mbingu Street in Nairobi who, between the hours of 6.45 and 7.15am read the Taifa Leo and then interpreted the news to a captive audience of workers who could not read.

Radio, for such an audience, is useful for entertaining and letting them know what other people are doing. These people mostly prefer KBC because of its national reach and identity. One respondent from such an audience told the researcher "I agree with President Moi that some of these new stations are spoiling Kenya and our children". Mzee Ngala had never travelled beyond Kikambala in Kilifi, and Mombassa, 45 minute's away holds pitfalls for him. His exposure then was minimal and yet many other people in Kenya were like him. They may be as yet un-liberated by a free media.

Audiences also seemed to prefer an element of seriousness in productions. Nation television and radio was singled out as serious. As reported by one respondent, the nation television and radio target serious people who wanted well researched and presented issues based programs. Programs like "Face Off," and, "Changamuka ya Kamuzi", on radio were seen as technical, inviting informed and knowledgeable speakers on discussion of topics that are current, relevant and of national concern.

They also analysed issues. In listening to views one was able to judge events and thereby become alert.

Audiences regarded KBC television as lacking the dynamism required. According to one of such audience, the KBC television lacks some technical sophistication. This has resulted in the stations' failure to attract a wider listenership. The audiences suggested that "instead of being associated with tainted political messages, KBC should learn how to package information so that the packaging takes into account age, occupation and interests of people". Audiences were clear that, television is about relaxation and not effort to watch.

In discussing preferences here, there is need to note that, given the viewing habits of people, some of the programs, being mentioned, are now defunct.

4.8 Story Origination

It is argued that development matters affecting mostly rural areas are mostly reported from Nairobi. This is because, it is in Nairobi that development policies are made and communicated. This, however, gives the impression that news is generated in the city.

Story origination is critical to development. However one notes that local productions in whatever field (e.g. agriculture, health) especially on KBC television are poorly produced, presented and packaged. They involve boring chatter and may end up being poor publicity for some individuals. Programs, which suffer this, are " Medical Journal", and " Professional View". For instance, this researcher watched an episode of Professional View, on Veterinary doctors.

The problem with the production was that the presenter missed important cues. For example, the Veterinary doctors should have been prompted to discuss the topical role of vets within the National Poverty Strategy Plan, and how livestock production in the arid and semi-arid areas can be addressed.

Trainers at the School of Journalism insist that such productions are known as "talking heads". It costs nothing to interview an expert in their office and then produce that interview as a professional view. A proper production, however, must have a proper

budget that takes into account the script, the interview location, and the logistics. The implication for producers, at KBC, is that with the consistently low budgets, there is little that one can do to make one's production interesting. Communication scholars like Edeani and Kasoma (1996) argue that villages are rightly the theatres for social change, and should be the focus of the much talked-about but largely unpractised development journalism. The implication here is that, development information must be seen to originate from the rural areas.

In practice, Kenya's political pluralism, in the last decade, and the liberalization of the media has led to an attendant shift from development journalism to what can be called adversarial journalism, as practiced in Western Europe. Rural development or programs with a focus on development can be seen as a fading phenomenon in the television and radio stations. For instance, on KBC television, rural development programs are seldom featured. More programming is focused on entertainment. Radio, especially the National Service, fares much better. As suggested by its name, it has a daily number of programs focused on rural development. Such programming enables rural people to tell their own story, however brief (see provincial round up of news and the provincial development programs on National service of KBC).

The Nation radio and television stations are largely entertainment based. In the two-week period of monitoring, only 5 programs on both television and radio could be isolated as having development content. These programs are normally of 30 minutes duration. If one assumes that the programs appear on a daily basis, the implication is that 30 minutes each day is given to development while over 900 minutes are taken up by chitchat, humour, and other entertainment including music. One can isolate the programs that include News, Daily Dilemma, Your Shout (now defunct), Face Off, Changamuka (now defunct), Up Close and Candid, and Feedback. It is clear that both Nation and KBC are de-emphasizing rural development by having more stories and programs with origination in the West. These programs espouse modernization or the introduction of Western values, at the cost of a break down in the traditional values and the loss of authentic local cultures.

Nation television and radio prefer music. It can be suggested here that more electronic media stations prefer music because there is still a bit of monopoly and censorship if views of a political nature are presented.

KBC argues that few of the advertisers target the youth. The youth are regarded as being of little financial consequence. The emphasis of their programs is the common man and his commonality in terms of ordinary, mundane things that needed little or no challenge.

As noted by members of the academia, the inadequacy of coverage of development is nothing to do with journalistic training, but rather the culture of journalists. There is a tendency to be in a hurry, to lack seriousness and, for editors, to look for catchy grab attention stories rather than the content of a story.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT: GENERAL DISCUSSION
AND CASE STUDIES

5.1 Agenda Setting

Lazerfield et al (1971) argue that the media gives the public what it wants or sets the agenda, referred to as the power to structure issues. However, people think about these issues but at no level do they think what they are told. McQuail,(1971) argues then that, in this respect, the media can best be used in a planned way, to bring about change. Here, the media can support large -scale programs of development.

The above is best exemplified by the KBC National Service, which has extended its task to include public education, to promote innovation in agriculture, health practice, population control and other socio-economic matters.

The demands of social responsibility, on the media, imply that the media should accept, and carry out, positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy. The media, therefore, should give priority in their content, to the national culture and language. This demanding task is best exemplified by the KBC's programming, especially the National Service on Radio. As implied in its name, this station performs a service in facilitating development practice, taking into account the people's culture and language preferences and, more importantly, the power of its reach so that it ends up being one big classroom. However, producers have complained of being helpless in presenting a varied menu for development.

The Case Study 2 following attempts to give an understanding of the reasons why producers feel so helpless and depressed

Case Study 2

Resenting Voices

There is some resentment in KBC as the Managing Director and his Deputy are deemed inexperienced in broadcast. "What does he understand about our programs when he is a print man they ask".

Further, they say the former KBC managing director owed his position to the fact that his Father also a print man, was a friend of the establishment.

At the Nation television, the deputy heads have been print persons. What do they understand about broadcast? Ask the journalists.

These sentiments are used as an indication that the broadcast sector is limping because the heads do not know what to do to run it effectively.

Academia in the broadcast sector, insists that it is not advisable to run the broadcast sector with print men. One of the repercussions of the print person is that they only understand print language. At the editorial level, the print thought pervades so that they tend to regard broadcast as simpler and less serious than the print, in terms of setting agenda for peoples minds. Audiences then sometimes get lost when print- format stories are read over the air

Source: Own Survey

Implied in agenda setting is freedom of expression. It is part of social responsibility to limit self-censorship. One notes, however, that the KBC's news programming has a stifled quality. It would seem that in terms of news, the government sets the agenda and thus reportage is full of government say so, for example, President Moi took up the bulk of time followed by lesser party stalwarts, and local administrators in that order.

Case Study 3 on reportage outlines the issue of airtime allocated to individuals.

Case Study 3 – Reportage

In November 2002, Media Africa reported the following:

Party Leader Mwai Kibaki had been mentioned 13 times on KBC television, 24 times on Nation television, and 14 times on KTN.

Kibaki had a total airtime of: 14 hours on KBC radio and television, 24 hours on Nation Television, and 13 hours on KTN.

Uhuru Kenyatta was mentioned 33 times on KBC radio, 156 times on KBC television, 87 times on Nation television, 13 times on Nation radio, 103 times on KTN and 120 times on KISS.

Uhuru had a total airtime of 155 hours on KBC radio and television, 118 hours on Nation television, 112 hours on KTN, and 12 hours on KISS.

In terms of mentions on prime time news, Mwai Kibaki was featured 5 times on KBC radio and television, 6 times on Nation television and 5 times on KISS.

Uhuru Kenyatta featured 15 times on KBC television, 15 times on radio and 11 times on KTN

These results, as printed in the Daily Nation, were for the period August –October 2002.

Walter Lipman (1960) was among the first scholars to note that the role of the media is that of forming the picture in our head. This implies that, the media sets the agenda or has the ability to influence the publics' perception of the important topics or issues of the day. Further, Macharia (1996) notes that, agenda setting is the ability to determine the pattern and direction of discussions affecting a community. In a sense, at times serious issues may be sidelined and trivial ones elevated.

In the Kenyan situation, in this period of electioneering, one could not help but note how the media was gathering, processing and conveying information to the masses. The media was full of programs like “Count Down to Elections”, interviews and opinions on constitutional review, elections, and “Project Uhuru” and its merits.

It may seem as if the media, (Nation and KBC are not exempt) was initiating, guiding and shaping the results of the events and policies of public interest by moulding the mind frame of the public towards the results. In the process then, people had forgotten about poverty, and development and were instead concentrated on ethnic balances of power and how they could benefit.

Programs communicate salience through placement of items. This includes time schedule, type of program and the amount of time allocated to an item. If one were to look at the content of KBC and Nation at the time, one would have noted that, political reportage of personalities, rather than issues was what was being considered important. Case Study 4 highlights this view.

One then could agree with McCombs that, through patterns of daily programs, the media presents the public with a continuous stream of cues on various topics, all of which are of relative importance. In our case, development, which is a serious topic, was being sidelined and election trivia elevated.

Case Study 4

KBC News

Monday 19th August 2002

6&7am Habari

- Uhuru at a harambee praises the AIC church for its development efforts- 56 seconds.
- Saitoti at a harambee function- 30 seconds
- Raila at a public rally -30 seconds

9am News

- Nassir speaking at Independence Day celebrations for Pakistan, affirms that the government of Kenya will continue to formulate policies for foreign investment-36 seconds
- Amos Wako in Vihiga appeals for patriotism-20 seconds
- Malindi Mayor Gideon Mungiro received ambulance worth 1.5 million from Italian government-33 seconds
- Story that stocks of waste paper are still accumulating at Kijabe street in Nairobi because toilet paper manufacturers have stopped buying waste paper following massive importation from the COMESA region, local industry suffering. -24 seconds

Source: Own Survey

It is clear here that leading government political figures are taking the lion's share of the mass media to serve their own ends, and in the process other issues had been trivialised.

5.2 Promise without Delivery

Edeani (1994) notes that development journalism seeks out progress, successes and achievements in development programs, and in other human activities, and tells its stories in interesting ways. Ansah (1990) goes further by asserting that, development news is new schools, hospitals and bridges, if these achievements were made possible through collective self-reliant local efforts.

We therefore expect that, our news and programs should have interesting stories that would lead to further development. This was not the case. There were a number of programs, which promised more than they could deliver. Case Study 5 is an example of such a program. All sorts of titles on both the Nation and KBC radio and television stations were evident. Such programs included “Professional View” on KBC television, “Press Conference” also on KBC television, “Mabibi na Maendeleo” and “Mkulima” on KBC television. KBC is notorious for mounting programs on development in the provinces, which, while purporting to be reporting on progress actually begin to look like promotion and publicity for NGOs and advertisements for international Companies like Cooper Kenya. Programs here include “Mkoani Pwani”, “Good Morning Kenya”. As noted by one producer, KBC to a large extent bases its programming on advertisements and sponsorship. The biggest sponsors of magazine formats, especially on regional development, are the multinationals and, therefore, they must be able to benefit.

In the last two or so years, before the study, the KBC television had assumed that news items rather than documentaries, sufficed to provide information with a development focus. Secondly, staff attrition in the commercial section, due to the company’s policy of rightsizing, had meant that the company had fewer advertisers, and hence programming had lacked the verve needed. This suggests that they had good promises but lacked the wherewithal to deliver.

Case Study 5

Professional View

KBC Television

Thursday 15th August 2002

9.30-10.00pm

Professional View

Topic on Veterinary Medicine and its use in livestock development with emphasis on ethical issues.

The presenter, Dr James Ombega, interviews officials of the Kenya Veterinary Association. The interviewees are members of staff at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, University of Nairobi.

The issues raised include the ethics governing veterinary medicine, the care of exotic animals and details on the problems caused by interactions of man and beast.

The program suffers the following problems:

Dr Ombega does not sell himself to the audience. Despite the three big rings on his fingers and his curly treated hair, he still looks jaded. He is not able to relax and let the interview progress naturally. Ombega also misses cues, for instance he loses a golden opportunity for the Vets to discuss the problems in ASALs and, in the light of the PRSP, to bring to the fore how these areas can be made more viable economically. This program has lots of promises but does not reflect on what previous programs have achieved for instance in terms of policies being formulated based on the programs inputs.

Source: Own Survey

5.3 Prominence of Development

Development is reflected in roads, bridges, new schools and churches. These are indicators of progress and they are visible and must be reported, and hopefully praised.

Such development then is prominently presented on KBC radio especially the news on National Service. The human progress perspective is emphasised in such story round ups from the provinces. It is almost as if each province tries to out do the others in terms of positively looking at what would otherwise be mundane physical progress.

The other angle taken to development is that of programs that depict the lifestyle and development of people in the provinces. These programs discuss a wide range of development issues, ranging from AIDS to family life, capital investment and cooperatives. Critical in such programs is the forum for self-expression, where the audience has a voice. However, one notices that the voice of the people is barely expressed. The programs feature more opinion leaders and extension workers than the actual ordinary people in the community.

Table 7 illustrates some of the attitudes of audiences to development programs.

Table7: Attitudes of Audiences to Development Programs

Urban	Rural
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is not a priority to me. All I care about is being entertained after working so hard • Development is important. I have to watch what will change me and help me • I need programs that exchange information between people • Programs must get us off our feet and misery • We need more programs that have local dramatic elements • Development is just an excuse to bring in badly produced productions. We are cleverer than to believe in this development programming. • This boils down to self-advancement. These development programs are my lifeline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No interest. Unless I can learn how to do something better, otherwise I think that television is about entertainment • Yes. These programs are necessary to let us judge events and to be more alert • Broadcast is about relaxation, not effort to watch • Yes. Development is important. By listening to programs, you are able to develop yourself. You cannot just sit to watch something without an aim • Yes. I consider development important when I can get news and information on medicine. • Advice is always required, and development is about life skills.

Source: Own Survey

The above picture is one of the reasons that made the Nation group decide to give an independent voice to the citizen's of this country. According to a former deputy Marketing Manager, the Nation was keen to allow audience participation in the socio-political issues of the day. Audiences had stated that they wanted the Nation to tell them the truth; to tell them what was happening, and to let them tell their truth. Development, then is supposed to be a prominent issue on Nation radio and television news. The thrust is what is happening, or current affairs, and education at a broad level. In order to achieve those goals, the Nation had experimented with programs like: "Your Shout", " Kamusi ya Changamuka", " Up Close and Candid", " Eyes on the People."

All these programs had in common the goal of promoting development by allowing for alternative opinions. The programs thus covered a wide range of subjects that gave people a forum to voice opinions and thus shape opinions of this country. Granted that

these programs were mainly talk, they let the people's truths be heard. These truths were about issues that affected Kenyans, such as family life, violence, abortion and dilemmas of the day.

Case Study 6 overleaf highlights one such program and the prominence of development.

Case Study 6

Date-9th September 2002

Program: Feedback

Station: Nation FM Radio

Topic: Strategies for increasing women's participation in politics

Present: Rose Waruhiu, (EALA), Jane Kiragu,(FIDA), and Bernard Otieno, Host

Issues Raised: Women need to be more involved in politics so that they can fight for their rights. Women will need to be supported as they lay out their strategies

The presenter is enthusiastic, and is able to promote the participation of both the guests as well as the callers. Issues raised by callers include questions on where they can get advice and help on how to form political alliances and caucuses.

Women are advised to come up with an all- inclusive political party for women. The issue of the qualities that women voters need to look for in a leader was also alluded to.

Source: Own Survey

The balanced, educative program was seen as allowing people to think about and act on what others had shared. Such programs then, are critical to development.

5.4 Participation/Access/Reach

The mass media in Kenya is mainly urban centred and elite oriented and thus it may not adequately cater for the needs and interests of the majority. Here one can point out that such neglect is not directly the fault of the experts but rather may be blamed on the manner in which the mass media and the society were constituted. Indeed, as argued by Waweru (2000), messages are produced, directed and controlled by elite groups. These groups, with their almost pre-emptive access to the media, not only understand the technology, but may also use it in a one-sided manipulative fashion.

Boafo (1985) asserts that, the imperative of state control of mass media often tends to translate into utilizing the system to transmit the policies, values, and ideology of the ruling elite. True to form, the KBC radio and television were notorious for highlighting more of what, the ruling KANU stalwarts regurgitated than in providing a voice for the

people. The above situation had gained criticism from the opposition and there was even the talk of suing KBC for going against the 1997 Inter Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) stipulations, on equal coverage of political parties.

5.4. Participation

Participation was encouraged in a number of programs especially on Nation television and radio. This is part of the Nation's agenda to give people a forum to tell their truths and to be heard. Participation was enhanced through call in sessions, through letters read over the air, and through people being invited as guests, the talk shows.

KBC radio and television did not encourage such on-air-participation, unless on Salaams/greetings programs.

Audiences, however, shared mixed feelings about the issue of participation. Critics of such participation, as call-ins, argue that most often the call-in was orchestrated to such an extent that some people's calls and views were especially solicited. A case in point was a viewer named Jennifer. Critics argued that Jennifer's views were not only elitist but also ethnic and yet she seemed to be one of the most prominent callers on Nation television and radio.

Snap Shot 3 reflects audience attitudes to participation.

Snapshot 3

"She seems to have nothing else to do, and often sounds a if she is in a pub"

"Who are these people who they think should give their opinions and share experiences"

"I do not hear the common person, or Wanjiku, speak"

"Why does Nation favour some people"?

"The media is selective about who to approach, and tends to select the same people always, for instance Jennifer"

"Some of the viewers' comments are pre-recorded. They record and play them so that there is censorship and cutting off of comments".

Source: Own Survey

5.5 Reach

KBC television and radio are national and are said to reach all corners of the Republic. For a long time- over thirty years- KBC (formerly VOK) enjoyed a monopoly as the only broadcast station in Kenya and its immediate environs. Licensing and broadcast regulation was such that every owner of a radio or television had to pay permit fees annually to KBC. KBC thus commanded a vast revenue base as well as a monopoly over the airwaves.

Table 8 highlights the issue of reach and capacity of some channels.

Table 8: Reach

Channel	Urban	Rural
KBC T.V	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reach is limited in some areas because of poor signals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reach is country wide , but the signals may be fuzzy
KBC radio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal
Kameme Fm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal Limited to Nairobi Province because of zoning and licensing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal Limited to Central province because of zoning
KTN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal in Nairobi and some parts of Kiambu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> With licensing regulations, Mombasa, Kisumu and Eldoret now receive signals
Nation T.V	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clear signal in some parts of Nairobi because of zoning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> With zoning, the channel is restricted to Nairobi although parts of central Kenya receive signal
Nation F.M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unclear signals in some parts of Nairobi, due to unofficial zoning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unavailable in rural areas

Source: Own Survey

Ironically, KBC had not responded to the challenge to move from analogue to the DVD system, and thus had tended to have a poor reach in certain regions. A case in point is Nakuru, Eldoret and other parts of the Rift Valley, Coast and even some parts of Nairobi, where television viewers reported that KBC had a “snowy” effect, meaning that there was a lot of noise and distortions of the picture, and the viewers could barely tolerate these distortions.

Other respondent’s claimed that reach is not just a problem of KBC, as other media stations had the same problem. One notes that, in Nairobi there seemed to be zoning. Thus, motorists noted that one could be able to access as many radio stations in some parts of the city, but when one crossed to another part, one was likely to loose certain stations. This researcher can attest to that problem. One channel on my television set broadcasted music and programs from Kameme FM radio. The new FM stations, according to one respondent, did not seem to go beyond Nairobi, and they were thus useless as purveyors of ideas to develop this country.

Nation television and radio were restricted to Nairobi although they had powerful transmitters that reached as far as Athi River, MaiMahiu, Kiambu and Juja. At its inception, the Nation television and Radio considered regulation and licensing procedures instituted by the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), Nairobi was conceived as the better-broadcast point. Thus, the Nation viewed television and radio as a natural progression from newspapers to other media. This progression also made economic sense and was made possible through a large audience already established in Nairobi, when the Nation was only in print media.

The Nation is a mass-market station, and maybe this was reflected in its location in Nairobi, which is the seat of investment, capital and a market to glean profit.

5.6 Access

This is a critical issue. Access and availability of media channels was one of the gaps in the information/communication needs of people in both urban and rural areas. The media channels must be effective in passing on the information that people need, in order to face

the challenges of development such as economics, business and agriculture. However, people must be able to access those messages in the first place.

With liberalization, there had been the establishment of new radio stations for information. However, there were some people who still lacked access to such channels. In this category were the poor and the youth. Channels like VCRs, television and the media stations, broadcasting remained expensive and exotic, for such people. These then lacked forums for self-expression, a critical aspect of the communication process.

Case Study 7 highlights issues of access for some of the audience.

Case Study7-Profile

Mzee Ngala is a caretaker in a house in Mtwapa, 40 kms from Mombasa. He is an adult male of 50 years, is married and has grandchildren. He is a Muslim and has attended Madrasa for his education, (lacks formal education). He belongs to the Chonyi ethnic grouping of the Miji Kenda larger tribe.

Ngala cooks, cleans and receives guests in a Villa owned by a Kenyan from Upcountry. Mzee Ngala does not possess a radio or a television set. In a sense, Ngala is illiterate, but he is able to understand English, and relies on guests to buy newspapers and read them out to him.

Ngala has never travelled beyond Mombasa. He, is therefore, mesmerised by the idea of travelling to Nairobi, where he says he has heard that roads have 4 lanes for traffic rather than the single- lane, two - way traffic that he is used to.

“ I hear that there are lights of all colours on the buildings, and that they are so high that planes can fall on them, “ he says. Ngala then has a limited worldview. He believes that these new radio and television stations are responsible for promoting hypocrisy and low morals. Ngala avers that he agrees with the then President, in that there should be limits to the programs on both television and radio as they are evil and destructive to the moral fibre of the society.

Source: Own Survey

Access to channels of communication in the family depends on certain factors. According to some of those interviewed, parent’s controlled the access to channels for the younger youth. As stated by one youth” my father holds the remote controller.” The youth were of the view that their access is determined by whether they were in school or on holiday, or what time of day it was. Ultimately, the accesses of youth, still living with their parents, to various channels were better when the parents were away.

Access also suggests that boys and girls, men and women have equal rights to channels and are able to exercise these rights. Snap Shot 4 summarises some audience perceptions on access to channels of communication.

Snap Shot 4

“Mzee Ngala-lives in a rural setting, and is too poor to afford a radio”

Junior Agwanda- “My father always holds the remote controller when we are watching television”

Catherine- “Television can only be watched from the sitting room. My parents often leave that room locked so that it can be neat when friends come over”

Mukami- “My mother checks to see if the television is on and what is making us laugh so much”

Chege- “I control what my children watch. I do not want them to watch Channel O as it might spoil them. Do not forget that I have daughters who must be protected.”

Source: Own Survey

It is doubtful, especially in rural areas, that girls and women are freely able to access channels of communication. Indeed, as expressed by a respondent in a study of use patterns among women (Mwashimba, 1989), men and boys walk around holding the family radio, thus determining which programs women and girls will listen to. Men are sole authorities on all matters. Since they are the sole breadwinners and have therefore purchased the radios and televisions, they automatically use the equipment as a source of power. However, this power extends to family radios even when purchased by women.

Snap shot 5, indicates some attitudes to access by rural based audiences.

Snap Shot 5

“ I remember growing up in the rural areas, where it was my father’s job to change the batteries on the family radio. He was the only one who could change the station wave and also switch on the radio in the evening”

“ My father always placed the stereo radio in his bedroom. He carefully wiped it and switched it on. No one else could do this.”

“ At the University, where I was a student, there was a difference in how we spent our boom (allowance). While the boys bought big radios and cassette players, the girls invested in tea cups and iron boxes”.

Source: Own Survey

5.7 Ownership

On average, it would seem that parent and male relatives are the owners of media channels and therefore control and manage the use of the channels. Ownership and control are a gender issue. Historically it was men who were workers and earning profit and thus could afford to buy a radio or even a television. Hence these channels are symbols of their power.

Authority to own a channel e.g. a Walkman has to be given by the parent; disposal of the channel also depends on the parent. As reported then by a youth, there is no way that one can watch a comedy when your father wants to watch the news. "He can even throw you out of the house" was the concluding remark. There is a belief that channels of communication are a status symbol. One key informant extrapolated this view dubbing it the ethnic factor

Snap shot 6

" The Luo/luhya middle classes have neat sitting rooms. Here all the best furniture including carpets, television sets, video units and "state of the art" music systems are placed. The parents use this room for themselves and invited guests. The children of the home eat their meals in the kitchen or the veranda. This denies children a chance to be informed by the communication channels. Channels may also be locked up. This further denotes power or symbols of power.

5.8 Relevance

Table 9: Audiences Attitudes to Programs

Station	Dislike	Like	Proposed solutions
KBC Radio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Its masking of opposition news • Lack of analytical pieces • Kissing on soaps disturbs the younger audience • Has no forum for live questions • Pretends to offer development programs so that it can bring in badly done productions • Rural outlook 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National reach and identity • Its death and funeral adverts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open up -the radio has potential especially for youth in the country
KBC T.V	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They show the same old programs • They like to brain wash people • They are not changing with the times • They are conservative • They have the same old skills and tired looking presenters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A general audience station with programs for every gender, age and occupation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to adopt DVD system so that they reach more people • Need more local drama and produced well • Bring back issues related programs like man and medicine • Motivate presenters
Nation Radio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terrible accents-regional or affected • Talk shows are orchestrated • Call in is cheap 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right balance for news • Good speech style and presentations • Technical 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have more business pieces and at more suitable times

	<p>way of programming</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western oriented-teach us to ape the west • Chit chat is irritating 	<p>information</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seriousness • Well researched pieces • Ability to raise issues and awareness, provocative. 	
Nation T.V	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brevity of news-want you to buy their newspaper to catch up • Preoccupation with movies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of programs • Good documentaries 	
Capital F.M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regurgitates and digests news 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertainment, humour and chit chat 	
Kameme F.M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broadcast in a language that divides Kenyans • Minimal education while purporting to be taking people back to their roots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interesting programs, easy to understand because of language • Reach and identity with progress, values and norms • Availability of how to information for farmers and businessmen 	
KTN		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The seriousness with which the station operates and presents programs and schedules • Balanced news 	
Kiss FM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obscene messages and lack of respect for African traditions. • Cavalier attitude 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One can ask questions of experts live • Good music 	

Source: Own Survey

Table 9 highlights the attitudes of audiences to various media stations. The attitudes can be perceived as a gauge on the relevance of programs in that particular station.

Relevance is critical. It is argued elsewhere in this paper that, whereas there are a variety of programs on both KBC and Nation stations, there is a nagging gap between the number of programs that can be considered adequate in terms of meeting the development needs of people, as well as in the relevance of some of the content of programs.

A number of discussants, including key informants, reported that the programs dealing with relationships were immoral and had too much implicit sex. Further, they thought that the content was not real. This pointed to questions of relevance. One could then question why the Nation and KBC, being mass-market stations, did not have a defined audience to whom they could play the role of shaping the mind and thought with relevant programming.

On this issue, respondents reported that KBC and Nation were satisfying and relevant, with regard to entertainment. However, their role as educator was almost absent; indeed these stations were actually a bad influence, and were therefore, misleading. A key informant from the Nation group who said that his station's programming was mostly talk-based refuted this view. "State television and radio are basically entertainment, and this is why people continue to appeal to us to be sensitive to their needs for information. Consequently, he continued, we are using a local content programming so that only news and movies have an international flavour. The rest like programs on drugs, abortion etc are aimed at educating our people".

Other respondents reported that, instead of having local constructive contents, programs had contents that promoted gangsterism, materialism, aping of western values and culture. Two informal discussants revealed that most of these channels did not correspond to the people's aspirations and they certainly did not aid in anything towards people building their careers.

Another respondent noted that, KBC radio was more relevant than Nation television and radio, because most of the programs on radio did not discuss the dim and bad Kenyan situation of the time but gave psychological and emotional satisfaction. This view, according to one key informant is biased. , The respondent cited a radio program called “Changamuka” which discussed the issues of the day and the dilemmas facing society. “Changamuka” presented a balanced educative view, allowing people to think and to understand what makes others tick. It was an alternative-opinion based type of program.

The academia argued that the media people are trained in such a way that they become a facilitator between experts and the audience. A good program is rich in terms of information content, its ability to grab attention of the audience, that is, the content has impact, which is crucial to viewers. The obstacles to communication, however, may be seen as part of the problem, when it comes to development-support communication. Such problems as access to media channels, the theory of development itself, development indicators, timing in the introduction of communication aspects, and ownership of the media are some of the factors suggested.

There was some agreement, among the youth, to the effect that, in the current programming youth aspire to become like those in the program shows. They are also kept updated by, for instance, watching the news and other social- issues programs. They mentioned the Nation television as having very educative programs like “Up Close and Candid.”

5.9 Timing Schedule

The timing of radio and television programs is thorny. Both radio and television stations emphasise peak viewing time as the slot for news especially that viewed as “hot” off the press. Peak times roughly occur at 6 am. , 7am, 9am, 7pm, 9pm, and 10pm. Stations do not stagger the news hours.

Interestingly, a lot of airtime is purchased at this point so that one should not be surprised at the number of adverts before, during and immediately after these news slots. On

KBC's National Service, for instance, there is a five-minute slot, after the news, for commercial adverts. In between the news, there are spot adverts.

Nation television and radio capitalize on these times for news as they make economic sense. These news slots are a national progression from newspapers that sell their news to other media, and especially so when there is a target audience already established when the Nation was only into print media.

The Nation also emphasized on evenings as the highest viewing time and thus the slot for sponsored entertainment rather than drab development programs. At the policy level, the KBC did not seem to have scheduled programs based on audience type and occupation. KBC radio had a lot of interesting programs but they were slotted in at a time when the ordinary person (the farmer, the businessman etc) was usually out of the house eking a living. Such programs included "Biashara na Maendeleo", One notes that programs on women and development were scheduled in time slots that assumed that women in Kenya were housewives, for example, "Mabibi na Maendeleo" aired on Sunday at 1.45 pm. There is argument, supported by observation that it is at these times that women are out in the fields, and during leisure time, they are busy attending to household chores.

As noted elsewhere in this paper, the KBC did not stick to the program schedule. As a state-managed and controlled station, producers felt obliged to interrupt program schedules to slot in "Yaliokeka", a Presidential Press Service's program that reported the comings and goings of the head of state. The KBC could also interrupt programs in order to give more space to the coverage of the president and other party stalwarts, on the news section.

With such interruptions, programs may never have been aired as scheduled. Therefore, one could not rely on the schedules in the press, as one never knew what to expect. Anchormen were always making adjustments and announcements on the schedule. KBC then was notorious for using fillers to reduce gaps in scheduled programming. It was doubtful that such fillers, which were mostly, repeats of music festivals or cheaply

produced, and irrelevant documentaries, could sustain interest.

5.10 Success/Failure of Development

Edeani (1994) notes that development journalism seeks out progress, success and achievements in development programs and in other human activities and tells their stories in interesting ways. Ansah (1990) goes further to stress that development news is new schools, hospitals and bridges if these achievements are made possible through collective self reliant local efforts.

Edeani moves beyond the definition above to include the inevitable duality of news-the good and the bad. He avers that, the alternation of the good story and the bad has become the normal run of events in human experience, and it is the task of development journalism to take this into account by telling the stories of human progress. He adds that since progress, success and achievement almost always go together with problems and even failure, the reporting of these problems and failures in development journalism should feature as well.

The KBC television abhors what Kasoma (1996) calls divisive news. This is news about the failure of government programs, including the inability of the community to own and maintain projects. Indeed, a lot of reportage of development, especially on programs like “Mabibi na Maendeleo”, “Mkulima,” “Feed the Nation” etc, on both radio and Television avoids raising fingers about failed projects.

Snap Shot7 is an analysis of programming on KBC, indicating the inability of the media to report on failure of program sanctioned by the government.

Snap Shot 7

Sunday, August 29th, 2002, 1.45 pm

KBC carried a program on Mabibi na Maendeleo, focussing on ecotourism and its implications for development. The program covered the Arabuko Sokoke's Kipepeo Sanctuary. In spite of the presenter insisting that women are making better money from selling butterflies, as opposed to planting and selling mangoes and other crops, there is evidence, from the study by a fellow researcher, that all is not well. In fact, according to him, the project is a failure in terms of improving the living conditions of the people, both as individuals and as a community. One can call the KBC's reporting tailored to meet certain interests in the society.

The reportage on the project in the electronic media (t.v) gave one the impression of a project that is unparalleled in terms of success nationally, locally and at community level. The problem here seems to be that the media people are not keen to gather factual information. They would rather, take what is already written and then perform the work of publicising that. This can be blamed on the orientation given to journalists as information officers, whose work is merely to report instead of to probe or investigate.

Source: Own Survey

The commentary, and opinions expressed, tend to over praise the project, and thus may exacerbate poverty instead of promoting further development, as no one is keen to evaluate failure. This is lent credence by communication scholars, who argue that the reportage of not only successes but also of failures of development initiatives helps induce some action to resolve problems and possibly prevent future failures.

In the week under review, Nation television had a program called Africa Journal, which targeted the issue of Malaria, with a focus on Kenya. It was able to report on the success and failure of development projects on health. However, one asks: "did the program have to be a foreign production? - The producers of the program are Reuters- a foreign conglomerate.

5.11 Censorship and Control

Communication scholars like Boafo (1985), Kasoma (1986), Edeani (1984) agree that the media has a crucial role to play in the information, education and entertainment of audiences and specifically to mobilise and facilitate development.

In Kenya, however, one notes that communication has not always evolved carefully when applied to the public. Despite massive investment by NGOs and media organisations in new channels, there has been failure to measure up to expectations. Audiences have felt let down by the new FM stations, which have been seen as lacking in relevance, as they engage in exotic, and expensive presentations most of which are in terribly accented English. It can be suggested that, some of these failures have resulted partly from the government's extended state control of media channels (licensing, frequency, regulation), as well as the lack of a defined communication policy, and regulatory framework. The results of such control are the limited access to information by the wider citizenship.

Table 11 on media control issues summarises the problems and manifestations of media control

Table 11 Media Control Issues

Control issue	Reasons	Manifestation	Outcome
Commercial interests	Generation of income	Programs have to be sponsored	Majority of programs are soaps and comedies
Gate keeping	Job security and survival	Leaving out of programs that are critical to state policies	Depiction of success stories only
State zoning	To maintain the monopoly of coverage	Covering of state functions	Giving erroneous information
Political coverage	Survival(Propaganda)	Covering of politicians and lesser party stalwarts including chiefs	Biased and time wasting on trivial functions that have little or no development value
The rigid act	Monopoly	Oppressive licensing and regulatory policy	Control over the citizens thinking

Source: Own Survey

Up to 1995, the state maintained a tight control over the monopoly of KBC as the national conveyor of news, entertainment and coverage of government policy. In 1995, the Nation Media Group conceived an independent radio and television arm to provide an independent voice to the citizens of this country. The Nation group maintains that, well-produced programs, timed rightly, carry an impact for a wide range of audiences. One sees that, control of this media group has been done through licensing them only after they were regarded as politically safe. Here the owners may have juggled and lobbied a lot.

Waweru (2000) argues that in Kenya, journalists find themselves engulfed by special influence groups, who have strong vested interests in determining the direction in which the public decision process will take. One notes then that, in a sense, there is partisan coverage of issues in the country. Here the media has taken sides, and depending on their ownership, will cover and slant news the way the owner wants.

Further, every journalist and every media owner has his/her own convictions and a shrewd intuition about what it is that must be communicated to the public. Owners, discovering this phenomenon, will conclude that they have the media under their thumb (-see politicians owning larger share of coverage on KBC radio and television alluded to earlier.).

One senses a leashed quality in the efforts of KBC and even the Nation. They seem to stop just at the point of saying where the larger share of the national cake is going. This may be a throwback to the 1988 years when the Ministry of National Guidance and National Heritage used to expel errant journalists and politicians for opening up the political space for expression.

One notices teletype on the screen that can be seen as disclaimers e.g. "Viewers comments do not necessarily imply that these are the same points of views that Nation T V. reserves, or " Lets not get to that," a comment heard throughout a program when the viewer's comments are deemed negative.

Kadhi (2001) asserts that the Kenyan press has yet to convince itself that it can truly be free. An example of this is that, at KTN, editors are careful not to overstep the boundaries that KANU expects the station to operate within. Individual journalists who have broken this code of silence have been ruthlessly dealt with. The code includes airing items apparently sympathetic to the opposition. Table 11, highlights the code of silence and gate keeping and its manifestation

Censorship and control is expressed through the conflicts of the rights of the public versus individual rights; the public's right to protect more standards versus the artist's right to report; the owner's right to free expression versus the public's right to a variety and balance of view points and interpretations. A secret observer tips off that, even the Nation suffers this self-censorship, as they have to be careful not to offend the varied interests of their owner, the Aga Khan.

KBC and Nation, to some extent, are subject to certain basic controls that include keeping a tight hold on the channels of debate. Secondly, where television is tied to commerce, for financing and advertising, programs are regarded as carriers or baits for commercial purposes. There is thus pressure to pay for programs when they lose adverts; also they cannot provide the necessary minimum supervision without inhibiting the broadcasts. As highlighted in the Table 11, commercial interests impact on the freedom of the media, as they are forced to carry a majority of programs as bait, for example, soaps and comedies.

A senior editor at KBC asserts that, to a large extent, their programming is based on advertising or sponsorship. The biggest sponsors of magazine formats are multinationals; they seem to have interests in promoting health and beauty products, which are promoted through beauty- talk shows and salaams programs with interspersed adverts. Advertisers target the middle class because they have some financial consequences. It is believed that the middle class is gullible, and this is proved by their conspicuous consumption tendencies that favour multinational interests.

At KBC, it is never clear what is policy and what is whim. Policy changes on whom to give coverage and what to leave out is not stated. The fact that this changes on a daily basis underscores the challenges.

The trend of self-censorship is induced by what the Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ) terms as a system of “reward and punishment”. Many editors, in the mainstream press, own plots and other properties as a reward for favourable coverage of politicians. One notes that corruption in newsrooms may have reached alarming rates.

Another aspect of control is evident in the media zoning, which follows the pattern of political zoning evident in Kenya. There is technical and political zoning, where stations like Nation are restricted to Nairobi, in terms of reach; Nation is restricted politically in terms of news. This practice continues in that FM stations have only been “allowed” to air news recently. Given the fact that most FM stations are restricted to Nairobi, one sees their impact as minimal

Zoning is practiced where the policy-makers imagine that they are safeguarding “their people” from being spoilt. Thus, media houses have been given licenses to serve certain zones, depending on the political inclinations of the audiences or of the people in those areas. Here, the political map is used to judge which media house should be allowed into what part, and on what issues. Table 11, illustrates the issue of zoning and the outcome.

Another aspect of control is that of the rigid Act. The state still does not recognize the existence of other media houses, and this is why the KBC still have to issue permits to people for their television and radio sets, earning revenue for one media house only, and not the others. Table 11, illustrates the outcome of the act, as that of tight control over the citizens thinking. The Nation, in 1999, challenged the authorities for denying it a countrywide license. Events, so far, show that until that move, the opening up of the airways was an issue of increasing the number of stations on air, under ownership deemed supportive of the ruling party. Those on air are aware of their limits. The KANU government’s allergy to criticism implied that, unless laws guaranteeing press freedom were legislated, there would continue to be adverse court orders issued against critical stations. Ultimately, there was still a monopoly on the broadcast media. This may explain why up coming F.M stations preferred to play music because “if you come up with programs and people call in with radical views, you may affect the station in the long run”

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

One of the guiding questions that this study sought to raise was that of the relationship between the structures and organizations of mass communication and development.

While it is evident that the mass media has a very important role to play in development, the study reveals that media organizations were only paying lip service to the issues of communication and development.

There was the sentiment that while liberalization of the airwaves has been admirable and more information sharing and awareness creation certainly had helped Kenyans, few people were doing anything constructive with the many new media venues available. Indeed communication for development in Kenya presents a peculiar challenge of understanding the content, target, professional standards and finance. For example, the professionals complained that they faced reluctance from top management to produce better programs. The top managers also interfered in the content and programming. This disfigured the media contexts until one questioned the motive and the interests that the media was supposed to be promoting, and for what purpose.

The search for profitability and revenue, as an essential means of survival, has dictated media strategies, thus reducing their effectiveness as the society's watchdog. Implied here is that, commercial pressure has dictated the behaviour of the media, and they have therefore adhered to formats that are acceptable to a wide range of consumers of adverts, rather than consumers of information. This has negatively affected a wide range of potential viewers who might otherwise be the ones in need of development messages.

One could assert that, part of the weakness of the media in development lies in the fact that there is no diversity in media ownership. Ironically, more packaging exists where a station house proprietor has extended their ownership into both print and electronic. The situation is as follows: The state controls and manages KBC Radio and Television and the Kenya Times Newspaper; The Nation Group of Companies control and manage the

Nation Television, Nation Radio F.M and the Nation Newspapers; The Standard Group control and manage the East African Standard, the KTN Television and Capital F.M Radio.

This study delved into the content of mass media programs in Kenya in terms of development. Kenya, has assumed a policy of people's participation in all spheres of development. Various development plans and Session papers emphasise the need for the media to strengthen its capacity to inform educate and entertain. Thus, the media is also expected to provide a varied and suitable range of entertainment on both radio and television. In this way, the media takes the responsibility for “ a bridge building exercise, the foundation of which is trust in the peoples own ability to cope. The participation of people, it is believed, lies in their mobilization from within, rather than mobilisation created from the outside. In other words, the people are seen as having some right to decide for themselves after prompting from the media.

The study, however, reveals that the media in Kenya is unable, or refuses to balance its triple roles of information, education and entertainment. This may be deliberately aimed at keeping the masses ignorant. More radio and television stations focus on entertainment and, sadly, relied on foreign productions to provide development news. In more cases, no attempt was made to provide a corollary, or an interpretation, for local relevance and development needs.

We submit that the media has rightly, or wrongly, been misused. This expensive sub-sector, especially the television, has not been used to its full capacity to build up the nation. If the media has espoused participation, where as many people as possible, in the society, took part in the creation, analysis, synthesis and dissemination of ideas through the media, then our development record would be better than it is now.

The study attempted to answer the question, do the mass media development messages reach the audiences, and what is the reaction from the audiences? The audiences/viewers argued that development matters. affecting mostly the rural areas were reported from

Nairobi. Nairobi is viewed as the seat of development policy and communication. This however gives the impression that news is generated in the city. The reality however is that origination of mass media messages is critical to development. One notes that local productions in whatever field, and specifically on the state owned television are poorly produced, presented and packaged. If one adds the technical difficulties that audiences face when they attempt to watch KBC, one begins to doubt the reach of media development messages.

The KBC National Radio Service had some concern for rural development. A few programs were aired with the aim of enabling rural, agricultural- based folk to tell their own story however brief. The provincial round ups of news and development programs only emphasize this fact. Audiences, however, are vocal about the need for more television and radio programs to provide information that will assist them rather than just entertain. Both KBC and Nation are accused of de-emphasizing rural development by carrying more stories and programs from the west. These programs espouse modernization, or the introduction of western values and ideas. These values are responsible for the breakdown of the traditions and values, and the loss of positive authentic local culture.

As argued by Ansah (1996), development news is new schools, hospitals and bridges, if these achievements were made possible through collective self-reliant local efforts. One would therefore, expect that our news and programs would have interesting stories that would lead to further development. Sadly, this is not the case.

In assessing the content, it was evident that both KBC and the Nation radio and television have neglected the development agenda.

Rural development, or programs with a focus on development, can be seen as a fading phenomenon on radio and television. For instance, more programs focused on entertainment. Indeed, as indicated by one respondent, both Nation and KBC were de-emphasising development by having more stories and programs with origination in the west. The espoused modernisation, by these imposed programs, is not only irrelevant, in

terms of the country's development, but are also leading to the disintegration of our societal norms and values, especially hard work and the ability to lead a decent and honest life. These programs espouse modernization and the introduction of western values at the cost of a breakdown in our culture with positive influences for development including respect for self, for others in terms of decency in dress and manner.

6.2 Issues of Central Control

The study was guided by a working argument that, the more controlled the mass media, the lower the development content of messages. Both the KBC and the Nation seemed to exhibit similar behaviour, because they are both under control-albeit under different types of control. There was evidence that the mass media in Kenya face both legal and socio-economic (commercial controls) A combination of forces exist in the Kenyan situation that may undermine the strengthening of a democratic society as fostered by the existence of an informed citizenry. The freedom of expression and information and the right to communicate are manipulated by direct control, through zoning, and in in-house inhibitive policies of the society in general and the media respectively.

It was clear that, ownership of the media was important, in terms of control of content and message flows. A commercially oriented organization would not find it in their interest to communicate development. Commercial pressure dictates the behaviour of the media who adhere to formats that are acceptable to a wide range of potential consumers of advertisers, rather than to consumers of information. The argument here is that, a wide range of potential viewers was necessary for advertisers to be convinced to put in more money. These consumers might just be those in need of development messages. This as opposed to the larger but economically powerless segment of information hungry masses with a potential to change things for the better: development.

Part of the weakness of the media, specifically in terms of responsibility for development, includes the cumbersome licensing procedures that limit the number of stations, and reach as well as the content of the media. As indicated in the findings, the lack of diversity of media ownership and urban bias in media content point to the fact that

control has an impact on development messages. It can be asserted then that, the media is succumbing to economic well being as opposed to “blowing the whistle” on violators of human rights, corruption, and on unjust regimes. Indeed, while freedom of the press in Kenya has improved in the past 10 years, certain political interests still try to control the media and to suppress the hard won gains of the struggle for democracy and rights.

It is a pity, however, that although there has been a rise in the number of broadcast media, and despite government promises to liberalize the airwaves, the government has continued to exercise a monopolistic control over the broadcast media. This is clear when one analysed the ownership and program content of the channels. As indicated elsewhere in this paper, increasing the number of stations on air is possible only when the ownership was deemed supportive of the ruling party. Those who were on the air were also aware of their limits. Control of the media, regardless of controlling interests, had implications for the content of development programs.

The control of the broadcast sector has meant a limited diversity in broadcasting content including development news. Ultimately the working argument that the more controlled the mass media, the lower the development content of messages holds true to a large extent. It is disheartening that control of the media has limited expression, and has had implications in the increasing levels of political illiteracy among the public due to limited media coverage, and a low number of politically informative programs.

6.3 Model Application

This study has utilized the critical and pluralist models of the mass media. Of the two models, the critical model seems to be the most applicable in the Kenyan situation. The model is even more relevant given the reality on the ground, where, the mass media in Kenya is part of the ruling class. It is an institution whose managers, and professionals have been /are trained in institutions, which are shaped through and serve the interests of the dominant ideology.

More media professionals trained at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication, and media managers trained at the School of Journalism, University of Nairobi, are engaged in shaping public opinion in favour of the ruling class or party.

The critical position is that, control is structural and operates on the basis of money, power, and control of who can speak. The model is applicable in the Kenyan situation where there is subtle control of the media, its content and meaning. Commercial pressure of who will pay for what program, and with what restrictions and expectations is evident. On KBC, for instance, the big agricultural multinationals like Cooper and Welcome, sponsor more agriculture programs and thus are able to control what can be said and how. More specifically, the interests of such agro-chemical giants, is to advertise their wares and products and counter adverse images, or simply put, securing, propagating, and protecting their commercial interests, for profits and not for local development purposes.

The critical model suggests that the powers of the regulatory bodies, in terms of ownership and control, and the support of livelihoods exist. For instance, the Communications Commission of Kenya, as a regulatory body was able to deny Royal Media an operating license. The CCK personnel were even quicker to raid the station and dismantle its equipment over the flimsy excuse that the station was beaming messages beyond its bandwidth. The impact such a move had, not only on the owners but also on staff was immense. The move also created fear among other media owners over the possibility of a loss of livelihoods.

The general literature reviewed suggests that mass media in Kenya has the knack to cultivate a conscience that seldom differs from that of the establishment. The media is selectively distorting our reality and presenting it in ways that perpetuate the interest of the existing power structure. Indeed, the distortion of reality is evident in the political reportage, where it is individuals, rather than issues, who the media is keen to present and promote.

This subtle hold that the mass media has on the economic, political and the social well being of majority of Kenyans needs to be questioned. For certain, this distortion of the reality has been documented by, for example, Media Africa, as we have noted. What is required then, is constant exposure of the distortion with the hope that the exposure will lead to correction.

In general, the mass media has viewed the public as a big receptacle for their use. The public lacks the independence to actively contribute their input, and to be involved in the politics of the day. Instead, the power elite dominate all sectors in such a way that there may be pressure to passively accept such domination. The most common phrase that one encounters in rural areas that “the radio said” underscores such unquestioning acceptance.

The general literature, as reviewed, in this study is in consonance with the practice on the ground. The history of the mass media in Kenya indicates that its control is viewed as a valued form of property for those seeking political or economic power. Through the use of the media, the elite are directing attention to their agenda and solutions which are intended to be in their favour and which lead to conferment of status to themselves. The media thus propagates their political ideology and maintains an elite status quo.

From the analysis on program content, and the interviews with audiences, it was evident that the audience had little say on how the mass media presents their reality. The media by their nature had failed to be amenable to informed dialogue with the public. As suggested by the literature, the media are mostly designed for one-way flow of information and the member's of the society are nothing more than onlookers.

The literature also suggests that the media sets the agenda for public discussion and brings to focus those topics they want to propagate and sustain. The media may also interpret to justify issues, individuals and information and can, therefore, take stands and persuade.

In a big sense, the literature only positions the stand that the research has taken. The research agrees with the literature and the conclusion that, as long as the mass media continue to be the most versatile and pervasive means of disseminating information, and getting views and opinions across to populations scattered over wide areas, so will the socially, economically and /or politically powerful interests do everything to control the media, and to use them to their own advantage.

6.4 Recommended Methods of Study

The study utilised content analysis, audience interviews and opinions from the academia. These methods yielded quite good data. Content analysis, as a method, was fairly appropriate as, it allowed for qualitative as well as quantitative approaches and generalizations. It is, however, an expensive method to use. It requires among others, recording and taping of audiovisual tapes. The transient nature of radio is such that one needs to tape sessions for recall. Taping requires the right expertise to tape, the equipment e.g. television, radio and camcorder, procedures that the student may not be able to afford.

Content analysis also requires a time frame so that one can capture data over a period of time e.g. six months. The implication here is that the study was conducted over too short a period and with limitations of time, schedules and equipment.

Interviews to supplement the content analysis were a good source of data. The off-the-cuff remarks provided glimpses into audience preferences. The veiled hostility and resentment that media professionals have for top management was also evident in the interviews. Given the limitations of time, however, it was not possible to carry out more interviews. It was not easy to locate more respondents from the academia and the media houses.

In the long run, it would be prudent to carry out a similar research over a longer period of time, for instance two years. This is necessary in order to capture seasonality or quarter changes in media house schedules. The longer time schedule would also cover limitations

of time and geographical dispersion, language and the wider diversity of ownership. The time period can also enable the researcher to concentrate on a diversity of broadcast stations.

One of the best moments, however, came when a study helper, an editor with KBC television remarked "I am keenly embarrassed that KBC, a national flag carrier, has few programs with a development base, and yet it is for this I was trained and recruited. We have failed to be generators of information to build this nation"

6.5 Further Research

There is need for a complete comparative research on the dynamics of the media in Kenya. A study of this type would pit the mainstream media houses like KBC (including subsidiaries like Coro, Metro, Pwani) against others that offer a complete set of programs to educate, inform and entertain. The research would entail an exhaustive survey on whether there is any difference between KBC on one hand, and the Nation and KTN on the other, which may explain why the government has yet to allow them broadcast nationally.

Further research is needed on this specific question: Do the mass media in Kenya play a role in development? If so, what type of development strategy can the mass media employ in order to be most effective? This study has attempted to answer the first part of the question. The second part of the question needs a new study. This study would do further analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of mass communication and the emerging development strategy of the country.

More empirical research is needed on audience preferences and appreciation. This research would empirically assess issues of access, reach, and relevance, of the mass media, and suggest ways in which the mass media can be made relevant to the Kenyan situation.

6.6 Policy Issues

This study notes that, a well-defined communication strategy and policy for development is lacking in media houses. This follows the inability, or lack of will, in enacting a national communication policy.

A national communication policy should be such as to make sure that the media remains a public utility in the sense that if we must privatise and liberalize, we have to start, not with ownership of electronic media but rather, with the manufacturing of components like transmitters, integrated circuits, TV picture tubes, stereo sets, cassette sets, stereo amplifiers, loud speakers, capacitors etc, all of which are a prerequisite for self-reliance and final ownership of the electronic media. Ghana has such a policy that allows duty-free importation of camcorders, VCR, tapes etc. The result is that Ghanaians have their own local movies, for example. One may suggest that Kenya could benefit from a policy such as this.

The absence of a media policy creates room for arbitrariness and ad hoc controls of editors' independence. One, however, can question whether a mere formulation of any policy will avert the incursions into the right to press freedom? Other questions arise, such as who determines editorial policies in state-owned media? What limits, if there must be any, can there be to the independence of state-owned media? What criteria can there be for coverage of issues by the state-owned media to ensure fairness to all sections of the society? Who is to ensure that all these are implemented and guaranteed? Who protects the media people from any obstruction to the full exercise of their independent judgment? These are all practical issues that need attention.

These questions underlie a recognition that the demand for policy cannot be for the mere exercise of providing consistency to existing practice. It is rather, for both policy content, and the institutional structures that implement policy and protection against tendencies to subvert the policy.

In this study, it was evident that the political theme seemed to overshadow the agricultural, environment, business and investment sector, which may suggest that politics is seen as the key determinants of institutional behaviour, rather than policy. There is need to push for development to take up more time given the struggles in the nation on alleviating poverty. One way of achieving this is to strengthen the reportage by development journalists through deliberate policy.

Policy on training of journalists should also be considered. Training for other journalists should include re orienting them to understand that development, rather than adversarial journalism, also makes for interesting reading. Journalists, especially in the public broadcast sector, should be encouraged to revive participation by promoting different points of view from the public on issues related to development.

Policy on re-training journalist is also required. In this regard, there is need to retrain journalists so that they inject life into writing and communicating development. The current development content is so bland that it has neither meaning nor relevance for the people. It might be suggested here that journalists should not assume that the audience is unschooled, and not sophisticated enough to enjoy serious, well-researched and technical pieces.

Many politicians have not appreciated the power of the media in the creation of wealth at the national level. As makers of policy, they tend to use the media merely as a tool for providing publicity. They must begin to see the media as a vital and critical instrument in selling and articulating their policies and programs rather than personalities. Again, this issue is amenable to policy at the national level.

6.7 Contribution to Development Studies

This study has noted that part of the weakness of the media, and specifically in terms of social responsibility, include (1) partial liberalization of the broadcasting scene, (2) cumbersome licensing procedure, (3) lack of diversity of media ownership, and (4) urban bias in media content.

One of the important disciplines “missing “ in discussions about development is communication. This study attempts to provide some understanding of the role of communication in development, obstacles to achieving this role, and the need for research and policy enactment.

The study suggests that development communication should be an important part of the development studies curriculum. The first crop of writers on rural development elaborated on this theme. The work of Joseph Ashcroft, Michael Chege, Niels Rolings and Joseph Mbindyo, on the diffusion of innovation is still widely quoted by communication students. There clearly is an interface between communication and development.

This study is, in many ways a pioneering work. Students at the School of Journalism, of the University of Nairobi, have tended to analyse the medias contribution in science, the environment, advertising and women, political coverage, sports, national image and interest. They therefore, have not attempted to analyse the role of the media in the political dispensation of democracy and liberalisation. At the level of research, therefore, the study makes a contribution by systematically analysing the relationship between centrally controlled media, in a liberalized context, and the media’s ability/intention to facilitate development participation, through education and information.

The study provoked sentiments in a few respondents. A senior editor at KBC, who actively participated in the study, echoed one powerful and interesting sentiment. “You will notice that prime slots for news on National Radio Service, KBC (6&7am, 1pm and 7pm) are taken up by hot (read political campaign) news of the day, while the sober development stories are pushed to off- peak and weekends. As for the development programs, I was actually shocked to discover how few they are on a national service station” ...this from a practitioner in a state corporation!!!

One of the preoccupations of development studies, as a discipline, is that of liberalization, privatisation and the “rolling back” of the state from the “development space”. There is a

case then for development studies to appreciate the study's sentiments that, while liberalisation has been admirable, few people are doing anything constructive with the many new media venues available.

In the past, scholars in development have focused on agriculture and of late industrialization, as the prime movers of development in the 3rd World. They have tended to ignore the important role played by the media in communicating these ideas. Consequently also, they have ignored the important interaction between policy makers and policy recipients in disseminating ideas that will propel development much faster. Hence, the role of communication in development has totally been ignored in the past.

This study therefore, can act as a basis from which to launch policy dialogue, that views communication as the prime mover of a people- centred development agenda.

The strengthening of a democratic society is fostered by the existence of an informed citizenry. The freedoms of expression and information, and the right to communicate must, therefore, underlie all regulatory and policy proposals for the society in general and the media in particular.

6.8 The Way Forward

In the run up to the first multi party election in Kenya, we witnessed an unprecedented explosion of press freedom. There was a proliferation of opposition magazines and newspapers were suddenly publishing reports on sensitive issues that were unthinkable only a year earlier. (Waruru, 1996:26). The same phenomena could be observed during the 1997 election period.

An interesting change in broadcast is the rise of independent content providers filling the gap left by the state controlled media. These content providers include local information and communication business and NGOs, such as The African Woman and Child Information Network and IRIS. They report mainly on development news, with a gender-focus, and would seem to have taken over, in terms of espousing the development content on the broadcast media.

Control of the broadcast sector then, has meant a limited diversity in broadcasting content where broadcast stations have increased foreign content including music and views. It has also implied increasing the levels of political illiteracy among the public due to limited media coverage.

6.9 Postscript

Since this research was completed, Kenya has gone through a transitional election in which the opposition won power from the ruling party of 40 years. It will be interesting to watch whether this will change the media scene. On the one hand, it might be tempting for the new political elite to just maintain the status quo this time in their own interest. On the other hand, the new elite might choose to put into practice the democratic ideas they espoused as the opposition for 10 years. Some of the early indications, for example, with regard to the licensing of the media, indicate that the new elite is willing to create more democratic space in the media scene. All the same, it will be fascinating to watch what happens in the media scene.

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Appendix 1

Content Analysis Table

The following table indicates the programs analysed, their content, duration and remarks.

Station	Program	Content	Transmission Time	Day	Duration	Comments
KBC-TV	Science World	Science in the home	11.30am	Monday	30minutes	Foreign produced, lacking local relevance
	Germany Today	Socio-economic issues in Germany	12.00pm	Monday	30 minutes	Foreign production, relevant issues on innovation and agriculture
	Germany Today		12.00pm	Tuesday	30 minutes	
	VOA feature	Filler, was not announced beforehand, focus on a German politician	2.15-2.30pm	Wednesday	15 minutes	An exchange program with German subtitles and theme song
	Japanese Documentary	A filler magazine format	5 15pm	Wednesday	45 minutes	Addressed socio-economic issues of education, innovation in Bonsai roof gardens and rainwater for solar tanks.
	Medical Journal	Heart Problems and ECG machines	8.45pm	Wednesday	15minutes	Publicity role for Dr. Gikonyo, local production, poor, talking head.
	Germany Today	Social commentary on floods	12.00pm	Thursday	30minutes	Foreign production
	Professional View	Vet medicine, ethics, teaching of, associations	9.30pm	Thursday	30minutes	Lost initiative to tackle ASALS under PRSP. Local production with irrelevant questioning, boring, free publicity
	Professional view	Repeat	11.00pm	Friday	Repeat	
	Germany Today	Social	12.00pm	Friday	30minutes	The usual

		commentary, floods in Europe				foreign production with no corollary or relevance
Good Morning Kenya	Forum for anybody wishing to advertise an event	9.30am	Saturday	30minutes	Local production about chemistry and its role in development. Quite informative. Mis-leading title, promise more than delivered.	
France Feelings	Problems of environment, pollution and cultural issues	10.00am	Saturday	30min	Magazine format, foreign production, quite relevant on issues of sanitation	
Living with Health	The focus is on medicine and how people should not fear doctors but learn to ask questions about what they are feeling and what doctors say	2.50	Saturday	35minutes	American production, quite good really especially for a democratic country	
Dunia Wiki Hii	Current local and international affairs (political-socio issues)	3.30pm	Saturday	30minutes	Local production, Kiswahili. Relevance in passing e.g. Zimbabwe and colonial settler issues strikes chord	

	Mabibi na Maendeleo	Development of Ecotourism and how it helps women	1.45pm	Saturday	45minutes	Program visits several ecotourism projects from Kilifi, Naivasha, Kajiado, Wasini, Malindi etc. Ecotourism is now seen as important in helping women as well as in helping Kenya develop
Nation Television	National Geographic	Discussing the Cheetah	5.30pm	Monday	30minutes	Interesting, but missed on how man and beast co exist
	Business Journal	Capital stocks and market trends	8.30	Tuesday	30 minutes	Regional as only Nairobi accesses the program, must be a professional to listen. Has good information on problems of stock market and how to overcome them
	National Geographic	Discussing the migration of sea snakes	5.30	Wednesday	30minutes	Documentary, foreign production, relevance is tedious.
	Up Close and Candid	Talk show on the state of the economy	7.35pm	Wednesday	55minutes	Local production. Interesting, highlights problems and suggests solutions, one cannot dispute electioneering fever.
	National Geographic	Children in Morocco have no	7.35pm	Thursday	55minutes	Human-interest aspect. Innovation

		access to school and have opted to acrobatics in order to survive				aspect in children inspiring
	African journal	Editorial on Africa and the cost of war	7.35	Friday	30minutes	Special focus on malaria in Kenya. Quotes aspects of poverty. Answers well the issue of responsibility of press to report success /failure of projects
	National Geographic	The anthropod	6.00pm	Saturday	60minutes	Foreign production. Anthropoids have a role to play in ensuring continuation of life on earth, i.e. pollution, help in decay and destruction
	Countdown 2002	Elections and electioneering and the problems of KANU grass roots elections. A special assignment	12.30pm	Sunday	30minutes	Quite provocative
	Week in Review	Weekly review of current hot topics	4.15pm	Sunday	35minutes	Good production. Local. It takes a critical look at aspects of news headlines.
	Eyes on the People	Malaria, an unavoidable catastrophe	6.00pm	Sunday	60minutes	Good production, suggests solutions to malaria menace including community initiatives
	National Geographic	Whales, the elusive giant	5.30pm	Monday	30minutes	Foreign production, interesting.

Nation (radio)	Feedback	Strategies for increasing women's participation in politics	10.00-1.00pm	Monday	3 hours	Talkshow, interesting, local.
	Feedback	The dream house	10.00-1.00pm	Tuesday	3 hrs	Well presented. Quite interesting.
	Feedback	Prostrate cancer	10.00-1.00pm	Wednesday	3hrs	The discussion was good. There were many queries from older men, as well as some good sharing of advice.
	Feedback	Relationships old or young which is better	10.00-1.00pm	Thursday	3hrs	The program was well researched. The presenter provoked debate on the question of dating and the ages that are conducive to dating.
	Feedback	The local music scene	10.00-1.00pm	Friday	3hrs	This program addressed the problems of the music industry in Kenya. Participation was good with audiences insisting that many local musicians ape music from the west without aspiring to develop their own local style.
	The audience for the feedback program is between 19-35 years. This is a magazine	Format program that uses chitchat humor, call in and expert opinion to engage the audience. The drawback with the program is	The audience for the Feedback program is between 19-35 years. This is a magazine. The guests were positive and well informed. This forum has a large	coverage and at this particular time a large audience participate in both listening and		

		that you have to be literate.				
KBC Radio	Mkoani Pwani	Development s in agriculture in the coast province	2pm-2.27pm	Monday	27min	A feature report program. Informative but also of a promotion nature
	Uchumi na Biashara	A current affairs program dealing with business issues	5.30pm-5.45pm	Monday (program repeated Tuesday morning)	15min	Handled aspect of economic development on a country wide basis
	Ufugaji wa Kisasa	A program that provides a forum for solving the problem of livestock farmers-including mineral supplements, feeding patterns and diseases.	8.30pm-8.45pm	Monday	15min	Sponsored by Cooper (K). The program may be promotional as far as urging farmers to buy Cooper products is concerned.
	Mkoani Magharibi	The life and development of residents from Western Province	2.02pm-2.27pm	Tuesday	25min	Quite good. This is a program on a women's group which has progressed so far as to include men
	Uchumi na Biashara	A business reports on a wide number of issues including the stock market, the decline of the Kenya currency as compared to the Euro and the Dollar	5.30pm-5.45pm	Tuesday (a repeat aired tomorrow morning)	15min	A business report with no analysis
	Mkoani Mashariki	The program was on mental health and the causes of ill health.	2.02pm-2.27pm	Wednesday	25min	Although leaning more on health, the problems discussed affect families. It was quite informative,

						although the relevance to the Eastern Province was not discernable
	Uchumi na Biashara	General reports on business with 3 items from the district	5.30pm-5.45pm	Wednesday	15min	The reports are more development oriented. This program targeted the business community and people interested in economic development.
	Darubini	A current affairs program that touched on the matatu industry, the decline in poverty leading to an increase in poverty.	9.15pm-9.30pm	Wednesday (repeated tomorrow morning)	15min	The reports are similar to those used in news bulletins, except that they are a little more detailed and with a different angle.
	Mkoani Nyanza	Featured a Church center in Kisumu that helps orphans who are victims of forced, early marriage, FGM, and abandoned children.	2.02pm-2.27pm	Thursday	25min	The program sounded like an appeal for funds, books to help the children.
	Uchumi na Biashara	Various reports of a business nature highlighted. Story on stock market	5.30pm-5.45pm	Thursday	15min	As usual, these are almost like news stories.
	Tembea na Majira	Focuses on peoples lives and on the uses of a mobile phone	8.15pm-8.28pm	Thursday (continues on Sunday)	13min	This is mostly a promotion of the mobile phone, sponsored by Safaricom
	Wadudu wa Nafaka	The focus was on how farmers	8.30pm-8.43pm	Thursday	13min	The program was quite good, well presented

		should store their crops and the chemicals useful in this exercise.				and with some farmer participation. The program is sponsored
	Ukimwi na Jamii	The AIDS pandemic and how to prevent its spread	8.45pm-8.55pm	Thursday (repeated on Saturday morning)	10min	This is a program on HIV/AIDS in the country. It discussed legislation for allowing prisoners to meet their wives.
	Darubini	A current affairs program with a range of stories from use of condoms, the problem of hawkers.	9.20pm-9.40pm	Thursday (repeated tomorrow morning)	18min	Most items covered were on the current political and incidental issues of the day.
	Mkoani Bonde la ufa	Insecurity in Marakwet	2.02pm-2.27pm	Friday	25min	This program addressed how peace could be instituted so that the people can regain their socio-economic life including education and livestock rearing. It was informative and well presented with various conflict issues being expounded.
	Uchumi na Biashara	Business reports on corruption, the sugar industry, the money market.	5.30pm-5.45pm	Friday (repeated Saturday morning)	15 min	As is the trend, most of the reports are on business, the reporters read so fast that one wonders how the average listener will pick up on what is happening. No analysis.
	Asali luayo	A debate	8.30pm-9.00pm	Friday	28min	This is a

		between men and women on AIDS and the tradition beliefs and customs that exacerbate AIDS				program on health and development. It targets the whole family especially men in the fight against AIDS
	Darubini	Reports on issues propounded by politicians, on issues such as Mungiki, political rallies and party politics.	9.15pm-9.30pm	Friday repeated (Saturday morning)	15min	The reports are based on the hot political news of the day.
	Majira ya Pwani	Development activities in the Coast Province. Includes tea auction news, agriculture and income generation for women	12.02pm-12.15pm	Saturday	13min	This is a weekly program on new occurrences in the province. It touches on different issues and targets the people living in that region.
	Kati Yetu	Continues issues discussed in Ukimwi na Jamii	7.30pm-8.00pm	Saturday	30min	
	Historia na Maendeleo	Contains the history of the Agikuyu	2.15pm-2.30pm	Sunday	15min	This program deals mostly with the history of different ethnic communities in Kenya. Has elements of participation as questions of listeners are responded to.
	Bima na jamii Yako	Insurance details for the family	3.02pm-3.15pm	Sunday	13min	This program is promotional. It is sponsored by British American Insurance.
	Lugha Yetu	The development and debates on Kiswahili	3.30pm-3.50pm	Sunday	28min	This program may be interesting for language

		language				speakers, but the time slot makes a mockery of the relevance of the program. Who listens to such a format on a Sunday-entertainment is more important.
	Madawa ya Kilimo	How to protect your grain store from fire and pests.	8.30pm-8.40pm	Sunday	10min	This program targets farmers who use agro-chemicals. Agro-Chemicals Association of Kenya sponsors it. It is promotional although quite informative.

Appendix 2:

Content Analysis Guide

This guide will enable you analyse the content of development programs.

1. What is the media being analysed (radio/television)?
2. What is the name of the station?
3. What is the program title?
4. What is the reach of the channel (national/regional)?
5. What is the audience size (minority, majority)?
6. What is the audience type (age, income, profession, race and gender)?
7. What is the date, time, year, month, and day?
8. What is the scheduled time of the program?
9. What is the size/length of the item?
10. What is the type of program (feature, news etc)?
11. Who are the main actors?
12. What is the context in which knowledge is exchanged?
13. What type of knowledge is provided?
14. Elaborate on the flow of ideas, messages.

Appendix 3:

Audience Survey

This study outlines the use of mass media amongst rural and urban residents.

A Respondents Bio-data

Name

Gender

Occupation

Residence

Place of Interview

Date of interview

Age

Marital status

Education –highest level of education attained

B. Media Preferences

1. Which of the following channels do you access (t.v, radio,vcr, telephone etc)?
2. Do you own any of these channels?
3. Which channels do you prefer to use and why?
4. What motivates you to use the channel?
5. What benefits do you gain?
6. What are your favourite programs? Can you list them?
7. Which is your favourite station and why?
8. Have you ever participated in a program?
9. Would you like to participate?
10. On average, how many hours do you spend watching or listening to radio or television?
11. What constraints your ability to watch or listen?
12. In your opinion, how can mass media be balanced to meet your needs?

Appendix 4

Informal Discussion with Academia

1. In your opinion, where are we coming from and where are we going in terms of communication and development?
2. Can we develop communication facilities for all at affordable rates?
3. Is mass media creating a wedge or is it enhancing communication. How is mass media enhancing this communication?
4. Can you give a historical narrative of communication for development in Kenya?

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Appendix 5

Informants on Media and policy

1. For how long have you been employed in Media and particularly this station?
2. What are the key development themes of concern in your programming and what sector areas do you specifically address?
3. What factors do you consider when selecting, designing and implementing programs. Have these factors been changing or have they remained constant?
4. Who influences policies?
5. Do the desires and aspirations of the local community inform your programs?
6. Which regions are most of your development programs concentrated in?
7. What factors, would you say, are responsible for the increase decrease or stagnation of audience ratings of your station in Kenya over the last one-year?
8. What are the future projections for your organisation in as far as development programs in Kenya are concerned?