

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE LAND REFORM AGENDA DURING
ELECTIONS IN KENYA: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE
STANDARD AND NATION NEWSPAPERS**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this study is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of degree or publication where other people's work have been used, this has properly been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Nairobi's regulations.

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DEDICATION

“Humility is simply believing and accepting what God says about us, and God says that we are anything but worthless.” – Myles Munroe.

I humbly dedicate this research project to my dear mother Ms. Joan Auma Adwera who had seen me through this journey, my brother Cliff Tyson Anyende and Prof. Riewa Gengah who has also been a source of inspiration as I endeavoured to complete the academic promise I made to myself.

Thank you all and may the Lord Almighty bless and increase you abundantly.

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LIST OF ACRONMYS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACTS	-	The African Center for Technology Studies
ISK	-	Institution of Surveyors of Kenya
CORD	-	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
IEBC	-	Interim Electoral and Boundaries Commission
SLDF	-	Sabaot Lands Defense Force
PRSP	-	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
NMG	-	Nation Media Group
TJRC	-	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
NLC	-	National Land Commission

ABSTRACT

This study analysed how the print media, *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* newspapers, covered the land reform agenda during the general elections in Kenya. The main objective of this study was to explore how *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* covered land reform agenda issues during the general election campaign periods in Kenya in 2002, 2007 and 2017. The study also aimed to find out how issues of land were framed and communicated to the public through the media. It is guided by the framing, agenda setting and social construction theories of communication. Quantitative approach was used through employment of content analysis of both *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* as a research method. A total of 568 editions published within the election campaign period for the three election cycles were purposively sampled for all stories concerning the land reform agenda. Key findings of the study were that newspaper coverage of the land reform agenda during the election campaign period has increased over the years from 2002 and was highest in 2017. The conversations and framing of the land reform agenda have greatly taken a shift from the being frequent and emotive to being tempered and addressing key matters pertaining to the land question on land ownership, matters of historical injustices and issuance of title deeds, among others, which constitute accomplishment of the land reform agenda. The study concludes that the print media is an effective platform for the dissemination of issues on the land reform agenda which is a key development issue. The study recommends that, mainstream print media should continue covering development issues like the land reform agenda as they act as important sources of information and agents of change and reform.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This section provides the background information on media framing of the land reform agenda in Kenya's elections. It also contains the statement of the problem, the research objectives, research questions, the rationale, scope and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon (2005) state that the media which acts as the fourth estate has a critical role in offering checks and balances on political power in functioning democracies. This is because the media are acknowledged as "one of the most significant centers of power in the modern state". The power of the mass media in creating awareness, changing attitudes and perceptions, increasing knowledge and altering behavior cannot be matched. This is because those interested in social issues rely mostly on the media for critical updates. Thus, understanding how the media frames issues, including what is included and what is not included, is important in understanding why the society chooses to act or fail to act during events.

The mainstream media is a major communication tool for transforming information as well as community development, which is an unchangeable reality (Bagdikian, 2005). It also known to transmit cultural heritage as well as environment surveillance. The media connects people within the country and around the globe.

It fulfils basic roles in our society through entertainment which to some extent may be partially culturally transmitted. Media has got a rewarding aspect individually, enhances relaxation and reducing of tension. Apart from providing information, media keeps people educated. This context enables individuals to cope with real life situations therefore reducing breakdown of the society. Print media experiences a lot of accusation of fuelling conflict among individuals through biasness and propaganda. The situation brings a contradicting issue as citizen's banks on it for transmission of news. The world today is experiencing communication changes hence change in the way of production and communication by media platform that is from industrialism to informationalism. The revolution in information transformation is bringing change in the contents of society. According to Castells (1996),

expansion of the communication aspects is changing the society's culture due to the way people interact and integrate.

Cottle (2006) takes note of the fact that, journalist directs their attention to some issues more than others thus mediating world conflicts. There can be planned or accidental massive coverage given the players like advertisers, politicians and media owners who are known to shape the media role. Journalists playing the role of media productions increase their industry market opportunities based on the ongoing events. On the same note, they are required to make distinction on what to be covered and also what not to be covered. Just like any other business, print media has a responsibility to collect, produce and make profit out of the business. Therefore, conflict events help them to increase their visibility. Carruthers (2000) posited that conflict is an element of news. Based on the reason, concentrates on the potentials of war and thus act as a channel between those fighting and the rest. In the process, news is spread all over on the winner and the person who gets defeated. A lot of emphasis should be laid on the ways and the extend in which the print media can bring shape to the society looking at the way conflicting events are framed and also reported.

Based on the above, Entman (2003a) highlights that media framing involves highlighting some facets of events and connect for an interpretation, solution or evaluation. A media frame is the way a story is presented to the readers. According to Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern (2007), media frame gives an immediate context to the recipient through exclusion, selection and emphasis of specific ideas.

Mwangi (2016) states that the media's role is unavoidable in the framing aspect. For example, on issues of general elections, citizens should be well informed by the mass media on the issues and also candidates representing their views and interests. The mass media is gauged by how well it fulfills its mandate of making the public informed and educated as well. In Sub-Saharan Africa, land conflicts have been a big problem which later erupt into a large civil-strife and political movements (Andre and Platteau, 1998; Fred-mensah, 1999; Daudelin, 2002). Other factors like urbanization, agricultural commercialization and population pressure are also termed as the underlying factors of land conflicts. In Africa, the land tenure systems are not properly capable to deal with such matters. The formal institutions for land administration lack proper structures thus encountered with lack of legitimacy socially.

According to Toulmin and Quan (2000); Palmer, (2002); World Bank, (2002), resource conflicts has its roots from colonial and post-colonial land policies. Capitalism arises as people also fight for democracy which contradicts the efforts to bring reforms economically to fight poverty and inequity. There is emergence of race relations and different classes of people in terms of land and other resource control.

Wanjala (2013) states that land ownership grievances can be traced since colonial and post-independence era. Disputes arise as a result of inequality in the rights to own property and allocation of public land illegally contributes to endless disputes. In colonial period, people lost land the Kikuyu were displaced by the white settlers. British started to embark of resettlement schemes in the beginning of 1941 which resulted to eviction of some ethnic groups. Commercialization of the local economy began hence modernization of the agricultural practices by the British which faced resistance of the state agricultural reforms.

Okoth (1991) highlighted that big portion of customary land was lost to settlers by the Maasai who managed to move them to the northern (the fertile Laikipia plateau) and southern reserves (the semi-arid Ngong) that was expanded. The Mijikenda also lost their land to the British when they were claiming the Sultan of Zanzibar in the coastal strip. This occurrence led to the rise of Mau Mau militant in fight for the colonial government. Later in December 1963, Kenya achieved independence. KANU won majority of the seats in the parliament with Jomo Kenyatta taking the prime minister seat. Kenyatta purposed to retribute lost land to Kenyan ethnic groups. Less was achieved due to the colonial land tenure system. He embarked on freehold land titles. How land was acquired was not in question. Individual land ownership continued which ended up undermining customary land tenure systems.

According to Judi, Chris and Elvin (2008), that patronage politically and ethnic favouritism contributed much in land acquisition issue as corruption did. During Kenyatta regime, the system highly favoured wealthy Kikuyu and their companies for buying land given the positions Kikuyu leaders held politically. This was at the expense of other Kenyan ethnic groups these are people from Luo, Kalenjin and Maasai community. Kikuyu got an opportunity to own land in rift valley and coastal region. Land issues rose again with the reign of President Moi who used land to reward loyalists. He also used the same to achieve short term political gains.

ACTS (2010) argued that all elections since multi-party except elections in 2002, were marred by violence, land conflicts and displacement of majority of Kenyan population. The president Moi created an image of the opposition as Kikuyu-led. He focused more to control land issues. The president evoked ‘Majimboism’ unofficially interpreted as get the land back. Eviction of Kikuyu from the land they had occupied in rift valley and western Kenya started. Clashes left large population displaced and also death of thousands of people. Land grabbing did not acknowledge the customary tenure arrangements. Again, during the general election in 2007, voting irregularities led to post – election violence from 30 December to mid-2008. The incidence rendered 600,000 people displaced and took lives of 1,300 people. In 1992 and 1997 elections, the issue recalled majimboism. Ethnic tensions were also fuelled by land grievances.

According to Acts (2010), displacement and recurring ethnic violence stem due to unresolved land problems. Areas with trust land or land that is expropriated by the government experiences violence these was in Kajiado, Uasin Gishu, Kwale, Nakuru, Laikipia and Trans Nzoia. 95% of Rift Valley unrest is experienced in settlement schemes as analysed by the experts. The new constitution approved in August 2010 stipulates the changes in terms of land governance and tenure system thus giving Kenya a future.

KNCHR’s (2008) argued that politics in Kenya are administered based on ethnic affiliations. KNCHR (2008:52) posit that Kikuyus who live in contested rift valley regions are treated as foreigners hosted by the indigenous Kalenjin. The situation analyses ethnical conflicts evolving around the land tenure as demonstrated in general elections.

Wamwere (2008) further states that Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Kenya through media framing of land tenure issues have perpetuated conflicts during electoral processes.

Mwathe (2017) further highlights that the “Land Reform Agenda” is used by political parties in their political manifestos. He further states that the Land Reforms Agenda in Kenya positively influenced national politics in the last election year 2017. Since the print media does participate in the formation of public opinion on Land Reform Agenda issues, messages are selected and published with the aim of shaping and molding an opinion (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

McCombs and Ghanem (2003) emphasized that media frames are important as studies and research on the subject of framing show that how the media frame events effects on their reasoning on events. Framing theory therefore, enhances public dispositional effectiveness on the Land Reform Agenda during electioneering period is discussed. Based on the above Mwangi (2016), argues that, media has consequences on how it conducts its activities in any political or social atmosphere. Thus, it can be said that, media framing promotes understanding on its mandate in directing conversations around the Land Reform Agenda in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Eliud (2017) states that all major violent conflicts in Kenya have a connection to land. Kenya has experience serious political animosity from the time of multi-party political arenas in 1992. Okoth (1991), Wakhungu, Huggins & Nyukuri (2008), Wanjala (2013) state that the country also experienced serious violence in 1992, 1997, 2002, 2005 and 2007and 2010. Furthermore, Toulmin and Quan (2000), Palmer, (2002), World Bank, (2002) postulate that such land- based conflicts in Kenya go even further back to the colonial period with the Mau Mau revolt being the most prominent.

More recently ACTS (2010) Report on Land Tenure and Violent Conflict in Kenya published following the political aftermath of the early 2008, post-election violence clearly indicated that problems associated with the land tenure could develop understanding of the root causes of conflicts and dynamics attached to them. In the same context, the "Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation" acknowledged land reform as a platform to reconcile and proclaim peace.

Wamwere (2008) further states that Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Kenya through media framing of land tenure issues have perpetuated conflicts associated with electoral processes. Hate dialogues take a center stage to attract donor money. Uncomfortable situations are sometimes created when peace prevails. In such a scenario, conflicts can be manufactured to interfere with the peace. Based on the above Mwangi (2016), argues that media should conduct itself ethically in political and social environments to avoid conflicts.

McCombs and Ghanem (2003), Kamau (2016) stipulates that the key player in the generation of frames, discourses and perceptions among audiences in the modern technological society are the various forms of media platforms. The media has impact on the way the public understands issues and shapes people's opinions. It is fundamental in shaping public opinion, interpreting and understanding issues to any society and the agenda projected usually forms the basis of people's thinking on matters of public affairs.

Max (2012) argued that "The media acts as a platform where public opinion is aired, it can be used as a weapon and a tool in the hands of those who have to use it and know how to use it. It has a universal power as the dreaded critic of events and changes in social conditions it is comparable and in some respect superior to the material power which the state possesses through their armies, their treasuries and their bureaucratic civil services."

Marimba (2017) highlights that the print media by framing aspect, have the capacity to enhance opinion, through elevating of salient issues on the Land Reform during electioneering period. The media builds informed communities through highlighting issues on land reform and governance. Citizens collect various information and they get attributed into their minds with the help of the mass media which help in shaping this agenda.

According to Mwathe (2017), in political campaigns in Kenya held in 2002, 2013 and 2017 media coverage and framing of the land reform question was both emotive and frequent. Land reforms were discussed by presidential candidates in 2013 that also geared presidential debates. Mwangi (2016) states that the media as a public informer and watchdog has a canonical duty to safe guard the sovereignty in its attempt to re-write history. From the foregoing arguments, this study is an attempt to offer an incisive, in-depth description and analysis of how the mainstream Kenyan newspapers performed in the reporting on the Land Reform Agenda during the electioneering period in Kenya in 2002, 2007 and 2017. It aimed to answer the questions, how did the newspapers 'gatekeepers' look at the Land Reform Agenda? How was this look presented in the stories they wrote on the Land Reform Agenda?

1.3 Research Objectives

The general objective of this study was to determine how *The Standard and Nation* newspapers covered the land reform agenda in the three-election cycle of 2002, 2007 and 2017.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- i) To compare and contrast the coverage of the land reform agenda stories by *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers in Kenya.
- ii) To find out how much space the print media allocates to land reform agenda stories during the election periods in Kenya.
- iii) To establish the sources of information on land reform agenda stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya.
- iv) To explore how the framing of stories on land reform agenda were covered in *The Standard* and *Nation* newspapers.

1.3.2 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

- i) How did *The Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers cover the land reform agenda issues during the elections period in Kenya?
- ii) How much space did the print media allocate to the stories of land reform agenda during the elections period in Kenya?
- iii) What are the sources of information on land reform agenda stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya?
- iv) How did the mainstream print media frame land reform agenda stories in *The Standard* and *Nation* newspapers?

1.4 Justification of Study

According to Kim and McCombs (2007), the agenda for television news are set by stories from newspapers framing targeted leaders on land reform agenda issues, could have implications for other media sources as well. Based on the above, the main goal of the study was to provide an empirical analysis to verify the framing theoretical conclusions and utilize them as interpretative narratives on land reform agenda issues.

Mwangi (2016) emphasizes the fact that the role of media platform is paramount. Citizens involved in voting should be well informed. This assist them to identify who will represent their own interests properly. Making study is significant as political campaigns over the years in Kenya have been informed by land component issues. Thus, articles that frame readers on land reform agenda issues may be of utmost importance in exposing more media consumers

to this information and they could make judgment of the political parties that best covers the land reform agenda issues during electioneering period.

Mwangi (2016) highlights the fact that the work of media coverage is to exercise its obligation of transmitting information to the public. Findings of this particular study can be used to inform those who make policies and the general public whether to continue relying on main stream media for information related to land issues in the country. This study is also relevant to media practitioners as it enables the print media package information on land issues in a better way for effective delivery to their audiences.

Reese, Gandy and Gart (2001) agree that the media is crucial as it is perceived as a powerful entity that plays a 'watchdog' role of providing feedback on local issues to its audiences, a gatekeeper setting the agenda, filters issues and accentuates other positions to maintain objectivity. The media create a debate by providing objective, fair and adequate, information on land reforms; it is only then that people can make informed choices. The two dailies, *The Standard* and *Nation* newspapers were chosen for the study because of their geographical reach and high distribution. They are the major newspapers in the country. It is expected that a comparative analysis of the papers would provide a true picture of the role that the print media plays in reporting of the land reform agenda in the electioneering period.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is therefore critical because it champions for advancement of conversations on the land reform agenda in society. By ensuring that the legal frameworks and other statutory obligations of individuals and institutions on the land reform agenda are implemented and followed to the latter. This study therefore offers insight into the new laws and institutions in place and the effect of their interpretations.

This study also acts as an eye opener to media practitioners especially those in print media, to seriously undertake to advance the land reform agenda as proven history has shown that land use and reforms are at the heart of Kenya's political and economic future stability. In Kenya in particular, land has a central position in Kenya's social, economic and political history. An estimated 75% of the country's population depends on land for their livelihoods, making the ownership, management and control of the resource of great importance.

The public as well will benefit from a greater understanding of the issues surrounding the land reform agenda and support for a more significant role that society can play in ensuring that the land reform agenda laws and other statutes and institutions governing this are monitored closely to for see smooth implementation of the proposed changes therein.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Shoemaker and Reese, (1996) stipulate that, since the print media offer insight in formation of public opinion on Land Reform Agenda issues, messages are selected and published with the aim of shaping and molding an opinion. The study was limited to investigating the framing of land reform agenda articles by the two select newspapers *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* which are the most popular newspapers amongst newspaper readers and have a wide circulation countrywide.

Marimba (2017) emphasizes on the fact that an issue should not be taken as a debate aspect or a concern that need attention of the policy makers unless it is strongly highlighted through the media. As the media builds informed communities through highlighting issues on land reform and governance. Thus, the articles to be studied were obtained from the two Kenyan newspapers published during the campaign period in the year 2002, 2007 and 2017 this provided an adequate sample for analysis. These dates were selected to enable coverage for both thematic and episodic news revolving around the land reform agenda issues. This is especially during the election campaign period when the land question arises a tool for political mileage.

The duration for the analysis was limited to the specific election campaign period in the three years due to time limitation and financial constraint in collection and acquisition of data and also to land question articles covered in the two select print media platforms in Kenya and not any other news media platforms available. Terms searched in newspaper news articles were “land grabbing”, “land reforms”, “land titling”, “historical injustices”, “land policy” and “land ownership”. Newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, editorials /opinion editorials which provided several unique articles for analysis analysed. Articles that appeared in more than one newspaper were considered again since it was a comparative study.

1.7 Operational Definitions

Date of publication: The date on which a book, newspaper or magazine edition is published.

Size and amount of space: This is the size of a text message in terms of, amount of time in seconds or amount of space allocated in cm². It is the portion of coverage given to an article in the newspaper which can be on half a page, a full page, three quarters of a page or a quarter of a page.

Placement: This indicates where a story is placed in a newspaper. It is determined by factors like prominence, proximity, salience. Based on this a story can be covered placed on the front page, middle or back page of the newspaper.

Key frames: This provides the most useful content analysis unit because attitudes and beliefs are usually discussed in this form. Themes are used in identification of key issue of discussion on a particular subject. The themes in the land reform agenda are land tenure forms, historical injustices, key players, land reform agenda issues.

Story type: These are story categorization within a newspaper edition such as opinions, feature articles, news stories, news analysis, letters to the editor and info graphics.

Tone of article: Refers to the direction inferred in the articles they could be positive like land policy, land reforms, land ownership or negative like land grabbing and historical injustices.

Sources of information: These are people or institutions who will originate the stories and those whom the stories will concern.

Mainstream print media: Mainstream media refer to the various large mass news media that influence many people and both reflect and shape prevailing current thoughts.

Land reform agenda: It involves discourses on changing of regulations, laws or customs on land ownership.

Election campaign period: The set legal dates of an official election campaign period (usually a period of a month or several months) leading up to election day, provided through a gazette notice.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This section presents a broad overview of the existing literature that supports this study on media framing of the land reform agenda prior to general elections. It provides a brief historical background on the media in general and print media in specific which is the area of study, the positive and negative roles of the media as well as the nature of the mainstream media in Kenya. History of land reforms in Kenya and the relation between the land reform agenda in political debates prior to general elections in Kenya. Specific emphasis will be made to the mandate executed by the mainstream in framing and priming of election discourses around the land reform agenda.

2.1 Mainstream Print Media in Kenya

Wanjala (2015) states that mainstream media refer to the diverse large mass news media that influence large population, both shaping and reflecting prevailing current thoughts. In Kenya, *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* are the two independent national daily newspapers.

Further Okello (2004) defines the mainstream media as the regular newspaper (and broadcasting stations) with a wide readership and audiences. For a publication to be rated as mainstream may depend on its readership, issues it deals with and its sales. Fundamentally, the mainstream media in Kenya are commercial ventures.

Nyabuga and Booker (2013) emphasise that, the power of newspapers cannot be underestimated. They provide a wide coverage of society events given in brief in television and radio platforms. Newspapers gives a detailed information of what happened and how it impacts on people's lives. They are considered to provide credible news with originality. Media conglomerates with online and broadcasting platforms publish most of the newspapers.

In Kenya, the newspaper industry has been circulating newspapers based on its type and the target population (Omanga, 2012). The standard, the oldest media that started in 1902 and the nation media group (started its publications in 1959), dominates with largest market share. *The Standard* provide daily editions from Monday to Friday while '*The Standard* on Saturday

is published on Saturday' and '*The Sunday Standard*' published on Sunday. County weekly is also tackled covering the development issues around the forty-seven counties in the country.

Daily Nation gives coverage from Monday to Friday. *Saturday Nation* is published on Saturday while *Sunday Nation* on Sundays. They provide wide coverage of news including sports across the world, politics and business news. The Business Daily, the East Africa and Taifa Leo are publications by NMG. Currently, media platforms are now giving attention to segmenting audiences based on trends on readership. In November 2012, the Standard Group Limited introduced 'game yetu' covering sports events than few coverage offered in their dailies. Likewise, in January 2013, the NMG also launched 'Sporton'.

The standard media published 'The Nairobiian' in November 2013, to meet the specific needs for people living in Nairobi. On the same, Nation Media launched 'Nairobi News' to meet the demands of the Nairobi audience and shed light to what inspires the lifestyle of the city dwellers. The star (publication of the radio Africa group), Kenya times and the people (owned by media max networks) are also other publications well known in Kenya. According to Nyabuga & Booker (2013), *The Daily Nation* is the largest newspaper by circulation, followed by *The Standard* then *Taifa Leo*, *The Star*, *Business Daily*, and *The People* systematically.

2.1.1 Role of the Media

Media contributes to the development of a country. In Africa, Kenyan media has been in the forefront though the citizens are accorded unparalleled accessibility to print and broadcast media (MCK, 2011). Laswell (1948) highlighted that the societal basic roles are achieved through entertainment means, relaxation and tension reduction. This enables people to cope with their real-life situation hence preventing breakdown of the society. Media provides transmits useful information that educates people by use of newspapers, radio and televisions. Media creates a discussion forum where people raise their voice on issues affecting their lives.

According to Mwangi (2016), a lot of emphasis should be done on how the media conducts its business in social and political platforms as it bears its consequences. For example, media can be a powerful tool to promote political ideologies or cause social unrest. People can express their opinions online, monitoring of the government like the coverage of government

corruption scandals: The Afya House Scam or coverage of election and political debates, proceedings and outcomes in *The Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers in Kenya.

Mass media influences culture, politics and commerce indirectly. Politically, it makes people aware of the candidates through the electioneering process as well highlights social issues for the audience. Politicians use the platform to self-publicize themselves. Interpretation of events is carried out given the fact media is the most trusted source in terms of accuracy. Dr. Kamau in his media research argued that negative coverage has an impact on people's perception as they will base their decisions on the negative content received. The study highlighted that there is little coverage on the coalition government achievements with core concentration on failures which in return is perceived by the public as it has done very little in terms of development.

In relation to this study, the labels and frames used by the two daily mainstream newspapers to describe Elections and the Land Reform Agenda tends to influence the public's perception on the same issues and tends to provide lenses through which the public understands Election and the Land Reform Agenda ultimately influencing the voting patterns of the citizenry.

The print media can also play a negative role due to its profit-oriented nature of focusing on what is sensational, even in serious discourses like Land Reform and Elections with an eye on increasing circulation and attracting more readers and advertisers. They may explore and highlight the trivial elements in serious issues. This can breed cynicism and lack of interest when it focuses on scandals and not the real issues (Ornebring and Johnsson, 2004). This is evident in the General Election held last year where there were speculations of IEBC (Interim Electoral and Boundaries Commission) officials who were said to be part of the conspiracy towards the rigged elections.

2.2 Land Reform Agenda in Kenya

Malombe (2011) highlights land as a resource for holistic development in a country. Land reforms should focus on changing of laws, regulations or land ownership customs. In Kenya implementation of comprehensive land reforms has been slow and at times disappointing; the challenges have been lack of political good will, limited resources in terms of budgetary allocation and corruption.

Bruce and Migot-Adhola, (1994) Akinyi, (2006) Research studies in Africa show that land ownership and use, policy issues and politics dictate economic development patterns. African countries like Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe got the most skewed distribution of land following the colonial period. In South Africa, racial mal-distribution has left people landless due to colonialism and apartheid. Segregation of blacks rendered blacks from being removed from their homes. These circumstances are quite similar to the Kenyan context when the imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) held agreement with Sultan of Zanzibar where all land rights were ceded to this particular company. Land disputes causing conflicts have been degenerated. In 1992, during the President Moi regime, Maasai and Kalenjin communities to violence against Kikuyu. Violence also arose in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 (around elections) and 2005 and 2010, during the constitutional referendum campaign.

Studies done indicate that land ownership issues, access and utilization of land cause violence experienced in our country. In Mount Elgon, Sabaot Lands Defense Force (SLDF) where over 150 lives were taken majority were rendered homeless pertaining to land disputes. Those citizens who were displaced by the post-election violence were resettled while others returned back to their land portions. The nation has never addressed which still remains a root cause of political unrest among the Kenyans.

2.2.1 Major Reports Addressing Land Reforms in Kenya

ECA (2012) highlights that the Kenyan conflicts connected to land have a historic origin. The Kenyan land possession political evolution witnessed massive displacement and landlessness, conflict between customary and formal laws, ethnicization, politicization and regularization of land ownership. A lot of disparities in land ownership, procedural and substantial abuse of land laws and corrupt practice in land administration also contributes to conflicts. In Kenya, the Ndungu report on illegitimate and unequal allocation of land initiated from the year 2004, discovered that former presidents Kenyatta, Moi, and other influential persons in government became beneficiaries of unlawful and unequal allocations of public land. It is therefore worth noting that corruption, bribery, fraud, nepotism and clientelism in land management and state land organization in Kenya has seen an increase in number of land related conflicts.

KHCR (2019) Report on Redressing Historical Injustices in Kenya mentions the Land and Conflict chapter of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) report provides a detailed explanation of Kenya's historical land injustices. The report is divided into two

phases: the colonial era and post-independence era. The colonial administration used illegal procedures to get land from then local communities through forced evictions, native reserves and coercive means like forced taxation and labour. Kenyan government in the post-independence-era formed cartels of the settlement schemes funded by the foreigners. Communities did not benefit from them after the British displaced them. The government adopted ‘the willing buyer willing seller’ with regards to land transfers.

Coupled with a skewed empowerment of communities through formation of land buying companies, the policy saw large scale land acquisition in favor of communities identified as close to the centre of power. Trust land, government land and private land emerged. In this case, laws of the land were not observed leading to illegal possession of land like Ngong and Karura forest. The provincial administration maintained the same trend including eviction of people forcefully. Land grabbing was not of an exemption for personal gain. According to KHCR (2019), TJRC emphasizes on reforms both illegally and institutionally with the aim of addressing illegal allocation of public land. It will also help to address the historical injustices that fuel political unrest among the Kenyans.

2.2.2 Legal Frameworks Governing Land Reform in Kenya

Land is useful in achieving development. Based on this, Kenya approved the new land laws in April 2012. Various government initiatives like Kenya vision 2030, Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP), Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation Programme 2003 – 2007 were initiated. Legislations like the Land Commission Act (No. 5 of 2012), the Land Act (No.6 of 2012), The Land Registration Act (No.3 of 2012) and Land Laws (Amendment) Bill 2015 were enacted.

This evidently shows that although Kenya has the government initiatives and legislations governing land tenure, but since independence there is no provision of clearly defined national land policy leading to a complex land administration and management systems. Land problems manifests itself in terms of ownership disparities, land administration breakdown as well as poverty. As a result of this, landlessness, quality of land deteriorating, abandonment and underutilization of land. Kenya invested on consultative forums to formulate National Land Policy with its vision “To guide the country towards efficient, sustainable and equitable use of land for prosperity and posterity”. The policy addressed development control one of

the constitutional issue, protection of customary and private land rights as well as control measures to ensure land is put in productive manner.

Outdated legal framework accompanies the land administration systems which dates back to as far as 1814 when the colonial (government first introduced statutory laws to facilitate licensing and leasing of land to settlers. The English and Indian legal systems introduced operated parallel with the customary systems. This has resulted in very complex dual land tenure, administration and management systems leading to inefficiency in the land sector services. While making the process of accessing justice in land matters slow and ineffective. Presently, land administration, and management is governed by over 75 statues. Some of these statues are obsolete while others are either contradictory or irate conflict.

Regarding the review of land rights and land conflicts in Africa for the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Christian Lund, Rie Odgaard and Espen Sjaastad, they wrote that:

“The policy debate and research about land rights and land conflicts have clearly reflected that when dealing with the land issue in Africa it is advisable to keep a few basics in mind. First, there is no single land issue. A whole series of issues are among other things expressed in terms of access and control over natural resources, in terms of land tenure. Slow growth limited technological innovation, equity, social security and conflict are all concerns, which somehow relate to land. Not all are equally pressing in all circumstances and their respective priorities are essentially political. Land policies express, implicitly or explicitly, the political choices made concerning the distribution of power between the state, its citizens, and local systems of authority.”

There is no ‘natural evolution’ of land tenure systems. They form an integral part of social and political processes. In Africa, land grievances are not new issues but changes have been encountered based on technological, governance and demographic changes. According to Lund et al, (2006), land forms part of policy interventions since colonial era therefore any new policy must take into account or build on the previous policies otherwise, the efforts will be meaningless.

2.3 Land and Elections in Kenya

Wakhungu, Chris and Nyukuri (2008) indicate that Kenya has got track record of political violence experienced in the country ethnically mobilised arising from land disputes and militias deployed by leaders to gain political support. President Arap Moi exacerbated the land tensions due to the political threat of multiparty giving birth to Majimboism. Kikuyu community was evicted from the land they occupied in Rift Valley. In the process of eviction, many people died and others displaced. Land grabbing interfered with land governance rules. The establishment of devolved government in 47 counties was marked by the new constitution in 2010 (Spenser, 2007). Ethnic tensions were witnessed in the former coast province and Northeast Kenya following the 2013 election cycle. Ethnic attacks started among the Kikuyu and Kalenjins and Kikuyu attacks on Luo community, withdrawal of ICC cases. All these underlying issues are yet to be addressed.

2.4 Media Framing

According to Entman (1993), framing is selecting some reality aspects to make them more salient in a communication text. Entman (2003a) points out that framing involves selection and highlighting facets of issues, connect them to enhance an interpretation or give a solution. Media framing identifies the kind of media content to be included in the case of media texts and the kind of interpretation the media content seek to enhance in the process of event coverage. The views adopted by those directed is determined by the kind of frame accessed by the audience. It offers to the recipient the context through the process of selection or exclusion of identified ideas (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007, p.155).

Framing theory guides the process giving suggestions on how an issue is presented to the target audience (called “the frame”) as well as the choices on how they can process a particular information. The meaning of a message is structured by frames. They determine how people perceive a given information relayed to them. Apart from informing the audience what to think about (agenda setting theory), they also tell us how to think about a given issue ((second level agenda setting, framing theory).

McCombs & Ghanem (2003) argue that many media studies make use of framing to define how how a given story is framed to the readers but with differences in how various media frame their events. Stacks, Hocking, & McDermott (2003) highlighted that before examination of media frames, there should be description of the messages and the content.

Based on this, methodological technique used to study the media frames is by use of content analysis ((McQuail, 2000).

Frames are isolated based on the analysis of the content by observing characteristics of new stories mediated. Different approaches evaluate various media frames. McQual (2000) indicates that certain phrases or words can be used to analyse frames of textual elements. According to Gamson & Lasch (1983), five symbolic devices can be used to examine a frame that is: catchphrases, metaphors, visual images, exemplars and depictions which justifies a position generally. Pan and Kosicki's (1993) identifies four framing devices to analyse a frame that is script, syntactical, rhetorical structures and thematic thus giving basic data to researcher for judging the media frame.

A frame provides emphasis exposed to a particular issue and creation of understanding about the issue. Packaging group of facts to come up with a story is referred to as framing. Therefore, frames are those values and perspectives shared over a long period of time to give meaning (Mwangi, 2016). Regarding the land relation issues causing conflicts in Kenya, framing examines the functions of the media to develop public dispositions about the land reform agenda and elections. Despite the efforts, Pomper (2004) argues that framing can be used to hinder the objectivity of the news.

Wanjala (2013) posit that Kenyans are concerned with equitable accessibility to land and ways in which the presidential candidates will counter land historical injustices. Media coverage of Elections and the Land Reform Agenda in Kenya has intensely informed TV debates and opinions during electioneering periods. In 2013, the leading presidential candidates expressed their opinions on land reforms. While not purporting to present a representative picture of any specific newspaper or of the newspaper environment in general, this research proposal gives some indication of the way the respective newspapers approach issues of Elections and Land Reforms in Kenya and indicates the obvious gaps.

2.4.1 Media Framing of the Land Reform Agenda during political debates and manifestos prior to General Elections in Kenya

Political aspects affect land issues as indicated by Putzel (1992). He added that the issue is unavoidable. It raises a lot of debates on those who propose efficient control of land and

property rights redistribution with those opposing to redistribution extensively to those focusing on agricultural productivity measures.

According to Mwangi (2016), argues that media content is a powerful variable meant to cast light on discourses for setting agenda. Journalists carry the capacity to dictate newsworthy stories as well as space given. Words formed in news articles persuades thus can cause generalization or stereotyping in the mind of those reading. Mwathe (2017) indicated that discussions on the media framing of the Land Reform Agenda during political debates and manifestos prior to General Elections in Kenya in 2002 was informed by two factors as it occurred before attaining of the new constitution, National Land Policy and the Ndung'u report. Political achievements were bagged involving promises to resolve land injustices, reposes public land and bring enactment to the land policy. Politicians embarked on debates targeting seeking of votes with promises to implement the land policy and act on the land grabbing report (Eliud, 2017). Between 2010 and 2013, some aspects of land legislation got enacted setting ground for implementation.

According to Mwathe (2017), the 2017 presidential and party campaigns held before the August 8th election. According to Onyango (2017) the mainstream print media *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* coverage of election campaigns in the month of February and early March 2017, Raila Odinga one of the key running mates for the presidential seat on the CORD ticket in his manifesto stated that if elected his team would address historical injustices on land, establish and enforce sustainable land-use standards, promote transparency in the management of and public access to information pertaining land as well as securing land resources of the rural poor. The Jubilee team headed by Uhuru Kenyatta's manifesto was key to state that they would address the land issue upon appointment into office through repossession of illegally occupied public land, prosecute land grabbers, adjudicate and issue title for community land and give every Kenyan the right to leave a reasonable holding in the community. Has media framing of these political debates on Land Reform Agenda prior to elections positively influenced the voters' perception and voting behavior. Critics of the influence of media framing approach in response to land issue is meaningless. Despite this observation the print media in Kenya has been cited as an effective tool in shaping and influencing behavior. They have a great reach and impact on society. *The Standard* newspaper and *The Daily Nation* have to some extent attempted to cover Elections and the Land Reform Agenda in Kenya which affect voting behaviour and patterns.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Mugenda (2003) defines a theory as a set of constructs and the assumed interrelations existing among those concepts. A theoretical framework therefore gives a guide for getting answers to questions formulated in this study. This study is informed by three media effects theories grounded primarily in framing theory supported by agenda setting theory and the social construction theory examining the role of the media in representing the Land Reforms Agenda during general elections in Kenya that leads to the construction of social reality by media audiences and individuals (Tuchman 1978). Nevertheless, these theories also assist in the better understanding of how the media especially the mainstream print media in Kenya which is our area of focus for this study in molding public opinion and perceptions on the Land Reform Agenda during electioneering period.

2.5.1 Framing Theory

Framing theory was developed by Goffman in 1974, with *Frame Analysis* title. The theory states that people's primary framework help to interpret the events worldwide. Social and natural frameworks are the two primary framework distinctions. Physical occurrences are identified naturally without attributing any social forces to the causation of events while primary frameworks are built on natural frameworks. These two frameworks determine how data is communicated, processed and interpreted to enhance understanding. Techniques applied in framing include slogans, catchphrases and stories. Goffman believed that people use these frameworks every day even if they are aware of them or not. Framing set the agenda by setting eye of the public on specific topics identified.

Framing according McCombs 2002; Lipman (1922) determines how public interpret information and how they think and about a given issue. Various interpretive frameworks formulate mental pictures to the readers.

Based on the way the media packages information, engender certain ways in which we interpret reality. Framing theory address issues related to audience and media related frames. The concern is how people are affected by the media frames as stated by McQuail (2000). Price & Tewksbury (1997) highlighted that the theory focuses in analyzing presentations on news story not only on topics but also on the ways formulation of public problems are done to the audience.

Framing theory has the strengths and its application which include: its usefulness in a broad range of ideas. Business or advertisements companies which use frames to gain revenue as they favorably pitch their products to consumers. A strength is in the fact that it enables people understand issues better as it can provide clarity on a subject matter. It has its weaknesses in the fact that each individual has an individual frame of mind so they would perceive different things in a different manner rather than the intended. Frames can also exaggerate a negative on a person or an event.

2.5.2 Agenda Setting Theory

This theory was first introduced by Dr. Maxwell McCombs and Dr. Donald Shaw in 1972 in their study on the media role in the 1968 presidential campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The ways in which the public opinions are determined by the media were established by McCombs, 1972; Shaw, (1973). Agenda setting theory holds that the news media shapes realities politically. How much time you spend on an issue and the information conveyed in a news story determines the readers capacity to learn and an issue is prioritized. Agenda setting theory holds assumption that the press and the media enhance filtering and shaping of reality rather than reflecting on the same. It also holds that when the media drives attention on few issues/subjects, those issues are internalized by the public as more important than others.

This theory was derived from Walter Lippmann's 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*. He argued that the media create the principle events connection and events images are created in the people's minds. Cohen (1963) made observation that the press is successful in telling the readers what to think about and unsuccessful to tell people what to think. People think differently based on the map drawn for them by publishers and writers.

Rogers and Dearing (1988) further established the agenda setting (how the public sets the agenda), policy agenda setting (how agenda is set by elite policy makers) and media agenda (set by the media). Agenda setting involves "changes in the media coverage which lead to or cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of issues" as stated by Brosius and Kepplinger, 1990, p.190; Lang and Lang, 1981. Therefore, newspapers succeed in telling the audience what to think about through their writings. Salience, on which the agenda setting theory is premised, is brought out through repeated publication of stories. This repetitiveness constructs provide images in the mind of the audience.

The theory draws much attention on how the audience interact with the media. The process creates link on the motivation of the audience seeking orientation, the exposure of the media and how public issues are perceived by the audience. This theory is applicable in legal systems, business news, commercial advertising as well as corporate reputation.

2.5.3 Social Construction Theory

Constructionism became prominent in the U.S. with Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's 1966 book, *The Social Construction of Reality*. They posit that social interactions derives from and also maintains knowledge including the most basic of reality every day (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). They stated that people interact with the understanding in mind that their perception realities are connected hence reinforcing their reality common language. Social constructs vary per society and are also pegged by the period in which the events exist. Why and how different people view the world in a given perspective is based on the premise of the reality through social construction. The theory defines weak social construct and strong social construct. The weak ones are fundamental facts that are not easy to understand while strong social constructs are dependent on constructed knowledge of the human that don't just exist.

Social learning stated by Bandura (1977) highlights how consumers of the social media can learn societal actions that are appropriate. Cultivation theory by Gerbner in 1973 also argues on how people are able to line their world views with those that media presents. All these theories base their arguments from the social construction assumptions of reality. Social constructive theory holds that artifacts are constructed by people working together. The theory is criticized for its relativism.

Newspapers use language, signs and graphical illustrations in their analysis and integration of issues they discuss. This impacts the audiences perception of the everyday reality on Land Reform and election issues like land grabbing, historical injustices, land policies and legal frameworks and political manifestos geared toward the land agenda that ultimately determines the voting patterns of the citizenry. This is because the audience reconstruct meaning socially and politically through the world media-generated images of the world. The media normalize the whole process thus causing invisibility in the art of social construction.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This section examines in detail the methodology adopted in carrying out the study and its suitability to the objectives of this study. It offers brief discussions of the research as it covers the research design, sampling procedure employed in the study, scope of the study, data collection instruments, reliability and validity of research instruments, research ethics and the procedure for data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is defined by Kothari (2004) as the arrangements of conditions for data collection and analysis. The process involves collecting, analyzing, planning and organizing information (data). This study adopted a descriptive approach as it is the most appropriate given its nature. In this research an accurate description of phenomena under study that is print media coverage of land reform agenda issues during electioneering period was done.

3.2 Research Approach

The study used both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Quantitative through analysis of the land issues in the context of *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper editions and obtaining descriptions explanations and relationships between and among variables so as to provide a general understanding of the problem under study. The researcher then used qualitative method of data collection. Specifically, the researcher undertook a content analysis targeting *The Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. According to Gamson and Lasch (1983), analysis of frames can examine five symbolic framing devices which include visual images, catchphrases, metaphors, depictions and exemplars. All these devices gives a defined framework where an issue can be viewed. It also involves examination of reasoning devices involving around consequences, causal attributions and appeals to principles used to justify the position generally. Pan and Kosicki's (1993) argues that framing devices (script, thematic, syntactical, and rhetorical structures can be used to analyze a frame. It provides enough content to judge a given media frame.

3.3 Research Method

Content analysis is the methodological technique necessary to use when studying media frames (McQuail, 2000). It allows examination of various characteristics of news stories that are mediated. He noted that analysis of frames can be done using huge number of textual elements that includes “the use of certain words or phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or film, referring to certain sources” (p. 343).

The research methodology used in the study was the content analysis because of its suitability in studying records and documents (newspapers). A comparative content analysis of the daily and weekend editions of *The Standard* and *The Nation Newspapers* on the land reform agenda during the election campaign periods for the three-year cycle of 2002, 2007 and 2017 was conducted. This covered a duration of four months obtained from the Interim Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) gazette notice on the election campaign period for the three election years.

McQuail (2000) argues that content analysis is the suitable methodological technique to study media frames. The research used secondary data only. The sample population was selected through purposive sampling technique.

3.4 Study Population

Population can be defined as people/objects or anything under investigation. On the same note, population sampling is the process of taking a subset of subjects (representative of the entire population). For a sample to warrant a statistical analysis, the size must be represented well. The population of interest depends on what the researcher is studying (Deacon et al, 2007). The study population included all *Nation* and *Standard* newspaper editions published in the three electoral cycles of 2002, 2013 and 2017 as defined by the IEBC gazette notices on election campaigns. This specific study aimed to establish how *The Nation* and *Standard* newspapers reported on land reform agenda issues during the campaign period of the election.

The study's population was 568 editions tabulated as indicated in the tables below:

Table 3.1: Newspaper editions in campaign period in the year 2002

Publication per day	September	October	November	December	Total
Nation	4	31	30	26	91
Standard	4	31	30	26	91
Total editions published					182

Table 3.2 : Newspaper editions in campaign period in the year 2007

Publication per day	September	October	November	December	Total
Nation	10	31	30	25	96
Standard	10	31	30	25	96
Total editions published					192

Table 3.3: Newspaper editions in campaign period in the year 2017

Publication per day	May	June	July	August	Total
Nation	31	30	31	5	97
Standard	31	30	31	5	97
Total editions published					194

Total newspapers editions published within the three election cycle years 2002, 2007, 2017

a) *Nation*- 254

b) *Standard*-254

Grand total (population) of newspaper editions published for the entire period of general elections on land reforms in 2002, 2007, 2017

2002- 182

2007- 192

2017- 194

568 editions

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The research used secondary data collection methods. The researcher first carried out an online search to find out the land reform agenda stories on the digital copies of the dailies editions for the election period dates for the three years. Any newspaper article that had the land reform agenda issues mentioned was analysed. Articles were drawn from the campaign period prior to elections in 2002, 2007 and 2017 in their entirety. The mentioned years were selected so as to cover both thematic and episodic news coverage involving the land reform agenda and election. Prior to the 2002 elections period was covered as it lies before the attainment of the National Land Policy, The Ndungu report and the new constitution. 2007 was covered because in this year there were proposals that the land reforms agenda be suspended until after the 2007 General Election as they were said to be too sensitive and might be used by the opposition to campaign against President Kibaki. 2017 was covered as this is where political campaigns prior to elections references to land and land reform related issues were interfered with. Furthermore, the first general election was chosen for the study because it covered all the candidates from the various political parties competing for elective positions in the presidential campaign and their conversations on land reform agenda.

3.5.1 Data Collection Tools

The researcher proceeded to the University's library and identified the editions with the land reform articles singled out from the on-line search of *The Standard* and *Daily Nation Newspapers*. The researcher read, measured, categorized and coded the information obtained for description and analysis of information. A coding sheet was used to list down the newspaper, placement of articles, tone, space and allocation of stories, source of information for the stories among other variables.

3.6 Sampling

Purposive sampling according to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999:50) argue that it allows the use of cases by the researcher objectively in the study. The researcher will use purposive technique to determine the accessible population as this research is only aimed at land reform agenda issues covered in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* editions for the identified election periods in the study. Therefore 568 editions were selected for the study and only those that published land reform agenda stories were chosen to constitute the sample.

3.6.1 Selection of Cases

Articles were drawn from the campaign period prior to elections in 2002, 2007 and 2017 in their entirety. In 2002 the population was at 182 newspapers covering the period between 27th September -26th December 2002. In 2007 the population was 192 newspapers covering the period between 20th September -27th December 2007 while in 2017 the population was 194 newspapers covering the period between 28th May -5th August 2017. This covers the period before the first general elections which was held on the 8th of August 2017.

3.6.2 Unit Analysis

The unit of analysis in the research were the articles on land reform agenda published in the two newspapers within the study period.

The key variables of this study were:

1. **Newspaper:** The name of the newspaper in which the article was published.
2. **Date:** The date and day of publication of the article.
3. **Number of articles:** This is to determine the frequency of coverage about land reform agenda issues during general elections.
4. **Placement:** front page/lead story, front page/sub-story, page 2, page 3, pg. 20, inside and back page stories.
5. **Space allocation:** This was done by assessing the space allocated to the story that is length width in cm².
6. **Source of information:** These are people or institutions who originated the stories and those whom the stories will concern.
7. **Story type:** news analysis, news, letters to the editor, editorial, opinion, features, columns and local, national and international news articles.
8. **Tone of article:** either positive, negative or neutral. Tone refers to the direction inferred in the articles they could be positive like land policy, land reforms, land ownership or negative like land grabbing and historical injustices.
9. **Key frames:** issues affecting land reforms: political, economic, religious, cultural, social, and legal. Land reforms which include; registration, management, repossession, adjudication, titling and resettlement.

3.6.3 Pilot Study

According to Hennik et al. (2011), the researcher should pilot-test the data collection tool, in this study the content analysis tool, to determine if the questions are understood immediately, if the words were adapted to the context of the content analysis. This was done to ensure that the content analysis questions were relevant and appropriate. This content analysis research process involved a pilot study in order to clearly define the existing land reform agenda issues that are captured in the data collection tool. The tool was evaluated for its suitability based on a number of criteria. The first being the appropriateness that is whether the data collection tool was good enough to answer the research questions. Secondly criteria is validity which was used to determine whether the instrument was a valid operationalization of the research questions. The third criteria is saturation, which tackled the concerns of information sufficiency. The biggest concern was if or not the content analysis lead to a level where there was saturation of information and no questions remain unanswered. The fourth criteria was coherence in design of the content analysis. This showed if the analysis was correctly inked to the task. The fifth criteria is new information, the pilot study tried to establish whether or not the content analysis provided any new information on the land reform agenda during general elections in Kenya.

3.6.4 Data Validity and Reliability

Data reliability according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), is the degree to which identified tools for assessment should be able to yield consistent results after repeated trials. Data validity is defined as the consistency of measurement. Reliability identifies the ambiguities. For testing the reliability of the present study, three independent coders the researcher and two postgraduate students in Journalism coded the same group of land reform agenda issues.

3.6.5 Anticipated Challenges and How to Overcome Them

There are various challenges that the researcher contended with in the content analysis data collection process. This was challenges like focusing on too many elements for the study instead of a few key elements to be measured and also designing of the code sheet which was complex. To mitigate on this as the researcher thought of new questions, he or she made sure that the idea to be measured was well understood. If it did not bear some logic behind it that could be explained in one sentence and some concrete attributes the researcher could find in the newspaper, it was probably not measurable. The principle of the idea should allow objective measurement. To some extent, it could be difficult to achieve as there are a lot of

aspects of content that were so subjective that there is no way to create clear guidelines that the coder could apply consistently. A good example was trying to measure whether a story had a positive or negative aspect. Content analysis occasionally attempts to measure coverage that is positive or negative though, usually very narrowly defined, problematic and costly.

The researcher experienced difficulty in deciding and creating categories of what he or she wanted to measure. He or she ensured that there were mutually exclusive categories, making sure that there was no overlapping and that there were meaningful differences between rating categories. A fine distinction between categories/ratings was defined to avoid confusion that would make results unreliable. Also making sure there's a category for everything. To avoid the researcher/coder trying to force stories into inappropriate categories and distorting results. He or she would have to only create separate categories for things he or she sees often. The best approach was to test categories by use real and tangible stories. Coding of a few dozen stories gave clearance of many of them that don't have a category with no information in them at all.

3.6.6 Data Analysis, Coding and Interpretation

Descriptive statistics was employed to analyze the data. This included counting of the number of articles on land reform agenda in the identified newspapers, identification and categorization of thematic areas on land reform, identification of story placement, size and amount of space allocated to the stories and tone of articles and graphic representations such as graphs, charts and tables. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003, descriptive statistics allows the researcher to describe a distribution of scores or measurements using a few indices or statistics. Quantitative data analysis was used to show descriptive tendencies such as percentage, frequency, mean, median and totals. This was done by running the data through SPSS programme. Similarly, qualitative data was used to support the quantitative one this was obtained from analysis of the various themes that were identified in the study this include land tenure, historical injustices, key players in land, reform, registration and management.

3.6.7 Research Ethics

Research ethics are the rules of conduct in research (Shamoo and Resnik, 2005). All the information borrowed from other sources were well acknowledged and attributed. The privacy and confidentiality of the collected information was maintained all the way through the study procedure.

The researcher obtained a Certificate of Field work (see appendix III), Certificate of Originality (see appendix V) and Certificate of Corrections (see appendix VI) from the School of Journalism and Mass Communication to continue the research after submitting and defending the research project report.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This section presents the data analysis and the presentation of the study findings and their interpretation. Quantitative data collected was analyzed using SPSS in terms of tone of the stories, themes, type of stories, number of articles and placement. This was done through the analysis of *The Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers coverage of stories on the land reform agenda. The general objective of the study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. To compare and contrast the coverage of the land reform agenda stories by *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers in Kenya.
- ii. To find out how much space the print media allocates to land reform agenda stories during the election periods in Kenya.
- iii. To establish the sources of information on land reform agenda stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya.
- iv. To explore how the framing of stories on land reform agenda were covered in *The Standard and Nation* newspapers.

4.1 Frequency by Story

The Daily Nation and *The Standard* gave the land reform agenda stories a combined coverage of 162 stories during the study period. However, both split coverage almost equally between them; *The Standard* had a higher frequency of 83 stories (51.76%) compared to *The Daily Nation* 78 stories that translate to 48.24%. More specifically the number of stories in 2002 were 8 equivalent to 38% for *The Standard* and 13 stories making up 62% for *The Daily Nation*. In 2007 number of stories on the land reform agenda were at 23 that is 42% for *The Daily Nation* and 32 (58%) for *The Standard*. While in 2017 we had 39 stories 45% coverage in *The Standard* and 47 stories constituting 55% in *The Daily Nation*. This is highlighted in the figures 4.1 a, 4.1b, 4.1c. The figure 4.1a, 4.1b and 4.1c clearly indicate an equal balance in the number of stories covered by both *The Standard and Nation* newspapers. This leads to the conclusion that both the newspapers had a fair coverage of the land reform agenda issues within the period of study. In terms of framing both newspapers have displayed that land reform issues are a key issue that require a large and equal share as it affects the wider population especially in determining voting patterns during electioneering periods in the country.

Table 4.1a Frequency by story for the three election cycle years

Year	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
2002	8	10	13	15.6	21	13
2007	32	40	23	27.7	55	34
2017	39	49	47	56.6	86	53
TOTAL	79	100	83	100	162	100

Figure 4.1a Frequency by story in 2002

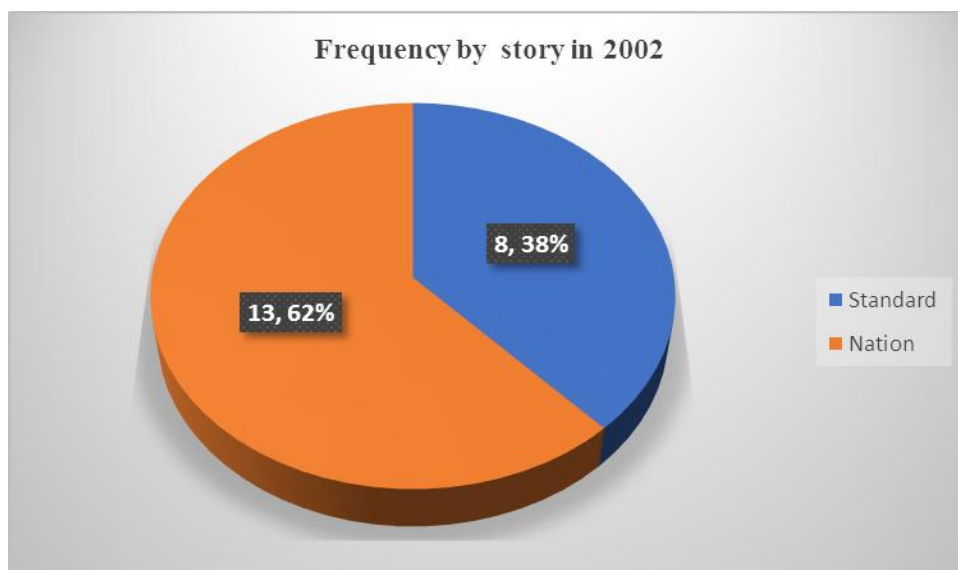


Figure 4.1b Frequency by story in 2007

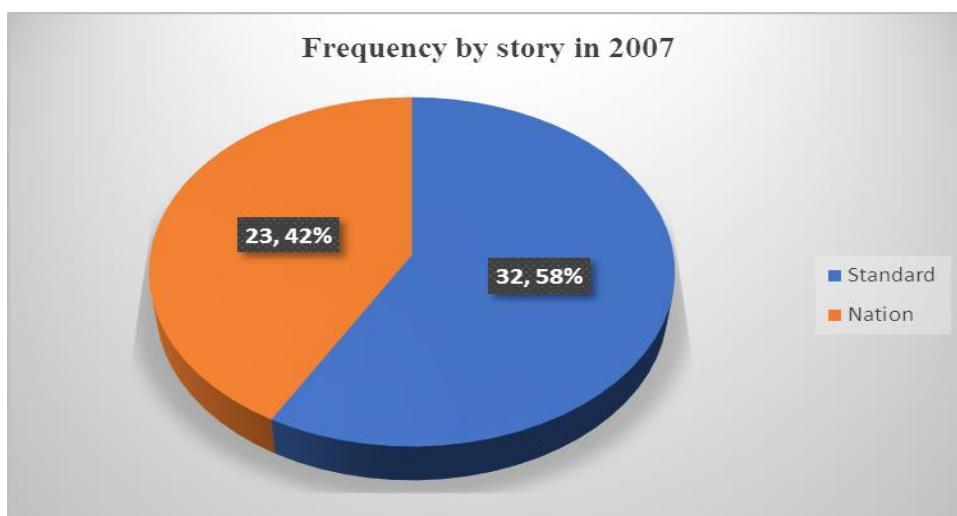
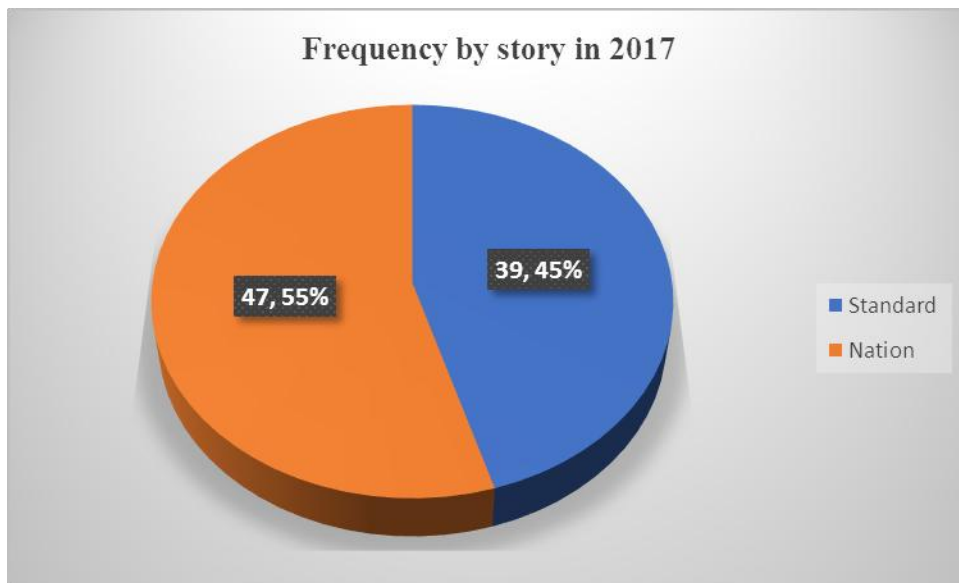


Figure 4.1c :Frequency by story in 2017



4.2 Story Placement

The study also analysed the stories about land reform agenda in terms of placement on the newspapers. Placement of stories is a component of priming and reflects the prominence with which newspapers treat stories. Story placement is described as where a story appears in the paper whether front page lead story, front page sub-story, page two, page, back page or inside pages.

In the study period the two newspapers placed a total of 79 land reform agenda stories on the front-page. Forty stories (34%) were accorded front page lead placement while 23 (16%) of them were front page sub-stories. The land reform agenda issues had the highest front-page lead stories in 2002 at 5 stories (40%) for *The Daily Nation*. The front-page sub-stories, page 2 and back page had an equal share of 3 stories at 20% each in the same year. In 2007 the front page lead story had a coverage of 6 stories (38%) in *The Daily Nation* followed closely by *The Standard* at 8 stories (33%). Similarly, page 2, the front page sub-story and back page has an equal share of 4 stories (16%) for each respectively. In 2017 the front page lead story for *The Standard* was the highest and stood at 15 stories (31%), page 2 followed closely at 11 stories (22%). The story with the least coverage was page 3 with a total of 1 story (6.7%) coverage in 2002. As indicated in the tables 4.1a,4.1b and 4.1c. From the findings of the study it can be inferred that a the lion’s share of placement was for the front page lead stories which carried the day for the three consecutive election cycle years on 2002, 2007 and 2017. This is owing to the fact that prominence and coverage of land reform agenda stories is

usually on the increase during political debates around electioneering periods in the Kenya as land issues acts as a major subject of discussions and intense debate. This evidently shows the return of the idea of land reforms to the political agenda. Story titles like *Land grabbing, no title deed*, *Land grabbing must stop at the coast* made the headlines for the front lead and front-page sub-stories. While stories with titles like *Land is economy* and *Squatters deal on land is denied* made headlines for stories on page two and three.

Table 4.1 a : Story placement in 2002

Story Placement	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Front page lead story	4	26.7	2	40	6	30
Front page sub-story	3	20	1	20	4	20
Pg 2	1	6.67	1	20	2	10
Pg 3	1	6.67	0	0	1	5
Inside	3	20	0	0	3	15
Back page	3	20	1	20	4	20
TOTAL	15	100	5	100	20	100

Table: 4.1 b: Story placement in 2007

Story Placement	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Front page lead story	8	33.3	6	37.5	14	35
Front page sub-story	4	16.67	2	12.5	6	15
Pg 2	4	16.67	4	25	8	20
Pg 3	2	8.3	1	6.25	3	7.5
Inside	2	8.3	1	6.25	3	7.5
Back page	4	16.67	2	12.5	6	15
TOTAL	24	100	16	100	40	100

Table 4.1 c : Story placement in 2017

Story Placement	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Front page lead story	15	30.6	12	42.8	27	35
Front page sub-story	8	16.3	5	17.9	13	16.9
Pg 2	11	22.4	2	7.1	13	16.9
Pg 3	5	10.2	4	14.3	9	11.7
Inside	6	12.2	2	7.1	8	10.4
Back page	4	8.2	3	10.7	7	9.1
TOTAL	49	100	28	100	77	100

4.3 Space Allocation (size of story)

Stories concerning the land reform agenda were analysed in terms of their publication sizes in cm². *The Nation* and *Standard* are printed on A3-sized papers with a print space of 918 cm² per page.

In the period under study the stories concerning the land reform agenda took a combined space of 20328.14 cm² in the two newspapers which translates to 22.1 newspaper pages. This is a significant space allocation given that an ordinary daily newspaper ranges between 48 and 64 pages long. Taken cumulatively, 40.3% the stories about the land reform agenda could constitute of the average daily newspaper. *The Daily Nation* gave the stories a space of 5426.34 cm² which constitute of the total story size (27%) compared to *The Standard* that dedicated a bigger space 14,901.8 cm² (73%). *The Standard* was more generous of the two newspapers in size allocation to individual stories about the land reform agenda. Its smallest story was 60 cm² and the biggest one was 840 cm². On the other hand, story sizes in *The Daily Nation* ranged from 16 cm² to 532 cm².

When clustered according to sizes for the three election cycle years on 2002, 2007 and 2017. The size allocation for *The Standard* was 2998.5 cm² (63.6%) in 2002 as compared to *The Daily Nation* which was at 1717 cm² (36.4%). Size allocation for 2007 was at 2416 cm² (62%) for *The Standard* and 1474 cm² (37.9%) for *The Nation*. In 2017, size allocation was at 11848 cm² (50.3%) for *The Nation* and 11,710.8 cm² (49.7%) for *The Standard* as indicated in the tables 4.2a, 4.2b and 4.2c. The findings on size allocation in the two newspapers reveal that over the three election years cycle covered that most land reform agenda stories were

allocated equal prominence of space in the two dailies and they received a lion share of coverage for the three years. In terms of media framing of land reform issues it indicates the importance or weight placed on stories covered on land reforms during election years.

Table 4.2a Size allocation for stories in 2002

	Size allocation range								
	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-700	701-800	801-900
Standard	2	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0
Nation	5	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	7	3	6	2	3	0	0	0	0

Table 4.2b Size allocation for stories in 2007

	Size allocation range								
	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-700	701-800	801-900
Standard	3	2	7	10	1	4	2	3	0
Nation	5	3	5	4	1	2	1	1	1
TOTAL	8	5	12	14	2	6	3	4	1

Table 4.2 c Size allocation for stories in 2017

	Size allocation range								
	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-700	701-800	801-900
Standard	10	6	5	2	4	6	3	6	5
Nation	4	7	3	7	4	5	2	2	5
TOTAL	14	13	8	9	8	11	5	8	10

4.4 Sources of information on land reform issues

Presidential candidates and the media acted as the main sources of the news stories during the election campaign periods for the three election cycle years of 2002, 2007 and 2017. They were followed by political parties and civil society organizations and lastly the Ministry of Land.

In 2002 presidential candidates and the media had an equal share as sources of information on the land reform agenda with 5 (39%) in *The Daily Nation*. In 2007 presidential candidates stood at 10 (31%) in *The Standard* and 8 (35%) in *The Daily Nation*. Political parties were at 7 (22%) in *The Standard* and 5 (22%) in *The Daily Nation* of the same year. Civil society organizations were at 8 (25%) in *The Standard* and 5 (22%) in *The Daily Nation* of the same year. In 2017 presidential candidates had a significantly large share of 12(31%) in *The Standard* and 15 (32%) in *The Daily Nation*. Political parties as sources of information on the land reform agenda issues had a tie of 9 (23%) for both *The Standard and Daily Nation*. The least sources of information were the Ministry of land with 1 (4%) in *The Daily Nation* in 2007. As indicated in the tables 4.2a, 4.2b and 4.2c. From the findings on the sources of land reform agenda issues from the three-year election cycle it can be inferred that presidential candidates and the media were considered the largest sources of information. This is based on the fact that presidential candidates during electioneering period usually use the land issue for political mileage and promise the voters if they win the election, they would address land differences once and for all which include: address injustices “including, but not limited to, squatters’ problems, displacement of indigenous communities, and involuntary resettlement of populations”. The major political parties like Jubilee had their presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta spearheading conversations on the land reform agenda while the Orange Democratic Party had Raila Odinga speaking on the same.

The media on the other hand recognizing the importance of conversations around land which is a key factor of production and in a bid to carry out their key role of informing and educating audiences act as major sources of information on the land reform agenda. The media through correspondents and their reporters in the various counties in the country were able to report on the land reform agenda issues during this period of study.

Table 4.2 a: Sources of information on land reform issues in 2002

Source of information	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Presidential candidates	2	25	5	39	7	35
Political party leaders	1	13	2	15	3	15
The Media	2	25	4	31	6	30
Ministry of land	1	13	1	8	2	10
Civil society organizations	2	25	1	8	3	15
TOTAL	8	100	13	100	20	100

Table 4.2 b: Sources of information on land reform issues in 2007

Source of information	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Presidential candidates	10	31	8	35	18	33
Political party leaders	7	22	5	22	12	22
The Media	4	13	4	17	8	15
Ministry of land	3	9	1	4	4	7
Civil society organizations	8	25	5	22	13	24
TOTAL	32	100	23	100	55	100

Table 4.2 c: Sources of information on land reform issues in 2017

Source of information	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Presidential candidates	12	31	15	32	27	31
Political party leaders	9	23	11	23	20	23
The Media	5	13	10	21	15	17
Ministry of land	5	13	4	9	9	11
Civil society organizations	8	21	7	15	15	17
TOTAL	39	100	47	100	86	100

4.5 Story Type

In terms of story types, news stories about the land reform agenda got the highest frequency in the two newspapers contributing 48 stories (43%) of the total stories. The story type with the largest share of coverage was news at 6 stories (60 %) in *The Daily Nation* in 2002 and followed closely by 4 stories (40%) in *The Standard* in the same year. News was also

relatively high in 2017 at 14 stories (48%) for *The Standard*. In 2007 news made up 10 stories (37%) of the story types while editorials made up 6 stories (24%). Editorial and letters to the editor had the least coverage in 2002 with an equal share of 1 story 10% each. This is indicated in the table 4.3 a, 4.3b and 4.3c. From the findings of the study we can conclude that news articles which are hard news took the largest share of story types followed closely by news analysis. They both take a factual approach and try to answer the questions about what happened, who was involved, when and where did it happen. Media framing of this hard news stories on the land reform agenda gave them a sense of importance and urgency and also kept the audiences at per with the key issues that came up within the three election cycle periods of 2002, 2007 and 2017 covered within the study.

Table 4.3 a: Story type in 2002

Story Type	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
News	4	40	6	60	10	50
News analysis	2	20	1	10	3	15
Opinions	1	10	1	10	2	10
Features	1	10	0	0	1	5
Editorial	1	10	0	0	1	5
Letters to the editor	1	10	2	20	3	15
TOTAL	10	100	10	100	20	100

Table 4.3 b: Story type in 2007

Story Type	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
News	10	37	6	24	16	30.8
News analysis	2	7.4	5	20	7	13.5
Opinions	3	11	1	4	4	7.7
Features	4	15	3	12	7	13.5
Editorial	5	18.5	6	24	11	21
Letters to the editor	3	11	4	16	7	13.5
TOTAL	27	100	25	100	52	100

Table 4.3 c: Story type in 2017

Story Type	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
News	14	48.3	8	23.5	22	34.9
News analysis	4	13.8	10	29.4	14	22.2
Opinions	2	6.9	5	14.7	7	11.1
Features	2	6.9	4	11.8	6	9.5
Editorial	2	6.9	3	8.8	5	7.9
Letters to the editor	5	17.2	4	11.8	9	14.3
TOTAL	29	100	34	100	63	100

4.6 Tone of Articles

The study also analysed the stories about the land reform agenda on their tone. They were classified as ‘positive’, ‘negative’ or ‘neutral’. This revealed that both newspapers accorded much bigger space to positive stories than they did to negative and neutral stories.

Of the 84 stories published by *The Daily Nation* about the land reform agenda 32 of them were negative an equal number were positive and 20 were neutral for *The Standard* a total of 35 stories were positive, 29 stories were negative and 13 were neutral for the three election cycle years of 2002, 2007 and 2017 respectively.

More specifically, negative stories for the year 2002 stood at 2stories (20%) for *The Standard* and 3stories (30%) for *The Daily Nation* respectively. In 2007 negative stories were highest in *The Standard* at 15 stories (52%) followed closely by *The Daily Nation* of the same year at 12 stories (40%). The neutral tone in 2007 was at 6 stories (21%) in *The Standard* and 11 stories (37%) in *The Daily Nation*. In the election period in 2017 positive stories stood at 20 stories (53%) in *The Standard* and 22 stories (50%) in *The Daily Nation* followed closely by negative stories at 12 stories (32%) for *The Standard* and 17 stories (39%) for *The Daily Nation* respectively. Positive stories entailed titles like: *Land policy has been successful* covered in *The Standard* in October 26th, 2007. Negative stories entailed titles like: *Land and politics* at the center of chaos in Western region covered in *The Daily Nation* in October 2002. Neutral stories covered had titles like: *Land is economy* covered in *The Daily Nation* in December 16th, 2002. The tables 4.4a,4.4b and 4.4c indicate the tone of land reform agenda issues for three election cycles years of 2002, 2007 and 2017 respectively: From the findings

we can deduce that positive toned stories were highest in 2002, negative ones in 2007 and again positive ones in 2017. In 2002 conversations were centered around the downward shift in control over land allocation through authority decentralization and resolving of historical land injustices. In 2007 references to land issues were frequent and emotive and the drive towards the post-election violence that took place. The Waki Commission was established to address the root causes of violence, one of the factors being past administrators failing to address the land disputes as reported by Wanjala (2013).

However, Mwathe (2017) states that the political rhetoric changed in 2017 and political points were established revolving around the matter of land injustices instigated historically, issuance of title deeds and also some reference to land ownership.

Table 4.4 a: Tone of articles in 2002

Tone of articles	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Positive	7	70	5	50	12	60
Negative	2	20	3	30	5	25
Neutral	1	10	2	20	3	15
TOTAL	10	100	10	100	20	100

Table 4.4 b: Tone of articles in 2007

Tone of articles	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Positive	8	27.6	5	16	13	22
Negative	15	51.7	14	47	29	49
Neutral	6	20.7	11	37	17	29
TOTAL	29	100	30	100	59	100

Table 4.4 c: Tone of articles in 2017

Tone of articles	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Positive	20	53	22	50	42	51
Negative	12	32	17	39	29	35
Neutral	6	16	5	11	11	13
TOTAL	38	100	44	100	82	100

4.7 Issues Affecting Land Reform Agenda

The study also analysed the issues affecting the land reform agenda in the stories covered in two newspapers during the period of study. The issues analyzed include political, economic, social, religious, cultural and legal. Politics took a major share of issues affecting the land reform agenda with the highest coverage at 19 stories (53%) in *The Nation* in 2017 followed closely by 18 stories (47%) for *The Standard* in 2007 and 4 stories (44%) for *The Daily Nation* in 2002. Headlines like *Mudavadi and Nyagah fight back over Karura land grab allegations* in *The Daily Nation* on July 28th, 2017 and *NASA, Jubilee pick on land issues and policies to woe voters* in *The Standard* on June 17th, 2017 carried the day. This clearly indicates that political context in Kenya has been developed by contestations associated with land and domestic tensions historically. Social issues were second highest in coverage at 4 stories (36%) for *The Standard* in 2002.

Headlines like *Squatters protest orders to vacate* covered in *The Standard* on July 14th, 2017 portray social issues covered on land reform agenda. Economic issues coverage was at 10 stories (26%) in *The Standard* in 2007. Headlines like *Farmers, get back title deeds after loan waiver* covered in *The Standard* on July 17th, 2017 portrayed economic issues covered. There was low coverage of religious, cultural and legal issues affecting land reforms in 2007 with 6 stories (15%) for *The Standard* and 15 stories (10%) in *The Daily Nation* respectively and 5 stories (13%) in *The Standard* and stories (9%) for *The Daily Nation* in 2017 while there was no coverage of religious and cultural issues in 2002. As indicated in the figure 4.3a, 4.3b, 4.3c and table 4.5a, 4.5b and 4.5c. From the findings the study infers that in terms of issues affecting the land reform agenda the mainstream print media mostly covered information on the land reform agenda as they received and they both gave priority to political and social issues. This kept the audiences informed on the issues affecting the land reform agenda. This shows that the concerned issues shared will facilitate an informed discourse in Kenya on the all-important land issue.

Table 4.5a: Issues affecting land reform in 2002

Issues	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Political	4	36.4	4	44	8	40
Economic	1	9	1	11	2	10
Religious	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cultural	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social	4	36.4	3	33	7	35
Legal	2	18.2	1	11	3	15
TOTAL	11	100	9	100	20	100

Table 4.5 b: Issues affecting land reform in 2007

Issues	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Political	18	47.4	12	44	30	46
Economic	10	26	7	26	17	26.2
Religious	2	5.3	1	3.7	3	4.6
Cultural	2	5.3	2	7.4	4	6.2
Social	4	10.5	5	18.5	9	13.8
Legal	2	5.3	1	3.7	3	4.6
TOTAL	38	100	27	100	65	100

Table 4.5c : Issues affecting land reform in 2017

Issues	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Political	20	50	19	52.7	39	51
Economic	8	20	10	27.8	28	36.8
Religious	2	5	1	2.7	7	9
Cultural	1	2.5	1	2.7	2	2.6
Social	7	17.5	4	11	11	14.5
Legal	2	5	1	2.7	3	3.9
TOTAL	40	100	36	100	76	100

Figure 4.3a: Issues affecting land reforms in 2002

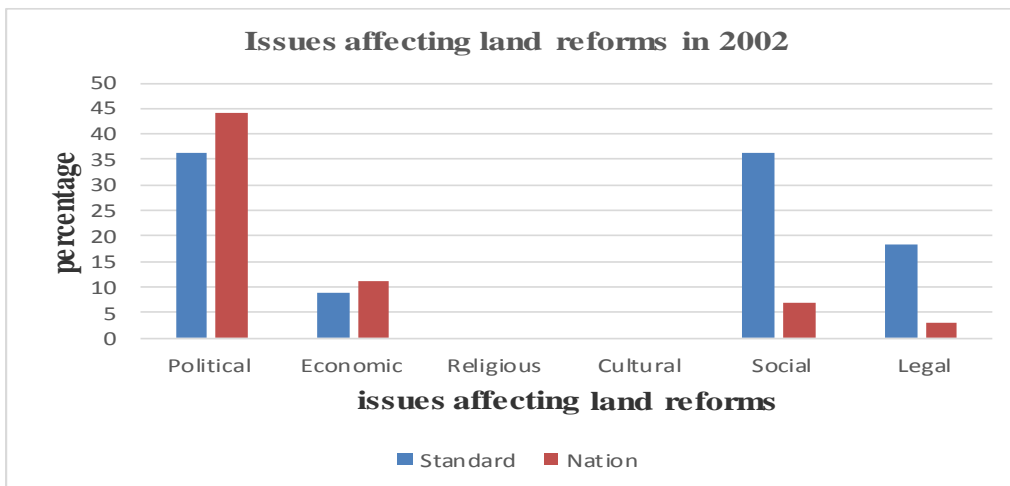


Figure 4.3b: Issues affecting land reforms in 2007

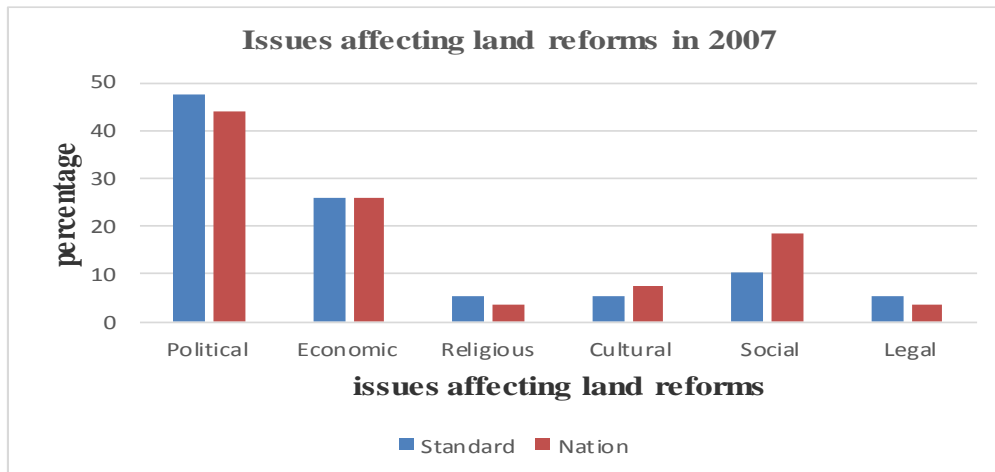
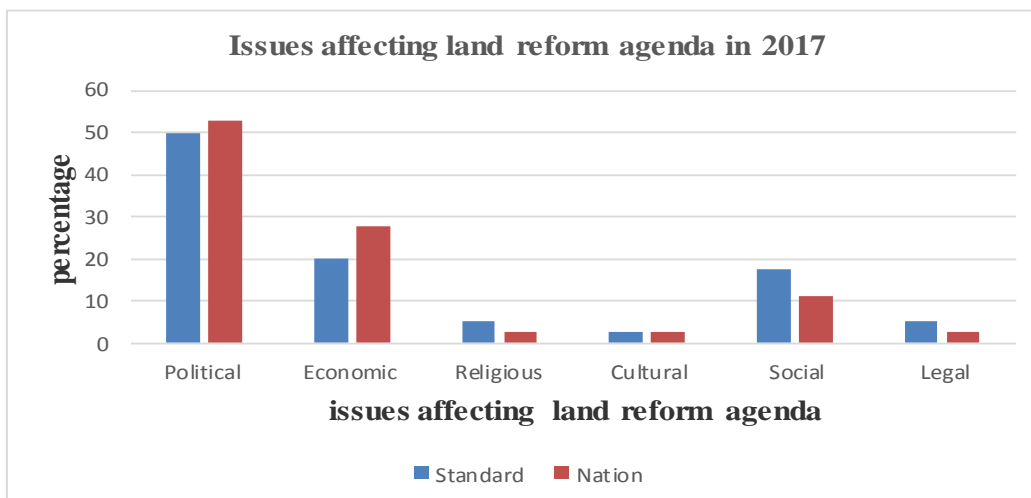


Figure 4.3c: Issues affecting land reform agenda in 2017



4.8 Land Reforms

The study also analysed the stories with sub-themes on the land reform agenda. Land reform sub-themes like registration, management, repossession, adjudication, titling and resettlement were analyzed for the three-election cycle period of 2002, 2007 and 2017. Land registration had a total coverage of 45 stories in the two newspaper editions while land titling coverage was at 38 stories in the study period. More specifically the land reform issue with a wider coverage was registration at 4 stories (33%) in *The Standard* and titling at 3 stories (38%) in 2002 in *The Nation*. Followed closely by registration at 15 stories (47%) in *The Standard* and 8 stories (40%) in *The Nation* in 2007 respectively. In 2017 land reform on titling had a coverage of 13 stories (34%) in *The Nation*, registration at 10 stories (20%) and management at 7 stories (18%) in 2017 respectively. Repossession, titling and resettlement had an equal share of 22 stories (48%) for *The Daily Nation*. Headlines like *Title deeds to Kshs 125m land rendered worthless paper* in *The Standard* on July 29th 2017 and *County land agency in joint bid to automate operations* covered in *The Standard* on July 26th 2017 made stories on titling and registration.

The print media majorly covered land titling and registration in 2002 with the highest coverage in 2017. This is because in the bid to garner votes from ‘wanjiku’ the presidential candidates openly used the land issue for political mileage and even issued titles in various parts of the country. President Uhuru Kenyatta revisited the land question in his State of the Nation address taking credit for reforms initiated out so far. He noted that more than one million title deeds have been issued bringing the number issued since 2013 to 2,405,000 and he expressed confidence that the government will surpass the three million target of new title deeds by 2017 adding that “substantive solutions” to old land disputes have been realized across the country. The land reform matters are captured in figures 4.4a,4.4b, 4.4c and tables 4.6a,4.6b and 4.6c. From the findings, the study infers that in terms of land reforms the mainstream print media mostly covered information on land registration and titling followed closely by land management. This is due to the fact that in Kenya, most debates on land reforms raise issues on redistribution of land, restitution and settlement of historical grievances that escalates conflicts. These issues paves way to policy discussions and establishment of constitutional reforms to bring change.

Table 4.6 a: Land reform sub-themes in 2002

Land reform	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Registration	4	33.3	2	25	6	30
Management	1	8.3	1	12.5	2	10
Repossession	2	16.7	0	0	2	10
Adjudication	1	8.3	0	0	1	5
Titling	2	16.7	3	37.5	5	25
Resettlement	2	16.7	2	25	4	20
TOTAL	12	100	8	100	20	100

Table 4.6 b: Land reform sub-themes in 2007

Land reform	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Registration	15	46.9	8	40	23	44
Management	3	9.4	5	25	8	15.4
Repossession	6	18.8	2	10	8	15.4
Adjudication	3	9.4	4	20	7	13.5
Titling	4	12.5	1	5	5	9.6
Resettlement	1	3.1	2	10	3	5.8
TOTAL	32	100	20	100	52	100

Table 4.6 c: Land reform sub-themes in 2017

Issues	Standard		Nation		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Registration	10	20	6	15.8	16	18
Management	9	17.6	7	18	16	18
Repossession	8	15.7	5	13	13	14.6
Adjudication	6	11.8	3	7.9	9	10
Titling	15	29	13	34	28	31
Resettlement	3	5.9	4	10.5	7	7.8
TOTAL	51	100	38	100	82	100

Figure 4.4a: Land reforms in 2002

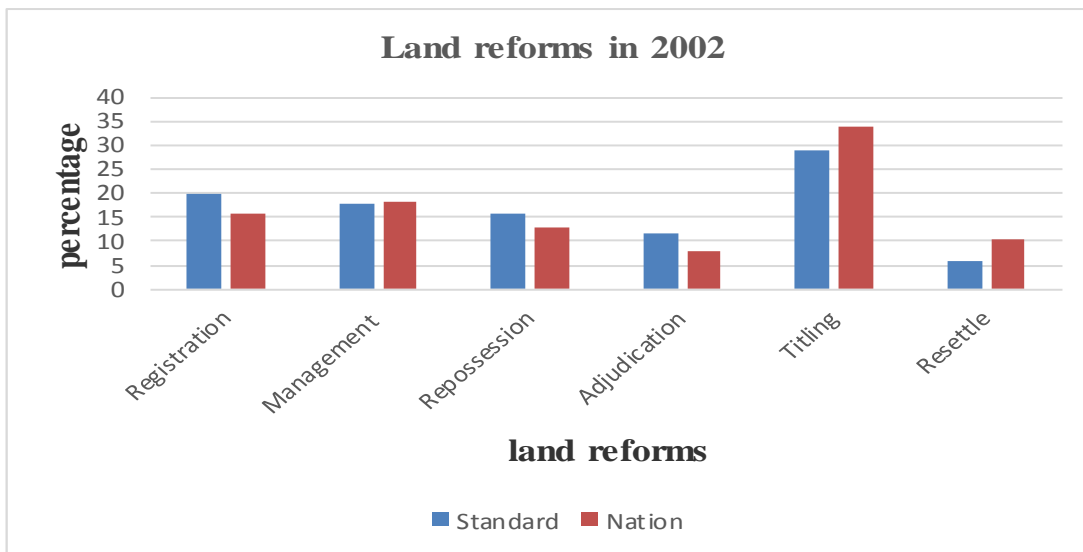


Figure 4.4b: Land reforms in 2007

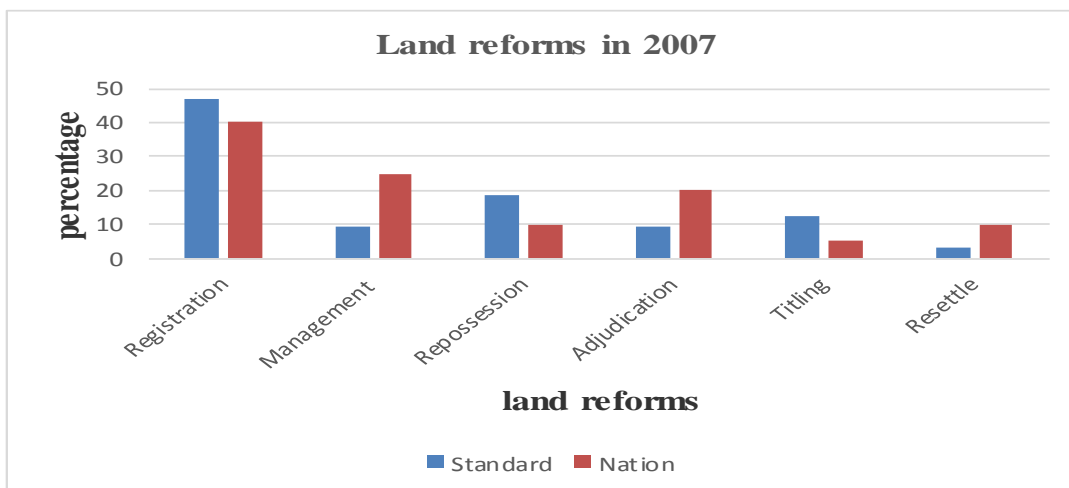
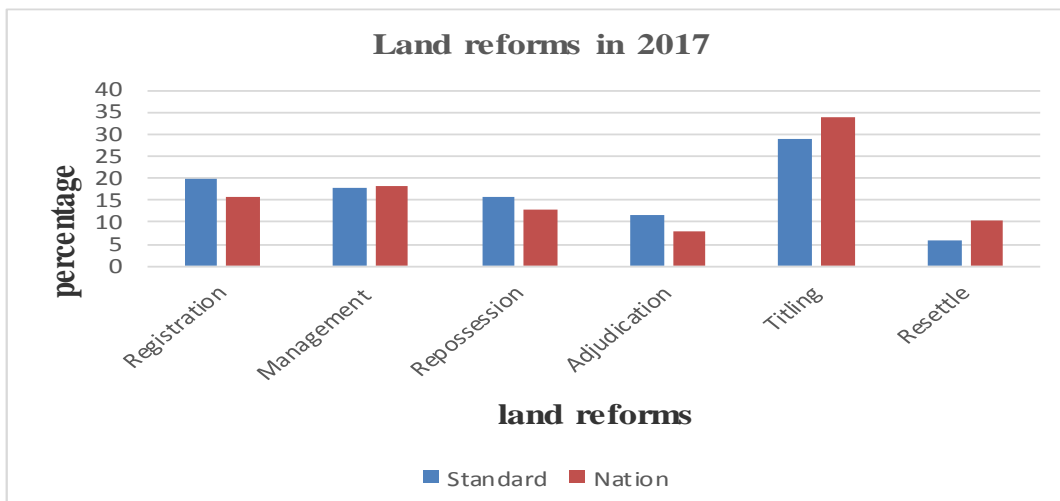


Figure 4.4c: Land reforms in 2017



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

The chapter provides the summary of findings of the study in line with the objectives of the research. It also highlights conclusions and recommendations based on the findings as well offer suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

With close observation of the study objectives and analysis of data collected, the study found out that *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* had an almost similar amount of coverage of land reform agenda stories through the three-year cycle electioneering periods of 2002, 2007 and 2017. This leads to the conclusion that both the newspapers had a fair coverage of the land reform agenda issues within the period of study. In terms of framing both newspapers have displayed that land reform issues are a key issue that require a large and equal share as it affects the wider population especially in determining voting patterns during electioneering periods in the country.

The study also found out that comparatively, there was little variation in the treatment of the stories concerning land reform agenda especially in terms of both size and placement in both newspapers within the period of study. The lion's share of placement was for the front page lead stories which carried the day for the three consecutive election cycle years on 2002, 2007 and 2017. This is owing to the fact that prominence and coverage of land reform agenda stories is usually on the increase during political debates around electioneering periods in the Kenya as land issues acts as a major subject of discussions and intense debate. Story titles like *Land grabbing, no title deed*, *Land grabbing must stop at the coast* made the headlines for the front lead and front-page sub-stories. While stories with titles like *Land is economy* and *Squatters deal on land is denied* made headlines for stories on page two and three. In terms of size, *The Standard* allocated was more generous of the two newspapers in size allocation to individual stories on the land reform agenda as compared to *The Daily Nation*. This clearly showed the importance or weight placed on stories covering the land reform agenda during the study period.

Much of the coverage of the land reform agenda was in form of news stories followed closely by news analysis. Both newspapers merely reported issues on the land reform agenda as it happened and what the sources like experts, political candidates, persons affected by land injustices and the media said. Editorial and letters to the editor had the least coverage, while a few opinion pieces were also captured. This shows that there was little independent and in-depth analysis of the land reform agenda that could set the agenda and guide the country's discourse into the underlying causes and factors of the frequent land conflicts during electioneering periods in the country.

The tone of reporting on the land reform agenda issues relatively varied from positive in 2002 prior to the enactment of the 2010 constitution and submission of the findings of the Ndungu report. In 2007 most stories had a negative tone. This was what led to the post-election violence that made many Kenyans to lose their lives. In support of this Mueller (2008) further highlights the violence was caused by weak institutions characterized by highly personalized/centralized presidency that does not embrace autonomy and political parties ethnically controlled. The media was at the center stage a player and contributor to negative discourses on land and ethnicity which led to the violence experienced. In 2017 the discourses and conversations around land changed completely and were highly positive with promises of issuing of titles and resolutions being accorded to address the long-standing historical land injustices that have rocked the country since independence. Positive stories entailed titles like: *Land policy has been successful* covered in *The Standard* in October 26th, 2007. Negative stories entailed titles like: *Land and politics at the center of chaos in Western region* covered in *The Daily Nation* in October 2002. Neutral stories covered had titles like: *Land is economy* covered in *The Daily Nation* in December 16th, 2002.

The study found out that political issues took a front stand as the major issue affecting land reform agenda in the country followed closely by social issues. This can be based on the fact that the land agenda has peppered political battles in Kenya as political parties and candidates rush to put land grievances at the center of their manifestos as it gives them political mileage with the voters through influencing voter behavior. On the pertinent issues addressing the land reform agenda land registration carried the day followed by titling as key land reforms that arose within the three election cycle years. This is because these have been strategies that have been used to address the land tenure issues like inefficiency in land administration, tenure insecurity and land ownership problems. This have a direct influence on how the land

issue is addressed. All these key frames suggest that the two dailies used for the study can be public spheres for ventilating developmental issues on the land reform agenda in Kenya.

Therefore, the study concludes that mainstream print media in Kenya were able to strongly set the agenda on the land reform agenda issues and effectively carry out their mandate of informing and educating the population on land which is a key developmental issue. This study also concludes that despite the shrinking of the printing press market with the advent of digital media through e-newspapers and other digital e-platforms the two dailies covered in the study are still expanding and act as more effective channels of mass communication and medium of disseminating the land reform issues as key a development agenda. This, however does not mean that land reform issues are limited to those covered in this study.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends the following recommendations based on the study objectives:

5.2.1 To compare and contrast the coverage of the land reform agenda stories by the Standard and Daily Nation newspapers in Kenya.

1. *The Standard* newspaper had a larger number of stories on the land reform agenda as compared to *The Daily Nation*. Based on the above observation the study recommends that there should be a balance in the coverage of the stories in *The Daily Nation* newspaper as the land issue in the country is key to development.
2. There was evidently a larger share of stories under news as compared to editorials, features and other story types assessed on the land reform agenda for both the dailies. Based on this the study recommends that the two dailies should allocate more space for interpretive stories as opposed to mere reportage (news stories) of the land reform agenda. This will be in line with Dominck (2005) who contends that the mass media do not supply just facts and data. They also provide information on the ultimate meaning and significance of events. Similarly, Bernard Berelson argues that readers use the newspaper to get information about and interpretation of public affairs (Baran, 2004).

5.2.2 To find out how much space the print media allocates to land reform agenda stories during the election periods in Kenya.

1. *The Standard* newspaper allocated more space to land reform agenda issues as compared to *The Daily Nation* newspaper. This study therefore recommends that *The Daily Nation* which allocated less space to land reform agenda stories should dailies provide more space for, and elicit, expert opinion and discussions on this subject. This is because all factors of production emanate from land making a prominent topical issue of discussion.

5.2.3. To establish the sources of information on land reform agenda stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

1. Generally, for both the dailies the presidential candidates and the media were the main sources of information on the land reform agenda. The study recommends that the media should be in a position to give balanced coverage to the sources of stories pertaining to the land reform agenda but ensure that such coverage does not give publicity seeking sources undeserved means to frame the news and set their own agenda.

5.2.4 To explore how the framing of stories on land reform agenda were covered in the Standard and Nation newspapers.

1. The two dailies covered in the study had a relatively large change in the tone of reporting for the three electoral cycles with positive in 2002, highly negative as reported in 2007 and positive in 2017. Based on this the study recommends that the media should ensure that their tone of reporting is not controversial, subjective or sensational as this would deviate from its objective role of informing and educating the populations on a key issue like land reform. To avoid this negativity the media should investigate fully the factors that surround and lead to pertinent land disputes and carry the reporting in the most civil manners that will not cause emotive responses by audiences.
2. Secondly, the media could employ editors specialized in reviewing stories on land issues in order for them to guide on what goes into print and is presentable to the audiences without causing emotive responses like violence.
3. The major key frame on issues covered on land for both dailies was on the political implications and less of the others like cultural, legal, religious despite

the evident fact that they also influence the land reform agenda. Based on this the study recommends that the key frames covered around land should avoid being biased like coverage of more of politics as an issue affecting the land reform agenda and less coverage of issues like religion and cultural issues that also have an influence on land a more holistic approach should be established in reporting of this.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The researcher offers the following suggestions for future research regarding the subject of this study:

1. Further research should be done to establish why there is low coverage of the land reform agenda away from electioneering periods in the country and how to improve on this as land is a key developmental issue that requires vast coverage throughout the year.
2. More in-depth research should be carried out to establish more vibrant ways of delivery of the content on the land reform agenda away from the usual straight news stories in order to captivate and capture the attention of a larger audience in terms of readership.
3. Further research should be done to establish more sources of information with expertise on the land reform agenda who can also give an objective view of the issue away from the usual sources like the media and presidential candidates as identified in this study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE SHEET

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION

Category	Item number	
Date		
Day/Month/Year		
Newspaper: The Standard The Daily Nation		
Placement of article: Front page/ lead story Front page/ sub-story pg. 2 pg. 3 inside pages Back page story	The Standard	The Daily Nation

SECTION B: KEY FRAMES COVERED ON LAND REFORM AGENDA

Themes	Item number	
Land reform agenda issues Registration Management Repossession Adjudication Titling Resettlement	The Standard	The Daily Nation
Issues affecting land agenda Political Economic Religious Cultural Social		

SECTION C: MEASURING OF THE SPACE AND NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND STORY TYPE OF LAND REFORM AGENDA

Category	Item number	
	The Standard	The Daily Nation
Story types News News analysis Opinions Features Editorials Letters to the editor		
Amount of space allocation of story length and width in cms ²	The Standard	The Daily Nation
Number of article presented on the land reform agenda?		
Tone Positive Negative Neutral Mixed		

SECTION D: MEASURING THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE LAND REFORM AGENDA

Category	Item number	
	The Standard	The Daily Nation
Political parties / leaders Media Presidential candidates Ministry of land Civil society organization		

APPENDIX II: NEWSPAPERS ANALYSED

Date	Newspaper	Title of article	Page number
Oct 1 2002	The Standard	Illegal land documents, titles and leases	16
Oct 2 2002	The Standard	Land Grabbing no, title deed	12
Oct 11 2002	The Standard	Address squatter issues in the coast	8
Oct 21 2002	The Standard	Land grabbing must stop at the coast	21
Oct 28 2002	The Standard	Land grabbing public land, revoke government allocation	12
Oct 21 2002	The Daily Nation	Land and politics at the center of chaos in western Region.	13
Oct 24 2002	The Daily Nation	Squatters deal on land is denied	20
Sep 30 2002	The Daily Nation	Land conmen on the prowl, says ministry	2
Nov 12 2002	The Standard	Politics and Land	12
Nov 23 2002	The Standard	Law and land rows	9
Nov 12 2002	The Daily Nation	NARC pledges to resettle clash victims	7
Nov 26 2002	The Daily Nation	Land law report presented to Moi	7
Dec 2 2002	The Standard	Government moves to assist disinherited squatters.	22
Dec 2 2002	The Standard	Kenya's thorny land question	22
Dec 4 2002	The Daily Nation	"Land won't be a political tool pledges Kibaki"	2
Dec 11	The Daily	Ex-Mps platform island	5

2002	Nation		
Dec 17 2002	The Standard	Clerk exposes land grabbing	3
Dec 23 2002	The Daily Nation	Land factor is vital for Taita votes	8
Dec 16 2002	The Daily Nation	Land is economy	9
Dec 25 2002	The Daily Nation	Addressing the land issues (Give back land)	13
Sept 20 2007	The Daily Nation	Minister blamed over land at Kibaki rally	10
Oct 1 2007	The Standard	Forest evictees to be compensated	3
Oct 11 2007	The Standard	Former Ps told to keep off land	2
Oct 21 2007	The Standard	Revisiting the Kikuyu land question.	25
Oct 26 2007	The Standard	Land Policy has been successful	2
Oct 26 2007	The Standard	Parkers defense of colonial land policy misplaced.	20
Oct 2 2007	The Daily Nation	Dc stops giving off title deeds	8
OCT 8 2007	The Daily Nation	President reassures land owner	5
Nov 19 2007	The Daily Nation	CJ reserves disputed order on land cases.	3
Dec 2007	The Standard	Land reform plan is crucial to end simmering conflicts.	15
Dec 2007	The Daily Nation	Candidates named in Kshs 53 billion land deals	22
Dec 29 2012	The Standard	Displaced families up in arms over register	20
May 11	The Daily	End of Long wait as 600 title	34

2017		Nation	deeds issued	
May 24 2017		The Daily Nation	Land debate shapes hunt for 1.7 million coast votes	21
May 5 2017		The Standard	Kshs 17 million seized in raids on homes of land agency official	6
May 11 2017		The Standard	Ruto now withdraws court case against land owner.	10
May 13 2017		The Standard	Agency allocates 12,000 acres of land to squatters	12
May 13 2017		The Standard	Audit lays bare extent of land grabbing in school	23
June 1 2017		The Standard	Colonial villagers yearning for titles	37
June 1 2017		The Standard	Government has said it will process 3 million title deed by end of year.	41
June 1 2017		The Standard	CS, Waitiki got Kshs 1.2 b in squatter settlement	41
June 6 2017		The Standard	Waiguru promises title for squatters	29
June 10 2017		The Standard	Ruto blames State for Mau evictee woes	25
June 12 2017		The Standard	British familiar in legal battle over Kshs 210 m Kwale estate	3
June 12 2017		The Standard	Land and minerals volatile mix in battle for the coast.	21
June 15 2017		The Standard	State launches land plan Government to compensate	42
June 13 2017		The Standard	Government to compensate Fluorspar land owners	26
June 22 2017		The Standard	School titles ready in war on land grabbing.	12
June 20 2017		The Standard	Raila Uhuru back to hot land	1

2017		debate.	
June 20 2017	The Standard	Land politics comes to play as Raila hits back.	8
June 20 2017	The Standard	Court stops dealing on public leased land	30
June 17 2017	The Standard	Deal that handed Nubians title for Kibra slum land	8
June 17 2017	The Standard	NASA , Jubilee pick on land issues and policies killings to woo court	23
June 19 2017	The Standard	Storm over Raila Kajiado land remark	20
June 23 2017	The Standard	Process to pay evicted Kerio residents starts.	30
June 23 2017	The Standard	Grabbers hive off Ogiek land	31
June 23 2017	The Standard	Waiguru; I will recover grabbed land	34
June 26 2017	The Standard	Row assisting seekers to repossess land.	30
June 28 2017	The Standard	Raila to address historical injustices	30
June 28 2017	The Standard	Uhuru charms Tharaka Nithi voters with 7, 137 title deeds	35
June 1 2017	The Daily Nation	Elders want NLC to recover grabbed land	8
June 15 2017	The Daily Nation	EACC, land ministry team to weed out cartels	4
June 17 2017	The Daily Nation	Squatters to be settled on critics land	29
June 20 2017	The Daily Nation	We will fix land laws that Jubilee messed up; Raila NASA to implement Truth Report, Land	28

		policy, protect community land	
June 20 2017	The Daily Nation	Land Ministry issues guidelines on renewal of expired leases.	23
June 22 2017	The Daily Nation	MCA's pass motion to establish land policy	12
June 23 2017	The Daily Nation	Lands roads and water man issues in Juja MP race	23
June 24 2017	The Daily Nation	Pledges on land will not reverse the clock to address injustices	12
June 28 2017	The Daily Nation	Jubilee have issued 3 m titles, says Uhuru	4
June 282017	The Daily Nation	Over 3000 squatters call on Uhuru to resettle them.	33
June 29 2017	The Daily Nation	Samburu lose 17,000 acre land case to Moi	12
June 29 2017	The Daily Nation	Registrar order to deliver title to owners	12
June 29 2017	The Daily Nation	45,000 title deeds lying at registry says land CS	29
June 29 2017	The Daily Nation	Swazuri on the spot for giving local firm 3,200 acres	33
June 29 2017	The Daily Nation	New laws for lease renewal on the way	33
July 1 2017	The Daily Nation	Breach of land rights	12
July 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Forest evictees seek new home 29 years on	3
July 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Firm denies selling Mirumbi land to DP	5
July 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Fresh land disputes in Kerio valley	20
July 5 2017	The Daily Nation	Tension after youths invade present land in Naivasha	27

July 6 2017	The Daily Nation	Residents ask team not to extend Kakuzi leases.	10
July 6 2017	The Daily Nation	Society complain to governor about invasion of 22 acre piece of land	27
July 9 2017	The Daily Nation	Blow for Uhuru's cousin in prime estate dispute.	23
July 15 2017	The Daily Nation	Munya claims of private land seizure.	8
July 15 2017	The Daily Nation	2000 squatter ask Uhuru to resettle them.	8
July 15 2017	The Daily Nation	Jaramogi and Kenyatta. A brief history of crony capitalism from land grabbing to tenderpreneurship of land.	12
July 16 2017	The Daily Nation	Elders don't use Mau forest to woo voters	26
July 18 2017	The Daily Nation	Land, minerals dominate debate in race for top spat	27
July 18 2017	The Daily Nation	Relief for Kajiado loan defaulters as they get land titles back	24
July 18 2017	The Daily Nation	Officials delaying title deeds issuance says MP.	31
July 21 2017	The Daily Nation	Former president denies grabbing officers land	21
July 21 2017	The Daily Nation	Church accused of grabbing play ground	12
July 22 2017	The Daily Nation	Residents assured of titles after protests	7
July 23 2017	The Daily Nation	Families:-Uhuru gave out our ancestral Land.	2
July 25 2017	The Daily Nation	Mps want 3000 squatter resettled on disputes land	3

July 27 2017	The Daily Nation	Share, Grabbers title deeds axed	7
July 27 2017	The Daily Nation	Land is still a thorny election issues a decade of after violence	9
July 27 2017	The Daily Nation	Karura forest 2000 acre reverse to state	22
July 27 2017	The Daily Nation	NLC order offers relief to land owners	12
July 27 2017	The Daily Nation	MPs issues 1,678 titles to residents,	8
July 28 2017	The Daily Nation	Mudavadi denies land grab claim	12
July 28 2017	The Daily Nation	Mudavadi and Nyagah fight back over Karura land grab allegations.	16
July 2 2017	The Standard	Jubilee has failed on land issues says Kingi	25
July 4 2017	The Standard	Squatters appeal to president	12
July 5 2017	The Standard	Sonko land case stalls.	2
July 5 2017	The Standard	TransNzoia squatters invade forest land	3
July 7 2017	The Standard	Land row spills over to Embu ownership of Ruringu stadium.	10
July 14 2017	The Standard	Identify based land advocacy sure paths to anarchy lots avoid it	20
July 14 2017	The Standard	Squatters protest order to vacate	23
July 15 2017	The Standard	Our titles are fake, Kihiru Mwiri land owners claim	8
July 17 2017	The Standard	Farmers, get back titles deeds after loan waiver	12
July 19	The Standard	Governor candidates clash on land	31

2017		mining during debate	
July 20 2017	The Standard	AFC to return title deeds held over Kshs 11m loan	2
July 20 2017	The Standard	County to reclaim public land	1
July 23 2017	The Standard	Internal wars erupt at NLC over land leaser	10
July 23 2017	The Standard	We won't vote until we were re-settled says IDPs	7
July 25 2017	The Standard	Man sues NLC overland for squatters	20
July 26 2017	The Standard	County , land agency in joint bid to automate operations	12
July 26 2017	The Standard	Waititu leads students demo over grabbing of college land (KIST)	33
July 26 2017	The Standard	Families forced out of their homes by settlers return	15
July 27 2017	The Standard	Squatters kicked out in row with developer	3
July 27 2017	The Standard	Finally land owners: squatters get title deeds	20
July 29 2017	The Standard	Title deeds to Kshs 125m land rendered worthless paper	8
July 29 2017	The Standard	Public land is like the forbidden fruit tempting but lethal	35
July 30 2017	The Standard	Raila promises to protect settlers on May forest land	29
Aug 1 2017	The Standard	Land grabbing	23
Aug 4 2017	The Standard	Expired leases	28
Aug 4 2017	The Standard	Delayed title deeds	3

Aug 5 2017	The Standard	Nakuru (leased off graft on land.)	2
Aug 1 2017	The Daily Nation	Sue Swazuri team over titles	8
Aug 1 2017	The Daily Nation	Candidates clash over directive in prison land.	10
Aug 2 2017	The Daily Nation	Regain of grabbed land by scouts association	20
Aug 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Duped to purchase land	8
Aug 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Governor Chepkwony puts Kericho grabbers on notice	2
Aug 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Receive leases residents of Umoja	14
Aug 3 2017	The Daily Nation	30,000 titles issued at the coast	1
Aug 3 2017	The Daily Nation	Repossession of land by government	12
Aug 4 2017	The Daily Nation	Farmer protest delaying issuing of title deeds	32

APPENDIX III: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

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REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 5th April 2019 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K 50/81618/2015

Name: ANYENDE DIANA AKINYI

Title: MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE LAND REFORM AGENDA DURING ELECTIONS IN KENYA; A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE STANDARD AND NATION NEWSPAPERS.

Dr Michael Mwangi [Signature] 15-08-2019
SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE DATE

Dr Samuel Siringo [Signature] 26/8/19
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR SIGNATURE DATE

Prof Ndetei Ndetei [Signature] 26-8-19
DIRECTOR SIGNATURE DATE



APPENDIX IV: GAZETTE NOTICES

SPECIAL ISSUE



THE KENYA GAZETTE

Published by Authority of the Republic of Kenya

(Registered as a Newspaper at the G.P.O.)

Vol. CIX—No. 75

NAIROBI, 26th October, 2007

Price Sh. 50

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 10554

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS REGULATIONS

HOLDING OF A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 12 (1) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, the Electoral Commission gives notice that a presidential election shall be held.

Dated the 23rd October, 2007.

S. M. KIVUITU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya.

one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the days.

(c) If the presidential election is contested, the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2007.

Dated the 23rd October, 2007.

S. M. KIVUITU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya.

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 10555

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS REGULATIONS

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya; section 12 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and Regulations 8 and 11 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election of the President of the Republic of Kenya is to be held at the forthcoming General Election.
- (b) Nomination papers for the presidential election may be delivered by the candidate personally or his/her proposer or secondor to the Electoral Commission, at Kenya International Conference Centre, on 14th and 15th November, 2007 between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 10556

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT

(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS REGULATIONS

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya, Section 13(3), (b) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and regulations 8 (3) and 14 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election is to be held of a member to serve in the National Assembly for each of the constituencies set out in the Schedule hereunder.
- (b) Each political party wishing to participate in the election must finalize the nomination of its candidates and submit a complete list of nominated candidates for the elections to the Electoral Commission of Kenya five days before the nomination.
- (c) Each political party wishing to participate in the election must finalize the nomination of its candidates on or before 16th November, 2007.
- (d) The days for nomination for the parliamentary election will be 23rd and 24th November, 2007 and nomination papers may be delivered by candidates to the Returning Officer whose jurisdiction the constituency falls between the hours of eight

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NOTICE NO. 7125

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

NOTICE OF THE HOLDING OF A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 2 (1) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, the Electoral Commission gives notice that a presidential election shall be held.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIVUITU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya.

LETTER NOTICE NO. 7126

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

NOTICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya; section 12 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and Regulations 8 and 11 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election of the President of the Republic of Kenya is to be held at the forthcoming General Election.
- (b) Nomination papers for the presidential election may be delivered by the candidate personally or his/her proposer or secondor to the Electoral Commission, at Parliament Buildings, County Hall, Main Conference Room, on 18th and 19th November, 2002 between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the days.
- (c) If the presidential election is contested, the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2002.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIVUITU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya.

LETTER NOTICE NO. 7127

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

APPOINTMENT OF RETURNING OFFICER

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya; section 3 (1) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and regulation 3 (1) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission appoints the

Chairman; or
Vice-Chairman; or
a member of the Electoral Commission,

to be returning officer for the purpose of the nomination of the presidential candidates. The appointment is effective from 1st November, 2002.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIVUITU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya.

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7128

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

NOTICE OF ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya; section 13 (3) (b) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and regulations 8 (3) (b) and 14 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election is to be held of a member to serve in the National Assembly for each of the constituencies set out in the schedule hereunder.
- (b) Each political party wishing to participate in the election must finalize the nomination of its candidates on or before 24th November, 2002.
- (c) The day for nomination for the parliamentary election will be 25th and 26th November, 2002 and nomination papers may be delivered by candidates to the Returning Officer between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the days.
- (d) If the parliamentary election is contested the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2002.

NOTES:

- 1. The attention of candidates and persons subscribing nomination papers is drawn to the provision of Part IV of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations (Cap. 7, Sub. Leg.).
- 2. A person guilty of an election offence will be liable to the penalties imposed by the Election Offences Act (Cap. 66) and to the disqualification imposed by the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act (Cap. 7).

SCHEDULE OF CONSTITUENCIES

No.	Name of constituency
1.	Makadara
2.	Kumukunji
3.	Starebe
4.	Langata
5.	Dagoretti
6.	Westlands
7.	Kasarani
8.	Embakasi
9.	Changamwe
10.	Kisumu
11.	Likoni
12.	Mvita
13.	Mtambweni
14.	Maruga
15.	Kinango
16.	Bahari
17.	Kakoloni
18.	Gatete
19.	Maitini
20.	Mogadisho
21.	Garsen

o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the days.

- (e) If the parliamentary elections is contested, the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2007.

NOTES:

1. The attention of candidates and persons subscribing nomination papers is drawn to the provision of Part IV of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations (Cap.7. Sub. Leg.)
2. A person guilty of an election offence will be liable to the penalties imposed by the Election Offences Act (Cap.66) and to the disqualifications imposed by the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act (Cap.7).

SCHEDULE OF CONSTITUENCIES

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------|-------------------|
| 1. | Makadara | 50. | Mwingi North |
| 2. | Kamukunji | 51. | Mwingi South |
| 3. | Starehe | 52. | Kitui West |
| 4. | Langata | 53. | Kitui Central |
| 5. | Dagoretti | 54. | Mutito |
| 6. | Westlands | 55. | Kitui South |
| 7. | Kasarani | 56. | Masinga |
| 8. | Embakasi | 57. | Yatta |
| 9. | Changamwe | 58. | Kangundo |
| 10. | Kisumu | 59. | Kathiani |
| 11. | Likoni | 60. | Machakos Town |
| 12. | Mvita | 61. | Mwala |
| 13. | Msambweni | 62. | Mbooni |
| 14. | Matuga | 63. | Kilome |
| 15. | Kinango | 64. | Kaiti |
| 16. | Bahari | 65. | Makueni |
| 17. | Kaloleni | 66. | Kibwezi |
| 18. | Ganze | 67. | Kinangop |
| 19. | Malindi | 68. | Kipipiri |
| 20. | Magarini | 69. | Oi Kalou |
| 21. | Garsen | 70. | Ndaragwa |
| 22. | Galole | 71. | Tetu |
| 23. | Bura | 72. | Kieni |
| 24. | Lamu East | 73. | Mathira |
| 25. | Lamu West | 74. | Othaya |
| 26. | Taveta | 75. | Mukurweini |
| 27. | Wundanyi | 76. | Nyeri Town |
| 28. | Mwatate | 77. | Mwea |
| 29. | Voi | 78. | Gichugu |
| 30. | Dujis | 79. | Ndia |
| 31. | Lagdera | 80. | Kirinyaga Central |
| 32. | Fafi | 81. | Kangema |
| 33. | Ijara | 82. | Mathioya |
| 34. | Wajir North | 83. | Kiharu |
| 35. | Wajir West | 84. | Kigumo |
| 36. | Wajir East | 85. | Maragwa |
| 37. | Wajir South | 86. | Kandara |
| 38. | Mandera West | 87. | Gatanga |
| 39. | Mandera Central | 88. | Gatundu South |
| 40. | Mandera East | 89. | Gatundu North |
| 41. | Moyale | 90. | Juja |
| 42. | North Horr | 91. | Githunguri |
| 43. | Saku | 92. | Kisumu |
| 44. | Laisamis | 93. | Kikuyu |
| 45. | Isiolo North | 94. | Limuru |
| 46. | Isiolo South | 95. | Lari |
| 47. | Igembe North | 96. | Turkana North |
| 48. | Igembe South | 97. | Turkana Central |
| 49. | Tigania West | 98. | Turkana South |
| 50. | Tigania East | 99. | Kacheliba |
| 51. | North Imenti | 100. | Kapenguria |
| 52. | Central Imenti | 101. | Sigot |
| 53. | South Imenti | 102. | Samburu West |
| 54. | Nithi | 103. | Samburu East |
| 55. | Tharaka | 104. | Kwanza |
| 56. | Manyatta | 105. | Saboti |
| 57. | Runyenyis | 106. | Cherangany |
| 58. | Gachoka | 107. | Eldoret North |
| 59. | Siakago | 108. | Eldoret East |
| | | 109. | Eldoret South |
| | | 110. | Marakwet East |
| | | 111. | Marakwet West |
| | | 112. | Keiyo North |
| | | 113. | Keiyo South |
| | | 114. | Mosop |
| | | 115. | Aldai |
| | | 116. | Emgwen |
| | | 117. | Tindiret |
| | | 118. | Baringo East |
| | | 119. | Baringo North |
| | | 120. | Baringo Central |
| | | 121. | Mogotio |
| | | 122. | Eldama Ravine |
| | | 123. | Laikipia West |
| | | 124. | Laikipia East |
| | | 125. | Naivasha |
| | | 126. | Nakuru Town |
| | | 127. | Kuresoi |
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GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7125

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

NOTICE OF THE HOLDING OF A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 2 (1) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, the Electoral Commission gives notice that a presidential election shall be held.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIYUTU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya

to be returning officer for the purpose of the nomination of the presidential candidates. The appointment is effective from 1st November, 2002.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIYUTU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7126

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

NOTICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya, section 12 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and Regulations 1 and 11 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election of the President of the Republic of Kenya is to be held at the forthcoming General Election.
- (b) Nomination papers for the presidential election may be delivered by the candidate personally or his/her proposer or recorder to the Electoral Commission, at Parliament Buildings, County Hall, Main Conference Room, on 15th and 17th November, 2002 between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the day.

(c) If the presidential election is successful, the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2002.

Dated the 29th October, 2002.

S. M. KIYUTU,
Chairman,
Electoral Commission of Kenya

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7128

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

NOTICE OF ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya, section 13 (3) (b) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and regulations 8 (3) (b) and 14 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that:

- (a) An election is to be held of a member to serve in the National Assembly for each of the constituencies set out in the schedule hereto.
- (b) Each political party wishing to participate in the election must finalize the nomination of its candidates on or before 24th November, 2002.
- (c) The day for conclusion for the parliamentary election will be 25th and 26th November, 2002 and nomination papers may be delivered by candidates to the Returning Officer between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon and between the hours of two o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon of the day.
- (d) If the parliamentary election is contested the poll will take place on the 27th December, 2002.

NOTES:

1. The attention of candidates and persons subscribing nomination papers is drawn to the provision of Part IV of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations (Cap. 7, Sub. Leg.).

2. A person guilty of an election offence will be liable to the penalties imposed by the Election Offences Act (Cap. 66) and to the disqualification imposed by the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act (Cap. 7).

SCHEDULE OF CONSTITUENCIES

No.	Name of constituency
1.	Makadara
2.	Kamukunji
3.	Seara
4.	Laikipia
5.	Dagoreni
6.	Wentland
7.	Kisumu
8.	Embu
9.	Chusapanwe
10.	Kisumu
11.	Likoni
12.	Miyiti
13.	Misunguoni
14.	Manga
15.	Kinango
16.	Bahati
17.	Kalenjin
18.	Gusii
19.	Machakos
20.	Mogadishu
21.	Garissa

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7127

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS ACT
(Cap. 7)

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
REGULATIONS

APPOINTMENT OF RETURNING OFFICER

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 42A of the Constitution of Kenya, section 3 (1) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and regulation 3 (1) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission appoints the—

Chairman; or
Vice-Chairman; or
a member of the Electoral Commission,

APPENDIX V: TURNITIN REPORT

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Nde S W d
25.11.2019

M. Anyende
25.11.2019



APPENDIX VI: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS



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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
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Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 1st November 2019 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: KSO /81618/ 2015

Name: DIANA AKINYI ANYENDE

Title: PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE LAND REFORM

AGENDA DURING ELECTIONS IN KENYA: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE STANDARD AND NATION NEWSPAPERS.

Dr Mwangi Kamau
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

18-11-2019
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
PROGRAMME COORDINATOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

25/11/2019
DATE

Prof. Ndethi Ndethi
DIRECTOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE/STAMP

25-11-2019
DATE

