

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ROLE OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup>  
CENTURY: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA AND GHANA.**

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**R50/12325/2018**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS DEGREE IN  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**DECEMBER 2021**

## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any academic award in any other University.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my Grandfather (May you continue resting in peace) and my family, who have been very supportive of me throughout my professional and academic career. God's blessings.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo's assistance in the completion of this research study is gratefully acknowledged. I thank God the Creator for your blessings and mercies, and for bringing me this far. I ask for your constant presence and direction in my life.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AP:</b>	Associated Press
<b>ASEAN:</b>	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
<b>BBC:</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CNN:</b>	Cable News Network
<b>CSOs:</b>	Civil Society Organisations
<b>DFID:</b>	Department for International Development
<b>EU:</b>	European Union
<b>ITC:</b>	International Trade Centre
<b>KTN:</b>	Kenya Television Network
<b>NGOs:</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>TV:</b>	Television
<b>UK:</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN:</b>	United Nations
<b>UNESCO:</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UPI:</b>	United Press International
<b>US:</b>	United State

## ABSTRACT

Globally the world has witnessed the effects of mainstream media in many areas. One of the most substantial effects was seen in the area of democratic governance. In both Kenya and Ghana, the media has been a passive passerby as the country grappled with fight against bad democracy which mainly are corruption scandals touching on elite politicians. This has been, perhaps, because the fourth estate has consistently failed to realize the power of persuasion it possesses in regard to shaping public opinion. Democracy has been hampered greatly in the process and some government critics and activists have put the highest blame on mainstream media reporting as a fan of the nature of bad democracy that has rocked the nation. The general objective of the study was to evaluate the role of mainstream media in democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana. Specifically the study aimed to determine key functions of Mainstream media on democratic governance in Africa, evaluate unrestricted public debate function of mainstream media and assesses agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana. The study used a descriptive research methodology and was based on liberal theory. Nation Media Group, Royal Media Services, Mediamax Network Ltd, Standard Group, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, Daily Graphic, Adom TV, Hello FM, Goodnews FM, and Peace FM, British Broadcasting Corporation, and CNN Nairobi Bureau were among the organizations attacked. The target audience consisted of 36 senior executives from the selected media companies. Because the population was manageable, the researcher decided against sampling and instead used the census technique, in which a sample was chosen at random. Primary and secondary data were used by the researcher. Throughout the investigation, the researcher gathered qualitative data, which was then analyzed using content analysis and categorized into comparable themes. According to the findings, mainstream media plays a critical role in increasing globalization by allowing culture interchange and numerous flows of information and image across countries via worldwide news broadcasts. The data also demonstrate that the mainstream media provides the framework for democratic facilitation by promoting effective government, accountability, and active participation of civil society members. Finally the study eludes that mainstream media has shaped and will continue to play a central role in shaping Kenya's and Ghana democracy. The study concludes that the best and legitimate way of democratic governance is the one that listens to the public opinion being formed in the public sphere because the public sphere bridges the realms of the public and the private. Kenya's and Ghana's transition from developing to developed countries will be determined by the media's influence in the country. As a result, it is fair to conclude that the media has a mission to monitor government performance by honestly educating the public and exposing the evils that might jeopardize a state's growth perpetuated by a small group of leaders. According to the findings, the media should ensure that it has the capacity to reach different segments of society and inform the government about the needs that need to be addressed at various levels, as well as individual perceptions of democratic governance qualities, in order to ensure that the electorate's views are equally represented. As a result, the media's primary duty should be that of society's watch, the gatekeeper for public information, the facilitator and promotion of all viewpoints. All of

these responsibilities should be taken seriously. The study will be of benefit to both policymakers and academicians.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Globally the world has witnessed the effects of mainstream media in many areas. One of the most substantial effects was seen in the area of democratic governance.<sup>1</sup> In fostering democracy, governance, transparency, press freedom, and economic progress, the globe has faced significant obstacles. For a country's long-term and sustainable growth, democracy is important. As an essential source of information, the mainstream media play a critical role in fostering a healthy democracy and promoting good government. Poor governance is one of the most major reasons of state failure and underdevelopment, whereas democracy is seen to be helpful to a state's political development. The four aspects of democracy that corporate media represents are fundamental, economic, governmental and public policy content. At the constitutional level, for example, democracy necessitates modifications to the fundamental concepts and norms that govern the country. Diversification, involvement, and corrupt practices control are all aspects of democracy's political component.<sup>2</sup> The government's ability to develop an accountable, transparent, and successful public administration is an executive requirement of democracy. Governments' attempts to foster economic progress,

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<sup>1</sup> Saemeh Baratali and Akram Ayati, 2016. A Study of the Role and Influence of Mass Medias in the Cultural Diplomacy of France. *The Social Sciences*, 11: 903-905

<sup>2</sup> Saranga, D. (2019). The use of new media in public diplomacy: One Jerusalem. Available from <http://www.onejerusalem.org/2009/06/the-use-of-new-media-in-public>.

free enterprise, prosperity, and scientific advancement are reflected in the policy dimension of democracy.

Availability of information is essential to the health of democracy including at least two fundamental ways. To begin with , it ensures that people make appropriate, well-informed judgments rather than acting based on misinformation or ignorance. Second, documentation serves as a check on elected leaders, ensuring that they follow through on their oaths of office and carry out the will of the people who elected them. Thus information is key to producing positive effects related to democratic governance.<sup>3</sup> Traditional top-down political systems are challenged by interactive communication platforms that offer the people from the grassroots level the chance to present information that they would not have presented in conventional political systems. During campaigns, both government and opposition use the internet, such as social media platforms and email for publicity and mobilization. Thus, global communication is redefining power on a global scale. Advancements in technology have transformed the nature of military power, and today's weapons depend more on information than physical muscle. The processing of information in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has deterred nuclear power in the previous era. It is also notable that global media such as CNN and BBC have redefined the image of politics and public diplomacy. The rise of the internet and other interactive sectors, such as global non-governmental organizations, has given birth to informed global society and groups that play crucial roles in shaping democratic governance trends and international relations<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Rutere, N. (2020), Role of social media in enhancing public diplomacy: a case study of the U.S.

<sup>4</sup> Saemeh Baratali and Akram Ayati, 2016.A Study of the Role and Influence of Mass Medias in the Cultural Diplomacy of France. The Social Sciences, 11: 903-905

The media environment is ever-changing, and it continues to change in novel, often surprising ways that have significant ramifications for democratic governance and politics. Media has radically changed the way government institutions operate, political leaders communicate, elections are contested, and citizens are involved. Mainstream media offers a window into the world outside one's direct experience, and this information is frequently utilized to augment one's knowledge and impressions of the world. The pictures generated and broadcast by the media have an impact on people's perceptions of global values, such as what is considered good or bad, positive or negative, moral or wicked. As a result, how the media portrays social issues has a big impact on how their viewers perceive and support them. Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland are among the developed democracies that have effectively improved government.<sup>5</sup> This is unsurprising considering that such countries have strong preventative mechanisms in place, such as a solid legal system, checks and balances, and a well-developed mainstream media.

Journalists might serve as whistleblowers, ideology, and a public forum for examining government acts.<sup>6</sup> The notion of the press as watch ensures a watchful press capable of monitoring political authorities and institutions that are intended to remain transparent and accountable because voters believe the press should inform them about government malfeasance. Under both the private and public sectors, the mainstream media acts as a watch, keeping powerful parts of society, notably political leaders, in check. In a democratic society, mainstream media plays six fundamental roles: information, investigation, analysis,

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<sup>5</sup> Verekia Bridget, Digital Diplomacy and its effects on International Relations, SIT Switzerland: Multilateral(Diplomacy & International Relations, May 2017

<sup>6</sup> Westcott Nicholas, Digital Diplomacy, The impact of the internet on International relations, London Oxford internet Institute, Research Report, July 2018

social empathy, public forum, and mobilization. The press's goal is to improve government accountability and transparency by exposing corruption, maladministration, and abuse of authority.<sup>7</sup>

The second crucial duty of the media is to provide as a platform for unfettered public discussion, allowing educated individuals to improve their political knowledge and effectiveness.<sup>8</sup> Journalism serves as a link between the authorities and the people they rule, offering a public forum for residents to debate issues and events. In this view, a sovereign and democratic press is essential to the development of a streetscape, political arena, or social dimension, as it fosters the establishment of a logical and informed popular sentiment, which is also beneficial in the check on political authority. Agenda shaping is the third component of mainstream media's role in democratic government in the twenty-first century.<sup>9</sup> The media has the potential to influence a nation's economic agenda and divert attention away from serious political issues. Citizens not only learn about current events via the media, but they also learn how serious a problem or occurrence is dependent on how much attention the news media has given it. The media, which sets the agenda in democracies, should ideally inform elected officials about public concerns by increasing their awareness of such issues. The press is regarded to play a bigger role in developing countries in uncovering key challenges that require fast response from the leaders or international community.

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<sup>7</sup> Catania, A. (2019). The use of ICT and the Internet in the Diplomatic Service. Presented at the 2009 International meeting “Modern Diplomacy for Small States” held in Malta

<sup>8</sup> Raymond, S. and Lichia, Y,(2020). “International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post-modern Times”, Clingendael, Institute Netherlands Institute of International Relations (January 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Lull James, Media, Communication, Culture: A Global Approach, Polity press, Cambridge, UK, 2017

In an ideal world, the mainstream media's three critical roles of watch, unrestricted public debate, and agenda-setters help to foster democracy by making government more transparent and accountable, as well as by keeping tabs on what's going on, enhancing the media landscape, and emphasizing economic woes, poor governance and corruption by decision-makers in both the public and private sectors.<sup>10</sup> The function of the media in fostering democracy and good governance, on the other hand, is largely studied from a normative viewpoint, that is, how the media should behave in order to attain democracy. The rational approach, but from the other hand, reflects nothing about the day-to-day reality of whether the media is capable of fulfilling the defined tasks; when the media performs these duties most successfully; and when the media fails to live up to the three ideal roles.<sup>11</sup>

Effective news channels, according to Western observers, may shape a wide range of political power, freedom growth, and structural transformation in both established and developing nations. As a result, the popular media media's steadily increasing growing popularity and autonomy have infused national discourse about helping to shape Africa's representative government with treatment and better, and it is mentioned that perhaps the context of mainstream media use can become a major influencer in the area of social expansion and representative government all over the continent. However, the African countries including Kenya and Ghana have not realized these benefits which results to democracy.<sup>12</sup> The global rating in terms of democracy has been deteriorating and media has

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<sup>10</sup> Tehranian Majid, *Global Communication and World Politics, domination, Development and discourse*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, Colorado, USA, 2019

<sup>11</sup> Lull James, *media, communication, culture: A Global approach*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2017 PP 3

<sup>12</sup> Mirumbi Dorcas Naitore, *The 21st Century Diplomatic engagement in Africa: A case study of Kenya*, IDIS, UON, November 2017



been facing political contests that have resulted the media organizations to shy off from sensitizing the public of depraved democracy. It is against this background that the study aims to investigate the role of mainstream media in democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Democratic governance in Africa has been a problematic one. Despite the wide adoption of democratic ideals in Africa in 1980s and 1990s as the a result of the third wave of democratization, the concept of democracy remains highly contested in its origin, the manner in which it should exist and be practiced in the African society. The transition was expected to yield good governance by ensuring and guaranteeing individual rights, freedoms, liberties and shared prosperity. It was expected to eradicate poverty, ensure peace, tranquility and political stability while providing a conducive environment for the Africa's economic and development to take off. The media being the 4th state has the ability to keep the government in check and educate its masses on the affairs of the state. The application of democracy in Africa has resulted to grave political crisis due to its inability to deliver on progressive, descent, honest and efficient governments that are sensitive to the needs of its people. For instance in Many political elites in Africa use ethnicity and geopolitical sectarianism as sources of political mobilization and contestation in order to either influence or win power.<sup>13</sup>

In Africa, the media has been a passive passerby as the country grappled with fight against non-democratic governance which mainly are corruption scandals touching on elite politicians. This has been, perhaps, because the fourth estate has consistently has failed to

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<sup>13</sup> Media's use of propaganda to persuade people's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, Edge, University of Stanford, web.stanford.edu Accessed Feb 2020

realize the power of persuasion it possesses in regard to shaping public opinion. This has often been made easier because of existing antagonism between the government and the media, which endears it to the masses. The public, political parties, interest groups, and the government all exert continual pressure on the media. As a result of this pressure, the media is frequently obliged to take sides in covering national events in order to support the interests of a certain political party or interest group.<sup>14</sup> Democracy has been hampered greatly in the process and some government critics and activists have put the highest blame on mainstream media reporting as a fan of the nature of non-democratic governance that has rocked the nation. It was important therefore to evaluate whether the same case applies to Kenya and Ghana. It is on this foundation that this study examines the role of mainstream media in democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Besides, there has been little systematic effort to explore the empirical relationship between the role of mainstream and democratic governance in both Kenya and Ghana.<sup>15</sup>

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study was guided by the following research questions;

- i. Which are the key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa?
- ii. Which are the key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana?

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<sup>14</sup> Kinyanjui Judy Wanjiru, Effects of social media revolution on public diplomacy: The case of United States of America embassy in Nairobi, IDIS, UON, September 2018

<sup>15</sup> WolsfeldGadi, Media and Political conflict, News from the Middle East, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2020

- iii. How does agenda setting function of mainstream media influence democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study was to evaluate the role of mainstream media in democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana

Specifically the study aims;

- i. To determine key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa
- ii. To evaluate key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana
- iii. To assess agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana

#### **1.5 Justification of the study**

##### **1.5.1 Policy Justification.**

On a policy aspect the findings are critical for policy makers especially in the comprehension of the dynamics of democratic governance and the media. This will aid in making informed and rational decisions and to a large extent show what needs to be done differently by developing states in order to benefit from the media in terms of achieving state interests.

### **1.5.2 Stakeholders**

Furthermore, it will help diplomats with an engagement tool aimed at engaging the media pro-actively as well as reactively with a view to successfully prosecuting desired democratic governance objectives.

### **1.5.3 Academic Justification.**

This study will generate new knowledge to the understanding of role of mainstream media in democratic governance, it will act as a reference material to academicians who are studying diplomacy and media related courses. The study will be adding cumulatively to the already existing literature on role of mainstream media in democratic governance, the study findings will provide basis for research in the future especially those researchers who wish to carry out related research.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study scope was to evaluate the role of role of mainstream media in democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The study specifically evaluates mainstream media in relation to key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa, key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana and agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana. The geographical scope was democratic governance Kenya and Ghana being the case study. The time scope was a period of two month that was utilized in compiling and gathering the needed data.

This study covered three main concepts; democratic governance, global media, and international relations. In this study, global media is viewed as a mainstream media tool that is not limited by geographical boundaries. In this sense, people from all over the world can access the same information at the same time. The aspect of media incorporates international media such as BBC and CNN and the internet, a platform that is not limited by geography. Democratic governance has been used to refer to the process of governance around the globe. In simple terms, it is how global affairs are managed. Since there is no global government, actors such as international organizations constitute democratic governance because they deal with issues that affect the world, not just one state, country, or region<sup>16</sup>. The researcher identifies the most common trends of democratic governance of the century. The study further explains how the results of this relationship impact international studies after ascertaining the relationship between democratic governance and global media in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The study experienced some setbacks which include the inability of the researcher to sample opinions from all the media practitioners in Kenya and Ghana. As a matter of fact, only a small population of data from the five leading broadcaster in Kenya and in Uganda. In Kenya they include who include; Nation Media Group, Royal Media Services, Mediamax Network Ltd, KTN Standard Group, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. In Ghana they include Daily Graphic, Adom TV, Hello FM, Goodnews FM and Peace FM. To reinforce the study findings two international media players who have focused on democracy of the two countries were also included that is CNN and BBC. Time constraints also pose a limitation

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<sup>16</sup> Raymond, S. and Lichia, Y, (2020). “International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post-modern Times”, Clingendael, Institute Netherlands Institute of International Relations (January 2020).

for this study as the researcher was not able to cover more grounds that would have been insightful for this research. Also, finding media practitioners and convincing them to participate in the interviews was a difficult task that poses a limitation to this study, not to mention the financial constraints in moving from one place to another within Nairobi to sample opinions.

### **1.7 Definitions and Operationalization of Key Concepts**

**Developed state** is a state that is economically advanced with large industrial and service sectors, politically sovereign, has advanced technological infrastructure and a sizably large GDP

**Developing state:** are states with a high economic progress, infrastructure, and other capital investment, modern equipment, broad literacy, and advanced living conditions for their whole population.

**Mainstream media:** is a way of communicating that conveys information and influences individuals to act or not act, such as radio and television, newspapers, magazines, and the internet, among others.

**New media:** refers to on-demand material that may be accessed over the internet and is viewable on digital devices with interactive user input and creative involvement. Websites such as online newspapers, blogs, wikis, video games, and social media are examples.

## **1.8 Literature Review**

The three aspects of mainstream media which are key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa, key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana and agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21st century in Kenya and Ghana according to other researchers is as presented in the subsequent section;

### **1.8.1 Key functions of Mainstream Media on Democratic Governance in Africa**

According to the Chabuka research, the press as the fourth estate was originally viewed as an independent check on the state's operations, particularly those of the government.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the evolution of the key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa extends beyond the scope of government investigation to include a wide range of other institutions of social authority, including influential individuals who may or may not hold any official position in government. Uma contends that the media should be seen as a fourth estate, a strong watch for exposing government misdeeds and, in particular, defending individuals' democratic and constitutional rights.<sup>18</sup> This indicates the media's independence as well as its obligation to the people. Ansgar discovered that the media has societal duties, i.e., the media should be accessible to more than a small number of people and offer more than the views of powerful politicians.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Chabuka Bedford Kaseya, Information technology as a tool for decision making in the military using a case study of Zambia, NDC Kenya, 2020

<sup>18</sup> Uma Narula, Handbook of communication models, perspectives, strategies, Atlanta Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd, 2019

<sup>19</sup> Ansgar Zerfass Ansgar et.al., Social Media Governance: Regulatory Frameworks As Drivers of Success in Online Communications, University of Leipzig, Germany, 2019

Young believes that the media should have a mobilization function, which includes lobbying for social goals in politics and economic growth.<sup>20</sup> As a result, societal responsibilities always take precedence over media rights and freedoms. To hold the government responsible, the media should speak for the people and reflect their interests. As a result, the media should be seen as a keen watch that the public may rely on to expose governmental institutions' mistakes and misconduct.<sup>21</sup> Raymond and Lichia demonstrates that mainstream media use is a mature, new territory for nongovernmental actors to raise awareness and develop support around the world.<sup>22</sup> Mainstream media, has changed the approach to politics because of the invisible support of mainstream media users. The strength of mainstream media lies in its ability to reach millions of people in a short period of time; it instills the same degree of legitimacy in social movements as print media did in the twentieth century, and which it continues to do today.

Consequently then, the contribution and significance of civic activism cannot be underrated. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm investigate the political implications of mainstream media mediated activism amongst the actors who use it, contending that people have become more active in political and social matters that they could not engage in before.<sup>23</sup> By empowering

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<sup>20</sup> Young, S. (2018). The role of global media in public diplomacy.[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2014-01/11/content\\_17230295.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2014-01/11/content_17230295.htm)

<sup>21</sup> Le, E. (2016) *The Spiral of 'Anti-Other Rhetoric': Discourses of Identity and the International Media Echo*, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

<sup>22</sup> Raymond, S. and Lichia, Y,(2021). "International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post-modern Times", Clingendael, Institute Netherlands Institute of International Relations (January 2018).

<sup>23</sup> Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (2020). *Four theories of the press*. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana



people and giving them the freedom to engage without being physically present is what sets this form of activism apart from the rest. In fact, democracy and social structures are evolving to accommodate the application of mainstream media systems, such that, in future, the traditional methods of activism may altogether change.

Siebert, Peterson and Schramm demonstrate how mainstream media has not only incorporated recent technology as a tool for change, what community means, and how they conceive of collective identity and democratic change.<sup>24</sup> They say that mainstream media, such as television and radio stations, are the town square of the twenty-first century. The Arab Spring, for example, gained international attention not just as a result of Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube's aid, but also because demonstrators were aired by BBC, CNN, and other local and international networks. The mainstream media has been credited with facilitating some of the most significant demonstrations in recent history, such as the Arab revolutions, while also promoting democracy among the general population.<sup>25</sup>

According to Mbeke, the media play numerous important functions in a democratic society.<sup>26</sup> Their primary purpose is to educate the public, providing people with the information they need to make educated decisions on leadership and policy. The media works as a keen watch over government actions. They set the tone for public discussion and provide a stage for political expression. They also contribute to community development by supporting individuals in recognizing common causes, organizing civic groups, and collaborating on

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<sup>24</sup> Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (2020). *Four theories of the press*. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana

<sup>25</sup> Schudson, M. (2020). The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. *Journalism* , 2 (2), 149-170

<sup>26</sup> Mbeke, P. (2019). *The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya*. Nairobi: InterNews Network

social solutions. The press as a political watch presents the press as a protector of the public interest. The watch press functions as a check on government abuses by providing citizens with information and demanding government transparency.<sup>27</sup>

Gilboa found that globalization has been a very important subject in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the media has been a very ideal instrument in the facilitation of culture exchange and flow of information between states.<sup>28</sup> Before the 90s Mainstream media systems were nationally scoped unlike today where communication is diverse reaching Audiences Worldwide. The rise of and development of global capitalism impacted largely influenced the dissemination of international flow of information. The rise of Reuters for example paved way for global systems of codification. Mutua viewed the media as a vehicle for transferring the west's political economic model to the south's emerging independent societies.<sup>29</sup> The Elites utilized the media to increase the goals of the people in emerging countries, so that they would stop being narrow-minded and conformist and become more engaged in their own development. Cultures have become more homogeneous as a result of globalization.

### **1.8.2 Key Functions of Mainstream Media on Democratic Governance in Kenya and Ghana**

According to Wolfsfeld, the press as a fourth estate operates largely as a check on government authority, and it is necessary to prevent powerful nations from exceeding their

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<sup>27</sup> Were, E. N. (2020). The role of the media in escalating conflict (a case of the Rwandan genocide)

<http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/11376>

<sup>28</sup> Gilboa, Eytan (2018) —Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework, *Communication Theory* 10(3): 275-309

<sup>29</sup> Mutua, A. N. (2019). A study of Propaganda and the Press in Africa. Retrieved JAN 8th, 2012, from

[http://www.geocities.com/a\\_mutua/propaganda.html#references](http://www.geocities.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references)

mission.<sup>30</sup> She goes on to say that this position is popular among residents who are dealing with widespread corruption, a weak rule of law, and predatory or inept administrations that are unable to provide basic services. Marsden however raises the questions of whether too much negative reporting can undermine support for public officials and lead to rising public dissatisfaction and whether adversarial media can spark chaos.<sup>31</sup> The proponents of watch journalism according to Coronel have high hopes for what it can do especially in the control of corruption. Media can push for reform but can never influence the directions the reform takes. Its impact is therefore slowed down by government inertia and elites unwilling to take action against bureaucracies. At times the public can be drawn away from more serious issues that require action. The study cites cases in the developing world where media coverage of corruption is viewed as part of political arsenal like in China.

According to the Altschull research, mainstream media offer new instruments for civic organizers, political candidates, activists, and ordinary individuals to reach out to others and mobilize community action on a variety of topics.<sup>32</sup> In terms of the agencies, platforms, acts utilized for political expression, and the actors that participants aim to affect, political involvement appears to have developed over time. The outcome of a given interaction is largely determined by the process of social modernization and growing levels of human capital, and mainstream media appear to have the potential to do this. Being an advocate for change and working for infrastructural or policy changes that can have more long-term consequences and answers to issues of public concern is one of the greatest ways to become

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<sup>30</sup> Wolfsfeld, Gadi. 2018. *Media and the Path to Peace*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Marsden, C. T. (2020). *Regulating the global information society*. London: Routledge

<sup>32</sup> Altschull J. (2018). *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy*, New York: Longman

more involved in the community. Activism and advocacy assist in addressing the underlying causes of community problems.<sup>33</sup>

The economic, social, and political landscape are quickly altering as a more involved communications environment, driven by expansion in the mainstream media, emerges.<sup>34</sup> For active people, mainstream media offers means to reduce the expenses of their participation, improve the quality of their participation, and/or expand the sorts of activities they participate in. Aside from the influence of mainstream media on organized elites and involved people, there is reason to assume it can also reach out to others who are interested but not yet active. Citizens in today's countries suffer from civic apathy, public skepticism, disillusionment, and a general lack of interest in the traditional political process.<sup>35</sup>

According to Jan, mainstream media have a crucial role in forming impersonal impressions, which, in turn, play a crucial role in influencing political judgments.<sup>36</sup> Citizens are not, however, destined to extreme uniformity or puppet-like manipulation at the hands of those in charge of media content. Even in face-to-face settings, the public demonstrates a significant level of independence, despite the normative social impact transmitted by interpersonal political debate. Public opinion and media coverage of events and ideas may either aid or hinder collective action chances. According to the Catania study, public opinion perceptions

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<sup>33</sup> Robinson, P. (2020). The Role of media and public opinion. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, T. Dunne, S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy theories, actors, cases* (2nd edition ed., pp. 168-183). Oxford: oxford university press.

<sup>34</sup> Bahador, B. (2021) *The CNN Effect in Action: How the News Media Pushed the West toward War in Kosovo*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>35</sup> Hindell K. 1995. "The Influence of the Media on Foreign Policy". In *International Relations*. Vol. XII. No. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Jan, M.(2019). *Globalization of Media: Key Issues and Dimensions*, online research published in *European Journal of Scientific research*,

are entrenched in news coverage.<sup>37</sup> Five requirements, according to Mirumbi, must be satisfied for knowledge to change current views.<sup>38</sup> The knowledge must be received, comprehended, obviously relevant to policy evaluation, contradictory to previous assumptions, and believable. New knowledge should affect an individual's preferences and choices when these requirements are satisfied to a sufficient degree. Furthermore, if the requirements are satisfied in the same way for a large number of people, there may be a shift in public opinion that is seen in opinion polls.

Raymond and Lichia contend that collective public opinion is usually stable and it does not change instantly.<sup>39</sup> Most people, however, must rely largely on the cheapest and most available sources for whatever information they do obtain about politics: newspapers, radio, and television, particularly network television news. It is predicted that public opinion will shift when news in the media reaches big audiences and fulfills our five requirements for many people. For this study, majority of citizens rely heavily upon the mainstream media for information on political issues including an interpretation of the political occurrences. It is this continued exposure to the same information that eventually has a bearing on public opinion.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Catania, A. (2019). *The use of ICT and the Internet in the Diplomatic Service*. Presented at the 2009 International meeting “Modern Diplomacy for Small States” held in Malta

<sup>38</sup> Mirumbi Dorcas Naitore, (2017). *The 21st Century Diplomatic engagement in Africa: A case study of Kenya*, IDIS, UON, November

<sup>39</sup> Raymond, S. and Lichia, Y, (2018). *“International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post-modern Times”*, Clingendael, Institute Netherlands Institute of International Relations (January 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Rutere, N. (2017), *Role of social media in enhancing public diplomacy: a case study of the U.S.*

Saranga points that mainstream media has been seen to play a critical role in enlightening the public about political processes, enhancing their political consciousness and subsequently their participation.<sup>41</sup> Tehranian claims that the media is critical in providing freedom of speech, ongoing discussion, national critique, and self-criticism in order to achieve effective, practical, superior, and compassionate forms of organization, improved work techniques, mass mobilization, and social advancement.<sup>42</sup> He goes on to say that, given Africa's colonial background and history of fight for human dignity and freedom, the mainstream media's job should be to support this effort. As a result, their importance must be assessed in terms of how well they support the majority of people's developmental and democratic aspirations by frequent talks between residents and administrators and authorities to ensure community input in making of decisions and the process of development. According to Westcott, the mainstream media plays a vital role in socialization and the social process.<sup>43</sup>

Wolfsfeld discovered that the mainstream press is a social control agency.<sup>44</sup> In emerging countries, their ideological and socialization roles are constantly identified as essential aspects. He continues, "The media can be useful in advertisements intended to improve health, professional training, and farming production; enhancing the productivity of player involved governmental processes, economic growth, and development; implementing group conventions; raising expectations; putting emphasis; trying to expand horizons; discussing

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<sup>41</sup> Saranga, D. (2019). The use of new media in public diplomacy: One Jerusalem. Available from <http://www.onejerusalem.org/2009/06/the-use-of-new-media-in-public>.

<sup>42</sup> Tehranian Majid, (2019) *Global Communication and World Politics, domination, Development and discourse*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, Colorado, USA,

<sup>43</sup> Westcott Nicholas, (2018). *Digital Diplomacy, The Impact Of The Internet On International Relations*, London Oxford internet Institute, Research Report, July

<sup>44</sup> Wolfsfeld, Gadi. (2017). *Media and the Path to Peace*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

the matter authority to values and institutions; having to feed emotional and social channels; trying to encourage informed debate; forming taste and preference; and exposing coercion."<sup>45</sup> They do, however, reach the key groups and decision-makers at the core of modern development; these are the people whose political goals and perspectives are now determining in developing countries. The governing and modernizing elites' are influenced by the media both in the short and long term. However, it is also part of progress to continue to grow the mainstream media audience and reach the majority of people directly. Rapid mass mobilization for development becomes nearly impossible if the majority is not reached through popular media.

As a result, WolsfeldGadi claims that mainstream media may successfully feed and supplement conventional and interpersonal communication channels in popular mobilization.<sup>46</sup> Were goes on to say that, given the current local and global socioeconomic conditions and environment, the mainstream media's role in Africa should be to enhance education, well-being, agricultural, and educational campaigns: act as channels for general and informal education; support agitational and mass mobilization campaigns for national development; defend human rights and promote mass participation and control in decision-making; and maintain a steady stream of news and information; encourage ordinary people to freely and publicly express themselves through media contributions such as letters to the editor and random street interviews on given topical events and developments; promote economic policies based on principles of self-reliance and self-sufficiency; promote the

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<sup>45</sup> Young, S. (2018). *The role of global media in public diplomacy* [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2014-01/11/content\\_17230295.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2014-01/11/content_17230295.htm)

<sup>46</sup> WolsfeldGadi, (2017). *Media and Political conflict, News from the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, UK,

prioritization of people-oriented national development projects and expose the counter-productive nature of elitist and prestige-motivated national projects; expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption, exploit and expose corruption. In the economic sphere, promote national independence; promote national, regional, and pan-African unity, solidarity, and justice; and support world peace, disarmament, and democratization of international relations in the political, social, and cultural realms.<sup>47</sup>

### **1.8.3 Agenda Setting Function of Mainstream Media**

According to Verekia, the mainstream media has a significant impact on viewers by determining what stories are considered noteworthy and how much attention and space they are given.<sup>48</sup> The study's conclusion demonstrates mainstream media and is seen as salience transfer. The ability of the mainstream media to move important problems from their mass media agendas to public agendas is known as salience transfer. According to the findings of the study, there is a link between the pace at which a topic is covered by the media and the amount to which individuals believe the story is significant. This link has been shown time and time again. To influence the audience, the media employs items or problems. On this level, the media advises the public on how much coverage is appropriate. The media concentrates on the qualities of the objects or topics in second-level agenda framing. The

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<sup>47</sup> Were, E. N. (2017). *The Role of the Media in Escalating Conflict (A Case of the Rwandan Genocide)* <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/11376>

<sup>48</sup> Verekia Bridget, (2017). *Digital Diplomacy and its effects on International Relations*, SIT Switzerland: Multilateral (Diplomacy & International Relations, May



media, at this level, indicate how people are starting to think about issues in important events: particular instances, media coverage and agenda-setting.<sup>49</sup>

Schudson study shows that the private media in developing countries reports incidents as government's insensitivity to environmental issues.<sup>50</sup> This is aimed at scoring political points for the opposition. On the other hand, state media on the other hand ignore the issues. This points to a situation where the media can take sides on an issue thereby presenting a lopsided view of events. In this sense then it becomes clear that the role of the media in the society can be driven by other motives other than those of informing, educating and entertaining but that of activism as well. He notes that while agenda setting is a highly political process with political actors playing a major role, the media should determine which issues are the most important ones. It is a powerful function of the media to inform the public what is important.

Saemeh and Akram studied how the use of mainstream media affects participation in offline demonstrations.<sup>51</sup> The study further shows the use of media transcends socio-economic divides to facilitate participation, and offers that participants reached through agenda setting are normally those from lower socioeconomic classes, and are mostly young, as compared to those mobilized via other channels. The study ultimately comes to the conclusion that mainstream media represents an alternative platform of reaching different segments of the population. The study also recommends that traditional mediums are just as useful in

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<sup>49</sup> Uma Narula, (2016) *Handbook of Communication Models, Perspectives, Strategies*, Atlanta Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd,

<sup>50</sup> Schudson, M. (2020). *The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*. Journalism , Vol 2 (2), 149-170

<sup>51</sup> Saemeh Baratali and Akram Ayati, (2016). *A Study of the Role and Influence of Mass Medias in the Cultural Diplomacy of France*. The Social Sciences, 11: 903-905

incorporating the remainder of the class populations. Robinson illustrates that, while mainstream media have immense potential to aid and accelerate political mobilization, they are essentially dialectical forces that should not be considered as ultimate liberators of society or as a vehicle for coercion of the people.<sup>52</sup> At best, mainstream media provide an organizational infrastructure as a form of alternative press, as well as generate awareness of the social issue at hand. On their own, mainstream media may not adequately meet the civic and political needs of social activists.

Hundreds of research over the last few decades have revealed evidence of media agenda-setting impacts, including the Robinson study.<sup>53</sup> The media's agenda-setting role refers to the power of the media to raise the prominence of an issue in the public's consciousness through frequent news coverage. It's a method by which the media picks news, topics, and events and gives them prominence and significance over others. This means that a news organization may identify a problem and devote so much attention to it that all other stories receive very little coverage. The media selects problems that are deemed significant by the public or audience, and the agenda set by the media is more likely to be believed. A variety of elements may impact the media's ability to influence public agendas. The first is the degree to which real-world indicators support or contradict the media message. Another factor is the nature of the issue; inconspicuous concerns may be more vulnerable to agenda shaping.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Robinson, P. (2017). The Role of media and public opinion. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, T. Dunne, S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy theories, actors, cases* (2nd edition ed., pp. 168-183). Oxford: oxford university press.

<sup>53</sup> Robinson, P. (2018). *The Role of media and public opinion*. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, T. Dunne, S. Smith, A.

<sup>54</sup> Rigalt Antonio Casado, (2017). *Diplomacy 3.0: from digital communication to digital diplomacy*, Oficina de informaciondiplomatica, Analisis, June

According to Osei-Hweree, media impact varies depending on the sort of public goal being pursued. A participant's civic agenda (view of the most pressing concerns or challenges confronting the community) may differ significantly from his or her biased interests (his or her opinion about the most important problems he or she is facing).<sup>55</sup> Whenever the employee's self-agenda is the subject of study, the agenda-setting theory loses a lot of support. Mbeke observed that while there was considerable doubt that the press had great power to change people's attitudes, the media did provide a massive amount of data from which people learnt about the major concerns of the day.<sup>56</sup> Magambo noted that people seemed to learn about such matters as campaign issues 'in direct proportion to the emphasis placed on them by their manner of presentation in the media.'<sup>57</sup> Certain concerns are brought to the public's notice via the mainstream media. They shape public perceptions of prominent leaders. They are always presenting items that indicate what the general public should think about, know about, and feel about.' One fact about the media is constant flow of news, large numbers of people read their newspapers and listen to news on radio. While some audiences rely more on television for their news, others have little interest in daily events. The news industry seems more interested in some events than others - material presented by the press is selective. This selectivity stems from the constraints the media faces; limited capacity to provide total surveillance, financial constraints, time, space and factors imposed on gate-

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<sup>55</sup> Osei-Hweree, K.B. (2019). *Diplomacy and Communication in Ghana's Foreign Relations: Strategies and the Use of Emerging Technologies* University of Ghana digital collection

<sup>56</sup> Mbeke, P. (2019). *The Role of Media in Conflict and Peace Building in Kenya*. Nairobi: InterNews Network

<sup>57</sup> Magambo Caroline Nalwanga, (2020) *Trends in Diplomatic Communication, A case study of Uganda*, University of Malta,

keepers. Such factors influence how the press chooses which stories to follow up on, accentuate, interpret, and portray in certain ways.

## **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

The study was anchored on Liberalism theory as presented below;

### **1.9.1 Liberal Theory**

The theory of liberalism will be applied in this research. Liberalism is an international relations philosophy that focuses on the laws and standards that have developed between countries.<sup>58</sup> The belief in, and dedication to, creating a rule-governed behavior between countries that can result in greater levels of collaboration and lower levels of conflict is central to this idea. This theory believes that the general population in a nation prefers peace over conflict, and that public opinion acts as a forceful check on elected officials and, as a result, on the country's external behavior. Domestic actors have a role in the mechanisms through which these views influence government policy. For this to happen, both public opinion and domestic actors must be in charge of foreign policy formulation and implementation, and domestic actors must be independent of government when dealing with government matters.<sup>59</sup>

In a democratic state, public opinion ought to be reflected in the state's domestic policy, including foreign policy because democratic governments are thought to be responsive to the

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<sup>58</sup> Lull James, (2020). *Media, Communication, Culture: A Global Approach*, Polity press, Cambridge, UK, Lull James, *Media, Communication, Culture: A Global Approach*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 1995 PP 3

<sup>59</sup> Jan, M. (2019). *Globalization of Media: Key Issues and Dimensions*, online research published in European Journal of Scientific research,

public.<sup>60</sup> This is because, in democratic states, the domestic actors are expected to facilitate full and open discussion on important matters and represent the opinion of the public. Thus, news presentations such as current affairs reporting ought to serve to educate, inform, and advance debate. In other words, the domestic actors disseminated information should set the agenda for the public's attention to that minor cluster of concerns around which public opinion forms. While doing this, a collective agreement can be reached which can then affect government policy.<sup>61</sup>

Liberal statements about free speech and worldwide free movement of information, particularly the communication of domestic actors, have been connected to the enlightened dissemination of liberal principles on a global scale.<sup>62</sup> Domestic actors become a key instrument of soft power diplomacy, allowing you to achieve your international goals by enticing and persuading other countries to willingly embrace your aims rather than relying on hard power. The attractiveness of a state's governing system gives rise to soft power. Soft power is increased when people think your governing system is suitable.

Unlike realism, liberalism places a greater emphasis on the role of public opinion and domestic players in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Domestic actors and public opinion, on the other hand, are unsuitable in foreign policy, according to realism,

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<sup>60</sup> Hindell K. (2020). "The Influence of the Media on Foreign Policy". *In International Relations*. Vol. XII. No.4.

<sup>61</sup> Craig, H. (2017). *Social Media at State: Power, Practice, and Conceptual Limits for US Public Diplomacy* Vol 11, No 21

<sup>62</sup> Bahador, B. (2017) *The CNN Effect in Action: How the News Media Pushed the West toward War in Kosovo*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

because foreign policy is the result of inter-state power struggles in international politics.<sup>63</sup> Realists believe that foreign policy is formed by foreign policy elites who describe and pursue national objectives under the impact of an anarchic international system, rather than under the control of the people. Liberalism provides an analytical foundation for assessing the role of domestic players in creating public opinion, which influences foreign policy decisions, in order to solve the problem of foreign policy execution. This idea is demonstrated in this study by illustrating how domestic actors may be utilized as a kind of soft power to promote liberal principles such as international cooperation in different development and, most importantly, in the enhancement of a country's democracy.

### **1.10 Hypotheses**

This research was based on the following alternate assumptions;

- i. Key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa
- ii. Functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana
- iii. Agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21st century in Kenya and Ghana

### **1.11 Research Methodology**

The study's methodology is presented in this chapter. The research design, target population, sample design, data collecting techniques, and data processing methodologies are all part of this.

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<sup>63</sup> Gilboa, Eytan (2018) —Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework, *Communication Theory* 10(3): 275-309

### **1.11.1 Research Design**

This is a descriptive assessment of the global trends in democratic governance and how the global media is responsible for shaping these trends or has contributed to the emergent of the new trends. It involves a purposive process of gathering information pertaining to the variables mentioned above and determining the existing relationship. It also involves a descriptive analysis and interpretation of the data obtained.

### **1.11.2 Target Population**

The study was conducted in Nairobi County where it houses the headquarters of the top media houses. The targeted institutions included; Nation Media Group, Royal Media Services, Mediamax Network Ltd, Standard Group and Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, British Broadcasting Corporation and CNN Nairobi Bureau. These are the top five local firms in Kenya with the most viewers and the most widely circulated publications (The Standard and the Daily Nation who have the highest circulation and readership in the country). The study focused on the Daily Graphic, Adom TV, Hello FM, Goodnews FM, and Peace FM in Ghana. The chosen media houses have deep ties to the Kenyan and Ghanaian economic and political elites, and while they are active in their watch function, they are nevertheless vulnerable to elite control, and their criticism of government activities is generally limited. The other two foreign owned media houses bridged the study understanding on democratic governance.

The target population was 3 senior managers from each of the selected media houses totaling to 36. The choice of the senior managers was motivated by the fact that they have vast knowledge with the content of news they source and distribute to the populace.

### **1.11.3 Research Sampling Procedure**

Since the population was manageable the researcher opted not to sample but use the census method where the sample was picked randomly.

### **1.11.4 Data Collection**

The researcher employed both primary and secondary data. In primary data, the researcher prepared interview guide and arranged for both face to face, telephone and online interviews. On secondary data, the researcher got information from journals, newspaper extracts, pieces of legislations (both domestic and international) and other available published data on mainstream media and democratic governance.

### **1.11.5 Data Analysis and Presentation**

During the study, the researcher collected qualitative data that was analyzed using content analysis and arranged according to similar themes.

### **1.11.6 Ethical Considerations**

Ethics is of major concern in data collection. Therefore, it was be the duty of the researcher to ensure high moral and ethical values are upheld during the process of data collection. The researcher ensured voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy; confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents were observed.

## **1.12 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one has introduced main focus of examination as well as problem that motivate examination. The section also highlighted the objectives guiding the study, the justification



of the study and also given a literature review on the topic where various works of scholars had been highlighted and the theories founding the foundation of the study provided. The chapter also provided the methodology that guided the study.

Chapter two presents key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Africa while chapter three presents literature on key functions of mainstream media in democratic governance in Kenya and Ghana. Chapter four presents agenda setting function of mainstream media on democratic governance in the 21st century in Kenya and Ghana. Chapter five presents data as collected from the media representatives who participated in the interviews. While the last chapter concludes the findings and presents recommendation for policy and areas of further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### KEY FUNCTIONS OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

#### 2.1 Strengthening Responsiveness and Accountability of Governments

The existence of an unrestricted and independent press within each country is critical in the democratization process because it contributes to the rights of freedom of expression, thought, and conscience, strengthens government responsiveness and accountability to all citizens, and provides a pluralist platform and channel of political expression for a variety of groups and interests.<sup>64</sup> Klijn also emphasizes the media's role in fostering contemporary democracy.<sup>65</sup> According to the study, the media serves as a watch over abuses of power, promoting accountability and transparency; as an unrestricted public debate forum, facilitating informed electoral choices and encouraging participation; and as a policy agenda-setter, enhancing government responsiveness and promoting/encouraging democracy.

The media is entrusted with keeping an eye on persons in positions of power in order to prevent them from overstepping their limits. Hill believes that the press, which should be independent of the government and whose independence should be protected by the government, should serve as the society's eyes and ears.<sup>66</sup> The idea of the press serving as

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<sup>64</sup> Castells, Manuel (2020) *The information age: economy, society and culture*, vol 1: *The Rise of the network society*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>65</sup> Klijn, Steijn. 2019. Trust in governance networks: Its impact and outcomes. *Administration and Society* 42 (2): 193–221.

<sup>66</sup> Hill, B. C., “Measuring Media Market Diversity. Concentration, Importance, and Pluralism”, in: *Federal Communication Law Journal*, 58 (1), 2016, 169-170.

society's watch necessitates that it be allowed the freedom to do so. However, press freedom has yet to take hold in many nations. In a debate about media freedom, Mukherjee argues that journalists should operate without fear, despite government provocation and threats.<sup>67</sup>

The media world is split into three zones, according to Featherstone: the sphere of consensus, the sphere of legitimate dispute, and the sphere of deviance, each of which is regulated by distinct media norms.<sup>68</sup> The realm of objectivity's jurisdiction is the sphere of permissible debate. The practice of objective journalism, on the other hand, varies greatly within the domain of legitimate dispute. Near the sphere of consensus's edge, major media engage in the sort of objective journalism that entails a straightforward repetition of official pronouncements. The idea of balance is more stressed in the news as it deals with subjects where there is less unanimity.<sup>69</sup>

Thompson also argued that, although the mainstream media practice in the sphere of celebrating consensus values is one of important functions of the news media, the function is often obscured by emphasizing the normative ideal of the neutral and independent watch in the liberal model.<sup>70</sup> In nations where journalists profess loyalty to the liberal paradigm of impartiality and objectivity, the distance between ideal and reality is even wider, as the actual practice of journalism is strongly steeped in political advocacy traditions. In times of crisis, the news media's role shifts from one of consensus to one of genuine dispute. Crisis is the

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<sup>67</sup> Mukherjee, Nilanjana, *Voices of the Poor. Making Services Work for the Poor in Indonesia. A Qualitative Consultation with the Poor at 8 Sites*, Washington DC, USA: World Bank, 2016.

<sup>68</sup> Featherstone, Mike (eds) (2020) *Global Culture – Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*

<sup>69</sup> Rantanen, Terhi (2017) *The Media and Globalization*, London: Sage

<sup>70</sup> Thompson, John (2017) *The Media and Modernity: a social theory of the media*, Cambridge: Polity Press

moment when hegemony occurs as a contingent intervention. Therefore, Pieterse called hegemony the response to a crisis.<sup>71</sup>

## **2.2 Networking of Government Functions**

Many executive duties have shifted away from central governments, according to a research by Sparks. Monitoring roles, on the other hand, have shifted away from parliaments and toward a variety of non-parliamentary entities, including independent regulators, social groups, and the news media.<sup>72</sup> The media play a crucial part in these networks because they serve as the primary link between the many groups that watch governments. In democracies, critical mainstream media is becoming increasingly essential in the lives of public sector enterprises.<sup>73</sup>

Democracy is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, which provides an equal opportunity for all citizens to participate and play a substantial role in the political process, as well as ensuring and guaranteeing certain rights and liberties to the people.<sup>74</sup> It is a kind of governance that is under the control of the people. One of the most essential fundamental freedoms enjoyed by citizens is freedom of speech and expression, which lends depth and purpose to people's involvement. To function at its greatest capacity, a democratic system requires widespread engagement from the general public, which is impossible without

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<sup>71</sup> Pieterse, Nederveen (2017) "Globalization as Hybridization" in *Globalization and Culture – Global Melange*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 59-85

<sup>72</sup> Sparks, Colin (2018) *Globalization, Development and the Mass Media*, London: Sage Publications

<sup>73</sup> Straubhaar, Joseph (2017) *World television: from global to local*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications

<sup>74</sup> Tomlinson, John (2019) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press

people being informed about numerous topics. As a result, trustworthy information sources are a crucial component of a democratic society. This is where the media's function and relevance in guaranteeing better democracy comes into play.<sup>75</sup>

### **2.3 Foreign Policy Making**

Ward discovered that foreign policy starts with the executive branch of government in terms of the decision-making process.<sup>76</sup> The Executive is in charge of formulating policy recommendations, taking into account public sentiment as influenced by media coverage. The study further shows that stream media has two roles in connection with foreign policy. First, as neutral reporters, reporters inform, interpret, and explain foreign policy as a neutral transmission belt. The interpretative function, on the other hand, has been compelled by the increasing complexity of foreign policy and the leadership role that a country plays in international affairs. Second, as participants in foreign policy, stream media question officials and criticize the government, acting as representatives of the public. The notion of participants implies two seemingly contradictory roles: watch and advocator. On most cases, policy lobbying takes place in the press's editorial pages. These positions add up to significant press freedom in the political domain, which is backed up by practice.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Nassanga, L. G., "Journalism Ethics and the Emerging New Media Culture of Radio Talk Shows and Public Debates (Ekimeeza) in Uganda", in: *Journalism*, 9 (5), 2018, 646-663.

<sup>76</sup> Ward, Stephen J. A., "Global Journalism Ethics. Widening the Conceptual Base", in: *Global Media Journal*, 1(1), 2018, 137-149.

<sup>77</sup> Kasoma, Francis P., "Practice of Journalism. The Case for Society-Centered Media Morality", in: *The Foundation of African Ethics (Afriethics) and the Professional*, 2019, 93-11

Stream media provides as a fundamental standard source of accurate information on global events for foreign policymakers in both the executive and legislative branches.<sup>78</sup> However, there are fundamental differences in relationship with the two branches. The relationship between policy-making officials and the media is characterized as the love-hate relationship because the press as a whole is both good and bad in its impact on the policymaking process. Media contributes significantly to members of assembly as a source of foreign policy information. The national assembly frequently initiates investigations and directly affects foreign policy through committee actions, authorization, and appropriations.

Adsera and Payne questioned the indexing model's premise that popular media can simply repeat elite viewpoints and cannot play an autonomous role in elite discussions.<sup>79</sup> They said that focusing on the link between news sources and journalists' elite manufactured permission 'black boxes' the dynamics between media coverage and any specific policy process ignores the potential that media may affect policy outcomes during elite discussion. Holden developed the policy media interaction model that features how the level of elite consensus and the policy certainty within government influenced the media-state relationship, which, by demonstrating the two-way understanding of the direction of influence between the news media and the state, leads to a two-way understanding of the direction of influence between the news media and the state.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Edward McNair, B. (2018) *An Introduction to Political Communication*. 5th ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

<sup>79</sup> Adsera, A., C. Boix and M. Payne. 2020. *Are you being served?: Political accountability and quality of government*, inter-American Development Bank, Research Department Working Papers Series, No. 438., Washington DC.

<sup>80</sup> Holden, B. (2020) *The Nature of Democracy*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

McQuail advocated for a broader perspective on how ideas move from the White House to the rest of the system.<sup>81</sup> He underlined the stratification of the capacity to encourage the transmission of frames by utilizing the metaphor of the cascade; certain actors have more power than others to push ideas to the news and subsequently to the general audience. Each level contributes to the mix and flow of ideas in its own way, and each may be looked of as a network of people and organizations.<sup>82</sup>

Concerning the role of media, Norris argued that the growing relative independence of journalism in fact poses a variety of constraints and frustrations to leaders.<sup>83</sup> But in general, while the idea is usually initiated by an administration in the field of foreign policy, actors in each stage respond to it based on their own motivation and interest. The main achievement of his work is to break the conception of passive mainstream media in regard to the reporting of foreign policy and to establish the interactive model which includes; interaction with each level as well as with among cultural congruence, motivations, power, and strategy. He also suggested that the media give adequate information that is not controlled by the executive branch so that individuals may make their own opinions about topics and occurrences.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> McQuail, D. (2019) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 5th ed. London: Sage.

<sup>82</sup> Nordenstreng, K. and White, R. (2019) *Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>83</sup> Norris, P. (ed.), *Public Sentinel News Media & Governance Reform*, Washington DC: World Bank, 2018.

<sup>84</sup> Kohut, A. (2018) 'Public Support for the Watchdog Is Fading', *CJR* (May/June): 52.

## 2.4 Public Diplomacy

Content is available to a bigger audience as the world media has grown more prevalent, changing public opinion into a more vital component in international relations.<sup>85</sup> As public diplomacy has taken on a global dimension since the end of the Cold War, supporters for it have targeted newly emerging countries. As the cold war impacted many people in affected countries, as well as their countries, it became clearer than ever that perceptions are just as important as reality. As a result, information access has been democratized, allowing citizens to become independent and active players in global politics, and the new diplomacy agenda has boosted the influence of loosely organized groups of individuals. Indeed, public diplomacy is an important component of a collaborative diplomacy paradigm in regional integration projects. The success of regional integration today relies mainly on public diplomacy and the media.<sup>86</sup>

According to Needham, media diplomacy is an integral element of public diplomacy; a word that is continuously evolving, leading to its present meaning and definition.<sup>87</sup> Historically, public diplomacy has been characterized as democratic responsibility or the need for direct public engagement in diplomacy, as espoused by proponents of citizen summitry during the Cold War. Canning, Metternich, and Talleyrand, who recognized the magnitude of public opinion's power amid the turbulence of European politics during the start of the French

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<sup>85</sup> Mancini, P. (2020) 'Between Trust and Suspicion: How Political Journalists solve the dilemma', *European Journal of Communication* 8(1), March.

<sup>86</sup> Bratton, M. and Walle, N. (2018) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>87</sup> Needham, Christine 2017. Brands and political loyalty. *Journal of Brand Management* 13 (3): 178–87.



Revolution, were major influences on this way of thought. They attempted to influence international opinion through the press, often known as the media.<sup>88</sup>

Internationalization has made a world of co-dependence, and hence dependency, a reality, as well as increased mass communication.<sup>89</sup> Advances in mainstream media, which have facilitated worldwide communication, have had a significant influence on the practice of diplomacy, leading to the emergence of terminology like media-diplomacy. This connects the impact of advances in information and communication technologies on diplomacy and foreign policy. The role of the media has moved from that of a tool of government public diplomacy to that of a force capable of influencing foreign policy through public opinion. The CNN effect, which refers to the general public's generation of pressure on politicians to respond to crisis circumstances, has emerged as a new term in media diplomacy.

## **2.5 Image Building Institution**

According to McNair the purpose of image building is to achieve and maintain political power.<sup>90</sup> The media representation analyzed in this research encompasses two aspects of ideological work: relationship and identity. The word representation brings out the concept of relationship between two entities. However, the two entities are not only limited to two nations but also the relationship between one nation and itself. The relationship between one and self is defined as identity. However, since the relation with others in turn always entails

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<sup>88</sup> Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, and Winfried Schulz. 2019. 'Mediatization' of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political Communication* 16 (3): 247–61.

<sup>89</sup> Langer, Ana I. 2018. The politicization of private persona: Exceptional leaders or the new rule? The case of the United Kingdom and the Blair effect. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 15 (1): 60–76.

<sup>90</sup> McNair, Brian 2018. An introduction to political communication. London: Routledge.

the relation with oneself, and vice versa, the media representation in this study evaluates how each nation's news media describe each other's nation and leader as well as a self-image. Representation is a meaning-making process that is intertwined with the concept of ideology.<sup>91</sup>

Ideology, according to Strömbäck and Frank, is a system of representations that comprises images, myths, ideas, or concepts, and varies depending on the circumstance.<sup>92</sup> These have a historical existence and play a function in a specific civilization. The systems of meaning through which we portray the world to ourselves and one another are known as systems of representation. Knowledge, according to Walgrave and Peter, is the development of a certain activity.<sup>93</sup> It is the outcome of discursive effort, not a reflection of the actual in talk or language. Social interactions are represented in speech and language, and meaning is established, through this discursive effort. Therefore, it should be understood in the level of ideological practice and its principal mediator language. The media representation has the following characteristics. First, media pictures, no matter how accurate or believable, never simply depict the world as it is. They are always a fabrication, rather than a transparent view into the real world. Second, the media representation of other nations has broadly political implications indicating a nation that stands in for us. Third, in return, the media representation makes the media re-present certain events and stories, and tend to marginalize or even exclude others.

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<sup>91</sup> Reunanen, Esa, Risto Kunelius, and Elina Noppari. 2018. Mediatization in context: Consensus culture, media and decision-making in the 21st century: The case of Finland. *Communications* 34:287–307.

<sup>92</sup> Strömbäck, Jesper, and Frank Esser. 2017. Introduction: Making sense of the mediatization of politics. *Journalism Studies* 14 (3): 243–55.

<sup>93</sup> Walgrave, Stefaan, and Peter van Aelst. 2016. The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory. *Journal of Communication* 56:88–109.

Nations generally seek to create and maintain a favorable stature in the community of nations. For this reason, national consciousness that is self-image as the primary determinant of national identity is different from international images featured by other nations. While each country may construct its own sense of nationalism by having jurisdiction over domestic forces, Schillemans believes that countries with a strong worldwide media advantage will have a greater chance of moulding their international image and standing in the global political hierarchy.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Schillemans, Thomas (2012) *Mediatization of Public Services: How Organizations Adapt to News Media*. Peter Lang

## CHAPTER THREE

### KEY FUNCTIONS OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN KENYA AND GHANA

#### 3.1 Political Debate Function

Many countries throughout the world have seen major changes in their democratic systems during the previous few decades.<sup>95</sup> In their democracy and leadership, most nation nations have gone through political revolutions. In order to enhance their democracies, several countries have switched from one-party control and military rule to multiparty government. The dynamic mainstream media landscape has played a critical role in transforming and strengthening democracies in the last decade. The worldwide revolution in mainstream media has slowed the fall of state monopolies on print and electronic media, resulting in the following: the rise and spread of employing mobile telephone technology to send and receive news; the adoption of new electronic printing technologies that enable the simultaneous production and distribution of print media from multiple sites; the deployment of dedicated satellite technology that improves territorial coverage and transmission quality; the deployment of dedicated satellite technology that improves territorial coverage and transmission quality; the establishment of privately owned and operated radio and television stations, as well as newspapers; Considering the widespread availability of and usage of the internet as a news and information dissemination tool. All of these changes in the mainstream

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<sup>95</sup> Ripley, Randell B., and Grace Franklin. [2016]. Congress, the bureaucracy and public policy. Homewood, IL: Dorsey.

media have altered how information is communicated, and this has implications for how contemporary democracy is exercised in various countries.<sup>96</sup>

Provan, on the other hand, is ready to discount the reality that democratic government has improved throughout the world.<sup>97</sup> He mentions that some observers have noticed symptoms of democratic decline in a number of nations. Georgia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Thailand, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and Zimbabwe are just a few of the countries that have encountered serious political and governance challenges.<sup>98</sup> One of the classic and new concerns confronting contemporary democracies is the increased possibilities for more inclusive voices in civil society. As a result, the media has been tasked with advocating for changes that are urgently needed to improve the responsiveness, transparency, effectiveness, and accountability of democratic governance institutions so that democracy may benefit both the wealthy and the poor. In today's societies, mass communication in the public sphere is used by the media to promote public debate.

The public sphere, according to Lees in the twentieth century, is a venue for critical conversation that is open to all and where people come together to exchange ideas and information.<sup>99</sup> The public discussions, according to Landerer, aided the establishment of a reasonable and informed consensus in public opinion, which served as a check on

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<sup>96</sup> Prenger, Mirjam, Leender Van der Valk, Frank Van Vree, and Laura Van der Wal. 2018. *Gevaarlijk spel: De verhouding tussen pr and voorlichting en journalistiek*. Diemen, The Netherlands: AMB.

<sup>97</sup> Provan, Keith 2019. The evolution of structural embeddedness and organizational social outcomes in a centrally governed health and human service network. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 19:873–93.

<sup>98</sup> McKenna, Laura. 2020 Getting the word out: policy bloggers use their soap box to make change. *Review of Policy Research* vol 24(3): 209-229

<sup>99</sup> Lees, Jennifer 2019. *Political marketing: Principles and applications*. London: Routledge.

governmental authority.<sup>100</sup> As a result, the media should offer people a voice in order to increase democratic involvement. McGuire and Robert went on to say that the emergence of new places for social and intellectual engagement, such as newspapers, journals, reading clubs, and coffee houses, helped the growth of the public sphere in eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>101</sup>

The media should play a critical role in expanding the public sphere in today's society.<sup>102</sup> Citizens' participation in news production, sending letters to the editor, and commenting on news items given by media companies, as well as the media's right of reply, all contribute to the expansion of the public sphere. A technologically advanced broader society, per Cook, must continue to meet three criteria: a legal and constitutional framework that serves to protect civil liberties, massive public access to the various pluralistic contemporary media sources and equality of opportunity for providing an enabling environment and voice within civil society.<sup>103</sup>

### **3.2 Avenue for Socioeconomic Proposals**

In today's political and economic world, the media plays a critical role. According to Asp, the mainstream media serves as a watch for the public good, championing truth, pluralism,

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<sup>100</sup> Landerer, Nino 2018. Rethinking the logics: A conceptual framework for the mediatization of politics. *Communication Theory* 22 (3): 239–58.

<sup>101</sup> McGuire, Michael, and Robert Agranoff. 2017. The limitations of public management networks. *Public Administration* 89 (2): 265–84.

<sup>102</sup> Hanf, Ken I., and Fritz W. Scharpf, eds. 2018. *Interorganizational policy making: Limits to coordination and central control*. London: Sage.

<sup>103</sup> Cook, Timothy E. 2018. *Governing with the news. The news media as a political institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

impartiality, balance, and veracity.<sup>104</sup> However, the media's operating environment frequently pushes journalists to exploit sensationalism at the cost of wider socioeconomic concerns in order to beat the competition and earn positive ratings and advertising money. The media, among other strategic participants in the policy discussion, are part of this market environment, attempting to redefine, change, or manipulate political vocabulary. This also puts the media in a unique position, as they may create new frames with which to examine issues because they serve as a conduit for other players' frames.<sup>105</sup>

Blumler concentrated on policymakers' reactions to the media as a reflection of popular opinion.<sup>106</sup> Policymakers believe the public is significantly impacted by what they read in newspapers or see on television, and so believe that adjusting to the media would be reacting to what they believe are the electorate's expectations, resulting in the media having an impact on policymakers' actions. Occasionally, the answer will be symbolic rather than substantial. It is the substantive action, such as altering policy views, taking real policy action, amending existing policies, or abandoning anticipated policy measures that would be interesting to examine in this study and hence referred to as influence. Unfortunately, this isn't always a simple procedure. Corner emphasized that media material may be impacted by audience demand, and that mainstream media is acutely aware of what the public wants to read or

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<sup>104</sup> Asp, Kent 2019. Newsmedia logic in a new institutional perspective. *Journalism Studies* 15 (3): 256–70.

<sup>105</sup> Aalberg, Toril, and James Curran (eds.) 2018 *How media inform democracy. A comparative approach* New York: Routledge.

<sup>106</sup> Blumler, Jay 2017. *The crisis of political; communication*. London. UK: Routledge

learn about, judging information based on its news value. The people may choose what they want covered.<sup>107</sup>

Fischer argues that, even if a causal relationship between media activity and socioeconomic policy developments can be established, policy changes may be the consequence of interest groups' engagement rather than media action.<sup>108</sup> As a result, the causal link between media and public policy is muddled. In times of policy uncertainty, which is ambiguity across policy subsystems, Hjarvard argued that media is likely to have an impact on policy processes.<sup>109</sup> Due to a lack of information, ignorance, or precision, the research defines uncertainty as the incapacity to assess the current situation or forecast future repercussions. Ambiguity is described as a lack of clarity about intended meanings, various interpretations, or ambiguity. Klijn noted that multiple departments' views of the same problem or solution might lead to ambiguity in the form of ambivalent communication or dissent, and that this vulnerability could allow the media to influence policy action.<sup>110</sup> As a result, it is predicted that the media's major effect in the policy process would be in policy debates where diverse viewpoints are offered and questioned. In such instances, a compelling case might have an impact on socioeconomic influence, which would be beneficial to democracy.

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<sup>107</sup> Corner, John (eds.) 2020. *Media and the restyling of politics. Consumerism, celebrity and cynicism*. London: Sage.

<sup>108</sup> Fischer, Frank 2017. *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<sup>109</sup> Hjarvard, Stig 2018. The mediatization of society: A theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change. *Nordicom Review* 29 (2): 105–34.

<sup>110</sup> Klijn, Hans, 2019. The impact of network management strategies on the outcomes in governance networks. *Public Administration* 88 (4): 1063–82.



### 3.3 Enhancement of Democracy

Democracy has been an aid to the press where new constitutions are composed that give assurances of press opportunity and the privilege to data, enabling columnists to give an account of territories that were already forbidden.<sup>111</sup> What's more, fairly chose lawmaking bodies have instituted laws that permit the two columnists and conventional nationals significantly more access to data on government strategy and the activities of legislators than previously. In many nations today that have experienced a law based progress, the press is an imperative player on the political stage. Writers are regularly dreaded by lawmakers since they have prevailing rights with regards to revealing defilement, the mishandling of energy and arranged acts of neglect. They are additionally persistently charmed on the grounds that an awful press can mean the finish of a political profession. Approaches have been changed, changes started and degenerate authorities including presidents and leaders expelled halfway as a result of media confessions. In numerous new vote based systems, an antagonistic press is a piece of the political procedure and it is difficult to envision how governments would work without it.<sup>112</sup>

In the new majority rule systems, media moguls have used their daily publications or channels to push their economic interests, smear their competitors, and in other ways achieve their political or corporate goals.<sup>113</sup> In the meanwhile, state control allows government

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<sup>111</sup> Lewis, Justin. 2018. A compromised fourth estate? UK news journalism, public relations and news sources. *Journalism Studies* 9 (1): 1–20.

<sup>112</sup> Schillemans, Thomas, Pierre, Jon (2016) Entangling and disentangling governance and the media. *Policy & Politics*, 44 (1): 1-8(8)

<sup>113</sup> Korthagen, Iris, and Erik Hans Klijn 2019. The mediatization of network governance: The impact of commercialized news and mediatized politics on trust and perceived network performance. *Public Administration* 92 (4): 1054–74.

officials to tighten their grip over fundamental details and tenacious journalists. It allows the legislature to spread its unquestioned viewpoints to the broader public. Media content is frequently determined by the interests of media owners, allowing the media to be controlled by personal interests. Members of the public are not only recipients of news figuratively speaking in the past as innovation utilize propels. People in general likewise create and scatter their own substance, quite a bit of which is about the basic leadership and exhibitions of the state. The term ‘citizen-journalist’ has turned out to be prominent in numerous social orders. Individuals started to peruse content stories, tune in to sound reports, and watch pictures of occasions from other individuals' home-made creations. The part of the media in advancing great administration is being perceived by governments and strategy producers in different nations.<sup>114</sup>

The media would think that it's hard to tastefully finish the advancement of good administration without adequate capacity.<sup>115</sup> The achievement of good administration requires the comprehension and cooperation of each individual from the general public. The media, their parts, channels and substance, are viewed as sufficiently capable to make this accomplishment a reality. In any case, an awesome number of existing media channels and the substance they convey can't assume up this liability enough, since they are not open or moderate for all. Crafted by the media ought not to separate the residents into the data rich and data poor. At the end of the day, there must be channels which serve the privilege to know about the general population and the enthusiasm of people in general, with no control

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<sup>114</sup> Schultz, Julianne 2018. Reviving the fourth estate: Democracy, accountability and the media. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>115</sup> Van Dijck, Jose F. T. M. 2017. The culture of connectivity. A critical history of social media. Oxford: Oxford University Press

either by the state or business substances. Such channels must convey decent variety of substance to serve the different gatherings of individuals from the general public. Specifically, content must be instructive and valuable it would then be able to be transformed into learning and knowledge which the general population can use to take out destitution, mitigate hardship, and enhance personal satisfaction in the post-present day society.<sup>116</sup>

In numerous democracies, the mainstream media is tested by advertise powers, illiberal states, and now and again, an antagonistic or apathetic citizenry.<sup>117</sup> Despite this, news organizations and media non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in a variety of countries have found out ways to explain the media's role in bolstering and strengthening a vote-based system. Media hordes have met the press's fair criteria as a watch, a forum for open debate, a catalyst for social change, and a producer of peace and harmony. For the media to productively add to national advancement, certain parts are anticipated from them, for example, giving governing rules in majority rules system (Fourth Bequest), setting general society motivation, door keeping, and power duplicating. At the most essential level, a free press and investigative detailing are conceivable just where writers appreciate some security. Juvenile popular governments have sacred and legitimate arrangements to shield the press, yet these don't generally guarantee that the media can report without dread or support. The privileges of writers must be maintained by a free legal and secured by the manager of law.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Pierre, Jon, and B. Guy Peters, eds. 2020. *Governance, politics and the state*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

<sup>117</sup> Klijn, Erik Hans, and Joop F. M. Koppenjan. 2016. *Governance networks in the public sector*. Oxon.UK: Routledge

<sup>118</sup> Frederickson, H. George 2005. What happened to public administration? *Governance, governance everywhere*. In *The Oxford handbook of public management*, ed. Ewan Ferlie, Larry Lynn, and Chistopher Pollitt, 281–304. Oxford: Oxford University Press

According to Charles, the media agenda tends to affect the public agenda at one level and the public agenda in return affects the policy agenda.<sup>119</sup> Editors and broadcasters are instrumental in deciding what goes to the public and vice versa. In other words when it comes to agenda setting the press has given itself the mandate of selectively choosing what to the audience will see and listen to. It is a situation where by the agenda primers (media) feeds the agenda adaptors (consumers) with information they deem fit. According to Esser and Jorg the media agenda has great influence on the public, since the public's perception and opinions will take the Media presentations of facts.<sup>120</sup> This was well illustrated with the Chapel Hill voters of North Carolina, whereby when they were asked to name the most significant issues of the day; their responses somehow were similar to what was being covered in print, radio and television in the past few days. There are significant news stories that are aired regularly on various topical issues such as politics, crime and insecurity, grand corruption and other local and international information. The publics have a right to know about all this issues, debate on them and find solutions to what ails the nation as a whole. When the public talk about some of these issues for a day or even for days, they are consciously or subconsciously guided by what is making news in the media.

As social orders turn out to be more modernized and the media turn out to be more inescapable, the impact of customary benefactors, gatherings and organizations (like places

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<sup>119</sup> Charles D. Elder. 2020. *Participation in American politics: The dynamics of agenda-building*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>120</sup> Esser, Frank., and Jorg Matthes. 2017. *Mediatization effects on political news, political actors, political decisions, and political audiences*. In *Democracy in the age of globalization and mediatization*, ed. Hans Kriesi et al., 177–201. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

of worship) on the appointive procedure is reduced.<sup>121</sup> Rather, applicants and gatherings make their allure and proliferate their messages through the media. This is one motivation behind why decision battles in numerous nations are currently considerably more costly. The cost of TV and daily paper promoting is enormous and represents a considerable lump of crusade costs. Frequently, heavily financed opponents have a better chance of getting elected to government simply because they can afford to buy broadcast time and daily newspaper space. In a few nations, competitors additionally pay off columnists and editors who underwrite their nominations in different ways.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Hajer, Maarten A. 2019. *Authoritative governance: Policy making in the age of mediatization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>122</sup> Klijn, Erik Hans 2016. Managing commercialised media attention in complex governance networks: Positive and negative effects on network performance. *Policy and Politics* 44 (1):115–33.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### AGENDA SETTING AND MAINSTREAM MEDIA ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

#### 4.1 Agenda Setting Role of Mainstream Media

The media has an influence on society by creating agendas, mobilizing people, and even reinforcing them.<sup>123</sup> The media may play a significant part in agenda setting, which is described as a collaborative process in which the media, government, and public influence one another, ultimately leading to policy creation. In essence, the media may affect public opinion through the way stories are presented. According to the media effects reasoning, people's choices, actions, personality, religious views, and true intentions are strongly affected by the messages they consume, while other primary socialization influences like political considered a semi actors like social movements determine decision making, attitudes, behaviour, religious views, and intentions. People's perceptions of what integration means to them may be influenced by media actions, opinions, and remarks.<sup>124</sup>

The media implicitly subscribes to agenda setting notions through delivering varied coverage of problems, conversations, and analyses, among other items. The way they prepare, frame,

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<sup>123</sup> Castells, Manuel (2020) *The information age: economy, society and culture*, vol 1: *The Rise of the network society*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>124</sup> Hill, B. C., "Measuring Media Market Diversity. Concentration, Importance, and Pluralism", in: *Federal Communication Law Journal*, 58 (1), 2016, 169-170.

and display material has the potential to influence behavior, including people's perceptions of regionalism, leading to increased efficiency, openness, and democratization.<sup>125</sup>

Because most media outlets in developing countries are primarily commercial, they are unable to provide comprehensive coverage of public affairs, which may result in less coverage of government activities or bias in news coverage. According on management, nation of existence, including political, cultural, and administrative cultures, and the caliber of reporters, media outlets have diverse perspectives on democracy.<sup>126</sup> Even if people care about constitutional issues, if they are not given enough attention, they will remain oblivious of the most important issues. Furthermore, without a clear and easy explanation of integration issues such as the common economic protocol, regular people may be unable to comprehend what is happening until the media interpretations and summarizes it.<sup>127</sup> The establishment of ties between national and supranational political institutions and the general people is aided by mainstream media communication, which is vital to democracy. People can use mainstream media to communicate and receive information, as well as a platform to express and collect their thoughts, beliefs, and processes. The involvement of the media is a relationship between public interest and media exposure; bringing individuals' attention to democratic issues occurring outside their own country would undoubtedly be easier.

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<sup>125</sup> Mukherjee, Nilanjana, *Voices of the Poor. Making Services Work for the Poor in Indonesia. A Qualitative Consultation with the Poor at 8 Sites*, Washington DC, USA: World Bank, 2016.

<sup>126</sup> Thompson, John (2017) *The Media and Modernity: a social theory of the media*, Cambridge: Polity Press

<sup>127</sup> Straubhaar, Joseph (2017) *World television: from global to local*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications

## 4.2 Globalization: Interaction of the Global and the Local

Courtesy of mass media websites, consumers may now participate with a large crowd and have varied degrees of control on electoral systems and local democracy practices.<sup>128</sup> The Arab Spring of 2011, the Occupy Movement, the Anna Hazare Movement against corruption in India in 2011, and many mainstream media revolutions taking place throughout the world provide media experts with new topics to explore.<sup>129</sup>

Governments all around the globe are attempting to interact with their constituents using traditional media outlets.<sup>130</sup> Political leaders are increasingly using mainstream media outlets to communicate and remark. On mainstream media, people are expressing their views, sharing their thoughts, and participating in political disputes. However, it is common knowledge that these transactions are unbalanced. Expecting equality in democratic discussions on mainstream media platforms in poor nations, where illiteracy or mainstream media ineffectiveness owing to a lack of infrastructure, such as power, still exists, may not be fair. Some people have more resources and experience than others when it comes to using mainstream media channels to their advantage.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Edward McNair, B. (2018) *An Introduction to Political Communication*. 5th ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

<sup>129</sup> Kasoma, Francis P., “Practice of Journalism. The Case for Society-Centered Media Morality”, in: *The Foundation of African Ethics (Afriethics) and the Professional*, 2019, 93-11

<sup>130</sup> Adsera, A., C. Boix and M. Payne. 2020. *Are you being served?: Political accountability and quality of government*, inter-American Development Bank, Research Department Working Papers Series, No. 438., Washington DC.

<sup>131</sup> Bratton, M. and Walle, N. (2018) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



In these nations, a lack of access to major media outlets, along with the issues already discussed, has a detrimental impact on the quality of government-citizen exchanges.<sup>132</sup> Without adequate study evidence, we can only speculate on how effective these government-citizen exchanges via mainstream media channels are. In the domains of agriculture, public health, and education, mainstream media outlets have been utilized constructively to bring about beneficial changes. Mainstream media platforms have also provided a new lease on life to the concept of participatory democracy, opening up new channels for individuals to interact with their governments. Governments are also reacting and connecting with citizens using a variety of digital media channels. One argument cited by proponents of digital media platforms for participatory democracy is that it would empower previously marginalized individuals. There are obstacles to this, such as a lack of media literacy, accessibility to major media outlets, people' unwillingness, and a slew of other difficulties.<sup>133</sup>

Because of its ability to appeal to a vast audience at cheap prices, mainstream media advertising in globalization functions as a potent mechanism that diminishes the concept of a free market place of ideas in mainstream media.<sup>134</sup> It becomes serious constraints particularly on working-class and radical papers. Mainstream media news sourcing became a significant governmental constraint on the news media. By economic necessity and reciprocity of interest, the news media in a capitalist state maintains a symbiotic connection with powerful sources of information.

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<sup>132</sup> Langer, Ana I. 2018. The politicization of private persona: Exceptional leaders or the new rule? The case of the United Kingdom and the Blair effect. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 15 (1): 60–76.

<sup>133</sup> Walgrave, Stefaan, and Peter van Aelst. 2016. The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory. *Journal of Communication* 56:88–109.

<sup>134</sup> Provan, Keith 2019. The evolution of structural embeddedness and organizational social outcomes in a centrally governed health and human service network. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 19:873–93.

Government as a powerful accredited source fits to the journalistic claim of objective reporting. Besides authoritative figures of government, the magnitude amount of public information constitutes the primary news sources. Furthermore, powerful sources can deny critics access to the media and actively shape the supply of experts to elaborate the favorable public opinion for elite interests.<sup>135</sup>

According to Hjarvard mainstream media in the space of globalization has the ideology of anticommunism, which could be replaced with antiterrorism in current world politics.<sup>136</sup> The ideological frame has a profound influence on the mass media to dichotomize the world. A propagandistic strategy to press coverage entails a deliberate and highly partisan object parts of news stories depending on its usefulness for achieving major domestic power goals. In terms of ownership concentration, Hanf and Fritz argue that, for the first time in American history, six of the world's largest businesses, two of which are foreign, control the country's most widely distributed news, opinion, and daily entertainment.<sup>137</sup> Mainstream media firms dominate the most politically limited news reporting and commentary in the democratic world. Political variety in the mainstream press has evaporated because the top tier of corporate media, along with the government and wire services, determines the news agenda and transmits the majority of national and international news to the general public.

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<sup>135</sup> Aalberg, Toril, and James Curran (eds.) 2018 *How media inform democracy. A comparative approach* New York: Routledge.

<sup>136</sup> Hjarvard, Stig 2018. *The mediatization of society: A theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change.* *Nordicom Review* 29 (2): 105–34.

<sup>137</sup> Hanf, Ken I., and Fritz W. Scharpf, eds. 2018. *Interorganizational policy making: Limits to coordination and central control.* London: Sage.

### 4.3 Global Media System and Globalization: Overview

Because communications cross national borders, numerous sustainability theorists argue that media globalization is undermining countries' abilities to manage, supervise, and/or use domestic media for academic and cultural interests inside respective borders.<sup>138</sup> The appearance of the previously electrostatic interactions between the media and the government appears to have changed as a globalism. Because it has the capacity to persuade communications strategy and primetime television systems, the state remains vital. In Europe, for example, the government has a long history of regulating public service broadcasting in order to use the media to further the public good and provide education and culture to a wider variety of people regardless of social status or economic circumstance. The government's ability to submit multinational media corporations to a regulatory system has been weakened as their influence has grown.<sup>139</sup>

With the deployment of advanced cable and satellite systems in the late twenty-first century, the growth of new technologies has played a key role in the deepening of globalization of communications.<sup>140</sup> The former has improved the capacity for electronic data transmission and the latter for long-distance communications, and this has been paired with a growth in the usage of digital data processing technologies. As a result of the digitization of

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<sup>138</sup> Korthagen, Iris, and Erik Hans Klijn 2019. The mediatization of network governance: The impact of commercialized news and mediatized politics on trust and perceived network performance. *Public Administration* 92 (4): 1054–74

<sup>139</sup> Klijn, Erik Hans, and Joop F. M. Koppenjan. 2016. *Governance networks in the public sector*. Oxon.UK: Routledge

<sup>140</sup> Frederickson, H. George 2005. What happened to public administration? Governance, governance everywhere. In *The Oxford handbook of public management*, ed. Ewan Ferlie, Larry Lynn, and Chistopher Pollitt, 281–304. Oxford: Oxford University Press

information and the advancement of electronic technologies, the capacity to store data has risen, allowing for the convergence of information and communication technologies.<sup>141</sup>

As a result, today's global media is crossing boundaries and forming alliances with local forms. News Corporation, founded by Rupert Murdoch, has a global presence, with eleven companies in Europe, the United States, Asia, and Australia.<sup>142</sup> A limited number of firms, including as News Corporation, Disney, Time Warner, Viacom, and ITC, and its affiliated news agencies, such as CNN, BBC, Reuters, AP, UPI, and Bloomberg, provide much of what viewers throughout the world get from the media. The Fox television network, as well as the newspapers. The Times and the Sun, are all owned by News Corporation. Murdoch has been able to extend his global media empire by successfully establishing satellite TV networks all over the world.<sup>143</sup> Through the 1990s, Murdoch contended to always have TV information infrastructure that managed to reach more than 75% of the global population, announced that it will launch communication systems in Latin America, Japan, and India, along with forming partnerships with mainstream media systems like Brazil's TV Globo and conquering markets in China and India.<sup>144</sup>

Ignoring the fact that perhaps the entertainment industries are no longer predominantly American, as the cultural imperialism thesis says, the global media system is controlled by

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<sup>141</sup> Klijn, Erik Hans 2016. Managing commercialised media attention in complex governance networks: Positive and negative effects on network performance. *Policy and Politics* 44 (1):115–33.

<sup>142</sup> Schultz, Julianne 2018. *Reviving the fourth estate: Democracy, accountability and the media*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>143</sup> Lewis, Justin. 2018. A compromised fourth estate? UK news journalism, public relations and news sources. *Journalism Studies* 9 (1): 1–20.

<sup>144</sup> Klijn, Hans, 2019. The impact of network management strategies on the outcomes in governance networks. *Public Administration* 88 (4): 1063–82.

Western corporations such as Japanese, German, British, and American corporations, none of which are from Asia or South America.<sup>145</sup> Even though there are reverse flows and not all global media companies are American, the case for understanding cultural globalization through the concept of "Americanization" remains compelling when considering global (American) media symbols like CNN, the worldwide success of Hollywood blockbusters, and the international exportation of American television series. All other nations, including Europe, which has a long history of robust public service broadcasting, are looking to the United States as a model of commercial media. The United States' strategy and goals affected Europe's move toward commercialization.

In most European nations, US programming continues to be the most popular non-domestic watching, with South European and Latin American countries importing the most American programs.<sup>146</sup> Large quantities of US content may also be found on satellite and cable networks such as Sky and MTV. The origins of a market-oriented American style of journalism in Latin America may be traced back to the period when South American countries were integrating into the global economy. According to Esser and Jorg, US interests continue to dominate the worldwide media sector, as does the domestic market in the United States.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Schillemans, Thomas, Pierre, Jon (2016) Entangling and disentangling governance and the media. *Policy & Politics*, 44 (1): 1-8(8)

<sup>146</sup> Van Dijck, Jose F. T. M. 2017. *The culture of connectivity. A critical history of social media.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

<sup>147</sup> Esser, Frank., and Jorg Matthes. 2017. Mediatization effects on political news, political actors, political decisions, and political audiences. In *Democracy in the age of globalization and mediatization*, ed. Hans Kriesi et al., 177–201. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

The global media system has been dominated by Time Warner, Disney, Bertelsmann, Viacom, TeleCommunications INC, News Corporation, Sony, Seagram, General Electric, and Philips.<sup>148</sup> They're constructing a three-tiered global media paradigm. Schiller's revised definition of cultural imperialism as transnational cultural dominance signals a shift away from American hegemony and toward transnational capitalism, portraying globalization as a process driven from above by massive media corporations and aided by various states' deregulation policies. They strive for further democracy and reform of the media from the ground up.<sup>149</sup>

According to McKenna, oligopolistic market rivalry characterizes the global media market, which is linked to the rise of the global capitalist economic system, which has been supported by new digital technologies and global capitalism's institutions, such as the World Bank.<sup>150</sup> In 1991, Ted Turner's 24-hour worldwide news agency CNN, which is regarded as the personification of the greatest global media business, began transmitting real-time news from Gulf War 1. Since then, experts have discussed the possible implications of CNN on policymaking, dubbed the "CNN effect," as well as the ways in which its worldwide reporting might affect US foreign policy. CNN used a mix of satellites and cable television sources to transmit news throughout the world, and was commended for its effective use of the newest news-gathering technology, the satellite-fed link. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Qatar-based television channel Al Jazeera, which had been in

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<sup>148</sup> Fischer, Frank 2017. *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<sup>149</sup> McGuire, Michael, and Robert Agranoff. 2017. The limitations of public management networks. *Public Administration* 89 (2): 265–84.

<sup>150</sup> McKenna, Laura. 2020 Getting the word out: policy bloggers use their soap box to make change. *Review of Policy Research* vol 24(3): 209-229

operation since 1996, began to compete with CNN and other foreign broadcasters, providing an alternative network of war news.<sup>151</sup>

Hill claims that mainstream media in the Arab world has strengthened its position as a forum for non-Western viewpoint debate, which could help challenge American cultural hegemony and their views on foreign policy statements of principle outlining what should be done in the field of development communication, according to Hill.<sup>152</sup> For example, DFID recently announced high approval for educational psychology with Hilary Benn, the UK Secretary of State for Economic Cooperation, who states that representative government is heavily reliant on consistency and transparency access to knowledge, as these are reliant on the advertisements and democratic institutions wanting to know challenging questions of their governments.

Strömbäck and Frank study shows that protected assurances and as a rule wide open help has not meant target announcing by the media, which for the most part put a premium on the shallow and the outstanding.<sup>153</sup> Needham discovered that media explosion regularly takes after the fall of tyrannies.<sup>154</sup> Following the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, for example, a flood of new daily publications and radio stations sprung up in the Philippines, as Filipinos reveled in the novelty of a free press. After President Soeharto's 32-year rule ended in 1998, a slew of new daily newspapers sprung up in Indonesia. It was dubbed the elation

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<sup>151</sup> Prenger, Mirjam, Leender Van der Valk, Frank Van Vree, and Laura Van der Wal. 2018. *Gevaarlijk spel: De verhouding tussen pr and voorlichting en journalistiek*. Diemen, The Netherlands: AMB

<sup>152</sup> Hill, B. C., “Measuring Media Market Diversity. Concentration, Importance, and Pluralism”, in: *Federal Communication Law Journal*, 58 (1), 2016, 169-170.

<sup>153</sup> Strömbäck, Jesper, and Frank Esser. 2017. Introduction: Making sense of the mediatization of politics. *Journalism Studies* 14 (3): 243–55.

<sup>154</sup> Needham, Christine 2017. Brands and political loyalty. *Journal of Brand Management* 13 (3): 178–87.

squeeze by Indonesians. Happiness is an incredible thing; be that as it may, it doesn't for the most part deliver awesome announcing. The same is the circumstance for Focal and Eastern Europe and the as of late self-governing states of the past Soviet Union, where there was an absence of talented writers to staff the news associations made by the media blast. The blast likewise brings about extraordinary rivalry, which regularly implies racing for the headlines and relinquishing substance and profundity.

In the UK, for example, a Review of Approach Conclusion on Administration and the Media distributed by BBC in 2009 uncovers that in spite of the fact that the accentuation on great administration in the advancement plan is flawed, there is by all accounts expanding acknowledgment of the media's part in administration in the improvement group.<sup>155</sup> There are likewise a few pointers that media are increasing more acknowledgment by the strategy creators in assuming a focal part being developed. In Thailand for example, the part of the media in advancing great administration is perceived by the legislature. Media change in this way is being led in the nation with the expectation that the media can play out their capacities all the more effectively. The ability of the media in promoting Great administration likewise relies upon media proprietorship and control. An UNESCO distribution on Media and Great Administration in 2005 uncovers that the media ought to be free and pluralistic, keeping in mind the end goal to play out their obligation viably. They ought to be free from any sort of impact, especially political or business control. Also, the media ought to be outfitted with the

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<sup>155</sup> Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, and Winfried Schulz. 2019. 'Mediatization' of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political Communication* 16 (3): 247–61.



essential investigative ability to draw out reality to the general population and satisfy their capacities in advancing great administration.<sup>156</sup>

According to the Nassanga research, mainstream media may assist develop confidence by allowing citizens to participate in policymaking, fostering transparent and responsible government, and preventing corruption.<sup>157</sup> However, acceptance for the idea that communication may help to strengthen democracy is far from universal. Indeed, there are instances where communications can serve to protect non-democracy rather than promote democracy, such as when news acts as a state protector rather than the voice of the people, or when news is subject to elite capture and is used to voice the views of one segment of society at the expense of others' rights and freedoms. There's also the issue of the sheer number of voices currently emerging in many nations, which makes it difficult for governments to mediate opposing demands and implement lasting and effective solutions.<sup>158</sup>

Furthermore, if the relationship between democracy and media is regarded to be reciprocal, there are causality issues. Effective mainstream media foster democracy, but a more free government can encourage more effective participation and news. Causality does not always follow a linear line. McQuail specifically mentions the media, demonstrating how a free press is not always viewed as virtuous.<sup>159</sup> Instead, the media may be exploited as a replacement for democratic political discourse, and irresponsible media, as well as

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<sup>156</sup> Reunanen, Esa, Risto Kunelius, and Elina Noppari. 2018. Mediatization in context: Consensus culture, media and decision-making in the 21st century: The case of Finland. *Communications* 34:287–307.

<sup>157</sup> Nassanga, L. G., “Journalism Ethics and the Emerging New Media Culture of Radio Talk Shows and Public Debates (Ekimeeza) in Uganda”, in: *Journalism*, 9 (5), 2018, 646-663.

<sup>158</sup> Nordenstreng, K. and White, R. (2019) *Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>159</sup> McQuail, D. (2019) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 5th ed. London: Sage.

disproportionate pressure from certain pressure groups, can have terrible consequences in politics. Developing an effective enabling environment for media, in her opinion, is critical to establishing a sound positive correlation. In a broader sense, the World Bank believes that certain enabling conditions are essential to promote openness, accountability, and responsiveness in the news. These include the creation and dissemination of high-quality data, as well as the disclosure of data as a vital component in transforming data into a tool for civic accountability; an engaged civil society, particularly one that is not beholden to an overpowering elite; and an independent media. The two aspects are discussed in further detail in the following sections.<sup>160</sup>

#### **4.3.1 Disclosure of Information as a Critical Factor**

Democratic governance has three main levels: norms, actors or agency and mechanisms.<sup>161</sup> The normative level involves a whole set of norms which, in the various sectors of international life, outlines in particular the basis for rule-bound multilateral order and this level organizes systems of regulation that guide, coordinate and constrain activities and interactions, and introduce forms of accountability. The agency level involves a multiplicity of actors of different natures who mediate in different realms and at different levels, use different means, and pursue relatively different ends which comprise supra-national organizations (Arab League, ASEAN, EU), transnational entities (Peace Brigades International, International Confederation of Free Trade Union, Green Peace, Transparency International), national entities (states) and sub-national agencies (local networks and non-

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<sup>160</sup> Ward, Stephen J. A., “Global Journalism Ethics. Widening the Conceptual Base”, in: *Global Media Journal*, 1(1), 2018, 137-149.

<sup>161</sup> Pieterse, Nederveen (2017) “Globalization as Hybridization” in *Globalization and Culture – Global Melange*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 59-85

governmental organizations). The mechanisms relate to how actors act and interact within the framework established by the norms of democracy, in institutional or non-institutional, may it be in a formal or informal settings. However in a well-functioning polity, these levels are not as expressed and as convergent.<sup>162</sup>

Mancini identified five flaws in the system, based on the nature of many current global crises and the inadequate answers that are now accessible.<sup>163</sup> Knowledge, norms, policy, institutions, and compliance are all affected. He also proposes that the focus should be on how these gaps should be filled and this is the role of institutions of democratic governance. These organizations are knowledge-based and knowledge-management organizations. The UN, in particular, relies heavily on flagging concerns and keeping them in front of hesitant states. Expert groups, assembling notable people into panels and study groups, and, of course, the worldwide ad hoc conferences that were notably popular in the 1970s and 1990s have all become vehicles for idea-mongering.<sup>164</sup>

The work of filling in gaps is not a one-time event. Global issues, like people, are dynamic.<sup>165</sup> Greater knowledge, better norms, smarter rules, more capable institutions, and increased compliance are all in constant demand. This is one of the reason why constant cooperative problem-solving arrangements by use of mainstream media are being conducted by the United Nations. But, this also involves other actors such as international secretariats

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<sup>162</sup> Klijn, Steijn. 2019. Trust in governance networks: Its impact and outcomes. *Administration and Society* 42 (2): 193–221.

<sup>163</sup> Mancini, P. (2020) ‘Between Trust and Suspicion: How Political Journalists solve the dilemma’, *European Journal of Communication* 8(1), March.

<sup>164</sup> Kohut, A. (2018) ‘Public Support for the Watchdog Is Fading’, *CJR* (May/June): 52.

<sup>165</sup> Landerer, Nino 2018. Rethinking the logics: A conceptual framework for the mediatization of politics. *Communication Theory* 22 (3): 239–58.

and other non-state actors, which open the global discussions to the global civil society and the distribution of information and data for public discussion across the globe so that different civil societies could express public opinion to a global effort.<sup>166</sup>

Another important aspect of these organizations today is how civil society has influenced the methods by which global policies are produced, with many civil society actors becoming direct participants in global decision-making processes.<sup>167</sup> To improve democracy, the World Bank, for example, has built significant civil society involvement networks through mainstream media. Civil society organizations have also contributed policy recommendations and developed new policies. They've also pushed for increased transparency from foreign development organizations. These participations of different organization, actors, individuals, and the global civil society have showed the power of participation and expression of public opinion as an influential tool to promote a more transparent globalization through mainstream media. Promoting transparency is needed due to the fact that cover-ups are being done by different organizations and corporation which affect democratic governance. We need freedom of information, direct democracy, network neutrality, and the open sharing of knowledge to combat false information and the hiding of incriminating evidences since we live in a world of social networks.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Cook, Timothy E. 2018. *Governing with the news. The news media as a political institution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>167</sup> Hajer, Maarten A. 2019. *Authoritative governance: Policy making in the age of mediatization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>168</sup> McNair, Brian 2018. *An introduction to political communication.* London: Routledge.

### **4.3.2 Engaged Civil Society: Media Attention on Democratic Governance**

One of the main effects of society's mediatization, according to Schillemans, is that we now have a shared experience universe governed by media logic.<sup>169</sup> According to a commercial media logic, media pick and frame democratic topics and procedures. This suggests that media logic colors the knowledge accessible in democratic governance processes. Personalization, which Sparks outlined as being among the informational biases or a greater tendency in the news, notably the United States, to emphasize the personal aspect of news while downplaying the social, economic, or political context in which the event occurs; the idea is that when news is framed in a more personal way, it appeals to a larger number of readers and viewers. Personalization has a propensity to underestimate or ignore the larger complexity of the problem.<sup>170</sup>

The other component of informational biases, according to Norris, is a significant predisposition toward dramatizing news, which emphasizes crisis and conflict in tales rather than continuity or harmony; the recent trend of giving news live at the scene has further enhanced the dramatization bias.<sup>171</sup> Fragmentation, or a rising concentration on discrete tales and events, isolates them from the larger framework but from one another, although authority dysfunction bias, or a concern with discipline but rather whether authorities can preserve or restore it, differentiates them from either the larger framework and from one another. Simultaneously, the media's stance has shifted from one of support for politicians and authorities to one of suspicion of authorities. Several academics have highlighted the harmful

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<sup>169</sup> Schillemans, Thomas (2012) *Mediatization of Public Services: How Organizations Adapt to News Media*. Peter Lang

<sup>170</sup> Sparks, Colin (2018) *Globalization, Development and the Mass Media*, London: Sage Publications

<sup>171</sup> Norris, P. (ed.), *Public Sentinel News Media & Governance Reform*, Washington DC: World Bank, 2018.

consequences on information, claiming that economic interests are dumbing down political reportage. Information biases are evident in news coverage of political events, according to certain empirical study.<sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> Holden finds that similar biases are also evident in around three-quarters of news stories concerning democratic governance procedures in an investigation of six environmental initiatives.<sup>174</sup>

Rantanen warns against the unattainable goal of a news industry that covers all politically significant problems and presents them to its news-hungry public in the form of high-quality news articles.<sup>175</sup> Political news is not very intriguing or difficult for many people. Soft news, on the other hand, could have a better chance of reaching uninterested people. Soft news or entertainment, on the other hand, can convey democratically relevant information. Various studies have concluded that media biases allow enemies, particularly citizen groups that would otherwise find it difficult to access decision-making processes, to affect democracy processes. Corner discovered that media biases aid in focusing attention on opposition parties in democratic processes (particularly citizen groups), allowing them to get access to areas that they would otherwise be denied.<sup>176</sup>

Blumler, on the other hand, discovered a substantial negative relationship between project executives' perceptions of unfavorable media attention and network performance.<sup>177</sup> They

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<sup>172</sup> Lees, Jennifer 2019. *Political marketing: Principles and applications*. London: Routledge.

<sup>173</sup> Asp, Kent 2019. Newsmedia logic in a new institutional perspective. *Journalism Studies* 15 (3): 256–70.

<sup>174</sup> Holden, B. (2020) *The Nature of Democracy*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

<sup>175</sup> Rantanen, Terhi (2017) *The Media and Globalization*, London: Sage

<sup>176</sup> Corner, John (eds.) 2020. *Media and the restyling of politics. Consumerism, celebrity and cynicism*. London: Sage.

<sup>177</sup> Blumler, Jay 2017. *The crisis of political; communication*. London. UK: Routledge

explain this by claiming that media attention adds to the complication of the democratic process. Because the media's focus on democracy and decision-making is driven by a preoccupation with conflict and media rivalry, players will be encouraged to stress their own stance and contrast it with that of other participants in the democratic process. This will make it more difficult to compromise and create solutions that are acceptable to a wide range of stakeholders.<sup>178</sup>

According to Pierre and Guy, unexpected media attention adds to the complexity and dynamism of democratic processes by causing additional external events and increasing the necessity for both political leaders and administrators to respond to media attention.<sup>179</sup> Media stories and pictures are used to frame policy issues and remedies. To summarize, media attention to democratic processes adds a lot of added dynamism and complexity to the process, making it more difficult to forecast and control, as well as framing the problem and remedies in public discourse. However, increased media attention to democratic processes will very certainly have another consequence, namely, a greater relevance of emotions and a variety of perspectives on leaders and results in these processes. The emphasis on democratic procedures in the media emphasizes not just a strong visual component, where images, strong visual pictures, are given, but also emotions and drama. As a result of the biases mentioned earlier, media attention is increasingly focused not only on political leaders' personal traits, but also on the more emotional aspects of decision-making, such as citizens who are treated unfairly, human consequences of policy decisions, and the dramatic impact of inter-actor

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<sup>178</sup> Featherstone, Mike (eds) (2020) *Global Culture – Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*

<sup>179</sup> Pierre, Jon, and B. Guy Peters, eds. 2020. *Governance, politics and the state*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

conflicts, as several authors have argued. This has repercussions for how we evaluate our political and administrative leaders.<sup>180</sup>

We are progressively evaluating our leaders in the same manner that we are evaluating celebrities and entertainment icons, according to Ripley and Grace.<sup>181</sup> As a result, media attention makes democracy much messier than it already is: more complicated, emotional, and inconsistent. This makes them more difficult to manage and bring to a satisfactory end. Another effect of democratic procedures is how public actors respond and arrange themselves. Because public actors are receiving greater media attention, which is vital for the growth and outcome of democratic processes, as various writers believe, governmental institutions are employing an increasing number of communication and media experts. This has gone hand in hand with the employment of marketing techniques and branding in political and public communication, as well as in policy proposal presentations. In their quest of as much positive publicity as possible, as well as in their endeavor to safeguard their companies from unfavorable or undesired exposure, communication professionals must deal with media logic.

As a result, Ripley and Grace suggest that communication professionals have already reduced socially significant information to mediagenic information in order to fit it into the commercial news media rationale. However, it should be noted that almost all of the media political communication explaining the adaptability to news production in electoral institutions is focused on highly visible figures such as ministers, presidential candidates, and

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<sup>180</sup> Tomlinson, John (2019) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press

<sup>181</sup> Ripley, Randell B., and Grace Franklin. [2016]. *Congress, the bureaucracy and public policy*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey.



heads of state. Probably only few other representative government contributors are as well-known. There seems to be no doubt, moreover, that perhaps the rise of effective writing advisers in public entities, combined with the ability to adapt and start communicating through all the and against media, has drastically altered direct democracy practises, faced with situations where elected governments are highly visible in the media.<sup>182</sup>

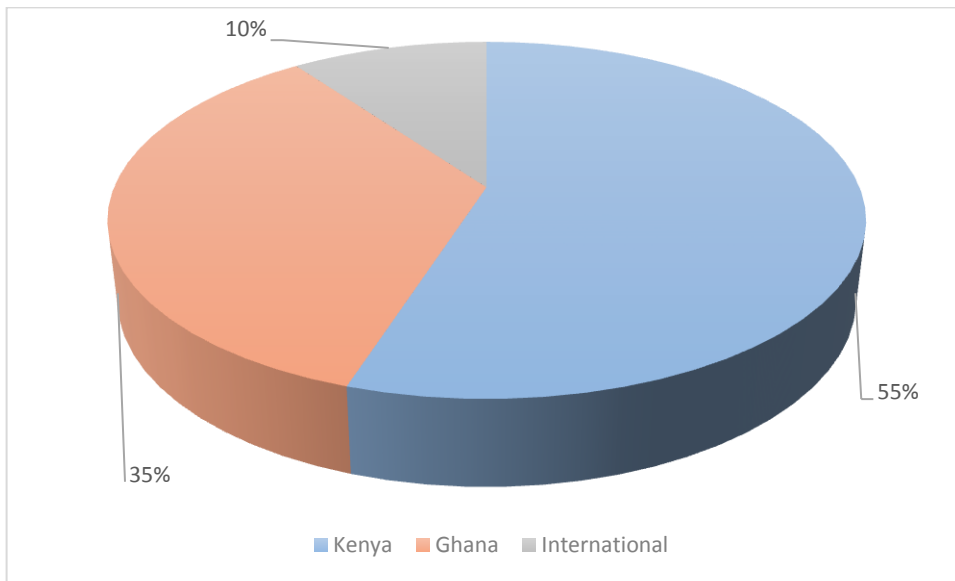
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<sup>182</sup> Charles D. Elder. 2020. *Participation in American politics: The dynamics of agenda- building*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

#### 5.1 Bio – data



**Figure 5.1 Media response rate**

The study aimed at evaluating which media companies that took part in the study. According to the findings all the targeted media in Kenya, Ghana and international once took part in the study. Kenya was the most represented as shown by 55% and this was due to the fact that the study was conducted in Nairobi where the researcher resides.

#### 5.2 Kenya Mainstream Media

Television audience in Kenya is primarily both urban and rural based. Radio and television also offer generation of exceptional narrative movies for screening on TV, group focuses, in

schools and other open social events.<sup>183</sup> They therefore offer coverage to every part of the country simultaneously. These programmes convey either a national level theme or locally-based themes which have propelled the implementation of the flagship projects in the first phase of the Kenya vision 2030. They offer platforms such as broadcast programs and space to dialogue and publish messages and slogans which are very effective in delivering messages. Television offers sports, drama and other programming with content went for a fitting group of onlookers.

As per a study completed by Geo Poll in mid-2020 on Kenya's print media, the Daily Nation and Standard are the best daily papers by gathering of people size and offer, beating the opposition by a huge edge.<sup>184</sup> The Daily Nation had a normal readership of roughly 4,379,400 every day, while the Standard had a normal of 2,223,500 every day. Broadly, this implies the Daily Nation has a 40% offer while Standard has a 20% offer. Taifa Leo daily paper has a 10% offer while the General population has an 8% share daily. The robust media industry in Kenya is translating to good government revenue and in return making the economy grow. Mass media in Kenya has tried to play this role adequately.

One of the interviewee in the Standard Group was quoted *“Most television stations present business news on the current status of business in the country and also compares it with the global situation. Most newspapers have business segments that provide accurate financial information to potential investors, local and international economic issues, and currency markets, local and international trade. The media in Kenya however, has to some extent*

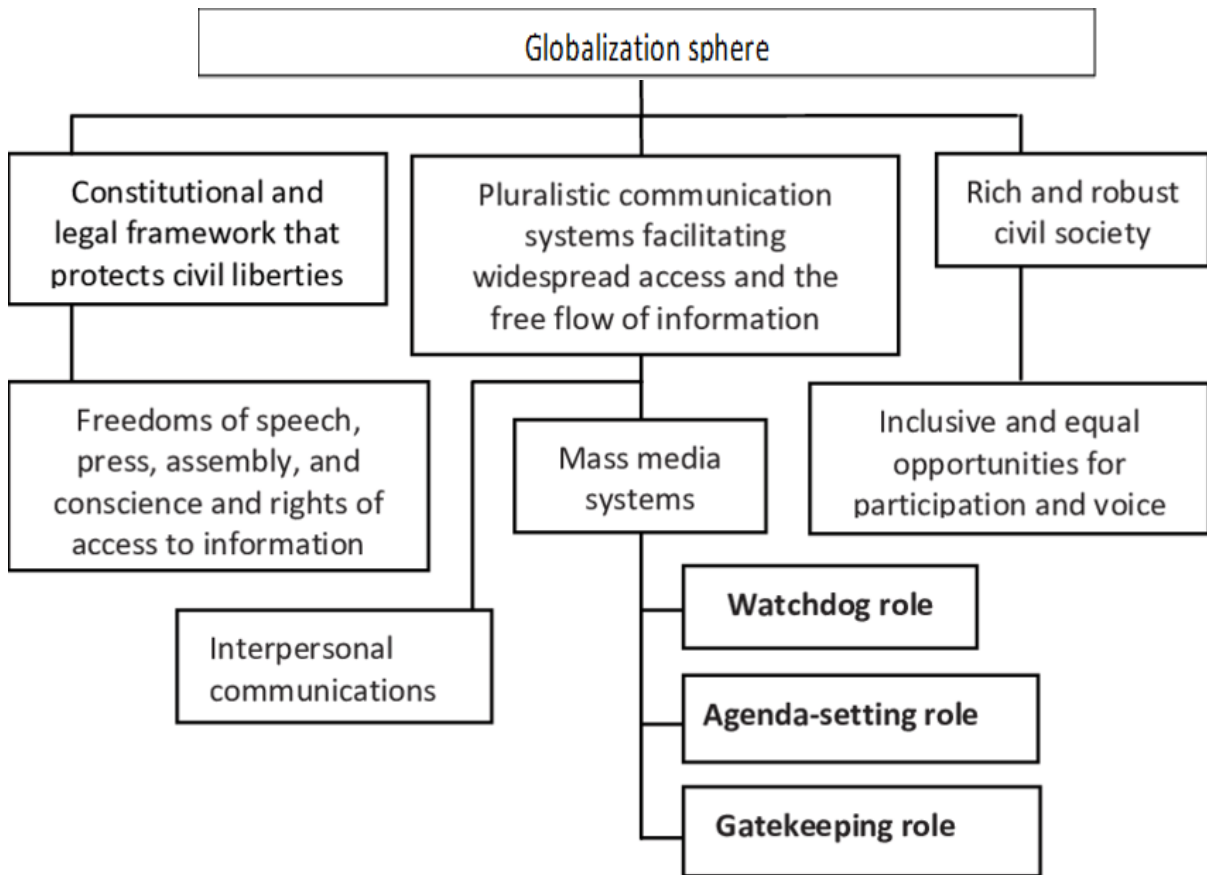
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<sup>183</sup> Reporters without Borders (2018), “How Far to Go? Kenya’s Media Caught in the Turmoil of a Failed Election”,

<sup>184</sup> Geo Poll in mid-2020 on Kenya's print media”, in: Mediterranean Quarterly, Government printers. Nairobi Kenya

*hindered an enabling environment that aids economic growth. It often features sensational headlines concerning state of insecurity in the country, and portrays the national government as incapable of providing security. This kind of reporting could act as a catalyst to scare away investors, who are potential components to steer Kenya to achieve its development plan of vision 2030. It could result into retrogressive production and services and lack of capital for both local and international investment”.*

The amendment act provides every resident the right to speak freely, argument, combination, discussion, and conversation, along with availability, there is still a need to support the rights of others. However, there is a need to increase civil society participation and voice, which the media can assist with. When the United Nations Millennium Declaration General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution in September 2000, it underscored those certain sentiments, simply saying that participating countries could perhaps ensure the individual liberty of the media to carry out their critical role, as well as the right of the public to have access to information. The image below represents the media's role in the democratic process and its contribution to it.



**Figure 5.2: Globalization sphere and mainstream media**

Source: Field data (2021)

The following is a detailed assessment and summary of Kenya's legal framework: Kenya's mass media and communication industry is still subject to systemic pressures. Recent post-election violence, as well as the subsequent restriction on live broadcasting, are only two recent examples. The reasons for this include the colonial-era legal, regulatory, and policy framework's weakness, indecisiveness, and inadequacy. Because of a disabling legal and legislative environment, the growth and development of the mass media and communication

has been sluggish, stunted, haphazard, and sometimes inconsistent with public and investor expectations throughout the years.

Throughout Kenya's history, political, social, cultural, economic, globalization, and technical influences have shaped the legal, regulatory, and policy environment. The legal, regulatory, and policy climate remains unfriendly to the growth of media and communication, but there is optimism that things will improve if a stronger constitution is established, harsh laws are repealed, and new policies are implemented. To give encouragement for sustainable expansion of the industry, progressive legislation governing media and communications in Kenya must be firmly enshrined in the proposed Constitution.<sup>185</sup>

Kenya's media has a problem, and it isn't an overabundance of freedom. It is a deficiency.<sup>186</sup> However, media freedom cannot be defined solely in terms of independence from the government. Journalists and broadcasters are subjected to enormous financial and political pressures that limit their journalistic independence and integrity. During the height of the unrest following the elections, several local language radio stations incited fear and hostility. Local language radio stations are frequently politicized and break ethical rules. Hate speech has thrived on talk programs, and talk show hosts aren't educated in dispute reporting or moderation. Most local language stations (and most of the rest of the media) appear to have played a major role in reducing tension and encouraging conversation in recent years. As Kenya navigates the treacherous waters ahead of it, the strengthening of such a role by a truly independent media would be crucial. Training is still a top issue, albeit it's less of a difficulty

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<sup>185</sup> Abdi, J. and J. Deane. 2018. The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communication. BBC World Service Trust Policy Briefing #1, London, April.

<sup>186</sup> Ethics in a world of strangers. London: Allen Lane. Article 19. 2020. A model public service broadcasting law. London: Article 19. BBC. 2020. Kenya's vibrant and critical media.

for conventional journalism training and more of a challenge for talk show presenters and others who facilitate public discourse. In Kenya, conflict reporting training may have been deemed unneeded, but it is now a critical requirement.

*"There is no independent public service broadcaster in Kenya,"* one of the managers was reported as saying. *If there had been, the violence and catastrophe would almost certainly have been considerably less severe. If there is a discussion and movement in the country to change KBC into one, it would be beneficial to support it vigorously.*" In terms of coordination, information sharing, and long-term strategic planning, media support in Kenya may be considerably improved, particularly ensuring that foreign media assistance is both demand-driven and strategically coherent. In recent years, much media capacity building has been donor-driven, focused on specific health or other problems rather than the fundamental challenges that Kenyan media face.

### **5.3 Ghana Mainstream Media**

Ghana's media is a colossal sector, with a slew of privately held electronic and print outlets coexisting with state-controlled outlets. This is because the liberal and democratic reforms that characterized the country in the mid-to-late 1990s culminated in the 18 establishment of multi-party democracy, which included the privatization of the airwaves, allowing for the proliferation of independent mass media with regional or community-based operations.<sup>187</sup> Over 200 private radio and television stations are estimated to be broadcasting alongside the

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<sup>187</sup> Westcott Nicholas, (2018). *Digital Diplomacy, The Impact Of The Internet On International Relations*, London Oxford internet Institute, Research Report, July

official media, resulting in a changed media climate. When the private media arrived on the scene in 1995, GBC, which had previously served as a conduit for official propaganda, was altered. When the independent media began to operate, radio took center stage and began to play a critical role in the development of democracy and civic society.<sup>188</sup>

Freedom of expression and public engagement in civil discourse became the norm, allowing citizens to participate in open debate on civic and political issues without fear of official repercussions.<sup>189</sup> Radio has also evolved into a venue where topics of public importance are addressed. Media operations, particularly radio stations, are performing two essential civil society duties in the course of exercising their newly acquired freedom: revealing society's inadequacies and abuses, not only the state's, and enhancing the democratic process and civil society. By analyzing public officials, the state, commercial companies, and other civic institutions, they are acting as advocates for the new democratic dispensation. They're also improving their capacity to reach out to different parts of the population with information and develop alliances with like-minded civil society organizations. These functions have positioned the Ghanaian independent media as a dedicated media and a viable civil society institution at the heart of the democracy and civil society building process. With this, it is evident that Ghana's media is on its way to bridging the long-standing divide between the

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<sup>188</sup> Tehranian Majid, (2019) *Global Communication and World Politics, domination, Development and discourse*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, Colorado, USA.

<sup>189</sup> Rutere, N. (2020), *Role of social media in enhancing public diplomacy: a case study of the U.S.*



Ghanaian people and the government, which is essential for the consolidation and maturation of democracy.<sup>190</sup>

#### **5.4 Accountability and Transparency by Exposing Corruption**

In order to combat corruption, civil society groups and people must be well-informed. As a result, they serve as an effective democratic instrument. Participants from the surveyed media outlets said they understand the need of an educated civil society in fighting corruption and advocating for increased government accountability and transparency. *"Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the general public have taken use of different communication channels, both to assist the monitoring procedures and to criticize corrupt government actions,"* according to one of the interviewees. *They've accomplished this through a variety of methods, including supporting ombudsmen and whistleblowers."*

The interviewees agreed that the mainstream media is a critical component of anti-corruption efforts in Kenya and internationally. *"Independent media and the free flow of information are among the most essential anti-corruption initiatives a country can do through mainstream media,"* an NTV staffer was reported as saying.

The interviewee discovered that mainstream media communication aids in the process of demystifying and depersonalizing government by providing access to information, informing citizens of their legal rights when dealing with the government, and publishing staff manuals that are easily accessible to departmental users, contractors, and think tanks.

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<sup>190</sup> Raymond, S. and Lichia, Y, (2018). *"International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post-modern Times"*, Clingendael, Institute Netherlands Institute of International Relations (January 2018).

All of the media outlets interviewed agreed that the media's role in strengthening democracy through institutional monitoring is vital. *"The media are key aspects on a country's institutional accountability and anticorruption initiatives,"* a KBC respondent said. She went on to say that the mainstream media has a dual duty to play: not only do they promote public awareness of corruption, its origins, repercussions, and potential cures, but they actively investigate and report on corruption incidents. Access to information and freedom of expression, a skilled and ethical cadre of investigative journalists, and the availability of frequent updates via short- or long-term training and education all contribute to the media's efficacy."

*"When the media works successfully, they prevent corruption through their monitoring operations,"* a K24 top management was reported as saying. *Investigative journalism has the potential to expose injustices and breaches while also reinforcing societal ideals. They may also help to minimize corruption in both the public and private sectors in a very practical sense. Similarly, in a free press and free speech environment, the media serve as a watch, exposing societal injustices wherever they occur. The media are a particularly powerful instrument for exposing and deterring corruption in an open, pluralistic, and sophisticated society; they are successful at this because corruption instances generally reach the news."*

The interviewees agreed that the media has a significant role to play in conveying important information necessary for democratic consolidation, responsible and accountable political leadership that upholds the rule of law, respects human rights, and promotes democracy at all levels. Above and beyond, journalists are frequently depicted as public watch or advocates in the mainstream media, and are thus expected to act on behalf of the public, provide information necessary for democratic decision-making, defend society against corruption,

and deal with issues that the general public has a strong grasp on. Despite the obstacles they confront, the media in Kenya and other nations throughout the world have a vital role to play.

There are real worries about the media's position and capacity to midwife change, according to one management who works for the official broadcaster. Despite the fact that commentators, panelists, and participants in a number of forums hosted by the broadcaster acknowledged the media's crucial function, many also believed the fourth estate had effectively abandoned their public service principle owing to commercial, political, and entrepreneurial pressures. He did, however, criticize the media's trend and advised practitioners to conduct study before publishing. "*.....the media has a tendency to misreport constitutional matters, and although holding considerable authority, they occasionally fail to realize the atrociousness of their reporting and acts,*" says the report. He made a point. In contrast, despite the criticism leveled at Kenya's mainstream media, there is a widespread belief that they still have a role to play in the development of effective participatory political and democratic processes, owing to the critical role they play as information providers and public space for the formation and aggregation of public opinion.

Studies based on secondary data imply that the predominance of mainstream media can be connected to greater government service performance because media coverage increases accountability pressure. However, efforts to combat corruption and achieve transparency have focused mostly on economic openness at the level of governments and projects. Attention to openness at the policy formulation level of development objectives and initiatives is also critical. In the same way that international bodies mostly influenced by the North establish development goals, the funding of development initiatives in nations of the

global South is generally based on Northern constructions of development.<sup>191</sup> Development is largely perceived via economic and political lenses, which are frequently at odds with the economic, social, cultural, or political perspectives of nations in the South. Transparency at the policy level necessitates the use of universal development models that account for cultural as well as socioeconomic differences.

If there is any interest in politics and democracy in Ghana, it is necessary to keep track of what is going on. The media stations polled believe they can monitor a lot of what happens on the political front, implying that they have a keen interest in the country's political and democratic condition and would want to know what is going on at any given time. *“Even before I think about eating in the morning, I turn on the radio to listen to the morning news. On my way to work, I pick up a few newspapers to read during my lunch break, and when I'm at work, I listen to a variety of political talk radio stations.”*

Another responder echoed the aforementioned sentiment, adding, *“It has almost become a routine for me to be watching TV, reading newspapers, and listening to the radio at every convenient time provided it has to do with politics.” My friends have a habit of seeking information from me when they are unsure about a political event, which motivates me to continue doing what I do.*” However, it was recognized that the majority of the population did pay attention to what was going on in the state's political and democratic spheres. This might be a group that is preoccupied with other matters or that is preoccupied with the survival hustling of everyday life, which consumes most of their time, and hence does not have much time to follow the political situation.

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<sup>191</sup> Koch-Baumgartner. Sigrid, Katrin Voltmer. 2020. Public Policy and Mass media. London. UK: Routledge

## 5.5 Democratic Governance and the Media: Exploring the Linkages

Access to information is essential for a liberal country because it ensures that people make responsible, informed decisions rather than acting on the basis of ignorance or misinformation, and it also acts as a check on power. The media is well-known for intersecting with other facets of democracy and government. Support for the media, for example, might result in democratic results including decentralization, anti-corruption, and citizen participation in governance. Support for an independent media that monitors the judiciary, reports on the courts, and promotes a legislative enabling environment that promotes press freedom can serve to further institutionalize the rule of law. A media sector that offers equal access to candidates and reports on significant issues in a timely and unbiased manner is required for free and fair elections based on transparent processes.

*"Constitutionally, the media has no clear function in democracy,"* one of the interviewees, who did not want to be identified, was reported saying. *It lacks the authority to overturn judgments made by the state's several organs, including the legislature, administration, and judiciary. The mainstream media, on the other hand, plays a critical role in the operation of any society. It amplifies citizens' voices and conveys their concerns to legislators."*

During the discussion, the researcher pointed out that citizens have the right to publish without requesting permission from the government or any other public entity, and that individuals are completely responsible for what they choose to share. Three traits characterize press freedom: freedom of publication, freedom of access to all information sources, and freedom of distribution. As a result, press freedom is critical in shaping public opinion on critical issues. The media must be free and independent of government control if

it is to play a vital role in democracy and governance. The media's ultimate goal is to benefit the broader public. The term "public interest" refers to the representation of a wide range of thoughts and perspectives through a bigger number of channels, as well as the diversity of views and voices represented within a single source.

One BBC management claimed that television and radio had made a great contribution to teaching the illiterate masses in rural areas by making them informed of all occurrences in their language. The government has been able to take more severe measures against village leaders and moneylenders as a result of calling attention to their exploitative activities. The mainstream media has also uncovered deficiencies in the democratic system, allowing the government to fill in the gaps and improve the system's accountability, responsiveness, and citizen-friendliness. Furthermore, he stated emphatically that "*a society without media is like a car without wheels,*" as cited. He closed by referring to the mainstream media as "*our democracy's watch.*" He argued that this gives the mainstream media a significant role in society's functioning. As a result, in a democracy, the mainstream media serves as a communicator. They make people aware of their situation by giving them with in-depth information on critical problems that affect individuals. Though press freedom is critical to Kenya's democracy's success, it is frequently muted by the administration, censored by the legislature, suppressed by the court, and oppressed and muzzled by pressure organizations.

One of the CNN employee who works under the legal department was keen to note that "*the Kenyan constitution under Article 10 and the Kenya information and communications (Amendment) Act, 2013, points that the press, radio, TV and other agencies of the mainstream media will consistently be allowed to maintain the essential objectives in this*

*chapter and uphold the obligation and responsibility of the government to the general public".*

The importance of democracy in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which states that the Sustainable Development Goals must be achieved through democracy at both the national and international levels, as well as Kofi Anan's well-known quote, "*Democracy is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development,*" may contribute to this anxiety. It also recognizes the presses and democracies symbiotic relationship. The media plays a critical role in the chain of accountability between the government and the people it governs, providing citizens with information they can use to hold those in power accountable and expressing citizens' views and preferences for the government to consider when formulating policies.

Many government agencies are also heavily involved in the news media. This is mostly accomplished via the use of both print and electoral media to inform the general audience about what they are doing. The Kenya Defense Forces are one of the most visible ministries participating. During the campaign against the Al-Shabaab militia in Somalia, dubbed "Operation Linda Nchi" (defend the country), the Kenya Defense Forces kept the public informed on the operation's progress. Another significant example is the judiciary, where the Chief Justice and President of the Supreme Court keep the country informed about what is going on in the judicial branch.

The government has used mainstream media to connect with residents about topics that impact them in order to gain support before big decisions are taken. Before tabling legislation in Parliament or signing them into law, the President and his Deputy, for example, always

seek Kenyans' input and support. The power to link each and every individual is provided by mainstream media. This type of engagement also allows the marginalized to join in conversations and express themselves, enhancing the political position of marginalized or vulnerable groups including women, youth, and minorities. The mainstream media, for example, has aided underprivileged people in communicating their desires for socioeconomic opportunity. The government has so set aside monies for excluded and vulnerable populations, thereby strengthening democracy.

When asked what impression they had of the type of democracy that exists in Ghana, a large number of people agreed that the country's democracy is fantastic. "I am pleased to call myself a Ghanaian; in fact, what excites me about our democracy is that it allows for the full function of the rule of law and the exercise of all types of liberties." This has resulted in a free flow of information from the government to the people and the other way around. In addition, unlike in the past, when the military imposed numerous limitations on us, I am now permitted to associate with any group, political or otherwise." This was a response to a question on how a respondent saw Ghanaian democracy.

A few respondents also stated that Ghana's democracy is uninteresting, citing a variety of factors ranging from social divide to lawlessness. "*My sister, what is happening to us as a people?*" a female responder said, passionately. I hope you understand that the privilege we have should compel us to be responsible citizens. I'm shocked that individuals think of democracy as "democracy" and engage in a wide range of actions that border on anarchy. *People are battling each other just because they hold conflicting political ideas, forgetting that these political parties exist to grow the country, even if each of them has a different means of achieving the same goal of national development.*" Others believed that politicians



were afraid to follow the law to the letter, thinking that doing so would result in their removal from office. If democracy is about development, on the other hand, politicians should focus on it instead of maintaining their parties at the expense of national progress.

The media, as a disseminator of knowledge, is always ready to put anything they believe the public needs to know in the public realm. They are always on the lookout for what the government might do wrong, thereby serving as a check and balance on the government. This helps to some extent to prevent those in power from becoming democratic dictators, as it forces them to make decisions in the best interests of the state and to act in a way that demonstrates that they derive their authority from the people. Corruption in the form of bribery, nepotism, and other forms of corruption will define governance without the media's monitoring function. In this capacity, the media will make a significant contribution to public accountability, probity, and openness. "Even if certain media outlets refuse to report on government problems, Ghana's media freedom has allowed other outlets to inform the public about issues that pro-government outlets would not." This is what one respondent had to say about the role of the media in ensuring proper democracy. It is obvious that the media's monitoring role will serve to strengthen democracy and provide people more choices.

## **5.6 Challenges Faced by Kenya and Ghana Streamline Media in Enhancing Democracy**

Authorities have tried and failed in the past to silence the press. In Kenya, for example, the government has attempted to silence the media on multiple times by enacting legislation that restricts press freedom. A wide number of jobs are involved in watch reporting. On a daily basis, the media observes the normal operations of the government's many branches,

allowing citizens to judge the effectiveness of its performance.<sup>192</sup> Sex and personal scandals, financial scandals, corruption charges, and misuse of public resources, among other things, are all examples of watch reporting.

One of the interviewees stated that investigative journalism is the most well-known style of journalism in today's mainstream media. Investigative report *Purawanja la Mihadarati* by Kenya Television Network and Royal Media's recently broadcast expose on how police contract firearms to criminals on Citizen Television commit time and effort in exposing misconduct. "*Journalists face several ethical issues in the course of executing their job as society's watch,*" she says. *The protection of their sources' confidentiality is a core element of ethical journalism.* She goes on to explain that "*it is hard for the media to obtain and exercise confidence in increasing democracy's function as watch without confidential interactions between reporters and their main sources.*"

The same case was witnessed in Ghana although the human rights who include the religious institutions have ensured they moderate between the government and media industry who have endured transformation leadership. This has enacted democracy in the country which have left many developing nations to look into Ghana as a benchmark when it comes to mainstream media and democratic governance.

## **5.7 Summary of Findings**

Examination of mainstream media shows potential influence on public policy and enhances democracy. The findings show that strong, consistent, and incident-driven media coverage

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<sup>192</sup> Lewis, Justin. 2018. A compromised fourth estate? UK news journalism, public relations and news sources. *Journalism Studies* 9 (1): 1–20.

has influenced public policy in diverse ways. According to the findings, mainstream media plays a critical role in promoting globalization by facilitating cultural contact and countless flows of information and image between countries via international news broadcasts, television programming, new technologies, movies, and music. For a long time, the mainstream media has been seen as one of the most effective instruments for democratic accountability in the face of effective globalization. The link between a mainstream media and democracy has been shown via extensive empirical study, particularly the link between access to balanced, independent programming and greater understanding and political involvement.

The data also suggest that the mainstream media provides the framework for democratic facilitation by promoting effective government, accountability, and active participation of civil society actors. The mainstream media, as a possible check on power abuse, is an essential tool for supporting democracy and human progress. The findings of the survey reveal that the mainstream has stayed at the forefront of the fight to protect people' rights via a genuine democratic process. Thus, the mainstream media's contributions to democracy in society are framed by democratic principles, and the media's ability to contribute to democracy is determined by the extent to which these principles are reflected and enforced by the media as an institution, as well as the journalists' ability to perform their fundamental roles.

Finally, the study concludes that the mainstream media has shaped and will continue to shape Kenyan and Ghanaian democracy. According to a number of respondents, the mainstream media has both damaged and energized democracy. Without a thorough grasp of the media's

role in Kenya and Ghana, comprehending democracy and democratic government is impossible.

Therefore it is concluded that the assumptions have been confirmed that, this research was based on the following alternate assumptions; Watch function of mainstream media influence democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana, unrestricted public debate function of mainstream media influence democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana and agenda setting function of mainstream media influence democratic governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Kenya and Ghana.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The study was based on liberal theory, which examines how the media might impact democratic government through influencing public opinion. This chapter summarizes major results and makes policy and practice suggestions.

#### **6.2 Conclusion**

The study concludes that media act as a catalyst for democracy and development, helping to make public participation meaningful. Democratic governance is not a singular political system but a multiple political cooperation which involves all the fields of society including the relationship between human societies and between humankind and the biosphere on a worldwide scale which is linked through mainstream media. The best and legitimate way of democratic governance is the one that listens to the public opinion being formed in the public sphere because the public sphere bridges the realms of the public and the private, opening the possibility of participation of stakeholders. Constituted institutions also have the responsibility of serving as an international body of consensus-forming countries that develops norms and accords that impact national governments and international problems.

Democracy is a goal-oriented system that is difficult to realize in its entirety. To put it another way, no country or culture has ever claimed to have achieved absolute democracy.

We can only get close to this by focusing our efforts on making this ideal a reality. Kenya's transition from a developing to a developed country will be determined by the role of the

media in the country, as it has been in Ghana, which has achieved significant progress. Instead of attempting to distract attention away from recognized difficulties, it should concentrate on genuine challenges, which are largely social and economic in character. Every member of society must understand and participate in the process of achieving democracy. The media, its important roles, channels, and contents are often regarded as the most potent weapon for achieving this goal.

Ghana's political and media growth has seen many ups and downs, from the colonial period to the days of coups d'états to the current stabilization of the country under democracy. As previously stated, Ghana has had four democratic regimes, the most stable of which being the current one. Freedom of expression has been a key element of the present fourth republic, and it has been able to serve as a foundation for the democratic process' advancement. The media has done an excellent job of providing information to the public while also educating and sensitizing them. This implies that individuals rely on the media to keep them informed about current events so that they may form opinions about them and debate the topics. This certainly places the media in the position of being both mediators and gatekeepers of the democratic process.

The function of the media in Kenya, the world's biggest democracy, involves more than just distributing information and entertainment. It must also include educating the populace for their social upliftment. According to the study, the media played a significant influence in shaping the election agenda, reporting mostly on what voters should perceive to be the most important issues. The media is one of the most important main sources of national political information; for most people, it is the best and only way to get a sense of ever-changing political reality. The media has a role to play in the creation of public opinion, which forces

political parties to confront the most pressing challenges threatening the country's progress. As a result, it is known as the fourth pillar of democracy. However, the findings of the study reveal that entrenched interests have distorted public opinion to achieve their own objectives. As a result, it is natural to conclude that the media has a responsibility to monitor government performance by honestly educating the public and exposing the maladies that might jeopardize a state's growth perpetuated by a small group of leaders. However, prior criticism in this research has revealed that the privately owned media, which the audience perceives to be more objective, has frequently failed to perform as expected in the monitoring function.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

According to the findings, the media should ensure that it has the capacity to reach various segments of society and inform the government about the needs that need to be addressed at various levels, as well as individual perceptions of democratic governance qualities, in order to ensure that the electorate's views are equally represented. This is consistent with the agenda-setting function of bringing leaders and the disenfranchised public together. In this case, the media enhances public awareness of social issues by notifying elected authorities of popular concerns and needs.

When it comes to democratic government, the media's role and duty to act ethically in the democratic arena is critical. The findings of this study show that the media in Ghana is in a position that may be defined as crucial to the state's political and democratic agenda. As a result, the Kenyan media should always practice and adhere to ethical conduct; else, they risk injuring their audience unnecessarily. As a result, the media's primary job should be that of

society's watch, the gatekeeper for public information, the facilitator and promotion of all viewpoints, and the agenda setter for public discourse. All of these responsibilities should be taken seriously. Media ethics should be taught at media schools, and more media practitioners should be encouraged to adopt ethical ideals in the future to guarantee that the media is functioning ethically.

Without a question, Ghana's media has played an important role. When they've been a plague, they've frequently sided with either the people or the governments, rather than both. Politicians and journalists, without a question, require each other. They should also understand that disagreement does not always imply an unspoken hatred or jealousy for one other's career. However, journalists should double-check their facts before going to the press, because reputational harm is nearly always irreversible. The media is an essential instrument for preserving democracy and promoting development.

### **6.3.1 Academic Recommendation**

In the future, more research on the impact of social media on democratic government in Kenya is highly encouraged. Another research should be conducted on people' roles and how they might influence democratic governance.

### **6.3.2 Policy Recommendations**

Kenyans want a free, independent, aggressive, dynamic, and responsible media that promotes democracy, human rights, democratic government, and socioeconomic change. This is because such media would give outlets for fighting the culture of impunity, which is a major impediment to Kenya's political and socioeconomic transition and progress. Kenyans also want professionally operated media that promotes, respects, and adheres to the core values and worldwide norms of journalism practice, according to the findings.



Governments around the world should make a permanent and supportive environment that promotes the right to freedom of speech and the introduction of complimentary and multidisciplinary computer networks, including acknowledging the mainstream media's unique and critical role in providing communication access to isolated and marginalized groups. It is vital to influence policy on development communication through lobbying, not only with governments and international organizations, but also with development agencies, private firms, and civil society partners, in order to achieve democracy.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Interview Guide

Indicate your media station location base

Kenya [ ]

Ghana [ ]

International [ ]

1. How can you describe the Kenya mainstream media?

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2. In your understanding describe mainstream media democratic governance in a Kenyan context?

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3. Show the influence of digital media on political participation through cognitive elaboration?

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4. Describe the influence of mainstream media in ensuring accountability and transparent political environment?

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5. Explain the linkage of mainstream media and democratic governance in Kenya?

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6. Which are some of the major challenges faced by the mainstream media in ensuring they enhance democratic governance in their role?

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## APPENDIX II: LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY



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

Tel : (02) 318262  
Telefax : 254-2-245566  
Fax : 254-2-245566  
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke  
Telex : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya  
E-mail : director-idis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi  
Kenya

October 19, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

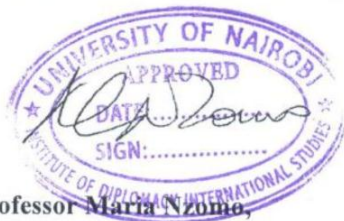
RE: MERCY WANJIRU MATHENGE- R50/12325/2018

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, **“ROLE OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY. A CASE STUDY OF KENYA AND GHANA”**.

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

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

Thank you in advance for your consideration.



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

## Appendix II: Work Plan


SUBJECT/ DURATION	JULY 2020	AUGUST 2020	SEPT- OCT 2020	OCT 2020	MAY 2021
Research concept development and presentation					
Proposal development and presentation					
Pretesting					
Data collection					
Data analysis and presentation					

### Appendix III: Study Budget

<b>Proposal development</b>	Cost per item	Total (Kshs)
Printing	5*40(1 copy)	200.00
Photocopying proposal documents	2*40(6)	480.00
Photocopying questionnaires	2*384	768.00
Binding costs	50*6	300.00
<b>Sub Total</b>		<b>1, 748.00</b>
<b>Project Development</b>		
Travel expenses (data collection)		10,500.00
Permit	1000	1,000.00
Photocopying project documents	2*80	160.00
Research assistant (data collection)	1,500*5 days	7,500.00
Binding costs	6*400 (Hard cover)	2,400.00
Miscellaneous 10% of 15560		1, 556
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>24,538.80</b>



**Appendix IV: Approval Letter NACOSTI**


  
**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

**Ref No: 429639**

**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

**Date of Issue: 15/November/2021**

**RESEARCH LICENSE**




**This is to Certify that Miss.. Mercy Wanjiru Mathenge of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: Role of mainstream media in Democratic Governance in the 21st Century; A case Study of Kenya and Ghana for the period ending : 15/November/2022.**


**License No: NACOSTI/P/21/14183**

**429639**

**Applicant Identification Number**

  
**Director General**  
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