# UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

# SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

# THE ROLE OF PROPAGANDA IN INFLUENCING VOTER CHOICES IN THE 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KENYA

BY

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# **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this research project on The Role of Propaganda in Influencing

Voter Choices in the 2007 General Election in Kenya is my original work and it has not
been examined, either in whole or in part, for a Masters Degree at any other university.

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27 NOVEMBER 200 8

# DEDICATION

To my parents and my siblings for their love and support throughout the process of this program

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The deliberate use of information, images, and ideas to affect public opinion, propaganda is a policy tool deployed by all politicians and respective governments during political campaigns, although its effectiveness is widely debated by scholars. Whether in the problem of getting elected to office or in the problem of interpreting and popularizing new issues, or in the problem of making the day-to-day administration of public affairs a vital part of the community life, the use of propaganda, carefully adjusted to the mentality of the masses, is an essential adjunct of political life. All in all, it is rather obvious that people do not vote mechanically nor do they respond passively to the many psychological and other factors in the environment which interact to influence how people vote in any election.

This study therefore sought to investigate whether propaganda was used to manipulate information in the media to influence public opinion and voting behavior. Specifically it sought to examine to what extent the coverage of election campaigns included distortion or concealment of the truth, agitation propaganda that sought to change attitudes of voters, or integration propaganda that sought to reinforce already existing attitudes and lastly to determine to what extent the coverage of election campaigns was education and/or indoctrination.

Growing insight into the significance of the media during election campaigns has led to election monitoring and subsequent election observation in the recent years. This has been supplemented with projects to monitor media campaigns reporting.

A content analysis was carried out to examine communicative acts of news narrative and explicit propaganda linguistic indicators to factors such as: agitation propaganda that

seeks to change; integration propaganda that seeks to reinforce already existing attitudes and education and/or indoctrination.

It was observed that articles are built using paragraphs, and paragraphs were categorized and coded under communicative acts as Reports, Announcements, Summaries and Quotations. The qualitative analysis of the case material has provided a background for discussing a new picture of news journalism as a relatively source-independent and communication-oriented rewriting of incoming news material. The inherent editorial priority principle is readily analogous to propaganda. News is essentially narrated; that is, constructed by a personally involved, individual journalist performing a role as an engaged narrator using a variation of communication acts and aiming at an understandable, reliable and interesting deliverance of the message. From this point of view, news is not just edited information; it is anonymously organized and rewritten on a base of common editorial priority principles.

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#### CHAPTER ONE

#### INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Background Information

Kenya has held several parliamentary and presidential elections since independence in 1963. The first such elections were held in 1963 following the constitution of the 1962 Lancaster House Conference at which a timetable for the country's political independence was also concluded. Since then the country has held elections every five years in accordance with relevant provisions of the constitution (Gertzed, 1970). The latest elections were held on December 27, 2007. This research proposal undertakes to investigate the role of propaganda in influencing voter choices in the 2007 general election, from the perspective of the contribution it may make for or against the quest for free and fair representation and democratic governance.

The argument of the proposed research is that elections are important instruments for democratic governance, but they can only promote democracy if they are well managed and are free and fair. That means that negative influence must not only be eliminated from the election system, but also be avoided by those players in the political arena. Here the communicative interaction between the formal actors within political communication -political institution/parties- the media and citizens factor is put into focus.

Election campaigns, political organization, public information and perception of politicians and voters are few themes that would often appear in political communication for this particular case.

In the context of this research proposal we argue that the bodies and institutions responsible for management of election must not only be responsible and independent but also competent. In addition they must have support from each other and relevant public institutions whose work impact in one way or another on mandate relating to free and fair elections. The mere existence of constitutional and legal instruments governing elections cannot generate the conduct of free and fair elections. For this to happen, the law must be respected and enforced by all actors.

# 1.0.1 Conceptual issues

Democracy as a system of governance seems to have become an important parameter to measure good governance, development and acceptability in the comity of nations. The United State of America and other European countries considered as leading nations in democratic values are embarking on drives to "democratize" the rest of the world; this is obvious in their foreign policies and stands on international issues. These countries many a time make democratic rule a precondition for aid, loan and other forms of support.

Africa is not left out of the push by the Western world towards democratic rules; poverty, corruption, violence and political instability which have made African countries more dependent on Europe and the US made the push easier and more pronounced. The leadership in the continent is usually given marching orders to democratize or forget about any aid or support, and this has led to the adoption of the western-styled democracy with emphasis on one man one vote.

The importance of voting, thus elections to democratic governance can be conceptualized in terms of the role they play in the governing process. Elections and voting in this context performs a number of functions. Four of these are important enough and deserve mentioning in this research proposal. First they provide for succession to power within a political system. Secondly, they facilitate representation and / or consent between the government and the governed. Thirdly, they contribute towards political socialization of the general population and the electorate in particular. Finally voting legitimizes the exercise of power by those elected to power, (McAnsla, 1996).

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The first function of elections listed above simply means that voting provides the governed with opportunity to recruit their leaders who are subsequently charged with the responsibility of governing. It is the process of voting which also serves to legitimize governments that are formed after such elections. The representation and consent function of voting on the other hand is also related to democracy. This is because when citizens elect leaders willingly to represent them, they are in a way saying that they consent to being represented and ruled by these leaders including how they will be governed. But the question that this raises and which we pose is; when can voting be said to be free of propaganda influence, free and fair where the voters have free and individual choices of the leaders. This is critical, precisely because only when there is no form of premeditated manipulation and only of fair and free voting conditions are fulfilled in the electoral process that we can say that elections have contributed to democratic governance and to fair representation (Herwet, 1978).

The deliberate use of information, images, and ideas to affect public opinion, propaganda is a policy tool deployed by politicians and governments during political campaigns, although its effectiveness is widely debated by scholars. According to Bernays (2005), the political apathy of the average voter, of which we hear so much, is undoubtedly due to the fact that the politician does not know how to meet the conditions of the public mind. He cannot dramatize himself and his platform in terms which have real meaning to the public. Acting on the fallacy that the leader must slavishly follow, he deprives his campaign of all dramatic interest. An automaton cannot arouse the public interest. A leader, a fighter, a dictator, can. But, given our present political conditions under which every office seeker must cater to the vote of the masses, the only means by which the born leader can lead is the expert use of propaganda.

Whether in the problem of getting elected to office or in the problem of interpreting and popularizing new issues, or in the problem of making the day-to-day administration of public affairs a vital part of the community life, the use of propaganda, carefully adjusted to the mentality of the masses, is an essential adjunct of political life (Bernays, 2005).

Propaganda is of no use to the politician unless he has something to say which the public, consciously or unconsciously, wants to hear. The criticism is often made that propaganda tends make the politician so important that he becomes not the politician but the embodiment of the idea of hero worship, not to say deity worship. The people rightly sense the enormous importance of the executive's office. If the public tends to make of the politician a heroic symbol of that power, that is not the fault of propaganda but lies in

the very nature of the office and its relation to the people. These are not the only forms of deception by conveyance of facts, but also wisdom and veracity of one's ideas and positions, something that is part and parcel of politics and governance (Stone, 2001).

One reason, perhaps, why the politician today is slow to take up methods which are a commonplace in business life is that he has such ready entry to the media of communication on which his power depends. The newspaperman looks to him for news. And by his power of giving or withholding information the politician can often effectively censor political news. How far to go and what media to use in this effort presents touchy issues of personal and administrative integrity. But of the basic obligation [to inform the public] there can be little doubt.

The idea of a media monolith that tells voters what to think is believed and beloved by conspiracy theorists the world over. (Most likely, it's also secretly believed by plenty of media proprietors.). But being dependent, every day of the year and for year after year, upon certain politicians for news, the newspaper reporters are obliged to work in harmony with their news sources. Media remain free to issue communications that are impossible to verify (e.g., "this policy promotes liberty") and engage in activities that attempt to manipulate the emotions of the public. Political communications which attempt to persuade members of the public to behave differently may not necessarily be inappropriate. However, any effort to curb the allegedly inappropriate media communications with the public will face challenges of drafting language that distinguishes legitimate communications with the public from puffery and propaganda.

#### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

All in all, it is rather obvious that people do not vote mechanically nor do they respond passively to the many psychological and other factors in the environment which interact to influence how people vote in any election. Rather, propaganda during the campaign may contribute to the voter choices.

Experiences over the years have revealed that though voting is supposed to be an individual thing; yet, there have emerged patterns of block voting in electoral history, this phenomenon has been observed in most democracies. People tend to vote along class dimension, ethnic divide and religious affiliation. An example of this can be found in the U. S. where the industrialists who control production are found basically in the Republican Party while the middle and lower classes people usually vote Democrat.

Propaganda messages are intended to modify the attitudes and behavior of people at whom it is directed, primarily by appealing to their emotions. Its use is not confined to dictatorships and authoritarian organizations. Democracies have employed it extensively in wartime. In peacetime, it plays a significant role in electoral politics, and in public-service campaigns relating to social problems. Messages may range from simple verbal texts to elaborate combinations of audio and visual signals (e.g. television commercials). The media used have included print, graphic art, film, radio, television, and architecture, from baroque palaces to fascist monuments.

Like any other human behavior, voting can be influenced by a number of factors which may be internal/ external, short term or long term, and in this context, campaign

propaganda. The personality of an individual may inform his/her behavior during an election, for instance, an electorate with a high self-esteem will likely assess the various candidates/political parties vis-à-vis their manifestos and his/her own expectations and based on these take a decision on whom or which party to vote for. On the other hand, someone with low self-esteem may have to depend on others to take decisions.

Researchers over the years have attempted to establish the relationship between psychodemographic factors and voting behavior; however, most of the documented work has been western-based. There then arises the question of whether it is these same factors or is it propaganda that influenced the voting behavior of the electorate, in the December 2007 General Elections given the differences in culture and socialization of Kenyans.

# 1.2 General objective of the study

The main objective of the study is to investigate whether propaganda was used to manipulate information in the media to influence public opinion and voting behavior during the 2007 General Elections.

#### 1.3 Specific objectives of the study

- 1. To examine to what extent the coverage of election campaigns included distortion or concealment of the truth.
- 2. To examine whether the coverage of election campaigns included agitation propaganda, that seeks to change attitudes.
- 3. To examine whether the coverage of election campaigns included integration propaganda that seeks to reinforce already existing attitudes.

4. To examine to what extent the coverage of election campaigns was educative.

# 1.4 Hypothesis

Propaganda is used to influence voter choices.

# 1.5 Significance and possible rationale

Growing insight into the significance of the media during election campaigns has led to election monitoring and subsequent election observation in the recent years. This has been supplemented with projects to monitor the media campaigns reporting. Two examples are the media monitoring of elections in Mexico (Valverde and Rosales, 1994) and Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy 2005)

The growing interest in the monitoring of media during election campaigns warrants a discussion on the format and methodology of these projects. One question is whether they are at all effective. Another is how they should be designed to achieve the desired effect. The very idea of trying to influence the media's dissemination of news and opinion building is vital.

These kinds of demands are not unreasonable in a democratic society. Asp (2007) summarizes the role of media in a representative democracy as follows:

In a democracy media should work for the realization of the will of the people by facilitating the free exchange of ideas. The media carry out this task by scrutinizing the government and conveying information that enables citizens to freely and independently form opinions on social issues. And for citizens to form opinions, the media has to inform them about political issues and disseminate fair views and opinions about those issues (Asp 2007).

The Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) demands for objectivity and balance are not an unreasonable operationalization of the election process. At the same time, government demands on the content of the media can be problematic. The media's right to freely and independently decide over their news services is one of the most basic qualifications of a functioning democracy. Reducing the polarization in media reporting is not necessarily positive in societies with strong traditions of consensus; polarization may be a useful tool for presenting alternatives (Odera, 2007).

However, in societies with strong mistrust between different social groups, contributing to less polarization may be desirable so that the media at least presents the different alternatives that exist and treats the most important alternatives with reasonable equality. This contributes to voters forming their own opinions and the media improving their chances of realizing the opinions of the people through elections.

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Finally, monitoring and reporting media coverage does not restrict press freedom and publishing the result of the media monitoring during an ongoing election campaigns can increase opportunities for citizens to acquire information from balanced news media.

#### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

# 2.0 Voting Behavior: Overview

In Kenya as in most democratic nations, government is usually enthroned through ballot; citizens who are of voting age have the right to cast their vote to elect their representative during an election. Voting thus, is a means of aggregating individual preferences into collective decision in an election; the action of formally indicating one's choice of candidate or political party at an election. Against this background, voting is seen as a form of behavior. It implies the way the voter acts in making his/her choice of candidate or political party at an election, the motivating and determining factors that inform the final decision to vote for a particular candidate(Oriavwote, 2000)..

Studies show that there is no joint influence of age, self-esteem, ethnicity, social class, and media on voting behavior. This supports the findings of Hines (1979) in a survey of the elderly in Alaska relating to their voting behavior. Age, however, showed a significant influence on voting behavior. This is in line with the assertion of Cohen and Carl (1975) that a chronological age criterion for voting is necessary. Shaw (1972) however examined urban university students and found that students' age is unrelated to political participation, and that the enfranchisement of 18 year olds will not greatly change present political patterns.

Self-esteem was also found to have significant influence on voting behavior. This corroborated the findings of Hotchkiss and Lawrence (1987) who found that self-esteem of individuals strongly influences the decision to take on who/ which party to vote for in an election.

Ethnicity, social class and media do not have influence over voting behavior probably because experiences of electorates over the years are such that oppression and bad leadership do not have ethnic or class boundaries. This may also be due to the fact that media control and propaganda is a function of who has money to use them.

Age and sex were found to have interaction effect on voting behavior; this simply means that the age and sex of both electorate and the candidate may influence identification which may ultimately influence voting decision. For instance, the wave of women empowerment campaigns and gender sensitivity may make younger women more disposed to voting for a young woman who they perceive as one of their own and who will pursue their cause.

# 2.1 Propaganda Defined

The term 'propaganda' has spawned as many definitions as it has euphemisms. Harold Lasswell (1927), a pioneer of propaganda studies in the United States, defined it as "the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols." Like other social scientists in the 1930s, he emphasized its psychological elements:

Propaganda was a subconscious manipulation of psychological symbols to accomplish secret objectives (Ellul, 1965).

Subsequent analysts stressed that propaganda was a planned and deliberate act of opinion management. A 1958 study prepared for the U.S. Army, for example, defined propaganda as "the planned dissemination of news, information, special arguments, and appeals designed to influence the beliefs, thoughts, and actions of a specific group." (Jackall, 1995).

In the 1990s, the historian Oliver Thomson defined propaganda broadly to include both deliberate and unintentional means of behavior modification, describing it as "the use of communication skills of all kinds to achieve attitudinal or behavioral changes among one group by another." Numerous communication specialists have stressed that propaganda is a neutral activity concerned only with persuasion, in order to free propagandists (and their profession) from pejorative associations. Some social scientists have abandoned the term altogether because it cannot be defined with any degree of precision; and others, like the influential French philosopher Jacques Ellul, have used the term but refused to define it because any definition would inevitably leave something out (Ellul, 1965).

Propaganda [from modern Latin: 'propagare', literally means "extending forth"] is a concerted set of messages aimed at influencing the opinions or behavior of large numbers of people. Instead of impartially providing information, propaganda in its most basic sense presents information in order to influence its audience. The most effective propaganda is often completely truthful, but some propaganda presents facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis, or gives loaded messages in order to produce an

emotional rather than rational response to the information presented. The desired result is a change of the cognitive narrative of the subject in the target audience (Pratkanis, 1991). It is the systematic propagation of information or ideas by an interested party, especially in a tendentious way in order to encourage or instill a particular attitude or response. Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist (Ibid).

As these examples indicate, propaganda is notoriously difficult to define. Does one identify propaganda by the intentions of the sponsor? By the effect on the recipients? or by the techniques used? Is something propaganda because it is deliberate and planned? How does propaganda differ from advertising, public relations, education, information, or, for that matter, politics? At its core, propaganda refers to any technique or action that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, or behavior of a group, in order to benefit the sponsor. Propaganda is usually, but not exclusively, concerned with public opinion and mass attitudes. The purpose of propaganda is to persuade-either to change or reinforce existing attitudes and opinions.

Yet propaganda is also a manipulative activity. It often disguises the secret intentions and goals of the sponsor; it seeks to inculcate ideas rather than to explain them; and it aspires to modify or control opinions and actions primarily to benefit the sponsor rather than the recipient (Page, 1996).

Although manipulative, propaganda is not necessarily untruthful, as is commonly believed. In fact, many specialists believe that the most effective propaganda operates

with different layers of truth-from half-truths and the truth torn out of context to the just plain truth. Propagandists have on many occasions employed lies, misrepresentations, or deceptions, but propaganda that is based on fact and that rings true to the intended audience is bound to be more persuasive than bald-faced lies.

Another common misconception identifies propaganda narrowly by its most obvious manifestations—radio broadcasts, posters, leaflets, and so on. But propaganda experts employ a range of symbols, ideas, and activities to influence the thoughts, attitudes, opinions, and actions of various audiences—including such disparate modes of communication and human interaction as educational and cultural exchanges, books and scholarly publications, the adoption of slogans and buzzwords, monuments and museums, spectacles and media events, press releases, speeches, policy initiatives, and person-to-person contacts.

Diplomacy, too, has been connected to the practice of propaganda. Communication techniques have been employed by government agents to cultivate public opinion so as to put pressure on governments to pursue certain policies, while traditional diplomatic activities—negotiations, treaties—have been planned, implemented, and presented in whole or in part for the effects they would have on public opinion, both international and domestic (Puddington, 2000).

# 2.2 Types of propaganda in the media

Modern practitioners of propaganda utilize various schemas to classify different types of propaganda activities. One such categorization classifies propaganda as *white*, *gray*, *or black* according to the degree to which the sponsor conceals or acknowledges its

involvement. White propaganda is correctly attributed to the sponsor and the source is truthfully identified. Gray propaganda, on the other hand, is unattributed to the sponsor and conceals the real source of the propaganda. The objective of gray propaganda is to advance viewpoints that are in the interest of the originator but that would be more acceptable to target audiences than official statements. The reasoning is that avowedly propagandistic materials from a foreign government or identified propaganda agency might convince few, but the same ideas presented by seemingly neutral outlets would be more persuasive. Unattributed publications, such as articles in newspapers written by a disguised source, are staples of gray propaganda. Other tactics involve wide dissemination of ideas put forth by others-foreign governments, national and international media outlets, or private groups, individuals, and institutions. Gray propaganda also includes material assistance provided to groups that put forth views deemed useful to the propagandist.

Like its gray cousin, black propaganda also camouflages the sponsor's participation. But while gray propaganda is unattributed, black propaganda is falsely attributed. Black propaganda is subversive and provocative; it is usually designed to appear to have originated from a hostile source, in order to cause that source embarrassment, to damage its prestige, to undermine its credibility, or to get it to take actions that it might not otherwise take. Black propaganda is usually prepared by secret agents or an intelligence service because it would be damaging to the originating government if it were discovered. It routinely employs underground newspapers, forged documents, planted gossip or rumors, jokes, slogans, and visual symbols.

Another categorization distinguishes between "fast" and "slow" propaganda operations, based on the type of media employed and the immediacy of the effect desired. Fast media are designed to exert a short-term impact on public opinion, while the use of slow media cultivates public opinion over the long haul. Fast media typically include radio, newspapers, speeches, television, moving pictures, and since the 1990s, e-mail and the Internet. These forms of communication are able to exert an almost instantaneous effect on select audiences. Books, cultural exhibitions, and educational exchanges and activities, on the other hand, are slow media that seek to inculcate ideas and attitudes over time.

An additional category of propaganda might be termed 'propaganda of the deed' or actions taken for the psychological effects they would have on various publics. 'Propaganda of the deed' can also include such disparate actions as educational or cultural exchanges, economic aid, disaster relief, disarmament initiatives, international agreements, the appointment of investigating commissions, legislation, and other policy initiatives when employed primarily for the effects they would have on public opinion.

The message is conveyed in order to support and spread a particular opinion or point of view, engaging both the intellect and the emotions of the audience. Propaganda may consist of an overt appeal such as 'most advertising copy' or be non-overt such as the seller's participation in community events, company slogans and logos, special employee benefits and so forth. The Nation Media Group has benefited from public knowledge of their corporate commitment to environmental causes and employee empowerment,

despite the lack of any direct relevance of those things to their products. Tobacco companies use sponsorships of sporting events to counter their unhealthy image.

Propagandists emphasize the elements of information that support their position and deemphasize or exclude those that do not. Misleading statements and even lies may be used to create the desired effect in the public audience. Lobbying, advertising, and missionary activity are all forms of propaganda, but the term is most commonly used in the political arena. Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, pictures and the written media were the principal instruments of propaganda. Radio, television, motion pictures, and the Internet later joined their ranks.

It is useful to distinguish agitation propaganda, which seeks to change attitudes, from integration propaganda, which seeks to reinforce already existing attitudes. The borderline between education and indoctrination, or objective statement and political speech, can be difficult to define both in practice and theory.

Photographs have also featured widely in modern propaganda, because of their reproducibility, manipulability, and, undoubtedly, because of the popular assumption that 'the camera never lies'. Although graphic art and increasingly, motion pictures probably have greater impact, huge numbers of campaign photographs are often published.

However, the greatest contribution to propaganda is the emergence of large organizations with the task of bombarding the public with carefully designed, emotive messages over the campaign periods.

Leadership imagery has become increasingly important; portraitists circulating in their millions. A range of photographers depict unphotogenic and camera-shy politicians (or a bust or statue of him), and in monumental isolation from other politicians.

There is the use of every medium and format to project his/ her image, from passport size to gigantic posters, often decorated with matching photo posters and copious information in the press. Other techniques include the conversion of photographs into paintings, and the superimposition of image onto pictures of subjects or of crowds celebrating the campaign event, depicted variously. In general, however, photographers have to work with a palette of approved images: low-angle shots for less advocated and high-angle ones of applauding crowds, lyrical views of the environment, as suitably impressive. Physical manipulation is used to rejuvenate geriatric leaders and weed 'unpersons' out of leadership photographs.

Like press coverage generally, photojournalism is 'tuned' and regulated according to political needs, with shifting emphases and predictable taboos. In photography, as in other media, only those deemed politically sound could belong to front-page coverage. Amateur photography is another matter. Although media is ideologically 'coordinated', individuals could generally be relied upon to convey a pre-determined impression.

Opponents make extensive use of photographic propaganda on the basis for posters, designed by advertising experts. Accredited press photographers, subject to censorship and other pressures, feed the illustrated press, whose role is both to inform and influence.

Official photographers may supply vast numbers of images (some staged) for use in the

innumerable campaign publications, whose work can be described as propagandistic.

In peacetime democratic politics, management of photographic coverage is as important as the production of images. Politicians, whether in office or candidates for office, must not only disseminate photographs to convey a chosen message but also endeavor to head off negative representation. Such calculations, using the media's known habits to generate suitable pictures, are fundamental to modern political management.

# 2.3 Political Engagement, the Media, and the Public

According to Andersen and Kristensenn (2003), political interest is fundamentally structured around two factors: knowledge about political conditions and normative engagement in the form of basic opinions about what is good and bad in society. The more one knows the more engaged one is as one sees the perspectives and consequences in any given situation. Moreover the more one becomes engaged in relation to a given perspective or phenomenon, the more political interest and displays.

The balance between these two elements cannot be determined beforehand but one cannot approach political questions on the basis of knowledge. A normative element is necessary if one is to point out a perspective for political engagement. Nor can one focus on opinion alone. A minimum of knowledge about what is going on is necessary in order to relate normatively to the developments in society. The two factors are therefore very closely interrelated. Naturally, the ideal is a combination of comprehensive knowledge and a pronounced normative political interest.

Nor is it simple to determine what is impacting what according to a development perspective. Knowledge affects personal involvement and one's interest while at the same time personal involvement often means that the individual citizen acquires experience with political life and the opportunities one can pursue in order to make a difference. This often leads to an increased need for information and knowledge (Bucking hand 2000). In any case there, is talk of contexts that are closely associated with the political public, political socialization and political learning and thereby also closely conferred in practice with media consumption.

The two classical types are active and in different citizens which traditionally represent polar opposites. Numerous studies have been carried out for the purpose of identifying these types more closely (preferably with grading between the two poles) (Andersen et al 1993 p.209). The point made in these studies has often been that the role as citizens is to become active citizens. It has also been broadly perceived that the greater the citizen's experience with political participation, the greater the likelihood that he/she will be active. This is entirely in keeping with the traditional perceptions of the significance of political learning (Norgard Kristensen, 1998). At the same time it has also long been held by many that those assuming the active citizen role simultaneously develop a political perspective that emphasizes democratic commuting; that is, both democratic norms and process on the one hand, and apolitical perspective that entails fighting for the good life for the benefits of the community on the other. This is a basic assumption in a long number of theories about political engagement (Bang et al. (Ed), 2000).

The passive citizen is regarded as the precondition for the active citizen and the active citizen is in turn a precondition for the functioning of a democratic system. If nobody will assume the role of e.g. a candidate for a popularly elected assembly, active party members and debating citizen, the democratic system cannot function. On the other hand, it is not necessary for everyone to be active, meaning that both positions are legitimate. The position of faithful citizen has also traditionally played a certain role but theoretically has not been regarded as a central figure. Citizenship as an obligation has always represented a logical possibility, but as long as the engagement is solely motivated by a sense of obligation and not actual interest in becoming involved in the political sphere, it is difficult to respect this position. This citizen's type is all too reminiscent of passive (party) soldiers who do what they are told.

The latter position or type is identified as the individualistic citizens which embodies something of a contradiction; a citizen who is engaged and interested in politics but does not follow along with current events in the media. There are citizens who first and foremost emphasize subjective engagement and interest in making a difference to advance their own interests instead of pursuing knowledge and optional solutions for the common good. Citizens increasingly pursue their own interest and legitimize their political choices or interests on the basis of a perception that this the way they think things should be done. Then, less consideration is granted to the common good and to political issues being regarded from more than one side. But the question is whether this is indeed the case.

# 2.4 Political communication and election campaigns

Growing bodies of studies have stressed how candidate's characteristics influence the vote. Matland's finding of a gender bias in relation to the candidate's ability to argue for the party's policies is interesting, particularly if one considers how electoral campaigns have changed during the past few decades. Thus far, in countries with multi-party systems, individual candidates have not been regarded as particularly important.

In these countries the effect of personal characteristics on the vote has not been considered significant (Aardal and Narus 2003). Still, political communication, political journalists and political candidates themselves seem to believe that the personal characteristics of the candidate as well as their media appeal is becoming more and more important for the vote. This is also the case in countries with party-oriented electoral system (Jenssenn and Aabberb, 2006).

The media is partly balanced for this new trend and the concept of personification of politics is up. According to (Mughan 2000 King Ed 2002), voters are less loyal to parties and a large share of the electorate decide who they will vote for just a few days prior to the Election Day. Thus they are more open to short-term factors such as popular candidates. As much of the campaign takes place in the media, it is vital for politicians to be able to communicate the party's policy in the best possible way.

The parties themselves seem to have caught up in this trend and most national level politicians are now being trained to perform in the media and particularly on television. Within the parties, this is seen as a response to the fact that the party will only receive

media attention if it makes use of media competent politicians' personate traits including communication skills and media appeal seen to be important in the nominating process within the parties. The parties need their profile leaders to get across to the voters via the media and research suggests that popular candidates and party leaders gain more general support for their party than do candidates who are less characteristic (Jenssen and Aalberg, 2004).

## 2.5 Propaganda and narrative norms in written news

News is *stories* about selected factual events narrated and re-narrated by sources and journalists. The involved communication acts of journalism are important tools in the hands of the writer by means of which news is made understandable, credible and interesting. The tools are used differently in papers and genres, and they are influenced by the continuous competition among the daily papers in the market.

News writing is organized in accordance with a *norm* usually visualized as an *inverted pyramid*. The purpose is to support *a focus*; to tell the reader which information is the most actual, important and relevant. The purpose of this literature review is to explore, punctually demonstrate and explain the narrative norms that govern the writing of news. It defends the point of view that the contextual conditions of this journalistic activity is developing narrative modes and voices that fit into the ongoing fight for the attention of a treacherous public during political campaigns.

The content of standard news is traditionally divided into four main groups (Meilby (1996): 254-255): (1) introduction, which contains the most important of the new

information, (2) background, which adds perspective to the new information, (3) documentation, which most often consists of quotations and (4) information, which could be left out. This is also called 'filling'.

The division reflects a general principle of order: the 'inverted pyramid'. This principle concerns priority, which means that the order of information is governed primarily by news values; the more important information precedes the less important from the beginning to the end of an article. The principle does not tell us, however, how and why news texts actually are or have to be written in certain ways—or what differences turn up within and between the writing practices of the single papers and their journalistic genres. There is a gap between the general news criteria, the priority principles and the final linguistic and narrative shaping of the output: the concrete journalistic articles.

Questions about how to linguistically perform the article outputs of journalists have been dealt with for several decades by researchers and educators of journalistic writing. Their intentions have been to develop knowledge about the structure and function of all sorts of journalistic texts so that future professional writers can reflect critically the frames and goals of the specific acts of journalistic writing performance. Against this critical and self-critical background, generations of journalists have improved their abilities to produce articles, which are as good and powerful as possible — from the readers' points of view.

This kind of research tends to have a normative aim as far as it investigates the linguistic and narrative conditions of successful journalistic communication, i.e. the mechanisms and structures that make the texts of journalism understandable, reliable, vivid and interesting.

Approaches to written texts in general can be found within branches of language philosophy and literature research, which refer to these sources (e.g. Austin (1962), Genette (1972, 1988), Searle (1970, 1971)). The combination and implementation of these theories into the analysis of samples of texts produced by journalists for media purposes has not been made to date.

The analysis of the quotations in journalism shows how quotations within articles are used for several purposes: 1) to confirm the news value of an article, 2) to evaluate problems established in the text, 3) to communicate criticism in order to reinforce conflict and drama, 4) to communicate subjective experiences formulated by the sources, 5) to communicate a sense of closeness to them in time and space and 6) to communicate attitudes and interpretations.

In this study, the researcher went a few steps further into the realm of linguistic and narrative performance in order to demonstrate the different functional aspects inside the news by looking more closely at the texts in which the quotations are embedded, to expose the contexts of quotations and analyze the narrative anatomy of the news article.

#### 2.5.1 A Flow of Shifting Speech Acts

An article is in the first formal step described as a typographical unit in the newspaper which, expanded to its maximum, contains ordinary text and a row of paratextual functioning elements such as headline, subheading, small subheads, photos, photo captions, graphics and text boxes with factual information. The ordinary text of an article, the size of which can be measured in, e.g., column lines, may be divided into a beginning, middle and end, cf. Aristotle (1965).

In the next step, an ordinary text in an article is viewed as a linear structure composed of utterances, each of which functions as a speech act or an act of communication. In this context the *quotation* is a specific act performed by a narrator.

Some of the differences show up when you characterize the actions by verbs such as the following infinitives: quote, report, sum up, refer to, describe, announce, characterize, evaluate, argue, mean, recount. This list could be extended and adjusted to concrete analyses. If each verb in this list is supplied with its logical subject, a series of simple sentences are created which are I quote, I report, I sum up, I refer to, I describe, I announce, etc. It should be clear that the 'I' refers to hidden subject of the shifting acts of communication, which the journalist performs in his or her role as communicator and narrator.

The hidden I has furthermore — during its performance of journalistic narration — a principal interest in the production of true, relevant, readable, understandable, reliable and interesting information. One generally cannot observe the narrator of printed journalism. The role is nevertheless indirectly expressed at different levels in the text: in its linear structure, in the way the story is told and in the choice, type, variation and extent of the different acts of communication of which an informative text is made up. What we have described as acts of communication is typically put into practice in the specific paragraphs that constitute the formal sequence of an article. The way the journalist performs his or her narrative acts changes typically from paragraph to paragraph. An essential part of an empirical investigation of articles is going through the

texts and determining the different communicative functions of the paragraphs. Here, the list of verbs is a central characterizing tool.

# 2.5.2 The Quotation as a Verbal Copy

You may say that the journalist is the actor, in the sense that he chooses the words he considers appropriate to communicate the words expressed by the source. In reality as well as in grammar, the journalist is the subject of the speech act expressed by the verb to quote. But the actual wording of a quotation made by the journalist is modeled on, or reflects, the words that the source used in the original statement. The journalist's quotation is a *copy* of the words of the source, so to speak (Nylund, 2003).

It is a well-known fact that the journalist always chooses to reproduce parts of a statement as quotation, but the chosen material is in principle a true copy of the words selected by the journalist and used by the source. In practice the copy may differ by degrees from the original, especially if the original statement is oral and the reproduction—as in the material of this investigation—is written. However, these minor differences do not change the fact that the journalist—in the process of quotation and as a narrator—is operating in the purest mimetic mood of communication.

The concepts of *mimesis* and *diegesis* are derived from Plato, who assigns a critical function to them. They are used as descriptive designations of ways of telling a story. Genette (1972) asserts that you may say that the narrator regulates the level of *distance* to the subject matter by his choice of narrative mood. By choosing a mimetic mood the

narrator comes very close to the source. By choosing a diegetic mood the narrator increases the level distance to the source.

So, the quotation in journalism is a verbal imitation of that part of the investigated reality, which is available as language. But this imitation takes place on the conditions of language. By using a quotation, the journalist *shows* the statement of a source by selecting and copying some of the words in it. With this, the journalist documents that the words in a specific situation are said in a certain way, which is expressed by quotation marks, colons and introductory verbs. This also means that the risk of making mistakes during the act of communication is real. Quotations can be wrong. If we look at the total — and perhaps still incomplete — arsenal of journalistic acts of communication it is possible to distinguish between two types:

The first type includes to report, to quote, to refer to and to describe. These acts have the — mainly mimetic — purpose of documenting what is said by the sources (to report, to quote), who the sources are (to refer to), and what the journalist, by observation, experience or otherwise, has made sure is true (to describe). This type of journalistic communication act is hereafter called the documentative type.

The second type includes to announce, to sum up, to tell, to explain, to argue, to evaluate, and to characterize. These are acts where the journalist — in a diegetic way — chooses to increase the distance with his subject matter, and — as a narrator — go into the text to coordinate information and to express the central points of the story. This is called the summative type of journalistic communication act (Nylund, 2003). t.

The play and variation between these acts of telling — the journalistic parallel concepts of which are the well-known *showing* vs. *telling* — has some consequences for the relationship between the article's *narration time* and its *narrated time*.

#### 2.5.3 The Narrative Order of News

The ordinary text of an article can be considered as a unit, the elements of which are arranged in linear, temporal sequences. The size of sections directly determines the length of narration time or reading time, i.e. the time it takes to tell, retell or read a text of a given length. The *narration time* as a phenomenon is tied to the physical linguistic expression of the story.

Narrated time is the story's real time. It is a phenomenon that has to do with the content matter. Broadly speaking, the narrated time of a story is a matrix that reaches into the past, present and future. Chronological order in a text is a result of the fact that the beginning, middle and end of the text follow this temporal matrix.

However, the narrative order of a journalistic news article that governs the events of the chronology is importance; one ordered by priority between the events of the story. The structural principle that transforms the narrated chronology is importance. This means that the described events and their elements are ordered by priority (Genette, 1988).

So, in journalism, narrated time has a free and independent relationship to the narration time, but on the other hand it is dependent on the variable *mood of narration*. In a few lines, say ten, a narrator can move diegetically and with distance to his subject matter

through many years, and in the next ten lines he can choose to mimetically copy most of the details in a single scene whereby the narration almost comes to a halt. In the latter case, the relationship between the narration and the narrated is in balance.

The time of narration and reading in journalism must be assumed to vary around an average; the objective base of which is a number of linearly ordered words or column lines. To say that the article is linearly ordered means that its individual elements are dependent on being told or read in a specific temporal order for full understanding. This dependence is partially broken in the relationship between the paratexts of the article (headlines, subheadings, photos, photo captions, and so on). But in order to produce meaning, the ordinary text in an article must be handled according to its linear, principle. It cannot be read backwards or by a randomly moving around between its parts.

Printed and paper-distributed texts function in a relatively firm framework of temporal dependencies. This very relationship is used in the construction of the journalistic text in which the writer always knows where the reader begins.

Summing up the analysis of the possible narrative structure of news articles can be done by way of Figure 1, which is based on several assumptions, including the assumption that a news article spans 70-90 column lines.

The figure links the concepts of the inverted pyramid, acts of communication and the mood of narration:

Figure 1. Form, Narrative Acts and Narrative Order in News

The form			Narrative structure			
Sections	Column	Priority	Communication act	Type of communicati on act	Mood of narration	
I	1.10	Introduction	Announce	Summarize	Diegetic (tell)	
II	10-30	Background	Sum up	<u> </u>		
Ш	30-60	Documentat ion	Quote, report, refer	Document	Mimetic (show)	
IV	60-70	Filling	Quote, report, refer		1	

#### 2.6 Theoretical Framework

#### 2.6.1 The Mass Media and Wealth Influence

According to Chomsky and Herman's 'Propaganda Model', 1 the wealthy and powerful use the media to propagandize in their own interests. The propaganda model of the media postulates a set of five "filters" that act to screen the news and other material disseminated by the media thereby determining what type of news is presented in news media. These "filters" result in a media that reflects elite viewpoints and interests and mobilizes "support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity." These "filters" are: (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass- media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) "flak" (negative responses to a media report) as a means of disciplining the media; and (5) "anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chomsky, N & Herman, E. S. (1988). Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media

The raw material of news must pass through successive filters leaving only the cleansed residue fit to print," Chomsky and Herman maintain. The filters "fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns

# 2.6.2 The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass- media firms influence on media content

The number of media with any substantial outreach is limited by the large size of the necessary investment, and this limitation has become increasingly effective over time. Mainstream media are either large corporation or part of conglomerates. As in any well-developed market, this means that there are very effective **natural** barriers to entry into the media industry. Due to this process of concentration, the ownership of the major media has become increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. As Ben Bagdikian's stresses in his book *Media Monopoly*, the 29 largest media systems account for over half of the output of all newspapers, and most of the sales and audiences in magazines, broadcasting, books, and movies. The "top tier" of these -- somewhere between 10 and 24 systems -- along with the government and wire services, "defines the news agenda and supplies much of the national and international news to the lower tiers of the media, and thus for the general public."

The twenty-four top-tier companies are large, profit-seeking corporations, owned and controlled by very wealthy people. Many of these companies are fully integrated into the financial market, with the result that the pressures of stockholders, directors, and bankers to focus on the bottom line are powerful. These pressures have intensified in recent years

as media stocks have become market favorites and as deregulation has increased profitability and so the threat of takeovers.

The media giants have also diversified into other fields. For example Nation Media Group and The Standard Group are both owners of major television networks and radio stations. The two depend on the government to subsidize development, and to create a favorable climate for their sales and investments. Similar dependence on the government affects other media.

Because they are large corporations with national and regional investment interests, the major media tend to have a right-wing political bias. In addition, members of the business class own most of the mass media, the bulk of which depends for their existence on advertising revenue (which in turn comes from private business). Business also provides a substantial share of "experts" for news programs and generates massive "flak." Claims that they are "left-leaning" are sheer disinformation manufactured by the "flak" organizations described below.

# According to Herman and Chomsky:

The dominant media forms are quite large businesses; they are controlled by very wealthy people or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other market-profit-oriented forces; and they are closely interlocked, and have important common interests, with other major corporations, banks, and government. This is the first powerful filter that affects news choices.

Needless to say, reporters and editors will be selected based upon how well their work reflects the interests and needs of their employers. Thus, a radical reporter and a more mainstream one; both of the same skills and abilities would have very different careers within the industry. Unless the radical reporter tones down his/her copy, he/she is unlikely to see it printed unedited or unchanged. Thus, the structure within the media firm will tend to penalize radical viewpoints, encouraging an acceptance of the status quo in order to further a career. This selection process ensures that owners do not need to order editors or reporters what to do -- to be successful they will have to internalize the values of their employers.

## 2.6.3 The effect of advertising as the primary income source of the mass media

The main business of the media is to sell audiences to advertisers. Advertisers thus acquire a kind of de facto licensing authority, since without their support the media would cease to be economically viable. And it is **affluent** audiences that get advertisers interested. As Chomsky and Herman put it,

The idea that the drive for large audiences makes the mass media 'democratic' thus suffers from the initial weakness that its political analogue is a voting system weighted by income!

Political discrimination is therefore structured into advertising allocations by the emphasis on people with money to buy. In addition, many companies will always refuse to do business with ideological enemies and those whom they perceive as damaging their interests. Thus overt discrimination adds to the force of the "voting system weighted by income." Accordingly, large corporate advertisers almost never sponsor programs that

contain serious criticisms of corporate activities, such as negative ecological impacts, the workings of the military-industrial complex, or corporate support of and benefits from Third World dictatorships. More generally, advertisers will want "to avoid programs with serious complexities and disturbing controversies that interfere with the 'buying mood.'"

This also has had the effect of placing working class and radical papers at a serious disadvantage. Without access to advertising revenue, even the most popular paper will fold or price itself out of the "free market".

As Herman and Chomsky note, a "mass movement without any major media support, and subject to a great deal of active press hostility, suffers a serious disability, and struggles against grave odds." [Ibid. pp. 15-16] With the folding of the Daily Herald, the labour movement lost its voice in the mainstream media.

Thus advertising is an effective filter for new choice (and, indeed, survival in the market).

# 2.6.4 Information source

Mass media need a continuous flow of information to fill their demand for daily news. Often they rely on sources, which are powerful, such as government and corporates for news. Two of the main reasons for the media's reliance on such sources are economy and convenience. Bottom-line considerations dictate that the media concentrate their resources where important news often occurs, where rumors and leaks are plentiful, and where regular press conferences are held. The State House, state corporations and other governmental bodies are centers of such activity. A symbiotic relationship arises between the media and government agencies which is sustained by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest.

Government and corporate sources also have the great merit of being recognizable and credible by their status and prestige; moreover, they have the most money available to produce a flow of news that the media can use. For example, the government has a public-information service employing many thousands of people, spending hundreds of millions of shillings every year, and far outspending not only the public-information resources of any dissenting individual or group but the aggregate of such groups.

Only the corporate sector has the resources to produce public information and propaganda on the scale of other government bodies.

To maintain their pre-eminent position as sources, government and business-news agencies expend much effort to make things easy for news organizations. They provide the media organizations with facilities in which to gather, give journalists advance copies of speeches and upcoming reports; schedule press conferences at hours convenient for those needing to meet news deadlines; write press releases in a language that can be used with little editing; and carefully organize press conferences and "photo opportunity" sessions. This means that, in effect, the large bureaucracies of the power elite **subsidize** the mass media by contributing to a reduction of the media's costs of acquiring the raw materials of, and producing, news. In this way, these bureaucracies gain special access to the media. Thus

"[e]conomics dictates that they [the media] concentrate their resources were significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held. . [Along with state bodies] business corporations and trade groups are also regular purveyors of stories deemed newsworthy. These bureaucracies turn out a

large volume of material that meets the demands of news organizations for reliable, scheduled flows." [Ibid., pp. 18-19]

The dominance of official sources would, of course, be weakened by the existence of highly respectable unofficial sources that give dissident views with great authority. To alleviate this problem, the power elite uses the strategy of "co-opting the experts" -- that is, putting them on the payroll as consultants, funding their research, and organizing think tanks that will hire them directly and help disseminate the messages deemed essential to elite interests. "Experts" on TV panel discussions and news programs are often drawn from such organizations, whose funding comes primarily from the corporate sector and wealthy families -- a fact that is, of course, never mentioned on the programs where they appear.

#### 2.6.5 Use of "flak"

"Flak" refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. Such responses may be expressed as phone calls, letters, telegrams, e-mail messages, petitions, lawsuits, speeches, bills before Parliament, or other modes of complaint, threat, or punishment. Flak may be generated by organizations or it may come from the independent actions of individuals. Large-scale flak campaigns, either by organizations or individuals with substantial resources, can be both uncomfortable and costly to the media.

Advertisers are very concerned to avoid offending constituencies who might produce flak and their demands for inoffensive programming exerts pressure on the media to avoid certain kinds of facts, positions, or programs that are likely to call forth flak. The most deterrent kind of flak comes from business and government, who have the funds to

produce it on a large scale. For instance, Media Institute set up and funded by wealthy corporate patrons, sponsoring media monitoring projects, conferences, and studies of the media.

The government itself is a major producer of flak, regularly attacking, threatening, and "correcting" the media, trying to contain any deviations from the established propaganda lines in foreign or domestic policy.

And, we should note that, while the flak machines steadily attack the media, the media treats them well. While effectively ignoring radical critiques (such as the "propaganda model"), flak receives respectful attention and their propagandistic role and links to corporations and a wider right-wing program rarely mentioned or analyzed.

# 2.6.6 The power elite use of "anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism

"Communism," or indeed any form of socialism, is of course regarded as the ultimate evil by the corporate rich. This is because of collective ownership of productive assets, giving workers more bargaining power, or allowing ordinary citizens more voice in public policy decisions threatens the very root of the class position and superior status of the elite.

Hence the ideology of anticommunism has been very useful, because it can be used to discredit anybody advocating policies regarded as harmful to corporate interests. It also helps to divide, for instance in the US the left and labor movements, justifies support for pro-US right-wing regimes abroad as "lesser evils" than communism, and discourages

liberals from opposing such regimes for fear of being branded as heretics from the national religion.

Since the end of the Cold War, anti-communism has not been used as extensively as it once was to mobilize support for elite crusades. Instead, the 'Drug War' or 'anti-terrorism' now often provide the public with "official enemies" to hate and fear. Thus the Drug War was the excuse for the Bush administration's invasion of Panama, and "fighting narco-terrorists" has more recently been the official reason for shipping military hardware and surveillance equipment to Mexico (where it's actually being used against the Zapatista rebels in Chiapas, whose uprising is threatening to destabilize the country and endanger US investments).

Of course there are still a few official communist enemy states, like North Korea, Cuba, and China, and abuses or human rights violations in these countries are systematically played up by the media while similar abuses in client states are downplayed or ignored. Chomsky and Herman refer to the victims of abuses in enemy states as worthy victims, while victims who suffer at the hands of US clients or friends are unworthy victims. Stories about worthy victims are often made the subject of sustained propaganda campaigns, to score political points against enemies.

"If the government of corporate community and the media feel that a story is useful as well as dramatic, they focus on it intensively and use it to enlighten the public"

# 2.6.7 "Conspiracy Theory"

Chomsky and Herman address this charge thus:

Institutional critiques are commonly dismissed by establishment commentators as 'conspiracy theories,' but this is merely an evasion. We do not use any kind of 'conspiracy' hypothesis to explain mass- media performance. In fact, our treatment is much closer to a 'free market' analysis, with the results largely an outcome of the workings of market forces.

They go on to suggest what some of these "market forces" are. One of the most important is the weeding-out process that determines who gets the journalistic jobs in the major media.

"Most biased choices in the media arise from the pre-selection of right-thinking people, internalized preconceptions, and the adaptation of personnel to the constraints of ownership, organization, market, and political power."

In other words, important media employees learn to internalize the values of their bosses. "Censorship is largely self-censorship, by reporters and commentators who adjust to the realities of source and media organizational requirements, and by people at higher levels within media organizations who are chosen to implement, and have usually internalized, the constraints imposed by proprietary and other market and governmental centers of power."

[Ibid. p. xii].

But, it may be asked, isn't it still a conspiracy theory to suggest that media leaders all have similar values? Not at all. Such leaders "do similar things because they see the world through the same lenses, are subject to similar constraints and incentives, and thus

feature stories or maintain silence together in tacit collective action and leader-follower behaviour." [Ibid.]

The fact that media leaders share the same fundamental values does not mean, however, that the media are a solid monolith on all issues. The powerful often disagree on the tactics needed to attain generally shared aims, and this gets reflected in media debate. But views that challenge the legitimacy of those aims or suggest that state power is being exercised in elite interests rather than the "national" interest" will be excluded from the mass media. Therefore the "Propaganda Model" has as little in common with a "conspiracy theory" as saying that the management acts to maintain and increase its profits.

# 2.6.8 The "propaganda thesis" viz a vis the "adversarial"

The nature of much media reporting (implausibly) that they have a "left-wing bias" is due to right-wing PR organizations. This means that some "inconvenient facts" are occasionally allowed to pass through the filters in order to give the appearance of "objectivity"-- precisely so the media can deny charges of engaging in propaganda. As Chomsky and Herman put it: "the 'naturalness' of these processes, with inconvenient facts allowed sparingly and within the proper framework of assumptions, and fundamental dissent virtually excluded from the mass media (but permitted in a marginalized press), makes for a propaganda system that is far more credible and effective in putting over a patriotic agenda than one with official censorship" [Ibid., Preface].

To support their case against the "adversarial" nature of the media, Herman and Chomsky look into the claims of such right-wing media PR machines as Freedom House. However,

it is soon discovered that "the very examples offered in praise of the media for their independence, or criticism of their excessive zeal, illustrate exactly the opposite." [Ibid.] Such flak, while being worthless as serious analysis, does help to reinforce the myth of an "adversarial media" (on the right the "existing level of subordination to state authority is often deemed unsatisfactory" and this is the source of their criticism! [Ibid. p. 301]) and so is taken seriously by the media.

Therefore the "adversarial" nature of the media is a myth, but this is not to imply that the media does not present critical analysis. Herman and Chomsky in fact argue that the "Mass media are not a solid monolith on all issues." [Ibid. p. xii] and do not deny that it does present facts (which they do sometimes themselves cite). But, as they argue, "[t]hat the media provide some facts about an issue...proves absolutely nothing about the adequacy or accuracy of that coverage. The mass media do, in fact, literally suppress a great deal . . . But even more important in this context is the question given to a fact - its placement, tone, and repetitions, the framework within which it is presented, and the related facts that accompany it and give it meaning (or provide understanding) . . . there is no merit to the pretence that because certain facts may be found by a diligent and skeptical researcher, the absence of radical bias and de facto suppression is thereby demonstrated." [Ibid. pp xiv-xv]

#### CHAPTER THREE

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a literature review was presented with detailed theories of relevance to the purpose and research assumptions of this study. In this chapter, the research process is described. Specifically, the research purpose, research method, research strategy, data collection method, sample selection, data analysis and quality standards have been presented. Additionally, the considerations that have influenced the choice of methods and approaches have been presented.

Methodology refers to the system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims of knowledge are evaluated. The rules in turn enable constructive criticism and scientific progress. Through its explicit (public and accessible) nature, methodology provides a framework for replication in this study research. Thus by using logic as the foundation of scientific reasoning, methodology enhances the internal consistency of the findings, hence knowledge. It is worthy to mention that a major function of methodology in this study is to help the blind man 'see' the shared common experience (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996).

#### 3.1 Research design

The term research design as implied here refers to the total plan of the study. The proposed study design that will be adopted is cross-sectional study design with both explanatory and descriptive approaches. The design selected is in the view of the researcher, most appropriate for this study, given that it is not possible to carry out a true experimental study.

# 3.2 Content analysis

Content analysis is a standard methodology used in the social sciences for studying the content of communication. Ole Holsti (1969)<sup>2</sup> offers a broad definition of content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages."

For this study, the term is broadly defined as any technique for making inferences by 'objectively' and 'systematically' identifying characteristics of articles in the newspaper. Objectivity implies that all sessions must be guided by an explicit set of rules that minimize subjectivity. In other words, content analysis is an 'information processing' technique in which article information (in this case as regards possible use of propaganda) is 'transformed' through objective and 'categorization' rules into data that can be summarized and compared.

This means, as a methodological tool in this research study, use of content analysis will involve making decisions on what categories to be used; what criteria is used to decide the content (word sentences, theme, topic, reference, story etc) hence determining the extent to which propaganda was used in the 2007 General Elections.

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## 3.3 Sampling Procedure for Content Analysis

Random selection, which is a precise scientific procedure with nothing haphazard about it, is the key to the sampling process. Given the "scientific goal of generalization", and the inherent variability of units of analysis, it is unavoidable in research to use this sampling theory which is a foundation of everyday practices. The random selection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Quoted from Wikipedia Encyclopedia

process eliminates the bias in selecting cases in a study research and permits the application of mathematical probability for estimating sample accuracy, thus providing a basis for a representative sample (Babbie, 1989).

A sample of size "n" from an infinite population is random. It consists of independent random variables having the same distribution. In random selection, each element has an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this selection process and also provides methods for estimating the degree of probable success. Ultimately, the purpose of sampling will be to select a set of elements from a "population" in such away that "the description of those elements" (statistics) accurately portray the "parameters" of the total population from which the elements will be selected. Prior to sampling, one must select the limits of analysis (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1995).

Sampling then begins with the description of the target population – "the collection of units about which one wishes to generalize". This ensures a complete and correct sampling frame. Regardless of the direction it takes the statement of a problem boils down to deciding what relationships among what variables, of what units are to be studied. For sampling to be feasible, the target population was defined by objective criteria that clearly indicated its limits of inclusion (Singleton and Bruce, 1999).

Population in this case refers to the total number of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers issues studied between 1<sup>st</sup> December 2007 and 25<sup>th</sup> December 2007. The

population size in this study refers to a subject of the whole population (48) that will

actually be studied and whose characteristics will be generalized to the entire population.

A sample of 24 issues (both from the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers) was

picked through interval / systematic sampling, for the study period.

Since there are 3 weeks from 1st December to 25th December; therefore, the research

period was 24 days. If one issue is studied every day, then, 1 x 24 = 24 issues of The

Standard and Nation each were studied.

3.3.1 Interval / systematic sampling

Interval / systematic sampling provided a reason to enable approximation to simple

random sampling and consisted of selecting cases from available newspaper issues at a

fixed interval, after a random start.

Since it was based on equal intervals starting with a randomly selected element in the

population of the newspaper issues, it started with a determination of the length of the

intervals thus:-

Length of interval (K) = N

n

Where: N = population size

n = sample size

In this case

24 = 8 Articles studied. Per week

3

46

# 3.3.2 Content analysis thematic topic and focus

The study intended to examine news narratives that resulted into factors such as: agitation propaganda that seeks to change; integration propaganda that seeks to reinforce already existing attitudes and education and/or indoctrination. The analysis was carried out in two parts; (1) Analysis of communication acts in the story i.e. narrative and (2) explicit guided propaganda language.

#### 3.4 Data Collection

The selection of media houses selected was influenced by the consideration that the two dailies - *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* have extensive coverage nationally. Both newspapers are the most widely read dailies. The qualitative data was collected from secondary data sources, including news reports, from the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. The selected print media are chosen because of their geographical coverage, audience and distribution.

Other secondary data included journals and other publications from conferences/meetings and reports. The secondary sources comprised of reviews of other people's research in this area. As there may be limitations on data that is relevant and up to date, it was necessary to spend more time to investigate what materials exist and are available in this subject area.

The study also examined other sources of data that are not necessarily related to the period before 27<sup>th</sup> December post general election, but which would make a useful

contribution to the research. The related stories were useful in providing a wider and more comprehensive view of the type of propaganda used during the 2007 campaign period.

Overall, the review of literature highlighted the relevance and importance of previous existing studies related to propaganda.

# 3.5 Data Analysis

This involved analysis of the content of newspaper reports and narrative norm about the propaganda identified.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

#### FINDINGS AND DATA PRESENTATION

#### 4.0 Part I: Case of story narrative

A sample of 24 news articles was studied from the 48 publications within the study period from both the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, respectively. All paragraphs in the material consisting of articles were investigated to determine the type of communication act used (cf. below). The focus of the analysis was on the combination of different communication acts in the single article on the newspaper page. Its aim was to discover and describe the mechanisms of the narrative activity following the uses of news narrative criteria and priority principles in the production of news. The question was not which types of news were chosen to be presented but how they are actually written and why.

The concepts of *order, mood* and *narrative voice* played a special role in the analysis to draw out relevance and news factors as indicators of the relationship between changing the language and changing the world. This is the *narratology*, which analyses the construction and function of texts. In regard to the guide adopted, the following variable categories were applied besides examining the narratology aspect of the news: Name calling, Glittering generalities, The transfer, The Testimonial, Plain folks, Card stacking, The Band Wagon, "emotional" propaganda and "rational" propaganda.

In the period of investigation, of the total number of published articles in the Daily Nation newspapers, forty-five percent (= 12 items) are recorded as news articles, i.e.

articles, which are not reports, reviews, analyses, commentaries, editorial, columns, background articles or updating of current affairs. The selected empirical material instead represents the daily flow of articles, which build on statements or announcements of one or few sources, and the contents of which are current and new.

As for the quantitative analysis — the empirical material consisting of news articles was selected, analyzed and coded in the period, when the articles were published. Three coders performed the work of categorizing and coding. In order to secure a high level of reliability in this part of the process, the principles of the analysis and the definitions of the categories were continuously discussed, especially the categories of communication acts. The most frequent were — as mentioned: to sum up, to announce, to quote, and to report.

It was observed that articles are built using paragraphs, and paragraphs were categorized and coded. Paragraphs with references to statements made by named sources were considered quotations or reports. References are made directly in the paragraph or indirectly in the textual context of the paragraph. Quotation marks were taken as genuine signs of quotations. The reports do not have marks, but rather references to named sources.

Paragraphs without references to sources were considered summaries or announcements made by the journalistic narrator of the news. In summaries or announcements, the narrator frames what the news story is all about. This framing is commonly supported by

statements by the named sources. A summary may contain several main points in a subject, whereas an announcement generally contains a single point, which is the new information.

The resulting numbers of the analysis of the communication acts in the coded material are shown in the following table:

Table 4.0: Frequency for the Use of Communication Acts in Material

Communication acts	n		%		Total %
	Nation	Standard	Nation	Standard	
Summaries	6	8	26.3	31.6	57.9
Announcements	3	4	15.6	21.0	36.6
Reports	2	3	10.6	15.6	26.0
Quotations	4	5	10.5	26.3	36.8
The 7 other categories	2	1	10.6	5.2	15.8
Total	17	21	100	100	

Source: Content Analysis Data (2008)

In brief, the conclusions of these investigations are as follows:

1. There exist narrative structures in notes and articles with a by-line. Political narrative structures differ from structures dictated by the inverted pyramid and reflect clear orders and shifts in moods of narration.

- 2. The elements of the narrative structures are journalistic acts of communication, the rank order of which is consistent for notes and articles respectively.
- 3. Most news (67.2%) is communicated as short notes with or without signature. The rest (32.8%) is longer articles each with a by-line that identifies the writer with a name.
- The acts of communication in the material are: to sum up (57.9 %), to announce (36.6 %), to quote (36.8%), to report (26.0%). The other categories (15.8%) include the remaining seven acts of communication.
- 5. In articles with by-lines, there seems to be a balance between diegetic and mimetic moods of narration (42.4 and 46.4%, respectively). As for notes, this balance has moved in the favor of diegetics (53.8 as opposed to 31.2%). The explanation of this difference is that articles opposite notes have more space for documentative (mimetic) acts.

This predominantly quantitative analysis of journalistic narration should be supplemented with qualitative explorations of cases (Grunwald 2003). This will make it possible to show which tools writers use to vary the narrative pattern of communication. I shall go further with this in the following section. Important questions are: How are the acts of communication actually written? By which linguistic and narrative tools do they meet their goals? In what way are the different voices of the news narrator expressed? But first I have to elaborate some methodical points.

# 4.0.1 Discussion: Cases of News Narration by the Newspapers

Cases from the most frequent categories of communication acts were elected. They show how especially the lead paragraphs are managed in notes and articles. By bypassing the quantitative pattern of communication and looking directly at the texts, one may have a better opportunity to characterize the varying moods and voices in the narration of news. Behind the formal predictability, which dominates much of the material, these investigations show how communication acts are reinforced and the messages made vivid and visual with narrative tools such as concrete and understandable words, metaphors, third person's point-of-view and sudden shifts of mood and voice. By means of these tools, news writing may lose its well-known anonymous character and get personal instead.

#### 4.0.1.1 Announced News

The quantitative analysis points out announcements as the most frequent acts of communication in the first paragraph of notes and articles. In an announcement the writer gives news information without reference to the source. The narrative elaboration of an announcement is shown in the angle of the new information and in the background information that the journalist chooses to link to the new information. For instance;

Are opinion polls reliable? Readers have their say (17.4 x 10.4), Pg 2

The news information in this first paragraph is (1) Readers have their say. This is repeated in the paratextual headline of the article ('Are opinion polls reliable. Readers

have their say). The information is combined with two more or less-known pieces of background information: (2) Are opinion polls reliable and (3) Readers have their say Against this background a journalistic story communicated as an announcement is considered to be an independent combination of information, which in relation to the context may be known or unknown.

Such a combination presupposes that the communicator has taken on the role of the *narrator* who realizes the original and entire contents of a sequence that contains a chosen angle and possibly supplements the angle with emphatic elements ('Are opinion polls reliable,) and positive connotations ('Readers have their say').

A report may sometimes have a solid and boring form such as in the following, where the sentence begins with a great deal of background information expressed by way of prepositional phrases:

Kalonzo to voters: Reject those who won't declare their wealth (14.4 x 14.5), Pg 1.

The problem here is that the narrative possibility is pushed into the background in order to make room for all the information that surrounds it.

# 4.0.1.2 Explicit Narration of News

In the *Nation* and especially in *Sunday Nation* you can often see variations from the common daily news flow and a less restrained joy of telling, as seen in the following use of a third person point of view. For instance:

Parties enter last leg armed with secret dossier on their rivals, think tanks and anti-rigging squad.

But in the journalism of politics we also find narrated news, in which the writer has taken the spectacular content of a story and placed it at the beginning of the first paragraph or sentence. For instance:

Candidates named in Kshs. 53 billion land deal

The example contains a descriptive metaphor, which explicitly points to the fact that a narrative journalistic subject is active.

#### 4.0.1.3 Summaries

The summary is a more complex act of communication than the announcement, because the communicator in a summary has to keep track of several elements that are temporally displaced. For instance:

Kibaki and Raila in tight race for top seat, December 28 2007 (22 x 26.4). Pg 1

The narration in this piece has a predominantly diegetic mood: The narrator moves around in a story that spans several months. As a result the pace of the narration is high in the beginning, but it nearly comes to a standstill in the report and communication of the details.

The temporal extent of the narrated content of a summary enables the writer to focus sharply on details in the communication.

The summary has a built-in possibility of complexity that as a consequence may increase the information density of the news text. In this case the writer must — as just demonstrated — be able to guide the reader through each phase of an independently

expressed summary of the details. If not, the story offers cut-and-dried elements that eliminate all possible narrative intentions from the communication — and ultimately perhaps even the reader.

# 4.0.1.4 Quotations and Reports

Quotations are verbal and narrative *copies* of words uttered by sources. Quotations of statements are unusual in the first paragraph of an article. When a quote occurs, it is usually because it expresses a distinct attitude of the source in a precise language. In this way, the reader is quickly guided to the main theme of the story. For instance;

"We will win", say contender for State House job 20.5 x 19.4

The attitude of the source can be reinforced if the writer as a narrator chooses to focus on single words in a statement: It is not always possible to distinguish clearly between the attitudes of the source and those of the journalist. The transition from quotation to report may weaken the clarity at another level, and it can easily become uncertain what the source actually stated and what the journalist meant.

# 4.0.1.5 Opinions in News

Narrative openings of news articles may result in the explicit expression of the opinion or attitude of the writer. The writer is thus on a collision course with an established principle in journalism of not mixing one's own comments with reports in the same article. Not because it is a mix, but rather because it is difficult for the reader to see through this journalistic engagement.

In some newspapers, a personal and engaged communication of source statements can have the effect that doubts are raised about the credibility of the source.

The negative connotations of the words chosen can help establish a critical attitude. For instance;

Poll rigging officials seized December 28 2007 (20.5 x 10.5)

In the opposite way, a positive personal engagement may invoke sympathetic attention—again through the choice of words with particular connotations.

The opinions expressed in news texts are created by evaluative or emphatic words. Through a series of linguistic choices, the communicator signals a positive or negative attitude to the sources or the exposed event. Case differs from other cases, with the communicator showing a basic solidarity with the source and the criticism the source expresses. Finally, there are cases in which the attitude toward the sources and their statements is expressed positively, bordering on the verbally applauding.

# 4.0.1.6 Metaphors

The metaphor is usually considered an extraordinary poetic or rhetorical tool in texts. Metaphors are used e.g., when writers need to attract readers' attention and communicate a special — perhaps quite new — aspect, which may add a new perspective to the subject or object of a text.

Kalonzo unveils "Marshal" Plan 21 x 15

Or

The "Giant Killers" (with political figure photos): New Faces have turned tables on seasoned politicians pg 4-5 (27.8x 26.5)

Modern research on metaphors has developed a broader concept and demonstrated that the systems of concepts we use to structure our thoughts and plan our actions are metaphoric by nature. For instance, a common 'argument' in our culture is something we either 'win' or 'lose'. We 'attack' our opponents and 'defend' our own 'positions'. We are hardly conscious of the fact that the entire vocabulary around the concept of arguing is based on metaphors of warfare. According to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) analyses, the word 'argument' in our culture derives part of its meaning from the concept of war. From this point of view, metaphors are basic to the production of meaning and communication among people. They permeate the everyday language or the language of experience, which is the exact type of language journalists draw on in their writing — also about complex subjects.

One of the consequences of using the language of experience for communication is that several types of metaphors appear side by side in journalistic texts. There are the original, communication-stimulating metaphors, the less original ones — the so-called clichés - and finally there are the nearly invisible metaphors we live by — metaphors that show that we act and think in particular ways and develop according to metaphoric concepts. Clichés are deeply rooted in the language of the media. Journalists may relate critically to them, but they can hardly avoid them. They may also choose to make a virtue of their

presence. A cliché — even though it is seen as 'noise' in the communication process — can add an element of recognition to a text. Through recognizable metaphors, readers may identify the narrator's conceptual framing of his subject.

In addition, the cliché is an opportunity for the linguistically agile journalist to make variations on the familiar and thus create surprises with the language. The use of metaphors in newspaper texts demonstrates explicitly how the communicator is active as a narrator at the same time when the news reports are delivered. A winner of a match is usually exposed and admired by the media. The victory ceremony is very often a long exposure in which the winner gets up onto a platform and receives a prize or trophy. Consequently, the metaphor *to steal the show* in the extract seems to be a logical and necessary choice. It adds optics to the situation, which is a recognizable feature when talking about politics. On the other hand, it would be obvious to classify it as cliché.

The imagery of warfare permeates many discourses in modern society — for instance about competition on the market or when discussing politics. The following metaphors therefore seem natural and logical as tools of communication:

Kibaki and Raila in tight race for top seat (22 x 26.4). Pg 1

In spatial metaphors the vision of 'up' is connected to something strong, healthy or positive, while 'down' inherits weak, ill or negative values. In Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 14 ff.) those metaphors are called 'orientational' and are described as having a base in our physical and cultural experience. As a language user you will hardly notice them, but they function as a common base of identification:

Mugo storms station over slow voting pace (7 x 5) Pg 1

In rare instances you may find an original variation of a cliché-like metaphor in a news article:

Hitches in polling 6.2 x 4

# 4.0.1.7 Metonymies

It is common for a journalist to use observations or other types of sense experiences as a basis for communication — especially in the genres in which the writer as a journalist is present in a situation by which he meets and speaks to sources or attends an event. Registered or experienced details — if there are any — are together with statements central elements of the report, the interview and the portrait. The central imaginative tool is a metonymic one, whereby a small part may represent a whole or an effect may represent a cause. So, using very few words the writer may draw up pictures of persons or signal moods.

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As a content element, the detail communicates proximity, identification and fascination. As a communication act, it functions as documentation. Apart from that, the detail may in some contexts have a symbolic function, so that the reader's contact with a deeper theme in the article is strengthened. In news journalism we meet the use of expressive details in several articles with narrative openings. The purpose is to create proximity in the report by exposing a person, a piece of information or a small event.

This demonstrates the difference between a detail based on observation and one based on experience. In the first case the journalist — as an observer — gets his detail from a situation in which he is actually present, observing and describing. In the second case the

technique is used to visualize the detail in a way the journalist hardly has a chance to verify. This type of construction is widespread in written news. It is produced at the desk, where it often comes very close to pure fiction.

#### 4.0.1.8 Re-narration

As a narrator, the journalist has the ability to sum up his story so that professionally complicated and heavy information appears more simple and easy to read. To prevent this diegetic mood of narration from appearing too superficial, the narrator may at the same time attempt to strengthen the truth-value of his summary by linking it to a reference, which is a documentative act of communication (cf. figure 1). As a consequence, the introductory reports appear in contexts in which references to sources are made; but the announcements are not presented as identifiable quotations or reports. The statements from the sources in such instances are integrated into the narrator's own summary.

#### 4.0.1.9 Characterization

Seldom does the narrator begin the first paragraph with a characterization that makes an interpretation on behalf of the reader. It may happen on rare occasions, however, especially in gossip notes.

The narrator in these cases attempts to secure credibility by weakening the impression of the report being an allegation (cf. the logical subject of linguistic details as 'could not be' and 'perhaps'):

# 4.1 Part II: The Systematic Selection of Cases with Explicit Propaganda

To analyze cases with explicit propaganda, the researcher used a guideline adapted from the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. According to the guide, journalists must be skeptical when it comes to politics and have the ability to detect political propaganda especially in light of reporting political campaigns. According to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, guidelines for analyzing propaganda states that propaganda may have the following features:

- -Name calling: diminishing an opponent by referring to an opponent as "most liberal" or "extremist" for example.
- -Glittering generalities: "virtue words" that depict ideals that are impossible to be argued against, otherwise known as "motherhood and apple pie."
- -The transfer: transferring an individual's or an institution's authority or status to another, e.g. Barrack Obama summoning names such as Abraham Lincoln or JFK.
- -The Testimonial: "endorsements" or having a celebrity "shed their blessings" on a candidate, e.g. Joe Lieberman supporting John McCain.
- Plain folks: supporters may insist that a candidate is a "man of the people" and may use text like "town," "village," "farm," "diner," "bar," "train," "folks," "coal mine" and "kitchen table" in the same context.
- -Card stacking: a "full-court press of persuasion", similar to techniques uses to justify wars, i.e. supporters would back card stacking whereas those who oppose would say that "justifications fell like a house of cards."
- -The Band Wagon: techniques reflecting an "everyone's on board" attitude, with words like "journey", "battle", "movement", "march" and "mandate for change" popping up in

conversations.

Journalists must also be able to distinguish between "emotional" propaganda and "rational" propaganda. (See Annexure II for further clarification).

Responsible journalists, must not succumb to these and they must point them out to citizens so reason and critical thinking can help balance emotion and passion (Alisa, 2008).

34 text examples were used as a basis for qualitative investigations documentation of central narrative categories and subcategories in written news journalism to identify propaganda (cf. Fig. 1). Applying the Institute for Propaganda Analysis guidelines, the selection of the examples took place in several steps and against the background of different considerations concerning the purpose of this part of the analysis.

According to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis guidelines, the selected examples must show how journalists actually use their linguistic and narrative tools when performing the most frequent communication acts of propaganda during the processes of writing news. The results from the quantitative analysis of the published material answer this question only to a certain extent. You can demonstrate the central and most frequently used communication acts of propaganda as categories in news journalism, but you do not yet know how they are performed or how they function.

The selected examples must supply the quantitative information with information based on observations of the usage and language of journalism. The methodical problem is here

one of *validity*, i.e. the problem is to capture, demonstrate and specify propagandist linguistic and narrative functional details in the central categories and subcategories by means of selected, relevant and convincing examples from the material. In order to achieve and go through this point in the analysis, the previously mentioned quantitative registration and coding of the empirical material must be supplied with observations based on close reading and understanding of the usage in selected examples.

The period chosen for the investigation was given serious consideration bearing in mind that during political campaigns linguistic and narrative categories change relatively over time. The variation from day to day or week to week of the contents and themes of the daily papers did not seem important for the specific purpose of this investigation. On the contrary a whole week seemed necessary, because of the variation during a week of the way the most news genres are used: From Monday to Thursday you commonly find standard genres and from Friday to Sunday you find the longer genres such as background articles, longer portraits, and feature articles and so on. In order to get access to these variations in genre and narration, the selection of a whole week seemed reasonable.

A data file was constructed in such a way that propaganda could easily be trace examples e.g., the first few paragraphs of an article, especially the lead paragraph. A simple cross-classification procedure was used. All articles with, e.g., a summary in the lead paragraph, could be found in this way, isolated and exposed for close examination. The same could be done with other communication acts in the lead or other paragraphs.

The purpose was to find documentation of the propaganda categories shown in Table 4.1b and determine their subcategories by means of linguistic and narrative investigations for propaganda using the Institute for Propaganda Analysis guidelines. The results of the quantitative analysis tell with great precision where to read in the newspapers from the selected period. The final selection of examples was made by means of a reading and evaluation process. The course and conclusions of this qualitative and evaluative procedure are demonstrated in the following sections.

Table 4.1 b): Summary of frequency for the use of propagandistic language in story

Language	n		%		Total
	Nation	Standard	Nation	Standar d	%
Name calling	5	6	26.3	31.6	57.9
Glittering generalities	2	1	10.6	5.2	15.8
The transfer	1	1	5.2	5.2	10.4
The Testimonial	6	5	31.6	26.3	57.9
Plain folks	2	3	10.6	15.6	26.0
Card stacking	2	1	10.6	5.2	15.8
"Emotional" propaganda	1	1	5.2	5.2	10.4
"Rational" propaganda.	1	1	5.2	8.4	13.6
Total number of articles analyzed	20	18	100	100	

Source: content analysis Data (2008)

In reference to table 4.1 b), there is evidence that element of propaganda appeared in the dailies analyzed. Up to 57.9% of the stories had name calling and the testimonial

respectively. 26% of those stories analyzed had up to element, 15.8% were glittering generalities and card stacking respectively, while10.6% were transfers and emotional propaganda respectively. Only 13.6% of the article analyzed had rational propaganda. The findings indicate that the Standard newspapers had more articles with name calling as compared to the Nation representing 31.6 and 23.% respectively. More testimonials, 31.6% were register in the Nation as compared to 26.3% in the Standard newspaper respectively. Comparatively the Standard used more plain folk in stories covered as compared to the nation both representing 15.6% and 10.6% respectively. The findings indicate that rational propaganda appeared more in the Standard, 8.5%, than in the Nation which represented 5.2%. Both the newspapers had an equal representation of emotional stories each representing 5.2% respectively. Glittering generalities appeared more in the Standard, 10.6%, as compared to the Nation 5.2%.

In brief, the conclusions of these investigations are as follows:

The findings indicate that, the most used form of propaganda language was "Name calling" representing 31.6% and 26.3% of coverage in the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers respectively. The reverse is true of use of "Testimonial" form of propaganda language which represents 26.3% and 31.6% of coverage in the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers respectively. "Glittering generalities" represented 10.6% and 5.2% of coverage in the *Nation* and the *Standard* respectively. "Plain folk" appeared most in the *Standard* than in the *Nation* both representing 15.6% and 10.6% respectively.

Interestingly, the findings indicate that the least used propaganda language during political campaigns are the "Emotional" propaganda and "Rational" propaganda, both

barely represent less than 8.5% of the coverage. The most language of propaganda used during political campaign are: Name calling (57.9%), The Testimonial (57.9%), Plain folks (26.0%), Glittering generalities (15.8%), Card stacking (15.8%), The transfer (10.4%) "Rational" propaganda (13.6%) and "Emotional" propaganda (10.4%) respectively.

#### 4.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation analysis was performed to establish the relationship between communicative acts and explicit propaganda language. The correlation coefficients and their corresponding tests of significance are presented in Table 4.2 below. The findings indicate that the level of correlation between the communicative acts and explicit propaganda language was found to be significant at 99% level of confidence. The findings concur with the findings of Tables 4.0 and 4.1 which showed that communicative acts and explicit propaganda language are interactive, cohesive, reliable, convenient, and readily adaptable in news narrative for political campaign propaganda.

Table 4.2): Correlation analysis on Propaganda language and Communicative act

	•	1 0	0 0	
	Reports	Quotations	Summaries	The 7 other categories
Name calling	1		-	-
Glittering generalities	0.373(**)	1	~	<u>-</u>
The transfer	0.684(**)	0.582(**)	1	-
The Testimonial	0.568(**)	0.649(**)	0.484	1

<sup>\*\*</sup> Indicate that correlation is significant at the 1% level (p-value< 0.01)

#### 4.3 Discussion

### 4.3.1 Propaganda techniques identified in the newspapers analyzed

According to Pratkanis and Elliot (2001), propagandists use a variety of propaganda techniques to influence opinions and to avoid the truth. Often these techniques rely on some element of censorship or manipulation, either omitting significant information or distorting it. In the findings of this study and in regard to the Institute of Propaganda Analysis guideline, propaganda techniques were identified as follows:

### 4.3.1.1 Name Calling

This propaganda technique is used to incite fears and arouse prejudices with the intent that invoked fear based on fear mongering tactics will encourage those that read, see or hear propaganda to construct a negative opinion about a person, group, or set of beliefs or ideas that the propagandist would wish the recipients to denounce<sup>1</sup>. In the 2007 General Elections, it took the following forms:

#### a) Ad hominem

An *ad hominem* argument, or argumentum ad hominem (*Latin*, literally "argument against the man [or person]"), is a fallacy that involves replying to an argument or assertion by attempting to discredit the person offering the argument or assertion. Ad hominem rebuttals are one of the best-known of propagandist tactics. For example in the article entitled:

Concern Over Raila's Accord With Muslims March Ado About Nothing (17.4 x 15.8)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia

Simply, it is a refutation of a proposition, based solely upon some unrelated fact about the person presenting the proposition. Such refutation is said to be "against the person" (ad hominem) and not their proposition. Properly, it consists of saying that an argument is wrong because of something about the individual or organization is in error rather than about the argument itself. Moreover, it is not necessary to insult the individual or organization whose argument is attacked in order to commit the ad hominem attack. Rather, it must be clear that the purpose of the characterization is to discredit the person offering the argument, and, specifically, to invite others to discount his arguments.

Three traditionally identified varieties include:

#### b) Ad hominem abusive

This involves merely (and often unfairly) insulting the opponent. For example: *Lucy to leaders: Stop insults 5.5 x 12* 

Involve pointing out factual but damning character flaws or actions. For example: *Kibaki*Never Tried To Fight Graft 917.5 X 17.2)

Insults and damaging facts simply do not undermine what logical support there might be for one's opponent's arguments or assertions. For example: *Candidates named in KShs.*53 billion land deal (21 x 22.1)

### c) Ad hominem circumstantial

This propaganda technique involves pointing out that someone is in circumstances such that he or she is disposed to take a particular position. For example; *Two Ministers Forecast A Win For The President (7 X 4.5)* 

It constitutes an attack on the bias of a person. For example; KShs. 900 M Used to Bribe Voters (4 X 4.9)

However, it does not make one's opponent's arguments, from a logical point of view, any less credible to point out that one's opponent is disposed to argue that way.

## d) Ad hominem tu quoque (literally, "at the person, you too")

This is also called the "hypocrisy" argument.

It occurs when a claim is dismissed either because it is inconsistent with other claims which the claimant is making or because it is inconsistent with the claimant's actions. For example; *Kibaki Dismisses Rivals Promises* (21.5 X 15) and

Kalonzo Dismisses Opinion Poll (20.5 X 13.8)

In spite of its lack of subtlety, it is a powerful and frequently used (and, sometimes, excessively) propaganda technique. Anyone involved in political discourse, and public discourse in general, would do well to become acquainted with it.

#### 4.3.1.2 Glittering Generalities

Glittering generalities was one of the seven main propaganda techniques identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1938. It also occurs very often in politics and political propaganda. Glittering generalities are words that have different positive

meaning for individual subjects, but are linked to highly valued concepts. When these words are used, they demand approval without thinking, simply because such an important concept is involved. For example, when a person is asked to do something in 'defense of democracy' they are more likely to agree. The concept of democracy has a positive connotation to them because it is linked to a concept that they value. Words often used as glittering generalities are honor, glory, love of country, and, freedom. When coming across with glittering generalities, we should especially consider the merits of the idea itself when separated from specific words.

Examples

Raila Pledges to Fight Corruption as he Woos Western (11.5 x 20.8)

#### 4.3.1.3 The Testimonial

These are quotations, in or out of context, especially cited to support or reject a given policy, action, program, or personality. The testimonial is given by a person or an organisation that is held in high regard by the targeted population. For example:

Raila ahead of Kibaki by four points in latest polls and
Advertorial' Piga kura kwa Mwai Kibaki (PNU)

### 4.3.1.4 Emotional Propaganda

## a) Fear, selling fear, Fear mongering

Fear is one of the most primordial human emotions and therefore lends itself to effective use by propagandists. Human beings can do great and terrible things when motivated by

fear. Fear is essentially the survival instinct kicking in. Fear being fundamentally irrational, it is one of the techniques most widely used by propagandists.

According to Paul Campos (2006), when a propagandist warns members of [his/her] audience that disaster will result if [it does] not follow a particular course of action, [he/she] is using the fear appeal," observes the Propaganda Critic. By playing on the audience's deep-seated fears, practitioners of this technique hope to redirect attention away from the merits of a particular proposal and toward steps that can be taken to reduce the fear." For example;

The Prospect of Second Round Causes Concern (26.4 X 28.6)

Is Kibaki Prepared for a Run Off Poll? (11.5 X 33)

Propaganda and Rigging Worry Planners (33 X 14.5) + (33 X 17.5)

Ethnicity Plays a Big Role in Nairobi (20.5 X 25) + (5.5 X 33)

Specific types of fears identified in this research include tribalism, crime, economic hardship, disease, overpopulation, and discrimination. With such a broad spectrum of fear, the propagandist can pick relevant phobias and incorporate them into his/her messages. The power of this propaganda technique can be multiplied when it is exploited in conjunction with uncertainty and doubt, that is, when information at hand is not sufficient enough to completely rule out the cause of the fear. In order to instill *fear*, *uncertainty and doubt*, propagandists exploit general ignorance. Pushed to its extremes, this combination can lead to conspiracy theories.

An example of this technique is the use of the as yet unsubstantiated claim that

Another more destructive form of deception today is the selling of fear. Fear is the most debilitating of all human emotions. A fearful person will do anything, say anything, accept anything, reject anything, if it makes him feel more secure for his own, his family's or his country's security and safety, whether it actually accomplishes it or not, (Krugman, 2006).

According to Gene E. Franchini, retired Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, "It works like a charm. A fearful people are the easiest to govern. Their freedom and liberty can be taken away, and they can be convinced to believe that it was done for their own good - to give them security. They can be convinced to give up their liberty - voluntarily." (Franchini, 2003).

## b) Emotional control

One facet of emotional control focuses on the excessive use of fear. Fear of the outside world (flying, opening mail, large crowds and tall buildings) and fear of enemies (evildoers). We are asked to stay on full alert, while carrying on with life as usual. While knowledge is power, the withholding of information exacerbates this fear, as we walk through our days in a general sense of impending doom and distrust of those who look different or dress different from us. This creates total paranoia. For example:

Bar defectors, ECK urged (17.4 x 10.4)

Narrow Escape for ODM Candidate after Robbery (5.4 X 5)

Be Vigilant Saitoti Tells Supporters (4 X 12.5)

ODM Divided Over Three -Piece Voting Pattern (5.4 X 19.4)

Leaders to blame for clashes 26.4 x 15.5

### c) Media control

Media control is the act of taking control of the message that the media puts out by taking direct control over the finances of the people who put out the message. According to the findings of this study all the political parties and candidate particularly for the presidential candidacy had advertorial in the newspapers. For example:

Advertorial for Party of National Unity (PNU) candidates had the following message:

'Kazi iendelee', 'Vote Mwai Kibaki' (26.4 x 33.1), 'You know Kibaki will promote peace & Unity' (26.4 x 17.4), 'You know Kibaki will care for your children' (26.4 x 17.4)/

Advertorial for Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) candidate had the following message:

'Don't sell your vote whatever people might offer you; your vote is more precious.

Don't sell it! ODM vote for Raila' (26.4 x 33.1)

If a news reporter knows that the financial security of their family is dependent on pushing a certain bias, they will do it. And if you have enough reporters and media consultants who are more comfortable with that bias than questioning what they are reporting in an open and investigating way, the bias becomes part of the psyche of the people.

## 4.3.1.5 Rational Propaganda

#### a) Mind control

Mind control refers to all coercive psychological systems, such as brainwashing, thought reform, and coercive persuasion. Mind control is the shaping of a person's attitudes, beliefs, and personality without the person's knowledge or consent. Mind control employs deceptive and surreptitious manipulation, usually in a group setting but sometimes working purely linguistically or technologically, for the financial or political profit of the manipulator. Mind control works by gradually exerting increasing control over individuals through a variety technique, such as excessive repetition of routine activities. In this case campaign slogans were repeated as much as it was deemed necessary in newspapers the advertorial:

You know Kibaki will promote peace & Unity (26.4 x 17.4)

You know Kibaki will care for your children (26.4 x 17.4)

Or

Kalonzo Sasa

It is important to note that most mind control is temporary, e.g. hypnosis, and that very often minor trauma can break even strong conditioning. For this reason it is usually important for the so-called handler to be able to control the environment, and for social factors to reinforce choices.

## b) Thought control

Thought control can be described in the context of "black and white". This is called a demand for purity. It divides the "world of experience into two: pure versus impure, absolutely good versus absolutely evil, us versus them, and so forth. This "creates [an] environment of guilt and shame."

Thought control can be accomplished by "providing people with a vocabulary, a loaded language that constricts rather than broadens understanding." This can be seen in the examples listed below which have been repeated constantly.

Thought control discounts alternate belief systems and prevents questioning of the leader, doctrine or policy. It differs from groupthink in that in groupthink alternatives are overlooked or simply not taken into consideration. Groupthink is also when "people seek unanimous agreement in spite of contrary facts pointing to another conclusion."[4] Thought control is imposed (Chomsky and Herman, 1988).

Thought control is frequently equated with brainwashing, a concept involving a lack of compunction regarding deceiving people and commonly associated with psyops, cults, mind control, and media control.

Thought control can involve the control of all of a person's or a group's "communication with the outside (all that he sees and hears, reads and writes, experiences, and expresses), but also in its penetration of his inner life over what may be called his communication with himself.

In these research findings, the general public experience and imprint of the electioneering events was accomplished through a constant blanket of media control.

Examples of words and phrases that is "loaded language" used for "thought control" as well as to promote "groupthink, party ideologies", come from the numerous story title reported by the two newspapers under study. These examples include the repetition -- an incessant litany -- of the following words and phrases:

Raila: I Will Fight Drought and Poverty in North Rift (11 X 14)

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In Marsabit, Kibaki Gives Residents New Divisions and Pledges Security (14.4 x

13)

ECK urged to probe claim of vote buying

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## c) Demonizing the opposition

To mobilize the base, candidates in both parties take more extreme positions. Campaign rhetoric becomes more strident as campaigns try to excite supporters by demonizing the opposition. Issues become weapons to use to goad people into voting - or discourage an opponent's base from voting. For example:

The 'Domo' Advertorial against ODM and

The 'Kemilio' Advertorial against PNU

Political dialogue becomes a series of epithets and bombast hurled at opponents over the airwaves in attack ads or on talk shows. Since centrist voters may find little to like in either party, they may quit voting. That just prompts both parties to try even harder to mobilize base voters to win increasingly low-turnout elections

Some partisans in any case maintain that the crisis of the moment is so urgent and compelling that we cannot wait to win over the majority of the public with facts. We must rally support through circulating horror stories, inflating statistics, and demonizing the opposition.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Summary

The main objective of the study was to investigate whether propaganda was used to manipulate information in the media to influence public opinion and voting behavior during the 2007 General Elections. The specific objectives of the study were to examine to what extent the coverage of election campaigns included distortion or concealment of the truth, whether it included agitation propaganda that seeks to change attitudes or integration propaganda that seeks to reinforce already existing attitudes and whether or not the coverage of election campaigns was educative.

#### 5.1.1 Distortion or concealment of the truth

The qualitative analysis of the case material has provided a background for discussing a new picture of news journalism as a relatively source-independent and communication-oriented in rewriting of incoming news material. From this point of view, news is not only edited information, anonymously organized and rewritten on a base of common editorial priority principles. The inherent editorial priority principles are readily analogous to propaganda, since it involves giving shape to news, thus including distortion or concealment of the truth.

According to the findings, news is essentially narrated, i.e. constructed by a personally involved, individual journalist performing a role as an engaged narrator using a variation of communication acts and aiming at an understandable, reliable and interesting deliverance of the message. The analysis of the content of the stories in the newspapers

studied indicates that there was distortion of news and concealment of some information to take shape and pass on the then desired information. This is evident in the type of communication acts employed by the media houses as is indicated in the findings.

### 5.1.2 Manifestation of Propaganda

According to the findings of the study, and as hypothesized earlier in the study, Propaganda was used to influence voter choices. Analysis on the kind of content reveal elements of propaganda used and which show that both agitation and integration propaganda were employed during the campaign. Elements such as name calling, mind, thought and media control are some propaganda elements that agitate the public. The main agitation tool employed during the campaign was the demonizing of the opponents.

Glittering generalities were employed to give different positive meanings for individual candidates and political parties so as to link highly valued political party and candidate ideologies during the campaign. An *ad hominem* argument were used whereby difference parties replied each other and argued to assert their policies, principle and manifesto. The coverage showed that, the campaigners attempted to discredit the person offering the argument or assertion from the different camps. Ad hominem rebuttals are one of the best-known of propagandist tactics.

The findings also provides evidence of persuasive tactics at work; appealing to emotions; appealing to reason and candidates' arguments to appealing to character. There is evidence of double speak, words deliberately constructed for political purposes. Words,

which not only had in every case a political implication, but were intended to impose a desirable mental attitude upon the person using them.

The researcher also points strong to this study's theoretical background of conspiracy and the study hypothesis that the media are used as propaganda instruments by the political elite during election campaigns and the propaganda thereof determine the vote pattern. To support this hypothesis we discern fear as an element of propaganda. As much as fear is a very destructive form of deception and the most debilitating of all human emotions, it has been used probably to integrate the voter into rallying behind one particular candidate or political party. With such a broad spectrum of fear, the propagandist can pick relevant phobias and incorporate them into his/her messages. The power of this propaganda technique can be multiplied when it is exploited in conjunction with uncertainty and doubt, that is, when information at hand is not sufficient enough to completely rule out the cause of the fear. In order to instill *fear, uncertainty and doubt*, propagandists exploit general ignorance. Pushed to its extremes, this combination can lead to conspiracy theories.

Studies indicate that a fearful person will do anything, say anything, accept anything, reject anything, if it makes him feel more secure for his own, his family's or his country's security and safety, whether it actually accomplishes it or not, (Krugman, 2006).

## 5.2 Conclusion

According to the findings during the pre-election campaigns, the media coverage of the events of the time included information distortion and concealment of some information.

The finding shows that propaganda was part of the campaign as is manifest in the stories

covered by the media. Use of both agitation and integrating propaganda is evident from the content analysis.

In reference to growing bodies of studies that have stressed how candidate's characteristics influence the vote, the following conclusion is deemed necessary. The candidate's ability to argue for the party's policies is more important in countries with multi-party systems. In this research, individual candidates have not been regarded as particularly important. In this research the effect of personal characteristics on the vote has not been considered significant. Still the findings draws from the role of political communication, political journalists and political candidates themselves who seem to believe that the personal and party communication characteristics as well as their media appeal is becoming more and more important for the vote. The findings indicate that the manner in which media cover political campaigns is therefore what determines the vote.

These findings indicate that the media is partly balanced for this new trend and the concept of personification of politics is up. According to (Mughan 2000 King Ed 2002), voters are less loyal to parties and a large share of the electorate decide who they will vote for just a few days prior to the Election Day. Thus they are more open to short-term factors such as popular candidates. As much of the campaign takes place in the media, it is vital for politicians to be able to communicate the party's policy in the best possible way.

These findings concur with the argument by Jenssen and Aalberg, (2004) that, the parties themselves seem to have caught up in this trend and most national level politicians are

now being trained to perform in the media and particularly on television. Within the parties, this is seen as a response to the fact that the party will only receive media attention if it makes use of media competent. Politicians' personal traits including communication skills and media appeal seem to be important in the nominating process within the parties. The parties need their profile leaders to get across to the voters via the media and research suggests that popular candidates and party leaders gain more general support for their party than do candidates who are less characteristic.

#### 5.3 Recommendations

What does the finding of this research tell us about the relationship between political elite and masses and the effects of political communication on democratic transition? In general, the personalization of elections, coupled with the effective control of national issues by most political elites, have served to limit debate on political values primarily to elite circles and they have not become salient and divisive bases for mass communication and mobilization.

This creates the opportunity for reinvigorating civil society, and particularly the media. This overview of the media in Kenya shows that an active media is certainly important for democratic political parties and fair and free elections. However, it appears as if it is not so much the linkage between the political elite and the broadest possible part of society that can bring about fair elections. Rather it is crucial that media has a powerful representation that is united and strong in both numbers and institutionalization.

Administrative-hegemonic regimes are characterized by a very strong executive, their bureaucracy and coercive apparatus. Therefore, there is need to train a cadre of political journalists through seminars, workshops and short courses in the local schools of journalism and communication over, say, a two-year period. Sensitize editors and media managers to establish political information desks and regular political campaign beats in their newsrooms and encourage them, through seminars and workshops, to appreciate the social, economic and political significance of voting and, hence, democratic fair and free elections as having an important news value.

There is need for further research: to specifically carry out a political reporting training needs assessment of Kenyan media houses and rural journalists, to study the nature and pattern of political reporting, particularly on political campaigns trails and coverage with a more realistic budget and time frame, and to assess the training capacity of Kenyan institutions in the areas of political reporting, and journalism, and to determine areas in which they may require support.

Institutional support may be required to empower those to be involved in the training programmes that have been suggested to effectively carry out such training. Support may be sought from the news organizations themselves and from other development partners that are already working in conflict resolution and peacemaking area.

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#### Notes

Gene E. Franchini, retired Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, 12 September 2003.

The Republic, Book III, pp.392-395. Danish Ed. by Høeg and Rder (1934), vol. IV, p. 113, ff.

Cf. Grunwald et al. (1992), P. 53 and Rich (1997), P. 77.

Cf. especially Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who introduce the concept of metaphors we live by through analysis of a vast number of examples.

Cf. Grunwald et al. (1992), p. 72 and 74

Institute of Propaganda Analysis, with current and historical examples, of rhetorical tactics often used by propagandists, based on the framework developed in the 1930s by the IPA.

#### ANNEX I: PROPAGANDA GUIDE

### Name calling

Reject all the outgoing MPs (13 x 4)

Concern over Raila's accord with Muslims March ado about nothing (17.4 x 15.8)

Will PNU stay together after elections? (34.1 x 26.4)

Youthful politicians vow to give rich veterans a run for their money (26.4 x 33.6)

Pg 2 ODM divided over three –piece voting pattern (5.4 x 19.4)

Kibaki Snub Raila call for live debate (4 x 17)

First Lady ignores PNU affiliate parties (5 x 7)

Lucy to leaders: Stop insults 5.5 x 12

Kalonzo criticized over three pieces voting call (4.5 x 4)

Kalonzo to voters: Reject those who won't declare their wealth 14.4 x 14.5

### Glittering generalities:

Raila Pledges to fight corruption as he woos Western (11.5 x 20.8)

Rivals braced for big battle likely to be decided by fringe parties. (16 x 20.5)

Tight schedule for Raila in all-out search for votes (20.5 x 20)

#### The transfer

#### The Testimonial

You Know Kibaki will grow the Economy

Raila ahead of Kibaki by four points in latest polls. (26.4 x 25.2)

Media should endorse preferred presidential candidate (18.6 x 17)

Kibaki tena, fundraiser PNU (13 x 8.8)

ODM – Kenya Kalonzo sasa (17.4 x 26.5)

Kibaki's detractors are insincere (4.4 x 4.4)

Advertorial' Piga kura kwa Mwai Kibaki PNU (26.4 x 34.5)

ODM unveils seven-point plan for Nyanza (20 x 5.4)

ODM-K candidates steps down in favour of Kamanda (5.5 x 11)

Adertorial -PNU - Kazi iendelee

Vote Mwai Kibaki (26.4 x 33.1)

Advertorial -You know Kibaki will promote peace & Unity (26.4 x 17.4)

Advertorial- You know Kibaki will care for your children (26.4 x 17.4)

Advertorial-Don't sell your vote whatever people might offer you; your vote is more

precious. Don't sell it! ODM vote for Raila (26.4 x 33.1)

Two ministers forecast a win for the president  $(7 \times 4.5)$ 

#### Plain folks

Traders shut premises to boost voter turnout (7 x 4.5)

Is it right for Muslims to vote as a block? (26.5x 35.2)

#### Card stacking:

Kibaki asks city voters to pick PNU candidates (20.5 x 19)

Be vigilant Saitoti tells supporters (4 x 12.5)

Leaders – Support the ODM-Muslim MOU (5 x 7)

Justice be our shield and defender Raila, Odinga Mabadiliko Kabambe (17.5 x 25.6)

Raila: I will fight drought and poverty in North Rift (11 x 14)

In Marsabit, Kibaki gives residents new divisions and pledges security (14.4 x 13)

Boost for Livondo as rival quit (4 x 17)

## The Band Wagon:

No family dynasty will thrive unless endorsed by voters (17.7 x 17)

# "Emotional" propaganda

10 injured as youth groups class at rally (16 x 11)

# "Rational" propaganda

ECK urged to probe claim of vote buying (4.4. x 4)

Kapondi asks ECK to probe plan to rig polls (4.5 x 4.4)

We want graceful winners and losers (13x 33)

Candidates named in Kshs. 53 billion land deal (21 x 22.1)