

**DAILY NATION FRAMING OF NEWS ON KENYA'S POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE
2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS.**

BY

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has never been submitted for award of a Master of Arts in communication and media studies in any other university.

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This research work has been handed in for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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I wish to express my gratitude to the almighty god for enabling me to complete this project. I

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Nyambuga and the entire defence panel, I remain humbled for the guidance. Musenjeli, I remain grateful for pushing me to the desired heights. My daughters Patience and Marcia thank you, you bore the brunt of absence from home and silent days.

While I remain grateful to all these good people for their support and assistance, I am solely responsible for this project and for any infelicities therein.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Anne Wanyonyi. It has been a tough trajectory. You learnt that stamina and not intelligence was what you needed most. Determination was the hallmark of this journey and resilience became an indispensable value. Girl, congratulations.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to analyse the Daily Nation framing of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 General Elections. Despite the fact that media has a role to play in informing and educating the electorate, the modern day electorate continues to go to the polls with skewed understanding of the electoral process, the contenders and what their parties stand for. They therefore may end up making uninformed choices at the ballot. Several studies have been conducted on print media coverage of elections and specifically sought to gain insight into priming of political party leaders and informative role of media during elections. However, why the electorate makes uninformed choices at the ballot and effects of this partisan voting on a general election is an area that has remains unexplored which this study seeks to delve into. Daily Nation being the newspaper with the largest readership in the country was analysed to determine what it primed in its news on political parties. The specific objectives of the study were; to analyse the framing of messages on political parties prior to the 2017 general elections and to assess the prominence given to the political parties by the Daily Nation prior to the 2017 general elections. The study used the framing theory as propounded by Goffman 1974, to analyse aforementioned objectives. The study used Descriptive research design of the Daily Nation to analyse newspaper reports for a period of sixty-six days when the electioneering activities were at their peak. All the 66 DN newspaper editions published during this period of intensified political activities were analysed as it population of study is limited. The collected data was analysed using descriptive statistics in SPSS. Reliability of this research was enhanced using systematic and transparent methods of data collection. On the other hand, validity of the research was enhanced by using a coding tool that was relevant and appropriate in line with the research questions. Ethical issues in the research were observed through using an appropriate sampling procedure and a large sample size to guard against misrepresentation of facts.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DN - Daily Nation

NASA - National Super Alliance

IEBC - Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

MCK - Media Council of Kenya

USA - United States of America

NDC - National Democratic Congress

NPP - National Patriotic Party

CNN - Cable News Network

NARC - National Alliance Rainbow Coalition.

KANU - Kenya African National Union

AU - African Union -

UN - United Nations

NMG - Nation Media Group

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

Electorate - Readers of the daily nation.

Uninformed - Not able to make a critical decision at the ballot due to lack information why a particular candidate should be voted for.

Campaign period - The period spanning from 28th may to 3rd august 2017.

Frame - Organisational concepts that are widely accepted in society and that remain consistent over time.

Contenders - Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga

Prominence - Information displayed in such a way that it truly attracts the viewer's attention is measured in this way.

Valence - How the story is conveyed in neutral positive or negative terms.

Prior - Political activities between 28th May and 3rd August

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This study sought to examine the Daily Nation framing of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 General Elections. Media is a tool for voter education, a forum for debate and a watchdog during elections. However, a number of studies reveal that Kenyan media took a partisan stance in the coverage of the 2007 general elections (Ogenga, 2008). This may have contributed to an election crisis culminating in the 2007/08 post-election violence. This study therefore sought to build up on this by seeking to establish whether the Kenyan media learnt its lesson from this and improved in its coverage of the 2017 elections. By taking a partisan stance in the coverage of various political parties which may be manifested by giving one party prominence over the rest.

It can also dwell on parochial and babble reportage which breeds an uninformed electorate. Notably, the modern day electorates make uninformed choices at the ballot because of their inadequate understanding of the electoral process and their biased understanding of the contenders and what their parties stand for (Druckmann 2004). Partisan voting may have an effect on democracy in general and on a General Election in particular. This begging assertion gave impetus to this study and a desire to unravel the effects of uncritical acceptance of political positions on a general election. Elections that are well managed may deepen democracy. Contrary to this, bad election management may lead to poor governance which is characterised by unjust legal systems and arbitrary policy making. Unaccountable bureaucracies, a civil society

unengaged in public life and unending corruption are also some of the ills that bedevils a country that is poorly governed.

Studies reveal that free media have long been recognized as being critical in deepening democracy and play an important role in setting the agenda on political discourse during elections. When free and balanced, media should foster transparency and dissemination of critical electoral information. According to an Indian study on the social duty of media and Indian democracy, informing citizens about societal trends enables them to make educated choices, just as media enable democracy to work in its true spirit. Additionally, it holds representatives accountable to their constituents by highlighting whether they carried out the wishes for which they were elected and whether they adhered to their positions' oaths of office (Owen, 2019). The media must have complete editorial freedom in order to advance a country's public interests. It states that by serving as a watchdog and providing a place for debate, the media helps shape public opinion, compelling political parties to address critical issues impacting a country's advancement. However, vested interests can manipulate public opinion to advance their own agendas (APNAC, 2003). This indicates that the media exaggerates certain facts and emphasises doctored notions in order to affect the electorate and hence the voting outcome.

Research undertaken in America adds validity to the concept that newspapers are an important source where researchers can get coverage of presidential elections in American democracy, with practically all citizens obtaining their news and information from the media. The way people understand and observe political information is shaped by the media (Natasha, 2018) According to a study by American Press Institute on the influence of newspapers in an election, over a period of 7 days, newspapers reach 64% of active voters and with this figures, they have a lot of

influence on portrayal of candidates, additionally, 55 million people exposed to newspaper content on social media. It is therefore clear that newspapers should carry information that will help the electorate make an informed choice because of their high level of circulation. Newspapers were found to play a key role in educating and encouraging people to vote (Mary, 2004). It is therefore important that they should tailor to the audience informative messages in their coverage of electioneering activities for the electorate to make informed choices. Newspapers editors see it as their role to help inform the public and help foster a discussion on an important issue.

A study related to roles of newspaper in Ghana revealed that media coverage is an important part of election process. According to the African Union Observer Report 2012, although Ghana continues to enjoy a relatively stable democracy because of its five successive elections, the media in Ghana has been credited for its substantial roles and information relating to campaigns. Newspapers are more effective at informing voters than television news or radio news because they provide the most detailed and comprehensive coverage of the electoral process, political topics, and public policy. This brings in the question of what exactly should newspapers report. The newspapers in Ghana therefore seem to have risen above the game strategy reportage an angle which informs these research. This study mainly delved into the informative role of media during election coverage. It does not look at priming of political parties in the media coverage of elections a gap that will be filled by this research with a case study of the Daily Nation.

Another study in Ghana (Asiedu, 2017) looked at the role of the media in ensuring free and fair elections, and found that the media functions as watchdogs to defend the public interest. As a watchdog, the media ensure that the choices and acts of all powerful institutions in society are in the best interest of society. Rather than making life easier for the leaders of a democracy, the

media's job is to make it more difficult for them by constantly monitoring how they use their authority. A media watchdog function means that even incumbents may avoid using state resources for campaigns because they fear being exposed. The media should therefore provide a truthful account of political events and the election process. They have to report on irregularities, fraud and threats of violence. With this responsibility in mind, the Kenyan media will be investigated with a case study of the Daily Nation to confirm if indeed it reported on election malpractices

Media coverage in Kenya was captured in the Kenya Domestic Observation Report (APNAC, 2003) the way media covers an election process gives a good indication of its value to the society as agenda setters. The same K-DOP report faulted Kenyan media for tending to concentrate on parochial, unengaging and irrelevant issues that were not beneficial to the voters. The report also acknowledged that the media engaged on personalities and the rhetoric spewed by them, instead of focusing on matters that would help the electorate judge whether to such people deserved to be elected or not. It is this finding that informs this study, to determine whether the media has had a departure from the past owing to the robust criticism it has received from some quarters. As a result, it is critical that the media provide citizens with access to all information, viewpoints, concepts, and theories offered during the run-up to elections. The media should be able to distinguish between fact and opinion, rumour and reality, and sense and nonsense (Chirambo McCullum, 2000). By doing so, media would be aptly playing its watchdog role. When media concentrate on non-issues it may lead to an under informed electorate who are unable to make informed choices at the ballot. This may in turn lead to uncritical acceptance of political decisions at the ballot, an appeal that is pushed by the political elites- six-piece narrative in their campaigns. The K-DOP report also specified that the private media must question and

criticize the government, the candidates, the political parties and other contending forces. They must do this freely without censorship, intimidation or political pressure. This research will therefore examine political messages of the Daily Nation, being a product of a private media house if it indeed questions and examines the government without fear of victimization

If there are violations of candidates and voters' rights, election and voting procedures are corrupted or misdemeanours committed by political parties, the media is obligated to report on it (Muthoni, 2006). In order to level the playing field for other candidates, the media must expose the incumbent's electoral misconduct and abuse of public resources. The Kenyan media has been praised and criticized in equal measure over its role in the elections. Those who criticized it always point to the fact that media abdicated its watchdog role that sets the ground for widespread malpractice in the voting process and the multiple failures on the part of the IEBC (Kittony 2015). This may be due to the 2008 post-election violence that rocked the country and media was blamed for fanning the violence. The framing of the headlines- with reference to the issues they highlighted during the election crisis which escalated violence. Media has therefore been compelled to embrace peace journalism and this has made media exercise caution in its reportage as the line between incitement and watch dog role may not be so clear.

By questioning what the contenders say, they should ask tough questions on behalf of the audience, and this they can do if they are aware of public sentiments and by so doing they create a forum for debate or discussion. This informs the background of this research; to find out whether the Daily Nation played the watchdog role of media or simply danced to the political whips of powers that be. This could be in line with (Nyamnojoh, 2006) study which explored the role of mass media in promoting democracy which concluded that liberal democracy in Africa has a victim of partisan press. The media has developed a passionate, intensely political, and

combative personality. They have accomplished this by classifying citizens as either virtuous or wicked based on their party affiliation, ideological and regional, cultural, and ethnic affiliation (Nyamnojoh, 2006).

The media is crucial in disseminating information to the general public. As providers of information, it not only transmits information but also contributes to the construction of political and public policy frameworks. When a political party issues a manifesto that has the potential to affect the nation's future, how does the media cover the manifesto and policy? How will the media convey this knowledge to the people during the electioneering period in order for them to make informed choices at the polls? Will the media prioritise one political party over the others? Will it choose to focus on aspects that are critical in assisting the electorate in making informed decisions, framing the concerns to some extent? These questions served as the foundation for this study and sparked an interest in framing theory.

A study conducted in Japan on print media coverage of political parties confirms that newspapers have historically been a vital and accessible source of information due to their connections (Mirza, 2001). This means that a newspaper can be biased in its coverage depending on the alignment it supports by giving it more allocation in the front page- and more mentions compared to the rest of the parties. The Daily Nation can choose to give prominence to one political alignment in its reportage and give the rest of the parties less allocation in space allocation and placement and through this it may shape the political considerations of the electorate at the ballot. By limiting coverage of specific candidates, the media can significantly influence the public, as the public will make decisions based on who is more frequently mentioned in the media. The media has the choice to cover just those candidates it believes are legitimate and have a realistic possibility of winning. This may be seen in Kenyan politics if

media decides to zero down on two contenders and refer to them as horses while completely giving the rest of the contenders media blackout. The study was conducted in Japan and only looked at whether this partisan coverage can influence voting patterns among the electorate for they might vote according to what they heard or saw in the media. It fails look at what exactly the print media says in the political messages to ascertain whether it played the informative role of media in its coverage as it deepens democracy an area that this study will delve into in an attempt to unravel if this could account for the rising number of the under informed electorate.

According to a study on political communication and print media coverage of political campaigns in Ghana (Diedong, 2013), there is a direct correlation between how many stories appear on the front pages of a newspaper and how much attention they receive from the public. These meant those parties given more mentions were likely to be voted in bearing in mind the tenets of framing theory. This implies that if the DN chooses to give one political alignment prominence, it will be visible to the electorates that the rest of the alignments and probably it will be voted in. The most critical factor in levelling the playing field is ensuring that all political parties and their candidates have equal access to the media Ayee (2002). However, a number of media houses never adhere to equal coverage but take a partisan stance in their reportage. The DN will therefore be analysed to ascertain whether it gave equal coverage to the political parties. When some political parties are given media blackout it means the electorate may never get to know about them and this means they may be disadvantaged at the ballot. According to the findings of (Diedong, 2013), the press in Ghana has a greater impact on the amount of front-page real estate devoted to political campaigns and party-related issues. Did DN also allocate the front space to political campaigns and party related activities? The study only looked at the prominence given to the political parties in Ghana but does not look at the dominant political

issues and watchdog frames in the coverage of the political parties an area this study will delve into.

According to a report by Kenya's Media Monitoring Unit 2012 (Kelly, 2012), political coverage in Kenya focused more on personalities than issues, with politicians receiving more mentions than their political parties. Manifestos and other content differences between the parties were not covered. This study will therefore will analyse the coverage by the Daily Nation to find out if the coverage was content based. The dailies contributed to setting the agenda because nearly 2/3 of their lead stories on the front pages were related to election matters. However, they was no concrete analysis on what exactly was contained in the stories. In the coverage of the 2007 elections, the DN was accused of not ensuring a balanced coverage by according the PNU party 54%, followed by ODM 38%. In the presidential election, it is possible that selective coverage not only blurred but also obfuscated the line of competition, thus depriving voters the ability to make an informed choice based on the biased information offered by the media.

Media outlets are capable of framing. Framing is a highly effective technique used by the news media to draw attention to certain parts or occurrences while ignoring others (Entman, 1993). According to framing theory, media choose and emphasise particular aspects of an event or topic above others, effectively boosting their importance to the public. (1993; Entman). Notably, the media frequently report on political news and the election process with an emphasis on who will win and who will lose, as well as the methods used by rival parties, rather than on fundamental issues. However, the emphasis is on strategy and conflict in terms of headlines, with more space allocated to fundamental issues being neglected as a result. The study will use the Daily Nation newspaper as a form of media to ground the framing theory.

The Daily Nation is an independent and widely read newspaper published by Nation Media Group (NMG) Limited, a media conglomerate founded by Aga Khan IV in 1959. Since the early 1970s, it has evolved to become the largest private media company in East and Central Africa, and has been listed on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. In the newspaper sector, the daily nation newspaper is Kenya's equivalent of the New York Times (Unyebadi, 2008). It began in 1958 as a Swahili weekly newspaper called Taifa Leo, published by Charles Hayes, an Englishman, who finally sold it to prince Karim Aga Khan in 1959, along with a name change to Nation Today. The publication was later translated into English and renamed daily nation. It was published by East African Newspapers Ltd, which is today known as the NMG. Not only is the DN the largest newspaper in East Africa, but it also boasts a daily circulation and readership of over 205, 000 copies (Geopoll, 2015).It is the most influential newspaper in Kenya and that is why it was chosen for this study and therefore instrumental in shaping public opinion.

This study is grounded in media and elections and the framing theory. It will examine how the Daily Nation covered two major political parties and the issues that were given salience during the coverage. It will concentrate on deliberately constructed frames by the Daily Nation in an attempt to influence the electorate choice at the ballot.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The success of any General Election may heavily depend on media in the dispensation of its roles as vested upon it by the Media Council of Kenya. It has a role to inform the electorate, create a forum for debate for the contenders to articulate what they stand for and safeguard the transparency of an election. When media play these vital roles it ultimately strengthens democracy. When these duties are aptly dispensed, the electorate will be informed about the

political parties that represents their interests and vote for the party and contenders who represents their interests. In as much as these delicate roles are clearly spelt out in an effort to strengthen democracy through elections, a number of voters continue to go to the polls with skewed understanding of the electoral process and a sloppy understanding of the contenders and what their parties stand for. This under informed electorate make poor choices at the ballot which may in turn lead to poor governance. Equal coverage should be given to all the political parties but media may at times give prominence to one political party and downplay the rest of the political parties. This may shape the decisions the voters make at the ballot as they may make reference to what was primed by the media. In reporting about the alignments, the media should inform the public about the candidates, their policies and manifesto. However, at times the media may dwell on the campaign hoopla, the size of the crowd, surges and decline in polls. This leaves the electorate ignorant of information regarding the electoral process and the reason as to why they should vote a party or a candidate. This may lead to uncritical acceptance of political positions and partisan voting which may be a recipe for unjust legal systems, arbitrary policies and corruption. However, media may be akin to a lapdog playing to the political whims of powers that be. This study therefore seeks to find out the performance of the Daily Nation in the coverage of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 General Elections based on how it framed the political parties and the dominant messages.

1.3 Research Questions

1. Which political messages were given prominence by the Daily Nation in the 2017 General Elections?
2. What degree of prominence was given to the political parties by the Daily Nation in the 2017 general elections?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To find out the framing of political messages on the political parties by the Daily Nation in the 2017 General elections in Kenya.
2. To evaluate the prominence given to the two political parties (Jubilee and NASA) by the Daily Nation in the 2017 general elections in Kenya

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study will be instrumental in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals on providing a peaceful and inclusive society by ensuring that the Daily Nation and the Kenyan media in general to ensure that there is equal access of information which will enable them make informed choices.

It will also help the media practitioners align with vision 2030 political pillar which entails moving to the future as one nation and envisioned a democratic system that is issue based, people centered and result oriented. Media therefore, to achieve this pillar will be forced to do issue- based coverage so that electorate make informed choices at the ballot box which will in turn lead to good leadership.

This study may also be of great significance to the NMG to re- examine their editorial policy and evaluate if they walk their talk and re-visit it to ensure that their angle of reporting and coverage is in line with the editorial policy. Furthermore, it also reemphasizes the watchdog role of media which requires deep analysis into the electioneering process rather than mere reportage of events unfolding.

In examining the DN coverage of political parties in Kenya prior to the 2107 elections this study will offer contextual insights into understanding the role of media in elections and contributes to the literature on effects of partisan on an election and democracy. This will be of benefit to media scholars in expanding the body of knowledge and hitherto open up further research in future.

This study will also be of significance to the Media Council of Kenya to be used as a benchmark for election coverage by monitoring print media coverage of elections to ensure they meet the requirement of equal coverage of all activities of all political parties.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study will focus on the coverage of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 General elections by the Daily Nation for the period spanning from 29th May - 30th July . The DN was used in this study because of it is the newspaper with the largest market share and the biggest newspaper in terms of readership and circulation.

It will zero down to two political parties- Jubilee and NASA for they were the major political parties as they were the parties that garnered most votes during the August general elections. All the newspapers will be analyzed during this period of intensified political activities using the framing theory.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Thus, this theory will be critical in examining the Daily Nation's coverage of political parties via the lenses it constructed: the importance accorded to political parties and the salient messages about political parties.

The framing theory, as articulated by Goffman in his 1974 book *Frame Analysis*, asserts that humans locate, observe, identify, and label events and occurrences via the lens of a fundamental framework. This framework is considered primary since the user takes it for granted. Thus, frames are abstractions that aid in the organisation or structure of meaning. In this study, framing will be operationalized with two measures: the dominance of political parties and the salience of political messages. This study is premised on the framing theory which postulates that media focuses attention on certain events and places within field of meaning. In essence, the framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience influences the choice they make.

It is one of the major tools that politicians and media persons use to address different issues to the general public especially so during elections. However, there seems to be single agreeable definition of framing and as a result the term is used to label similar approaches which have subtle distinct differences. This resulted in (Lyenga, 2012) positing that there is a condition of conceptual confusion in which any attribute of information is regarded as a frame and any audience response as a framing effect. In the previous decade, framing has evolved both philosophically and experimentally. While the term "framing" is debatable, its role in the communication process is not.

Numerous scholars have defined framing in a variety of ways and taken a variety of approaches to framing. (Entman, 1993) defines framing as the process of picking some features of observed reality and emphasising them in a communicating text. From this vantage point, framing might be characterised as a process through which some parts of reality are highlighted or elevated in importance. As a result, frames emphasise certain parts of reality at the expense of others. However, this definition has been challenged for adding to the theory's general imprecision.

Gitlin (1980) On the other hand, maintained that media frames are enduring patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selecting, emphasising, and excluding that symbol handlers use to structure speech consistently. His perspective argues that frames are constructed through a process of selection, emphasis, and exclusion. A certain frame can cause people to concentrate their attention on certain messages (those emphasised in it) while entirely ignoring others (those that have been downplayed).

(Githua, 2013) argues that framing influences public opinion, and that even when journalists intend to be objective in their coverage, they unintentionally give audiences cues on how to understand issues – the one to focus on and the ones to ignore. This therefore means media by giving more attention to one political party, it will be drawing the attention of the audience to the fact that that is the political party to vote in. On the other hand, Gamson and Mogdilian (1987) define frames as words images phrases and presentation styles that a speaker especially so a politician or a media outlet uses when relating information about an issues or an event to an audience.

Even though frames are given difference meanings by different scholars they revolve around a common pillar which is silencing of perceived reality and giving prominence to some narratives by giving special attention to some issues. All of these perspectives emphasise the fact that frames are social instruments that enable people to preserve a shared perception of reality. However, media have a significant capacity for generating and altering societal frameworks of interpretation through their intervention in the construction of a shared discourse.

All these approaches to framing by media scholars therefore bring out two main tenets in the framing theory which will be instrumental in applying to the study objectives. The fist tenet of

the framing theory is that media may choose to give emphasis to some messages and ignore the rest, this tenet will be applied to analyse the prominence that will be given to the political parties by the DN. Will the Daily Nation give all political parties equal coverage as required by the confines of the MCK Act 2010? Will the Daily Nation in the coverage of these political parties consistently give one party particular placement? How about typography and headlines? This tenet will best answer this begging questions. The political messages that will be given salience by the Daily Nation will also be analysed using this tenet. If the Daily Nation will dwell on the babble and parochial at the expense of substantive reporting, it will obvious mean it will not be keen on breeding an informed electorate and therefore it will have failed in media responsibility during elections.

Media may therefore influence the voting patterns of the electorate both intentionally or unintentionally depending on which party that they may give prominence in their headlines and space allocation which amounts to stimulus repetition. It may use deliberate strategies to sway the voters in their headlines. When they deliberately and consistently talk about corruption grinding down the economy of the county to its knees, the electorate may want to vote contenders with zero records on corruption. The media will therefore have used intentional priming to shape the decisions that the electorate will make at the ballot. By making some attributes salient, media distracts the public from important issues and limits their ability to think outside the box. When the media chooses to highlight one political alignment and give the rest of the parties political parties media blackout, it may impact on the readers to vote the alignment that will have been given media visibility by the media. The electorate will go to the polls with skewed understanding of the parties and what they stand for. They may vote for a party that was given prominence which may lead to poor governance.

The framing theory's second tenet is concerned with valence. Media frames have inherent valence, implying a good or negative portrayal of a topic, object, or scenario. As a result, valence frames judge political topics or circumstances in either a good or negative light, Schuck & DeVresse (2006). Valence frames are used to shape citizens' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions. It endows these political concerns with traits that (Unyebadi, 2008) references Gahem (1997) as characteristics that news media associate with political figures and that, in the process of agenda creation, the public associates with political candidates. According to Mc Combs, Llamas, and Lopez (1997), these characteristics are typically classified into two categories: cognitive and affective characteristics. Cognitive traits refer to the candidate's personal characteristics and the things with which he is linked. On the other hand, affective qualities pertain to the candidate's overall appeal or image. In their media portrayal, the image can be good, negative, or neutral. This tenet be used to analyse how the political messages about the political parties were presented by the Daily Nation. The various stories about that parties will be delved into to find out whether they were given positive, negative or neutral tone. This therefore implies that the tone that the DN will use in reporting about the political parties will be frames. It is this frames that the electorate can dwell on when making political considerations. The DN can use metaphors, stories, catchphrases, artefacts and various spins to influence the political attitudes of the electorates and draw the public's eye to specific topics. This tenet will be used to delve into the specific issues that will be given salience by the DN.

When you repeatedly invoke a frame, you reinforce it, just as when you refute it, you also evoke it. (2017) (Rathje) According to (Lakoff, 2004), the power of framing may impact our choice of who to vote for. That is, inasmuch as we frequently metaphorically frame the mind as a machine, implying that it is hardwired to behave a certain way. However, the mind is similar to a work of

art; it lives on metaphorical narratives and emotions, which can occasionally trump our rationality. This tenet will be applied in this study in the informative role of media. The performance of the informative role of the press will be assessed by looking at how the DN presented social and political news and how they constructed their editorial opinion on the political parties and political activities. The various watchdog frames will that will be presented to the audience which will in turn elicit different interpretation by the readers. Will the frames be interpreted to mean that the fourth estate was keen on public interest? Will the media go out of its way to check the inept vices practised by the contenders? Will the political parties be using state resources to run their campaigns? Was there credibility in sources and information being relayed to the readers? These are some of the frames that will be analysed to assess the DN performance of informative role during elections.

This study is based on two variables- priming of the political parties and framing of political messages during the election coverage. It is grounded on the notion that media may influence the decision that electorate make at the ballot depending on what they choose to give salience. This makes the framing theory, a media effects theory, the independent variable. The priming of political parties, and framing of political messages will be the dependent variables.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is anchored on reviewing the literature and providing a basis for analysis of the Daily nation coverage of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 general elections through the lens of framing theory. The chapter looks at priming of political parties and salient political messages. This sub-sections will be analysed in tandem with the research objectives

The role of media during elections cannot be underestimated. Today's African press has roots in four main categories of newspaper; the colonial newspaper, missionary newspaper, privately owned newspaper and the underground newspaper which were mainly political and anti-colonial.

Post-colonial African media was first driven by euphoric sense of nationalism that was sweeping the African continent. This was however short lived as it gave way to state control by enthusiastic post independence government. While some leaders did this forcefully, others introduced philosophies that defined the media as an appendage of the state. Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president, came up with the idea of humanism which subjected all social institutions, including media under the custody of the state (Marcella, 2015).

In Kenya, it was no different as Jomo Kenyatta directed that media had to play a role in nation building and this included not opposing the government and the ruling party. The delegitimization of opposition, according to (Ogola, 2011) meant that the media became part of Kenyatta's political project, circulating and popularizing state mythologies under the guise of promoting national development. This implied that media would not antagonize the government

of the day in any manner of reportage. This led to (Ochieng, 1992) to lament that “All African newspapers and sub editors have to anticipate what the government will think tomorrow about a risky story and err on the side of caution. The government had a number of tools at their disposal to punish errant newspapers. The most common ones were threats and intimidation, detention of journalists without trial and revocation of visas for foreign staff.

The 1990s marked an important stage in this epoch as most African countries transitioned from authoritarian regimes to expanding democratic space. This saw the agitation for press freedom and with it, a liberalization of most media markets in the continent. The Windhoek declaration calling for an independent and pluralistic African press was the key in the effort to take advantage of these gains by explicitly calling for liberalization, privatization and cessation of state control over media entities (Nyawira, 2014). Despite the expansion of the airwaves, the Kenyan media system is defined by a lack of press independence, strong political elite intervention, and pervasive violations of ethical journalism. Political elites generally control the media environment. Apart from media concentration and commercialization, other issues that have dogged the Kenyan media are media ownership and journalistic professionalism (Simiyu, 2010).

The Daily Nation newspaper in Kenya, founded on March 20, 1960, is probably the "New York Times" of the country's newspaper sector (Unyebadi, 2008). It is an independent newspaper in the sense that the government does not own it. The newspaper is owned by the Nation Media Group, which also owns radio stations in neighbouring Uganda and Tanzania. It controls almost 55% of the newspaper market in Kenya, with a daily print run of 205,000 copies and a Sunday Nation print run of 230000 copies (Geopoll, 2015). The Nation Media Group is a publicly traded limited liability company, with its shares listed on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. The Aga Khan

Foundation for Economic Development is the primary shareholder. This research remains cognizant of the fact that media ownership and media concentration have led to constriction of viewpoints in Kenya. The Kenyan political class has heavily invested in media industry which makes such media be pro establishment. Daily Nation being privately owned will therefore be delved into to find out whether it gave both parties equal coverage as matters ownership shall not come into play.

2.2 Media Framing of Messages on Political Parties during Elections.

Outsiders and insiders alike have taken an interest in the role that media may play in strengthening democracy, and this is especially true during an election season. The media is regarded as essential to the democratic process because of its position as a source of information and analysis, as well as a watchdog and a place where citizens can air their grievances (Ogara, 2009). When it comes to democracy, the media is seen as a source of knowledge and debate. This can only be achieved if there is a free exchange of ideas, perspectives, and opinions. As a result, the media should inform the public and help voters make informed decisions at the polls. True reporting and accurate voter information are critical in this context, and media outlets must do their best to do both. For this reason, many voters may make poor decisions or abstain from voting altogether if the media fails to adequately inform them (Ongala, 2014). As a result, the media's job is to provide as much information as possible to the general public about upcoming elections.

Name recognition is the fundamental and sometimes overlooked impact of media coverage of elections, especially for individuals who are new or less well-known in the political arena. Candidates are brought to the forefront of public notice when they are covered by the media.

Coverage of the campaign should also educate the public on the issues at stake. Those topics become much more contentious and widely contested in society as a result of the increased media attention they receive (Unyebadi, 2008).

2.2.1 Informative Role of Media.

By dwelling on some issues and completely ignoring others media constructs frames. In defining framing, Vossel et al (2007) single out the process by which stories are shaped through specific choice of topic, approach, storyline and aspects that are emphasized, and it is from this that the audience digest it and contributes towards shaping public opinion. This is by focusing public attention to particular topics, these topics can be sensational or informative and in so doing, alters the mix of cognition that are mostly accessible within the information environment when forming judgements. This simply implies that framing involves inclusion, exclusion and emphasis of issues by selecting some issues and making more salient. The Daily Nation, in covering the election, will frame particular issues which the voters may use as benchmarks when making the decisions at the ballot.

According to a study by (Druckman, 2005), newspapers play a significant role in producing a well-informed voter in India. Newspaper readers, according to recent studies, have a more in-depth understanding of politics than non-readers (Robinson & Levy 1986, Weaver & Drew 1993). This is due to the issues that are raised during the reporting process. Newspapers, on the other hand, provide a higher level of detail and nuance in their reporting than other forms of media, particularly television. An examination of campaign coverage and the lessons voters take away from it was the subject of the research. Though they featured equal material, he argued that the newspaper had a greater impact because of its volume and because readers could analyse it at their own pace. Thus, the television is seen as a hindrance to democracy, whereas the newspaper

is seen as a benefit. He came to the conclusion that newspapers are an important source of information for voters, but they also have limitations because they are in competition with one another's mediums of distribution. A large readership is now tough to come by because of the stiff competition (Diedong, 2013). The study however dwelt on one single campaign of the senatorial race between two candidates using the agenda setting theory. This study on the other hand will look at the coverage of political parties using the framing theory.

Another relevant study conducted in the United States on Hillary Clinton's framing was a content analysis of media discourse on Clinton's candidacy in the 2016 presidential election via the lens of framing theory, which was published in 2016. It looked at the many themes that evolved in the coverage of Hillary's presidential campaign in the New York Times and the Washington Post, among other publications. In this report, we looked at the major themes that were highlighted in the media coverage, including women in leadership, fidelity against weakness, privacy vs prudence, and credibility (Natasha, 2018). However, the study stopped short of examining the importance accorded to Hillary Clinton as a presidential contender by this newspaper, an area that this study will investigate by examining the prominence accorded to Kenyan politicians by the Daily Nation. Newspapers are a significant source of information for academics looking for reports on the presidential election in the United States of America. In our democratic society, practically all citizens acquire their news and information from the media. The way people understand and observe political information is shaped by the media (Dugger 2009). According to a study by American Press Institute on the influence of newspapers in an election, over a period of 7 days, newspapers reach 64% of active voters and with this figures, they have a lot of influence on portrayal of candidates, additionally, 55 million people exposed to newspaper content on social media. It is therefore clear that newspapers should carry information that will

help the electorate make an informed choice because of their high level of circulation. Newspapers were found to play a key role in educating and encouraging people to vote (National Bureau of Economic Research 2004). It is therefore important that they should tailor to the audience informative messages in their coverage of electioneering activities for the electorate to make informed choices. They believe their job is to assist educate the public and generate debate on an important topic.

Newspapers regard endorsing as a civic duty because of this accountability. With the well-being of the community in mind, they want to assist voters in making sensible, educated choices at the polls. (Murse, 2016). However, newspapers' employment of game strategy rather than substance approach in their reporting is cause for concern. According to journalists, instead of focusing on pressing issues, they focus on the size of the crowd, poll surges and falls, organisational success and failure; and above all, the ebb-and-flow of momentum with elections being likened to a horserace in which attention is focused on who leads and who trails (Patterson 2008). This is exactly the issues in Kenya where they describe the election process as a two horserace. This study only looked at the informative role of media and concluded that newspapers failed in their informative role by dwelling on the campaign hoopla. This conclusion will be analysed with reference being made on the DN whether the reportage will be content based and hitherto open up a new area of inquiry into whether it also acted as a watchdog in its reportage about the elections.

One more research project, this one on the role of the media in all democratic elections in France, was founded on the premise that the media should provide citizens with a legitimate opportunity to exercise their political rights and vote for political parties and candidates of their choice, while also supporting their social and economic policies, as well as their long-term

priorities and programmes. According to the findings of the study, a well-informed population respects facts and is susceptible to human reasoning, logic, and reasonable persuasion (Shukla, 2016) However, the study lend credence to the fact that there was a decline in media freedom in France which was not associated with any governmental policies or crack down. The media criticism had emanated from politicians who never recognized the value of press in a democratic society.

Election observers can use robust rules provided by the African Union to monitor media coverage. In order to avoid inciting violence, the media should refrain from broadcasting and publishing harsh language, incitement to hatred, and other forms of aggressive language. On the other hand, the African Union urges candidates and political parties alike not to engage in any activity that could restrict or limit their use of the public media's facilities and resources for their campaign messages (UN, 2002) This means that the media should behave responsibly and report objectively and the various contenders should not use their powers to interfere with the media's editorial line. in Kenya the media is on the other hand guided by professional code of conduct which resonate with the AU guidelines. Will the DN abide by these guidelines spelt out by the AU? Will the politicians across the political divide respect media freedom? This study seeks to gain insight into these nagging demands.

Two government-owned newspapers were analysed in a study of media coverage of Uganda's presidential election in 2011: The Daily Monitor and the New Vision. The media has a significant impact on our lives. Others believe that Uganda has played a significant role in educating the populous about politics, and that people rely on media reports to help them understand public concerns. As a result of media attention given to the issues, individuals are better informed. They are not confined to the information provided by the media when it comes

to this topic (Katende, 2012). The study employed the framing theory to examine the relevance of coverage and the election concerns covered by the two publications. However, it's also true that during the election season, news organisations tend to overemphasise one feature of a candidate or a certain problem in order to sway public opinion, according to the study. Both publications concluded that Museveni, the incumbent, received more attention than the other candidates for the presidency, according to their findings. It was revealed that the press focused on the winning matrix rather than the substance of the competition. The study focused on the priming of issues rather than political parties.

Similarly, another study in South Africa lauded the media's professionalism in covering elections there (Ongala, 2014). All parties are given equal coverage, the focus is on subject and political matters are pursued by those who are interested in politics. The African Union election observation mission praised the South African media for their crucial role in educating the public, informing the electorate, and conveying the messages of respective political parties. Only a few media outlets are concerned about the interests of the public in the remainder of the continent, where the coverage is highly politicised and influenced by the interests of various organisations (Masaku, 2019). Is the DN able to conduct itself in a professional manner when reporting on political parties? Only incumbents and their parties have access to the majority of African media, which they use to attack opposition challengers and civil society groups (Zuckerman, 2017). For this study, we will investigate if the DN will provide attention to the establishment in an effort to influence voter preferences.

In a study on reportage of the 2002 General Elections of Kenya with a focus on the DN and the East African Standard the research delved into the details of how the media plays in role in a democracy in an elections process. The study looked at the functions of media in a democracy

and if they were fulfilled through this coverage. The functions included: the information role of media; the analysis role of media, media as a forum for debate and discussion and the watchdog or surveillance role of media. (Muthoni, 2006) It compared the two newspapers in terms of fairness and balance in reporting about the two opposing parties; KANU and NARC using the theory of news production in a bid to inform on various sociological and economic issues that influence the way news is covered on a day to day basis. It concludes that the print media concentrated on parochial and unengaging and irrelevant issues that are not beneficial to the voters, a conclusion that this study pursues with a view to find out if there has been a shift from this nature of reporting.

A study in Kenya on priming effects of television on voting patterns on the March 2013 presidential elections purposed to find out the quality of political information received from the TV media in Kenya during the election period. The study used the agenda setting theory. The study was informed by the assertion that free flow of information between government and public is integral in promoting good governance. The sharing of information empowers citizens to make informed decisions and also enables them to hold the elected leaders accountable to them (Murugi, 2018). The study delved into the quality of information that was given salience by the TV to the urban population and to analyse the impact of this information on the voting patterns amongst these people. The study concluded that the TV never dwelled on core political issues during the priming of political messages a conclusion this study will delve into to find out whether there has been a paradigm shift to substantial coverage. However, the respondents had reservations about the authenticity of the information provided and therefore did not rely on the information to make their choices during voting. Will the DN fact-check to provide credibility of the information they shared? The study delved into broadcast media- TV using the agenda

setting theory whereas this study will use the print media to analyse political messages that will be given salience by the DN in an effort to create an informed citizenry.

Keeping democratic processes open and accessible is critical in today's political climate. Many layers of transparency are needed, including the capacity to obtain information about the individuals, institutions and processes themselves, as well as the opportunity to participate in and participate in public discourse (Owen, 2019). The public must be given all the information they need to make educated decisions and hold authorities and organisations responsible, according to the principle of transparency. media acts as watchdog during elections by giving importance to frames that should be utilised as benchmarks by the electorate when making political decisions. Economic hardship, corruption, violence in arrests, vote fraud and information reliability can all be used to weaken the support of a certain candidate. Corrosive effects can be caused by an unrelenting stream of negative criticisms. A lack of faith in government and policymaking is fuelled by this inadvertent erosion of trust (Patterson, 2008).

The media influence our perceptions of information and political events, such as elections and debates. Through public exposure of illegal or unethical practises, they help protect the public during the campaign and election process, keeping them safe from ineffective and corrupt candidates. Media should act as a protector and a guardian for the public to make an informed choice (Dugger 2018). This can only be effectively done when media exposes the contenders who it feels do not qualify to take over elective posts because of gross misconduct and integrity issues. When media highlights such issues which should be used as benchmarks when making political considerations at the ballot, it will help the electorate elect morally upright leaders. It should go out of its way to investigate any election malpractices which may affect the outcome of the election. This was shown when the media in the US covered Secretary of state Hillary

Clinton as being corrupt and this continually overshadowed her presidential candidacy. By effectively playing the watchdog role, the electorate are able to vote in contenders who have no integrity issues. According to (Patterson., 2016) it is the role of media to watch out the voting process and give a report on any irregularities in the process. Thus this research will endeavor to find out if the media investigated any irregularities or simply was in bed with the electoral commission by go by going by what they said.

A study in the US on Anti- Clinton media bias concluded that media favoured Trump in the coverage of the 2016 elections (Natasha, 2018). It also found that the right wing mainstream media operate according to different ethical and journalistic norms, not only politically but also in terms of how they conduct themselves. Scandal rumours about Clinton were given far more attention than her views on current events and other topics of interest. When her controversies were given attention over other ones, it was seen as framing. More attention was paid to Trump's immigration, jobs, and trade issues than to his personal controversies, such as the Trump Foundation and Trump University (Gorafalo 2016). It was the pro-Trump media's effectiveness in controlling the narrative that allowed them to dictate which issues were highlighted in the media. Rather than look at all of Clinton's mistakes, it chose to focus on a single one that became synonymous with her in the minds of the public. When people heard her name, they were more likely to associate it with the email scandal than anything else. Therefore, it is possible that watchdog frames are given more prominence than topics, and this can have an impact on political decisions at the polling place.

When it comes to framing, it's not what you say, but how you say it, that has the most impact. Her attempts to establish her candidacy on ability, expertise and policy positions were overshadowed by the publicity of her alleged improprieties related with the Clinton foundation

and emails (Natasha, 2018). This narrative was picked up by the New York Times and reinforced, over emphasised, and repeated on and on and on long before Hillary lost the elections. Cover stories regarding Hillary Clinton's emails appeared on the NYT six times as frequently as news about health care and taxes (Watts & Rothschild 2016). By building a storey around one candidate, the media is able to savage the rest of the candidates. There is a vacuum in the study's comparison of coverage of Clinton and Trump that will be filled by this study, which only looked at watchdog frames in the comparison of coverage.

Mukhtar, Saleem and Ahmad (2016) conducted an investigation of the role of Pakistan's media in fostering democracy using the agenda setting theory. The media's role in elections helped ensure free and fair elections, rule of law, human rights protection and freedom, and the supremacy of the constitution, all essential components of a democratic society (Mukhtar, Saleem, & Ahmad, 2016). Democracies can never deny the importance and power of the media, which has a direct or indirect impact on the audience through media policies, media content, and media personalities. A number of media functions, including information dissemination, oversight, civic discourse, and agenda setting, were cited in the study. Promoting and guaranteeing free and fair elections are two of their primary duties as watchdog media. Prior to elections, there should be discussions on the allocation of districts, the expenditure of funds, and the performance of the existing government to promote voter education. Journalists' conditions were found to be one of the issues that hindered the media's ability to promote democratic ideals.

In Nigeria, a study on the role of the press in nascent democracies examined newspaper coverage of political violence and corruption. The study's goal was to assess the effectiveness of Nigeria's press in performing the constitutionally mandated function of watchdog, which is to keep tabs on public officials and hold them accountable to the people. The study was anchored on the apt

summation of the watchdog role of the press. The media, and the press in particular, are sometimes referred to as watchdogs in that they will warn the public of government and corporate misdemeanours (Abercrombie & Lonhgurst 2007). The study analysed The Guardian and Daily Trust to evaluate how loudly or not the Nigerian press bark. The watchdog role of the press in Nigeria was always further embedded in the evocative names that the newspapers gave themselves. The salience of political messages on corruption and political violence were analysed, however the salience of contending parties was not looked into, a glaring gap which opens up this study. The study empirically concluded that the Nigerian press play the watchdog role despite the numerous challenges which impinges on the journalistic professional practices, and challenges imposed by ownership and control structures (OnyemaobiI, 2018). Can this constrains impede the performance of watchdog role in coverage of political parties during elections in Kenya? This is a nagging question that also gives impetus to this study through the lens of framing theory contrasted to the libertarian theory used in the study.

(Wondwosen, 2009), was of the conclusion that in as much as the National Election Commission of Ethiopia issued accreditation guidelines to media to strive for balance, accuracy and impartiality, state owned media still gave the ruling party preferential treatment in its coverage and the independent media victimized and journalists arrested for reporting on flaws in the electoral process. This brings out the fact that media cannot play its watchdog role during the election for fear of victimisation from the ruling party. The study used the Ethiopia Press Laws but this study will use the framing theory in analysing the performance of the Daily Nation. He concludes that the private media that reported on flaws of the election flaws were intimidated and journalists arrested, a conclusion that this study will delve in. Is media really free or gagging,

intimidation and harassment are still being meted out to those who criticize the powers that be the wrong way|?

Another study on Kenya media on the 1997 General Elections by (Kadhi, 1997) looked at the watchdog role of media in the coverage of the election. It was discovered that the Kenyan media is plagued by a number of challenges in its attempt to play the watchdog role of media. The study mainly dwelled on the broadcast media – the KBC and KTN. He concluded that the journalists in their coverage of the elections had failed to play the watchdog role because of fear of victimisation. That politicians have the journalists under control by calling on responsible journalism and the call is normally louder during the electioneering period. He was of the conclusion that a number of media are normally manipulated by the various interested parties to influence voters' opinion during elections. The study fell short of analysing the political messages of the broadcast media and the frequency of mention of various political parties which paves room for this research. It also dwells on broadcast media- KTN and KBC which is a comparative study but this study will dwell on print media specifically a case study of the Daily Nation.

Because of its potential to shape the public's agenda, the media is one of the most essential sources of information and knowledge. Politicians shouldn't be allowed to divert attention from their records of performance and other key topics during elections by using the media as a platform for attacks. As agenda-setters, it should engage the public with messages that will help them become better informed voters. Free elections are not just about the right of citizens to vote and the ability to cast a ballot, but also a participatory process in which voters participate in public debates, have adequate information about parties and policies and candidates, and the election process in order to make informed decisions. Without media, democratic elections are

nearly impossible" (Asiedu, 2017). As a result, it follows that the media should focus on topics that help voters become more informed.

2.2 Media Priming of Political Parties during Elections.

Because of their political ties, newspapers have long been an essential and accessible source of political information. Their partisanship was more apparent throughout the election. A study on the coverage of the 2008 American election in print media found that a partisan media has contributed to political polarisation and influenced Americans to favour partisan policies and politicians (Ogara, 2009). In this study a number of frames that were used in the coverage were examined in the New York Times, the Chicago tribune and the USA today. The study found out that Barack Obama and John McCain were given the most mentions and the rest of the contenders were under covered. The study also looked at the neutral, the positive and negative stories in the coverage and most of the stories on the candidates were found to be neutral with a few candidates receiving negative coverage. The frames that were looked at in this coverage were the experience, race and viability frames. The study will build up on this conclusion to find out which frames were given prominence by the DN.

When it comes to deciding what political news to include, space is at a premium and thus certain stories will be omitted because of this, according to (Diedong, 2013) in his study on "political communication and print media coverage of political campaigns in Ghana," he asserts that news selection is never neutral because of the multiple influences on the news selection process. Over eighty percent of the stories that newspapers ran during the 2008 presidential campaign were based on events coordinated and led by political parties, according to his study. NDC and NPP were the only two major political parties heavily represented on the front pages of newspapers.

The NDC and NPP's messages, philosophies, and propaganda had a better chance of being noticed and discussed among the general public if there were more reports about them on the front pages of the newspapers. As a result, it is likely that the visibility offered by such exposure aided the two parties in their efforts to win over the public's attention and support. When it comes to informing the public about political concerns, he believes that the Ghanaian press has become over-reliant on party-driven events, particularly during elections. He believes that this has degraded the level of professional performance of media, particularly during election campaigns. In as much as this study looked at the frequency of coverage of the presidential aspirants and the tonality of coverage it did not look at the nature of reportage that was adopted by the print media during this election coverage warranting this study.

A study in Kenya that sought to explore the framing of Kenya's 2017 elections by Cable News network analysed the dominant frames in the story. The study was premised on the assertion that foreign press always portrayal African countries negatively by exhibiting imperialist and racist attitude in their coverage, deliberately, through angling and framing of stories. This in turn distorts the rest of the world's perception of the continent (Butanyi, 2018). The study analysed the dominant words, phrases and images, and common news sources that were used by CNN in their coverage of the election. It was of the conclusion that the CNN majorly dwelled on politics in its coverage with the dominant frames being those of Kenya being a poor and violent society. The study analysed the CNN dominant messages and sources but did not gain insight into the watchdog frames of media in the coverage of elections a gap that will be filled by this study using the DN.

According to a study meant to analyse the reportage of the Kenya's 2002 General Elections in the Kenyan print media with a special focus on the Daily Nation and the East African standard,

the research focussed on the two main political parties, KANU and NARC. The study delved into the reportage with a view to finding out the details of the way the DN and the standard reported on the election focussing on what issues the press deemed important using the libertarian theory and the Agenda Setting theory. (Muthoni, 2006). Key in the findings was that the newspapers had pitted the race as being against two parties, NARC and KANU. The standard newspaper had been credited for news reports in that they effectively carried out the roles as purveyors of information. The research did not use the framing theory which are also instrumental in reportage on electoral process, which will in turn be used by this study to find out if media played out its informative and watchdog role in the electioneering period. The study found the Daily Nation to be biased in its reportage as it was pro-establishment a conclusion which this study intends to pursue in the context of 2017 general elections.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods employed in this study, including the tools used and the design used. This section discusses the feasibility of the methods chosen as well as their efficacy for the type of data to be analysed.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is an organisation of parameters for data collection and analysis. It provides principles for minimising errors in research, which can be influenced by a wide variety of intervening circumstances. (2004) (Kothari). As such, it entails planning, arranging, collecting, and organising data in order to generate the data requested by the researcher.

This study will use a descriptive research strategy since it is the most appropriate for the subject matter at hand and will result in a better knowledge of the occurrences being described. The descriptive method aims to demonstrate and document the current state of attitudes by explaining what is currently occurring in a certain contest (Dominick, 1987), Additionally, it enables a researcher to investigate novel concepts and pave the way for further debate of emergent topics. Our is critical for this study since it will describe how DN covered political party news and will allow media experts to conduct additional research in this area.

3.3 Study population

The term "target population" refers to a group of individuals or items included in a survey who share at least one observable trait (Mugenda, 2008). These are the units of analysis from which the study findings will be generalised, and they will be precisely defined in terms of their historical and geographical characteristics, as well as the units to be researched. The target demographic for this study is comprised of newspaper articles from the DN. The study's accurate and representative sample will be drawn from these targeted newspaper copies.

The print media has been selected because it gives an in-depth analysis of political landscape, its changes and overtones. The Daily Nation therefore has been chosen for study as it has the highest circulation of 205,000 newspapers per day and also the highest readership in the country. It will therefore adequately represent the print media. According to Nyabuga & Booker (2013) the largest newspaper by daily circulation is the Daily Nation as it has the biggest market share in the country at 40 % compared to standard which has 20%. And the same scholars opine that many Kenyans read newspapers quoting Ipsos Synovate figures which showed close to 3 million Kenyans read the newspaper everyday even though they do not own their own copies.

The official campaign period for August 2017 elections kicked off on May 28th till 3rd August spanning for a period of 66 days. Newspaper editions for all these days will be analysed to gain an understanding into prominence given to the two major political parties, the dominant political messages and the watchdog frames adopted by the DN. The newspapers to be analysed will therefore range from 29th - 4th August 2017.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

This part comprises of the procedure followed in identifying and picking the respective editions of the Daily Nation for the study. A sample is the item that is selected to represent the entire population or universe under study (Kothari, 2004). This means that the sample that is selected should be representative for the data to be accurate. Gay, (1983), opines that for descriptive survey design 10 to 30 % of the research population is enough to be representative of the whole population. The study aims to analyse newspaper editions for 66 days. The sample size will be equal to the total population of study as this will give accurate information about each edition of the DN that will be published and this will in turn increase the validity of the research.

Sampling is necessary because 'the universe of available texts is far too vast to analyse in its entirety', Krippendorf (2000). However, the universe is rather confined in this study, necessitating the usage of all newspapers during the study period, $N=n$. All the 66 newspapers published during the official campaign period will therefore be analysed. This will be appropriate for this study because sampling errors will be avoid thereby giving a true measure of the population as every edition will be analysed. This in turn increases the research validity.

3.6 Data Collection Method

This is the procedure by which the data necessary to answer the research questions is gathered. This study will employ quantitative content analysis. This is a technique that entails reviewing confidential and public records or reports, as well as government documents and opinions, Schindler & Cooper (2006). Additionally, it is the gathering, evaluation, questioning, and analysis of many types of text used as primary data sources. Documents are utilised to give data acquired from surveys, interviews, and observations in this method. John Leary (2004).

Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative will be employed. Weber et al (1990) pointed out that the best content analysis studies use both qualitative and quantitative data.

Several scholars such as Stempel (1989), Kerlinger (2000), Krippendorff (2004), have offered different definitions of content analysis. However the focus of this study will be on the definition of content analysis as provided by (Berelson, 1952) who conceptualised it as “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication.” It is against this definition that this study will look into content analysis of the Daily Nation news on political parties. It is planned to use content analysis because it is one of the methods that provide a coherent, appropriate, and primarily sociological approach to the production of media and communication research (Hansen, 1998), As a formal approach for social inquiry, it was driven on by the goal to make social inquiry scientific in a fashion analogous to the regulated, systematised, and repeatable processes of scientific investigation. It has also been widely employed in mass communication research. In this study, it is relevant since it intends to identify the DN frames in the coverage of political party news leading up to the 2017 general elections. Content analysis is primarily concerned with providing a descriptive account of what is contained in a magazine's text, and doing it in a way that can be replicated by others Gunter (2000).

Quantitative content analysis (QCA) will be used in this study in order for researchers to understand how political party news was packaged by The Daily Nation in advance of the 2017 elections. It's fair to say that The DN is Kenya's answer to The New York Times, as it is an independent publication (Unyebadi, 2008). The Daily Nation's website (www.nation.co.ke) tops all other Kenyan media outlets according to Alexa Internet, a web traffic tracking company based in California. Overall, 10th in Kenya and 7888th globally.

Content analysis relies heavily on the unit of analysis. In other words, it's the subject matter that the researcher is most interested in. This will be critical in identifying prominence in the coverage of the political parties and election issues. For this study the unit of analysis will be front page headlines, lead stories, news stories and photographs. Through the headlines, lead stories and photographs the prominence given to the political parties in terms of length of story, spacing and framing of issues will be unraveled. The news stories will be analysed to find out what the Daily Nation said about the political parties (if it was news centered or image centered).

Details on how content analysis will be conducted with pertinent categories operationalized to meet the study's goals may be found in a coding instrument (attached hereto).

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Among the many characteristics of media content that Shoemaker and Reese (1996) note include the medium, production techniques, messages and sources quoted or referred to are the fact that the task of content analysis is to place these phenomena in some sort of order in order to grasp their meaning. They continue: part of this ordering process consists of selecting key features that we believe are significant and to which we want to pay attention. Because of this, researchers will use a variety of conceptual and methodological approaches to study content. Once the research questions and objectives have been answered, it can be put into practise.

A quantitative method will be used to look at the data. It will be gathered from primary sources. Coding will be done by giving each item a number or symbol that can be used to identify it, and then grouping them into different categories. The raw data from content analysis will be turned into logical categories for analysis so that we can make sense of it. Using thematic coding, this

will be done to make sure the data is correct, complete, and organised in a way that makes it easy to classify and tabulate the data.

The new data will be used to do descriptive statistical analysis with the help of a computer sub-program in the statistical packages for the social sciences. This will be used to talk about how people responded to the goals that were set out. For example, this programme is chosen because it is very reliable and can help you organise data and figure out how different variables are linked together. It also sums up a lot of different kinds of data. The data will then be put together and shown in different tables, graphs, charts, and narrations, and the data will be interpreted in line with the goals.

3.8 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

Validity in research answers the question: How concurrent are the research findings with the reality. How correct or true the findings of the study are. Validity of the research will be ensured by evaluating the content analysis tool to ensure it is relevant and appropriate. A pilot study will be conducted to ascertain that the objectives have been operationalised in line with the research questions and theoretical framework. The feedback will then be used to adjust the tool appropriately.

The concept of reliability is crucial to content analysis, Wimmer & Dominic (2006). Reliability is concerned with the extent to which a research will again be a replica of one's research. It is about consistency of the research findings. That if someone else did the same research with the same instruments he will get the same results. Reliability of this study will be assured by the fact that the researcher will follow systematic and transparent methods in gathering data and adopt replicable methods in their analysis. Notably, using archival materials in a study of this

nature, DN coverage of political parties prior to the 2017 general elections, is already in itself an in-built mechanism for reliability. According to Silverman (2008), textual data are more credible than other types of data, such as those acquired by observation, as long as they are not fabricated. This research will attain reliability by choosing the right scope of study- a strategic period of intensified political activities.

3.9 Ethical Considerations.

Ethical considerations are of uttermost importance when carrying out a research. This involves etiquette in research while in the field or while analysing secondary data. This study will put in place a number of ethical considerations owing to the fact it will use secondary data. Various ethical issues will be observed during the study. Permission will be sought from the nation media group's library to be allowed to collect data after explaining that it will be a fulfilment of a master's study and explaining what the research was about.

The study will also choose on a research period that is strategic which will in turn give an accurate representation of data to avoid misrepresentation of research findings. Choosing of an appropriate research period, appropriate sample size and probability sampling technique will help prevent fabrication and falsification of data which in turn prompts pursuit of knowledge and truth.

Upon completion of the research, the researcher will appear before a special panel and defend the project to prove the originality of the study

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to present the analysis of the findings collected for this research. The finding sought to establish the DN coverage of news on Kenya's political parties in the 2017 general elections. The study analysed 66 copies of the Daily Nation covering the official campaign period 30th May to 6th August 2017.

4.2 Findings on Informative Role of Newspaper

This section seeks to examine how the Daily Nation constructed and represented news on political parties in the headlines and news stories and the framing of those news stories (framing theory) which is the main theoretical framework adopted for this study. The analysis seeks to provide insights into the manner in which DN uses its political news to create an informed electorate capable of making critical choices at the ballot.

Overtly, the elections reports were mainly party oriented rather than issues based. The reports were majorly centered on strategies that the two political parties were putting in place to win the 2022 election. The topics discussed in the various articles were analyzed to help determine if the DN played the informative role of media in the election coverage. Most articles focused on strategies that were being used by the political parties to win the election compared to substantive issues that the electorate would use as benchmarks while making critical decisions at the ballot.

Table 4.1 the frequency of various topics primed by the Daily Nation

Variable	frequency	percentage
Manifesto	20	15.26%
Campaign issues	43	32.82%
Party conflicts	19	14.50%
Corruption	9	6.87%
Credibility of news	7	5.34%
Devolution	9	6.87%
Voting procedure	13	9.92%
Credibility of elections	11	8.40%
TOTAL	131	100%

This shows that the daily nation primed campaign issues (32.82%) in its coverage at the expense of information that would help voters make informed choices at the ballot. This critical information was allocated (15.26%). A majority of newspaper reports were on campaign strategies and winning formula of the political parties than other issues that would breed an informed electorate. However, the role of the newspaper in informing the electorate could not be down played as a larger percentage was of party manifesto and the voting process. Reports on Nasa party were about their concern on free and fair election, interrogating the process and the credibility of the body to hold free and fair elections. The key issues that were given most mentions by the DN were campaign issues, party manifesto and voter information.

Party Manifesto

Election policies and pledges were a key issue that the Daily Nation focused on as they are what endeared political parties to voters. It did not only cover what the various political parties but delved into the manifestos by comparing what the two political parties were pledging to offer the

electorate. The DN primed through the headline “Season of promises as Jubilee, Nasa set to unveil manifesto to build up anticipatory mood in its readers.

In the coverage of the Jubilee manifesto, the DN juxtaposed it with the 2013 manifesto and used it as a benchmark to inform the electorate on what had been fulfilled. The 2017 manifesto by Jubilee was portrayed as one meant to address performance gaps in the 2013 manifesto. ‘The revised manifesto is an expansion of the 2013, in which the regime targeted industrialization, security jobs and national unity- things it did not achieve. In most cases the manifesto seeks to correct realized from 2013’ Daily Nation 25th June 2017, Ouma Wanzala. . By stressing the fact that these pledges were not achieved, it was critical information for the electorate as it would help them in decision making on the ballot.

Job creation had been identifying as a pillar than had unperformed and in its manifesto jubilee had promised to revive factories; “Jubilee launches its manifesto with pledge to revive factories.”

The DN also went ahead to reexamine what the jubilee had promised in 2013, what it was promising in 2017 ‘ ahead of the launch of their manifesto tomorrow, the Sunday nation takes a look at the seven pledges and makes an informed assessment of the extent to which the ruling coalition has achieved them or not. Caption

Their main focus in2017 was to deepen some of the most successful pledges which would enable the government reach its ambition of becoming a middle level income country as projected in Vision 2030. Industrialization, security and food sufficiency had been identified as key movers of the economy in the manifesto.

The Nasa manifesto was extensively covered in 3 pages detailing the 4 pillars that Nasa wanted to be used by electorates as benchmarks while making decisions at the ballot. The DN summarized this manifesto in the statement “The manifesto is built on four key pillars of; a united nation, government of people by and for the people, a caring nation and an equal opportunity for the nation.”

In a headline dubbed; Nasa’s plan; unity, jobs and health for all, DN went ahead to unpack each of the agenda in four pages detailing Nasa was offering the electorate.

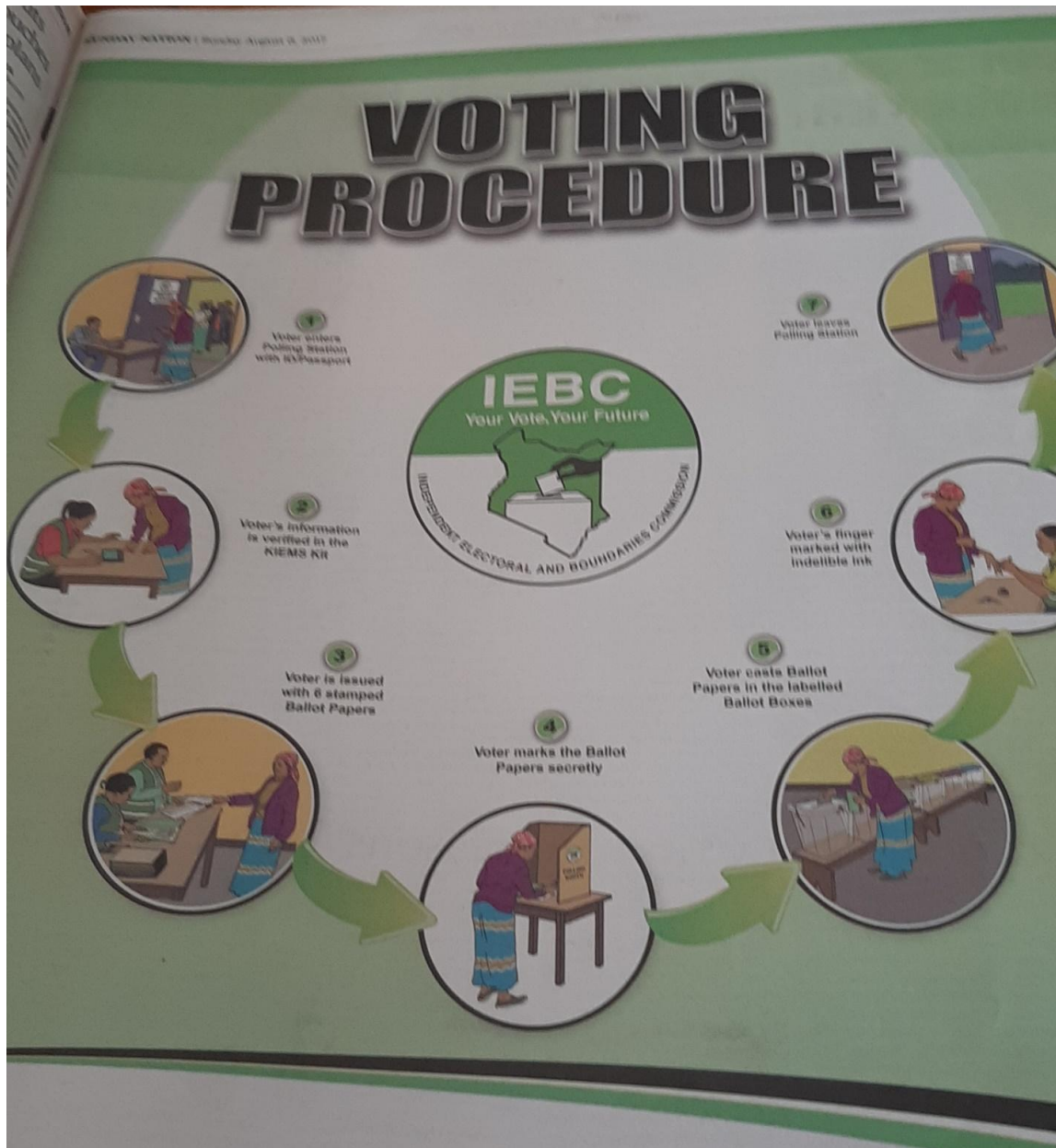
In as much as the DN juxtaposed the two manifestos, it did not adequately debate the pledges presented by the parties as there was no active engagement with the politicians but only featured the similarities and differences between them. The pledges were more visible as advertisements and not newspaper reports. In the context of information, they performed well by giving it prominence and adequate spacing but failed to interrogate the viability of the manifesto launched by the two political parties and fact check on whether what had been promised was achievable.

Voter information

Voter education is a key requirement of the media during elections as it deepens democracy. The DN was able to create awareness in its coverage of the political parties. A number of messages that were primed by the DN seemed to be mandated by the IEBC. These messages appeared from mid-July – 2 weeks the elections which leaves a lot to desire as these being a critical role in the election process those messages should have been run 3 months to elections.

IEBC sponsored content on the voting procedure, the need to vote wisely, how to correctly mark a ballot paper, general elections facts and figures, list of candidates earmarked for nominations as

proposed by various political parties and general voter information for the 2017 General elections. The newspaper allocated a full page to this information which was adequate spacing for this critical information. However, it could make the information more prominent by placing it on the front page as opposed to the inside pages.



The DN provided necessary information to the electorate on voting procedure, the colour of the ballot papers for different seats and various election malpractices in line with media role during elections. The DN also carried political reports on the voting process, tallying and transmission of results. In an article given prominence on the front page, the newspaper educated the electorate on what to expect on the poll day.

The newspaper informed the voter about the presidential debate which would be live on all participating media on 24th July 2017 from 5. 30pm to 8.00pm. The news was allocated a full page but not given prominence as it was placed in the inside pages. The paper did not also detail what the debate would entail making the article look like an advertisement. The Newspaper also reported on AFRICOG REPORT ON IEBC PREPAREDNESS TO Handle elections with regard to identification as it had not tested the system and given an alternative in case of technology failure on election day; failure to make the voter register public for voter scrutiny; voter education reach to broader population especially marginalized area and lack of clarity on the role of AFRICOG raised serious questions about how IEBC will determine final results. However, DN only highlighted these concerns without delving into them and put the electoral body to task about the legit concerns.

4.2 Priming of Political Parties.

The media council of Kenya calls for equal coverage of political parties during the electioneering period. These objective aimed to find out how the DN covered the two major political parties in the period leading up to the 2017 General Elections.

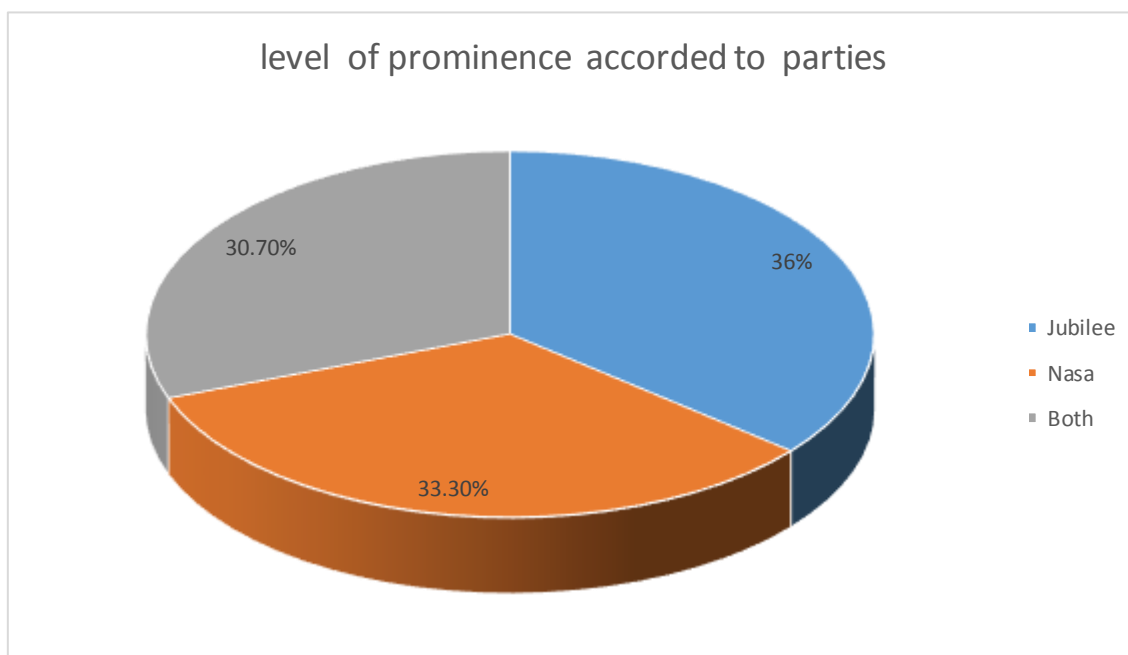
Frequency by story

The daily nation covered a total of 76 stories on political parties during the study period. Both Jubilee and Nasa were given almost the same level of prominence as Nasa was given 33.33% while Jubilee was given 36% in terms of prominence. To avoid the biasness in their coverage, both parties were mentioned in the most headlines with headlines like “Nasa, Jubilee intensify campaigns” being used to prime the political parties. this neutral headlines were accorded 30% prominence by the DN.

A table on frequency of coverage of political parties

Jubilee	36%
Nasa	33.3%
Both	30.7%

Frequency per story pie chart



Placement of stories

The study analyzed political parties in terms of placement in the newspaper. Placement of stories is an aspect of priming and reflects the prominence with which newspapers treat stories. Story placement is described as where in the newspaper the story is placed. This study analyzed placement of stories in the front page, inside page, editorial and back page.

Table on Story Placement

	Jubilee	Nasa	Both	Total
Front page	07	05	04	16
Inside page	23	19	09	51
Editorial	08	04	02	12
Back page	03	00	01	04
TOTAL	35	25	13	83

The study found out that a total of 83 stories about political parties were covered by the Daily Nation. Both parties were given visibility on front page with 9 of 16 stories being on Jubilee party and 5 out of 16 stories on Nasa. This was a slight variation in coverage as both parties were given fair coverage. However, to overcome bias, both parties were mentioned in the lead stories with titles such as Jubilee and Nasa: Here lies the difference of 28th June 2017 and clash of Ideas: Jubilee, Nasa in June 29th 2017.

Space allocation

Table below shows how the political parties were covered based on the amount of space allocated to two major political parties. Out of the 76 articles on the two political parties that were analysed, most articles occupied half a page and this accounted for 44.73%. Those articles that were given three quarter were 18% while those that were allocated full page were 17.76%. Articles that were given more than one more than one page accounted 13.15%. However, in the run up to the election date Jubilee was allocated one full page daily with the hashtag jubilee delivers and this could easily influence the decision of the electorate at the ballot. This is evidenced in the caption attached



Table 4.2. 4 Space Allocations to Each Political Party

Space allocation	Nasa	Jubilee	Both	Total
More than one page	02	06	02	10
Full page	04	07	03	14
Three quarter	04	07	03	14
Half a page	14	12	08	34
Quarter page	05	03	00	08
Less than a quarter	02	00	00	00
Total	29	35	16	80

The amount of space allocated by newspaper has an influence on visibility of political parties. Both political parties were given adequate space allocation by the DN with a large percentage of their articles being allocated at least half a page. However, space allocation depended on the issue being covered. manifesto of both political parties were given more than one page. This proves the tenet of framing theory which matters that were deemed important were given more space.

Story valence

The study analyzed the stories about political parties on their tone. They were classified as positive negative or neutral. They revealed that the newspaper gave Nasa more negative coverage than it did to Jubilee. In as much NASA received prominence at the same levels with jubilee on stories on Nasa were negative. Out of the 25 negative stores, Nasa received 56% of negative coverage as brought out in “Graft Lords are funding Nasa” and Jubilee received 46% of

negative coverage reflected in headlines like “Jubilee manipulating prices of food”, and the headline “Jubilee made Kenyans poor, says Raila”

Out of the 27 positive stories, Nasa received 23% of positive coverage while Jubilee received 48% positive coverage.

A table on story valence

Valence	Nasa	Jubilee	Both
Positive	12	17	2
Negative	14	13	00
Neutral	05	07	10
Total	31	37	12

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This section gives the summary conclusion and recommendation and uses the finding of the study as the baseline. It presents the key findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research and actions. The purpose of this study was to assess the daily nation coverage of news on political parties during the 2017 general elections.

Framing theory has been used a lot in communication research all over the world. It has been used very carefully and very carefully. The main goal of this study is to place the theory in Kenya, test its usefulness as a communication study tool, and try to widen the theoretical borders of the framing theory, just like other studies in Kenya have already done..

5.2 Summary of Findings

This section gives a summary of the findings in line with the two objectives of the study. The study was premised on the understanding of the framing theory as a central organizing idea which is arrived at by highlighting some aspects of perceived reality more than others. The study purposed to investigate the priming of political parties and the salient messages on the political parties. It examined salient election issues published by the daily nation in Kenya in June-August, a period of intensified political activities.

5.2.1 Informative Role of Media

The informative role of media was determined through the method of content analysis. The various themes given salience by the DN were considered important in creating an informed

electorate capable of making informed decisions at the ballot which in turn deepens democracy. This in as much it is expected that the media should play the informative role during elections, the salient messages in the news reports were about campaign strategy and election winning matrix. The rest of the of the issues that were pertinent to an election were downplayed. The daily nation evidently framed the political messages by giving some political issues salience at the expense of others.

The rest of the issues that were covered included corruption, devolution, party conflicts, manifesto, credibility of news, credibility of the election process and voting procedure. However, the daily nation deliberately chose to downplay these political issues at the expense of election winning matrix thereby framing the issues. These issues should have been given more salience as they would have impacted on the choices that electorate would make at the ballot. However, the daily nation focused on campaign destinations and various strategies each party was putting in place to outdo the other. This coverage was pitted as a contest coverage as the focus was on the political parties and not specific political issues that would help voters make informed choices. Newspaper have a responsibility of providing adequate political information so that they are empowered to vote wisely.

The findings on the type of messages that the daily nation gave salience reveal that the DN framed the messages on political parties by making election winning strategy messages more salient.

5.2.2 Priming of Political Parties

The coverage of various political parties was analysed in terms of frequency of mention, placement, space allocation, and tone in coverage of political report.

The newspaper gave the Jubilee party more mentions than it gave to Nasa and this unbalanced coverage would have the potential of influencing the decisions that the electorate would make at the ballot drawing reference from the tenets of the framing theory. News reports on Jubilee were more than those from Nasa and according to (Granner, 2009), articles that are considered more important significant and attention catching are placed on the front page. The DN therefore considered Jubilee to be more newsworthy than Nasa.

More space was also allocated to jubilee with the advertisements sponsored by the Jubilee party dubbed Jubilee delivers giving the party an edge over NASA. In terms of valence most news reports on the parties were given negative coverage which could have been informed by the assertion that negative stories sell more. However, Nasa party was given more negative coverage with claims that it was being funded by Graft lords being given salience. This could easily sway the decision of the electorate. There was also a slight variation in positive stories as jubilee given positive covered and the DN went ahead to fact check any allegations from the Nasa party in and absolved the jubilee party from any blame.

5.3 Conclusion

The findings indicate the DN newspaper was sloppy in educating the electorate with 32% of the reports focusing on contest coverage. Only 15% of the articles were on substantive issues and therefore DN failed to perform the informative role of media during elections. This leads to uncritical unacceptance of political positions.

The coverage accorded to different political parties was important in shaping the decisions that the electorate would make at the ballot. Jubilee party was accorded more coverage than Nasa and this meant that a number of voters would vote Jubilee this was the party that was given salience

by the DN. According to framing theory, voters make choices depending on what they were exposed to in the media

5.4 Recommendations

The findings of this study established that daily nation newspaper dismally performed the informative role of media as it dwelled on contest coverage at the expense of substantive coverage. It recommended that the DN newspaper and other publications should give salience to substantive issues rather than dwell on campaign strategies which breeds an under informed electorate. Larger percentage of news reports were on campaign issues and political conflicts between the two parties. there should be a paradigm shift **on** the issues that DN gives salience. The media should collaborate with key stakeholders especially the independent electoral commission to ensure they get the right message to tailor to their readers.

The finding on priming of political parties established that Jubilee was given more positive and salient coverage compared to Nasa. The two were the major political parties in the 2017 general elections and they deserved equal coverage. Noteworthy, the DN tried to avoid bias by mentioning both parties in the same headline. It is recommended that media should strike a balance in the coverage to level the ground. The study also recommends an empirical research to establish whether the biased reportage by the DN had an influence on the electorates' voting in the 2017 general elections.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CODING INSTRUMENT

DAILY NATION FRAMING OF NEWS ON KENYA'S POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Article are picked from the daily nation from 30th may June to 6th August in line with the research objective: to determine the prominence given to the political parties and to evaluate the framing of messages in news about the political parties. The research tool has been operationalised in line with the research questions and theoretical framework

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

a) Date of the print arrival.....

b) Article headline.....

c) Issues covered in the story

Manifesto

Campaign issues

Party conflicts

Corruption

Credibility of news

Devolution

Voting procedure

Credibility of elections

d) Which party received coverage in the story?

If the answer in d above is NASA where was the coverage?

Front page

Inside page

Back page

If the answer to d above is JUBILEE what where was the coverage

Front

Inside

Back page

What was the size of the article on NASA

Full

Three quarter

Half

Quarter

Less than quarter

What was the size of the article on Jubilee

Full

Three quarter

Half

Quarter

Less than quarter

How many times was Jubilee covered in a single newspaper?.....

Where in the newspaper were the articles placed

Front

Editorial

Inside

Back

Other

Section A: priming of political parties

Prominence given to the two political parties will be analysed in the following categories.

Length of the stories

	Jubilee	NASA
Full page		
Three quarter page		
Half page		
Quarter page		
Less than quarter page		

Placement of the stories

	Jubilee	NASA
Front page		
Inside page		
Back page		

Valence of the stories

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Jubilee			
NASA			

Priming of the Political Parties

	Jubilee	NASA
Lead story		
Headline		
Photograph		

Section B: Salient Messages

The second objective of the study which seeks to evaluate the salient messages about the political parties will be operationalised into eleven categories of election issues that were given salience by the Daily Nation. They include: Manifesto, campaign issues, party conflicts, corruption, credibility of news, devolution, voting procedure, credibility of elections.

DATE	HEADLINE NEWS	THEME	PARTY	
			JUBILEE	NASA

2. Which theme was given more coverage in the article?

- Corruption
- Party conflicts
- Credibility of news
- Party manifesto
- Voting procedure
- Campaign issues
- Credibility of elections
- Devolution
- Party strategy and image

3 Which party was given more coverage in relation to the issues highlighted?

- Jubilee
- Nasa

4 Where in the news were the above articles placed?

- Front page
- Inside page
- Back page