



The relationship between journalist orientation, newsroom politics and journalist attitudes towards the crisis over reviewing the constitution in Kenya

Mwangi Gituto Billington

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOURNALIST
ORIENTATION NEWSROOM POLITICS
AND JOURNALIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE CRISIS OVER REVIEWING THE
CONSTITUTION IN KENYA

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May 2002

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOURNALIST ORIENTATION,
NEWSROOM POLITICS AND JOURNALIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE
CRISIS OVER REVIEWING THE CONSTITUTION IN KENYA**

**I declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not been submitted to
any other college or university for academic credit.**

Signed:


Billington Mwangi Gituto, B.A.

Date:

05.06.02

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	I
DEDICATION.....	V
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	VI
ABSTRACT	VIII
CHAPTER I: THE PROBLEM.....	1
Introduction and Background to the Study	8
Purpose Statement	9
Rationale of the Study	16
Significance of the Study	17
Definition of Key Terms	21
Assumptions of the Study	21
Delineation of the Study.....	22
Limitations of the Study.....	22
Outline of the Study.....	23
CHAPTER II: THE SEARCH FOR AN APPROPRIATE HERMENEUTIC OF JOURNALISTS CONDUCT.....	25
Introduction.....	25

Journalism Values and Crisis in Kenyan Journalism.....	25
News Professionalism	28
Objectivity	30
The Democratic Assumption.....	32
Getting the Separations Right.....	34
The Rise of News Professionalism in Kenya	42
The Pro-Settler Press	42
The Counter Colonial (Nationalist) Press	43
The Post Colonial Press	46
The Development Press	50
Media Legislation	56
Financial Influence on News Content	58
Changing the Constitution.....	62
Research on Journalist Orientation.....	69
Weaving the Canvas.....	77
Framing Theory.....	80
News Framing	83
Journalist Attitude.....	84
Constructing Cynicism	85
Media Cynicism	87
Measuring Cynicism	89
Constructing Journalist Orientation	91
Journalist Attitudes Towards Constitutional Reform	91

Journalist Agency, Activism and Newsroom Politics.....	91
Narrative Analysis	92
Conclusion	94
	96
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	
Introduction	96
Collecting Data.....	97
Population	98
Sampling	99
Data	100
The Survey Instrument	101
Questionnaire	102
Pre-testing the Instrument	103
Safeguarding against Bias.....	103
Data Processing	104
Constructing Journalist Orientation.....	104
Factor Analysis.....	105
Establishing Journalist Attitudes Towards Constitutional Reform.....	107
Narrative Analysis	108
CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS.....	111
Introduction.....	111
Respondents Profile.....	114

Factor Analysis.....	115
Interpretation of the Factors.....	117
The Findings	117
Journalist Orientations	118
Journalist Attitudes towards the Crisis over Reforming the Constitution.....	125
Journalist Attitudes towards Democratization.....	127
Journalist Attitudes towards Major Parliamentary Parties... ..	131
Journalist Attitudes towards the Government.....	139
Journalist Attitudes towards Civil Society.....	145
Journalist Attitudes towards Media Handling of Constitutional reform	151
Journalist Perception and Attitudes Towards Newsroom Democracy	156
Journalist Attitudes towards Life in General	156
Journalist Organizing and Articulation of Values within the Newsroom.....	164
The Editor as Editorial Policy	165
Loosing out on Nice Intentions	165
Journalist Response to Editorial Tyranny	166
Fighting the Good Fight:	
Journalists Left on their Own Devices Getting By.....	168
Adopting an Evolutionary Perspective.....	170
Summary of Findings.....	170
Conclusion.....	171

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION.....	172
Introduction.....	172
Discussion of Findings	173
Summary of Conclusions.....	188
Recommendations.....	190
Conclusions	193
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	 196
 APPENDICES.....	 209
Appendix I: Survey Questionnaire.....	209
Appendix II: The Interview Schedule.....	218
Appendix III: Total Variance Explained by Adopted Factor Solution.....	221
Appendix IV: Unrotated Factor Matrix.....	222

DEDICATION

For Mariannah Wandoe Mwalimo, wife and true friend, for standing in the gap, for thoughtful critique, for comfort and care and for constantly urging me to get done with a task that looked forever imperiled by extraneous demands.

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The curiosity, in the working of a public sphere of discourse, that has accompanied this research, began in part from a reading of Paul's encounter with Stoic and Epicurean philosophers in Athens (Acts, 17:16). There, even in the very limited public sphere of market places, Athenians had erected a plaque 'to an unknown God'. My deepest gratitude goes to this God, whom I worship and who has stood by me and ahead of me even as I have faced many a difficult moments in pursuit of my academic goals at Daystar University.

ABSTRACT

Since the onset of democratic reform in the 1990's, it has been fashionable to provide parallels between the health of journalism and the fortunes of democracy. During this period too, Journalism in Africa has witnessed a clash in professional values relating to how the press should conduct itself in the face of democratization. This study sought to provide some light on these issues through establishing the professional orientations of journalists and exploring the relationship between these orientations and journalist framing of the crisis of democratization in Kenya. Additionally the study sought to find out how journalist value orientations have interacted with news house policies regarding the crisis.

The study sought to establish whether there were distinct journalist orientations undergirding professional journalist belief systems and journalist framing of the crisis over constitutional reform. This later was to be determined as a measure of journalist attitude towards the call for constitutional reform itself, and the major protagonists in the crisis on constitutional reform including the government, major parliamentary political parties, civil society, the religious sector, the general public, media handling and framing of the constitutional reforms. The study also sought to establish the various experiences of journalists with regard to the organizing of value positions within the newsroom.

To achieve the first objective, journalist responses were sought on statements pertaining the role orientation of journalists. In pursuit of the second, journalist responses were sought from statements appertaining to journalists' attitudes towards the core issue of constitutional reform and the principal players in the crisis on constitutional reform. Thirdly, responses were sought from interviews with journalists to get life stories about

their value inclinations and how these manifest themselves in their work. Data for the first and second objective was obtained from journalist responses to questionnaires distributed across five news organisations in Nairobi and the major provincial capitals. A factor analysis of the responses was to be performed to determine the various journalist belief orientations and attitudes.

The study found journalists to have distinct belief constellations and that the vast majority of journalists are in favour of reformation of the social, political and economic life. The study also found that journalists are cynical towards government, civil society and all the political parties regardless of their being in power or in the opposition. Journalists were also found to be distressed with the lack of internal democratic cultures in news organisations. Journalists stand in relatively marginal positions in the discursive process of determining the frame of news and hardly come into this process at all. Journalists are also very insecure about their work. Journalists however respond creatively in order to cope and challenge this situation through seeking to reposition themselves, covertly and through subterfuge, at the centre of the news making process.

To explain the multi-faced nature of journalist beliefs one would have to factor a variety of conditions- organizational, environmental, idiosyncratic and socio-historical. This multifaceted dimension may point to contests between economic, political and cultural elite against emerging counter-values and politics. This can be read as success by the elite in either absorbing discourses that are oppositional and preventing intra-group solidarity amongst non-dominant groups and the emergence of counter-beliefs to positions of dominance. Journalism's assumed connection with public life seems to provide the legitimating and archetypal function of myth. As a myth, it continues to

provide the bedrock of professional mobilization and identity formation of journalism. In reality, the truth-value of this myth is contestable.

In being ardently cynical of the opposition, government and ruling party, and by maintaining traditional skepticism towards emerging civil society, journalists may actually be disengaging from a position that enables them to be potentially part of the process of playing mid-wife to democratic consolidation.

CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM

The success of African democracy will, to a large extent, depend on how responsibly African journalists and other media people practice their journalism.

(Kasoma, 1994: 185)

As I prepare for any eventuality, I want to state that I, and all of us in the alternative press, are willing to pay the penalties which we may have to pay for having followed the dictates of our conscience in pursuit of what we believe to be right. Many people have paid the price before us and many will pay the price after ourselves.

(Mbugua, 1994: 2)

Introduction and Background to the Study

The linkage between the professional orientation of journalists, newsroom conventions and the fortunes of democracy and democratic transitions is a subject that has attracted much attention from communication scholars and observers. Liberal pluralist theories have long held the assumption that modern democracy is predicated on the informed citizen who makes decisions based on rational and objective criteria (Hardt, 1984: 66; Rueschemeyer et al. 1994: 6). Accompanying normative theories of communication place a high premium on the role of journalism as one of the primary constitutive agents in a democracy (McQuail, 1994: 136; Edeani, 1995: 7). In these theories, the news media are assumed to be an indispensable and the most secure means of accessing objective information to the public (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947: 20; Ifeanyi, 1995: 5). An independent press, the citizen and the democratic strictures of government stand out as co-requisite pillars of a democratic disposition.

This view of the connection between media, the citizen and democracy have

for long been challenged for their understatement of the role of the predominant ideology in the production of the news product and vice versa (Cohen, 1996: 52; Tomaselli et al, 1989: 10). Whereas, these critics have argued, journalism is constantly enmeshed into the democratic public sphere, it is too constrained by the influence of economic and political elites that its place and influence in this sphere needs to be constantly qualified (Strelitz & Steenveld, 1998: 102; Boudieu, 1991: 221). In this critique, journalism's function as a formative agent of the consolidation of democracy has to contend with the predominant status quo. At the same time in performing its various functions in the process of the consolidation of democracy, journalism reinforces and continuously re-invents the status quo.

This critique has also risen to question the epistemological assumptions of mainstream journalism practice and the impact these have had on enabling participatory democracy (Kaplan, 1997: 336; Aucion, 1997: 122ff; Mordenstreng, 1997: 13ff). Mainstream journalism's professional foundations are based on a realist epistemology that emphasizes such values as objectivity and reporter neutrality (Andoh, 1994: 120ff, Lance, 1996: 373ff). Mainstream journalism's preferred way of knowing the truth emphasize fact-based inquiry, and attribution to sources preferably official or high-ranking persons in society and organizations. These values are predicated on, and enshrine, a tradition which entails separation of editorial from the business side of the paper, facts from values, news from opinions, news workers from news makers. the media from other institutions by their duty to report on them and the separation of one news day from another (Glaser & Claft 1998: 8; Carey, 1969: 28; Meerakshi, 1998: 117ff). In this tradition journalists are required to separate their personal identities from their work. This is in addition to other professional values

that measure news in terms of conflict, prominence, proximity, unusualness and other oddities (Donsbash, 1994: 149ff; Kavooli & Chadha 1998: 34). This epistemological foundation of journalism is viewed, by structuralist, culturalist and other post structuralist critic as severely limiting the scope of journalism's ambitions with regard to enabling genuinely and all-inclusive participatory democracy.

Mainstream journalism has come under attack from even more liberal critics who accuse it of being largely responsible for the low civic interest in the governance process (at least in the USA). Journalism is accused of vices, such as harping on the 'horse-race' mechanics of elections, that hardly add value to a democracy and helps obfuscate voters and issues out of the process (Willey, 1998: 16ff; Pierce, 1994: 1585ff).

The challenge posed for democracy by an information model of the press as embodied in assumptions of liberal democracy receive fresh impetus in the face of the interaction between the press and changing democratic political systems. In a social and political context where citizens formerly outside the acceptable definition of news sources either singly or in groups organize to challenge the legitimacy of the political arrangements, the role of the press in enabling, facilitating or championing change has come into sharp focus [Bougault, 1995: 206; Namwaya, 2000: VII]. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the independent, mainstream press has been credited as causative agents in the downfall of dictators and ushering in democratic rule (Bougault, 1995: 206; Kasoma, 1995: 545). The independent mainstream press is characterized by its independence from governmental control, an editorial policy issuing from the dictum of professional journalism values such as objectivity, neutrality, fairness and independence from any

sort of control. Independent mainstream papers are usually large circulation business papers, which depend on advertising to meet their profit goals.

The practice of the erstwhile independent press in 'new' democracies such as Malawi and Zambia has however doused the accolades given to this press in mid-wifing democratic change (Chimbobo & Chimbobo, 1996: 25ff; Ochieng, 1999: 58; Kasoma, 1995: 547). In their place, critics are pointing to the emergence of an alternative press tradition, which they credit with breathing the fire that helped smoke out the dictators (Gatheru & Shaw, 1998: 9). This alternative press claims legitimacy in its proximity to emergent citizen groups, citizen organizations and civic movements. It also derives legitimacy from its critique of prevalent plausibility structures that undergird the political order, its promotion of a critical spirit in the citizenry and its social mission of building up and enabling civic discourse (Masilera, 1996: 104).

In the wake of the alternative press and the broad claims its practitioners were making of themselves, news professionals within the mainstream press tradition began to evaluate, with attendant name calling and bashing of the alternative practitioners, the whole journalism project in Kenya (Hafidh, 1993: 36; Nyamora, 1993: 10). The distinct, some would say opposing (Hermant, 1996: 143ff; Waisbord, 1996: 345) epistemological foundations of these two traditions are captured in texts, quoted above, of Francis Kasoma, on the one hand, and Bedan Mbugua, on the other. Making summations for the need to locate journalism practice in a well defined and acceptable to all ethics, Francis Kasoma predicates the success of Africa's democratic governance practices to the ability of journalists to heed such an ethic (Kasoma, 1994, 185). Bedan Mbugua, in what the judges of Kenya's highest court anticipated would

be contemptuous mitigation, situates the ethics of his professional conduct in a personal belief that journalists should serve democracy more directly by coming to its rescue. The one, Francis Kasoma, is schooled in the belief in the role of the press in providing information and perhaps a forum where different shades of opinion may play themselves out. The other, Bedan Mbugua, believes in conducting journalism such that it is a means of challenging and reinventing social reality and in the process constructing new communities. While Mbugua is a firm believer in re-orienting journalism to serve emerging needs to reform the political and economic system, Kasoma is a believer in objectivity and non-partiality in the practice of journalism. The struggle for democratic consolidation in Kenya has provided a rich canvas on which these differing value orientations have played themselves out.

The pursuit of democratic consolidation in Kenya in the 1990's has been characterized by two disparate claims. The one side of these claims constitutes demands by citizen groups, civic organizations, opposition political parties and mainstream religious organizations, for an overhaul of the country's constitution to entrench a comprehensive and retributive human rights regime. On the other side, the ruling party, has maintained that the constitution is not fundamentally flawed, though it may need a tinkering of reform.

The struggle for constitutional reform started in earnest after the infamous *mlolongo* (voting by queuing) elections in 1988, though sections of the Kenyan middle class had variously demanded for constitutional change before (Maina, 1995: 26). The struggle received an impetus from the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of state communism in 1989. In a New Year message at St Andrew's Church, Nairobi, the Rev Timothy Njoya, drew inspiration from the fall of the Berlin wall and collapse

of state communism in the former Soviet Union to demand for a radical redefinition of the Kenyan state from a single party to a multi-party political dispensation (Makali, 1995: 24). Five years later, in his New Year address to the Nation in 1995, Kenya's president, Daniel Arap Moi conceded to the need for comprehensive constitutional reforms (Makali, 1995: 24). In between and thereafter, demands for constitutional reforms became a terrain pitting pro-reformist and pro-establishment groups. While the pro-reform lobby has insisted on an overhaul and an all-inclusive participation in the process, the ruling party and government has insisted on a partial review that can be done through parliament (Maina, 1995: 26; Mutunga, 1995: 25; Makali, 1995: 24)

The dispute over whether or not to overhaul the constitution and the fundamentals of how to do it attained crisis status in 1997 when the pro-reformist civil society called for national mass protests that threatened to disrupt scheduled elections. Democratic reform and the demand for its expansion have created legitimization problems not witnessed before in the Kenyan State (Mwalulu, 2000: 1, Holmquist & Ford 1998 227, Mutie-Malai, 2000: 3). The crisis can be defined in terms of continued and sustained erosion of legitimacy by the political order following the governments systemic inability to supply initiatives that restore confidence in the political order, the continued and sustained widespread erosion of trust and faith in government and an increased ability of civil society to organize political claim making activities far in excess of governments capacity to cope (Mutunga, 1998: 6; Ngunyi, 1996, 251).

All political systems are in constant need of legitimacy (Lipset, 1963: 77). Democratic or quasi-democratic orders need it more than others as in the long run both democracy and the political orders it supports are unlikely to survive in a context where a large section of the citizenry feels aggrieved and opposed to it. In cases where

significant sections of the population hold that the ongoing reforms or the status quo is untenable, this may well lead to ethnic conflagrations (Habermas, 1979: 179; Arya, 1991: 5; Maina, 1995: 6)

The relationship between the mass media and social conflict can be approached at two levels, one systemic and structural and the other as a social process. At the systemic and structural levels mass media can perform an ideological function, largely supporting the dominant power, it can also perform a functional role by becoming an agency of conflict management and resolution or it can behave as a social resource or third party in the conflict by providing a [de]mobilizing agency for the various parties in the conflict (Chan, 1992: 24; Morale, 1997: 36). In the case of democratic transitions where the conflict pits popular movements vis-à-vis intransigent rulers, (Holmquist and Ford, 1998: 229; Barkan & Ngethe, 1998: 36f), democratic expectations place the media in a very strategic role as the primary socializing agent for the popular movements (Shah, 1996: 143ff; Morale, 1997: 37).

At the center of the storm are media institutions and practitioners. The question needs to be asked how journalists and media institutions have practiced their journalism in the face of conflicting role expectations and the significance of such conduct for journalism and democracy.

This study raised these questions by interrogating the relationship between the professional orientation of journalists, journalist affinity to a major public issue, the preferences of their employers, and how these interests are played out in the newsroom. By situating the subject under investigation in the journalist, the study posits the personal agency of the journalist against institutional and professional expectations of his work.

A basic assumption, that the personal preference of journalists will lean towards empowering civic discourse in the public domain allows one to question whether the mainstream media, in Kenya, lives up to its acclaimed role of enabling public discourse in a democracy as the fourth estate. Of interest here were the conflicts between this self-acclaimed mission of the press, the value preferences of journalists and organizational gatekeepers and demands placed on the media by the rise of new communitarian agendas in the rapid socio-political and economic change in Kenya.

Purpose Statement

This study sought to determine the professional orientations of journalists, explore the relationship between these orientations and journalist framing of the crisis on constitutional reform in Kenya and how journalist value orientations have interacted with news house policies regarding the crisis. To achieve this purpose the study undertook to pursue the following objectives:

- 1) To determine the various journalist orientations in Kenya.
- 2) To determine journalist framing of the crisis over constitutional reform by
 - a) Establishing the prevalent journalist attitudes toward the crisis over reforming the constitution as measured in their attitude towards the call for constitutional reform itself, and the major protagonists in the crisis on constitutional reform including the government, major parliamentary political parties, civil society, the religious sector and the general public.
 - b) Determine the attitude of the journalists towards media handling and

framing of the constitutional reforms.

- 3) To establish the various strategies and experiences of journalists with regard to the organizing and articulation of value positions within the newsroom.

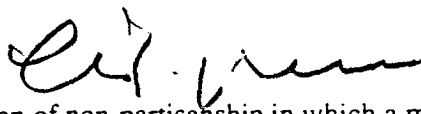
Rationale of the Study

Several dimensions are available in studying the various influences on the work and conduct of journalists. Blumler and Gurevitch (1975) identify four such dimensions of linkage between political and mass media structures. These include a) the degree of state control over the media organization, b) the degree of mass media partisanship, c) the degree of media political elite integration and d) the nature of the legitimizing creed of the media institutions. State control over media organizations can take several forms including exerting certain controls over appointments of media personnel and by requiring certain *a priori* orientations of media professionals that require them to undergo certain prescribed training. The state can also exercise regulation of media conduct through legislation and licensing or by simply maintaining control through ownership.

In Kenya, four systems of control have been evident: direct control of state owned and ruling party owned media, indirect control of media owned by an economic and political elite with strong affiliations to the ruling elite, exerting commercial control through an uncertain and irregular licensing regime for independent media and legally unenforceable police harassment of low circulation alternative media outlets (Gatheru & Shaw, 1998: 9; Kabatesi, 1997: 213; Outa, 2000: X). The state's ability to control and manipulate media is, however, heavily tempered

by the existence of a bill of rights entrenching basic freedoms, including speech and expression and the ongoing clamour for even greater recognition and enforcement of basic rights and freedoms (Kabatesi, 1997: 177; Gathu, 1995; Githongo, 2000: X). There is, in addition, no legal provision in Kenya classifying any range of content as subject to regulation. It is therefore difficult to place state control of media in Kenya on a continuum of high to low. In the absence of overt direct control of media content, political influence on media content becomes important to the extent to which journalists and other media professionals align themselves to the range of social forces, including the ruling party and government, competing for their attention.

Political involvement in media control can also be adduced from the degree of media partisanship to the various players in the political system (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1975: 172). Partisanship can be appraised through party involvement in media ownership, the editorial policies of newspapers and the presence or absence of legal restraints on the rights of the media to back political parties. The highest degree of media partisanship occurs when political parties are directly involved in running media organizations or bring direct influence to bear on the appointment and conduct of management of media organizations (Bougault, 1995:211; Severin & Tankard, 1988: 209ff.). In the absence of such direct control, media organizations may voluntarily offer assured and unconditional support to a party within the political system. Still other news organizations may offer conditional support, often qualified by numerous admonitions and hesitations, to political parties if they pursue certain objectives. A fourth dimension of partisanship involves ad hoc, usually unpredictable, support to issues expounded by political parties and usually based on the merits of



such an issue. Lastly there is a condition of non-partisanship in which a media outlet strives at all costs to maintain political neutrality.

These two dimensions, the degree of media partisanship to various players in the political system and direct or indirect state control of media institutions, refer to formal arrangements through which political influence over media may or may not be channeled. In the absence of very strong formal markers, such influence can be extended informally particularly through the degree of media personnel and ruling elite integration. It is conceivable that members of the media elite can be recruited from the same social and cultural backgrounds that characterize members of the political elite and thus share the same route in their value orientations. There may also be an overlap in terms of personnel with media professionals also working for political parties or organizations. It is also conceivable that former media professionals may rise to decision-making positions within political parties and the government.

Blumler and Gurevitch's (1975) final dimension involves the nature of the legitimizing creed of media institutions and professionals. Traditionally the legitimizing creed for mainstream independent media has emphasized independence from any political organizations, a distancing of the news personnel from both the story and its sources, and unswerving fidelity to internally generated norms of the profession. Professional belief systems may help underpin such insulation of the journalist and news product from external control. Such belief systems may emphasize a watchdog role of journalism over other institutions in society and the need for media to adopt an adversarial stance in its relationship with politicians. A communication system may thus be classified according to the degree to which the

legitimizing creed informing the conduct of news personnel requires them to pay allegiance to a predetermined party or state ideology or conversely to give strict adherence to an independent and internally generated professionalism.

Other observers offer an even broader frame of analysis the vast array of which is captured by Dimmick and Coit Dimmick (1983: 361) in their nine level taxonomy. This taxonomy identifies a supra national and pan-national, societal, industry, supra-organizational influences, community and market influences, intra-organisational, formal and informal group influences, the dyad and intra-individual or cognitive level. The supra-national levels include the influence of institutions such as UNESCO and now media conglomerates such as Time-Warner. Societal influences include the susceptibility of media to government and other societal controls such as advertisers and consumers while influence from industry may arise from the way the structuring of the industrial system may shape the decision making process. Supra-organizational influences arise from the constraints placed by media ownership or organizational gate keeping. Community or market influences refer to the integration between the media and the community or market in which it is located. Intra-organisational influences refer to the junction between newswriters and organizational policy, organizational structure, work routines and goals as well as the political processes within the organization. Formal and informal group influences refer to the influences of journalists and media organizations on each other while influences at the level of the dyad refer to for example the interaction between journalists and their sources. The intra-individual or cognitive level refers to individual journalist criteria in decision-making.

The various competing influences on a journalist's practice are played out in

the terrain of news professionalism. The focus of this study on the influence of the occupational creed of journalists is informed by a suspicion that at particular times in the history of journalism in a country, one or a combination of the factors takes a larger share of influence than others (Soloski, 1989: 208). A focus on the role of the occupational creeds of journalists seem appropriate in a situation marked by an erosion of constitutional and legislative inhibitions against press content, a continuous erosion of the influence of state on civic agenda, a concomitant increase in the size and breadth of organized civic society [including the alternative press] and demands journalists and other members of civil society for journalism to come to the aid of the fledgling democracy movement. Moreover, Kenyan journalists work for organizations that are, without exception, committed to returning a profit. The organization therefore provides the immediate context within which the journalist negotiates the demands placed on him as journalist by canon and society within the limitations of circumstance and creed. At any rate, in the wake of competing demands on the press, both the emergent civic sector and the ruling elite have sought to implore the professional doctrine of the media to ensure access to the mediated public sphere (Kabira & Wachira, 1997: 13; Kabira, 1997: 40; Kibwana, 1997: 385; Mutunga, 1999: 7).

Further, the professional pretensions of the mainstream press have been subjected to a rediscovery of sorts as the alternative press sought to come on board the equation between press and politics. Since 1990, the claims of the press as being central to the fulcrum of democracy, has received a wake up call as Kenya caught the democracy flu sweeping across Sub-Saharan Africa with the demise of the cold war (Barkan & Ngethe, 1998: 37; Schedler, 1998: 97). Democratic and economic reforms

in Kenya have been characterized by a decline in the size and influence of state organs in civic life and an increase of civic activism.

In the wake of the alternative press, critical questions began to emerge about the role of the press in advancing the raging democracy project (Kasoma, 1995: 537). This press marked as it was by what some of its practitioners have labeled the journalism of courage-shifted attention from news organizations to the work of journalists in aiding the democracy project. The consolidation of the gains accruing from a decade of civic activism has enabled even mainstream journalism to be bolder in its claims to serve democracy (Kasoma, 1995: 553).

This study is informed by the notion that the value orientations of journalists comprise a critical nerve center in defining the role of the media in aiding democratic consolidation in Kenya. It also issues from a deep suspicion that newsrooms comprise principal sites of meaning making and struggle over the direction of events in the democracy project. There exists a need to shed informed light on what is taking place at these sites. The focus on journalists is considered crucial in positing the response of journalism to the whirlwind of reform undergirding the political and economic climate in Kenya and by extension Sub-Saharan Africa.

The researcher's personal interest in the study issues from two broad themes. First is a research interest in the role of journalism and mass communication generally in new and formative democracies. This involves especially the location of journalism practice in the rapidly changing socio-political and economic systems in Africa and paying special attention to Kenya.

Secondly, conventional professional values in journalism are based on claims to a realist epistemology that have at their base a concern to serve the practical needs

of industry while at the same time provided the journalist with the high calling of telling the truth (Windshuttle, 1997: 3). The journalistic cannon hinges on reporting the truth about what occurs in the world, to do so as accurately as possible, to corroborate all their facts, to be fair in their sourcing and to serve no other master than the audiences objective need to be informed (Hendrickson & James, 1997: 39ff; Soloski, 1997: 213). The researcher's interest in the study issues in part from a curiosity to interrogate these claims in the context of local media. In so doing it joins a tradition of theorizing in cultural media scholarship that seeks to introduce critical moments in journalism practice and hopefully making journalism aware of alternative readings of its own practice.

I came into this research through my own involvement in activism around the governance problem in Kenya. The idea began in 1997 during which time I had volunteered to put together a platform bringing together the various women and gender active non-governmental organizations to map out and articulate common positions on constitutional reform. This platform became the Kenya Women's Political Caucus. In the course of doing this I would encounter journalists at press conferences and public rallies struggle to provide direction to the unfolding events. The journalists would do this by posing questions whose answers would form the lead of the story the following day. In one instance, a journalist frustrated with the direction the press conference had taken, and aware of other media events earlier in the day that he judged to be of greater consequence, informed the participants that unless they framed their statement in a particular way, their story would not get any attention. The story appeared on page two of his newspaper as a 'meanwhile' addition to the lead story.

In a conversation with this journalist later, I was struck by his bitterness towards his paper on the way it was handling the impasse on constitutional reforms that preceded the elections due that year. The journalist expressed dismay that all the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) stories he filed were either doctored or killed all together. Thus began my academic engagement with how the social consciousness of journalists and their personal belief inclinations with regard to the role of the media in advancing democracy defines their work as journalists and whether or not this leads them to modify their work and work places.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in several respects. The study:

- Provides a classificatory schema that can be used to describe journalists in Kenya according to their professional orientation.
- Contributes to answering some key questions on media framing of social conflict in Kenya.
- Generates information that could be used for evaluating the intersection between mainstream and alternative press traditions in Kenya.
- Begins to answer questions on journalist orientation and journalist agency in furthering social causes.
- Contributes to the use of multivariate statistical methods and qualitative analysis in studying the intersection between journalism and democracy in Kenya.
- Contributes to advancing a cultural theoretical critique on the claims of Kenyan media as indispensable agents of democratic consolidation.

- Provides a framework which media practitioners, media houses, constituent civil society and observers interested in Kenya's democratization process can begin to assess the role and place of journalists and media organizations in the process of democratization.

Definition of Key Terms

For ease of understanding the theoretical and contextual grounding of the study it is necessary to explain the following key concepts.

Journalist: The definition of a journalist is given as a professional news worker who is identified as such by virtue of his/her professional preparation through either journalism training institution or/and apprenticeship and on-the-job training in news organizations. A professional news worker refers to a person who by occupation gathers, edits, writes, reads or presents information for the purpose of disseminating it through news media. There exists no legal definitions of a journalist in Kenya and virtually all journalists identify as such either by virtue of specialized training or practice.

Journalist orientation: Journalist orientation refers to journalist allegiance with certain belief systems that define her/his personal role expectations against her/his work as a journalist. Such journalist identification with certain journalist belief systems has led to a foursome typology of journalists as being either participant, disseminators, adversarial or civic.

Framing: Framing refers to the process in which communicators make unconscious or conscious decisions in deciding what to say and how to say it. The process is undergirded by a schema that organizes the communicators belief system.

Framing is a powerful discursive strategy in which media promote certain social discourses as the public common sense.

News professionalism: This refers to the dominant mode of organizing newswork in journalism. The most predominant value is that of objectivity (Soloski, 1989: 213; Kasoma, 1994: 26). By objectivity journalists are required to seek out facts and report on them as fairly and in as balanced a way as is possible (Soloski, Ibid). Hence, objectivity requires that journalists act toward their sources, events and issues they cover in ways that allow them to report on them without favour or bias. Other values integral to news professionalism include maintaining a neutral and detached posturing on the part of the reporter relative to the subject he/she is covering, on the selection of what is news, the language it is reported in, its length, the prominence it is given within the newspaper and the frequency with which it is carried. A distinction is maintained here between the personal agenda of journalists and those of the professional news organizations.

Journalist agency: This refers to the individual journalist's activism, or the lack of it, in furtherance of a preferred cause. Such activism constitutes moral actions on the part of the journalist in furtherance of personal belief orientations.

Newsroom politics: This refers to the interface defining the conflict between the value orientations of the journalist and the editorial policy and the manifestation of this conflict during the processing of copy.

Crisis on constitutional reform: This refers to the polarization over the meaning and direction of constitutional reform between, on the one hand, government, the ruling party and its allies and on the other, the opposition, civic society, and the major religious organizations. The crisis is played out in parliament, at public rallies,

in beer halls and other social places, in pulpits and within the pages of newspapers, radio and television. It has also found expression through mass street protests in which several Kenyans have lost their lives.

Constitutional crisis: This refers to a legitimating crisis in which the constitutional order has come to face unrelenting demands by civil society for reform and an accompanying zealous determination by the ruling party to circumvent such a possibility. This has manifested itself in heightened withdrawal of support by major sections of the population and the formation of a constitutional reform structure parallel to the one provided for in the constitution. At their most intense, and given certain circumstances, legitimating problems lead to the collapse of political orders or regimes.

Public sphere: Contemporary democratic practice and theory presumes the existence of a public sphere as an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction. In contemporary democratic society, this sphere marks the space that is, at least in principle, free from state or commercial control, is open and equally accessible to all citizens, and whose outcomes are determined by the force of better argument. In this space citizens participate in dealing with public problems without the constraints imposed by time, such as the necessity for closure in lieu of other interests, and space, such as the actual medium of exchange. Several theorists in communication hold the existence of such a sphere as indispensable to democratic political practice (Ramsey, 1998: 459; Habermas, 1976: 193; Switzer, 1998: 71; Monberg, 1998: 450).

Civil society: Civil society as used here refers to the "arena of communal and voluntary social interaction governed by tradition, norms, and communicative

agreement. It encompasses families, voluntary organizations, and the public sphere” (Kaplan, 1997: 334).

Public problems: Public problems are social phenomena that are deemed unhealthy or likely to affect negatively the relationship of various parts within a social organization such as a state. They arise out of the ordering of relations between people with each other and with[in] communities. According to Brumer (1993:5) “a social problem exists primarily in terms of how it is defined and conceived in a society”. Social problems are regarded the outcome of the actions of individuals or groups making claims of grievances with reference to some underlying conditions.

A phenomenon does not become a public problem unless it is perceived as such. It is therefore the assertions of grievances and claim making activities that define a social problem “and not necessarily any real conditions in society”(ibid.). To put it differently, social problems are what people think and claim they are as there are no conditions that are of themselves problematic. Thus the success of making an issue of anything is pegged on the claim making activity as well as the validity of the claims.

Cynicism: Cynicism refers to a negative attitudinal disposition issuing from the lack of trust and requisite social capital required to maintain effective social relations. Trust also provides a sense of belonging that serves the emotional needs of individuals. Citizen cynicism is, in an objective sense, low trust. Requisite social capital refers to the number of trusting and mutually supportive relationships that members of a polity like the nation draw on in realizing their economic social and political aims.

Methodological Approach

The data needed for this study comprised responses from journalists to a survey questionnaire and unstructured interviews (Babbie, 1990: 52; Leedy, 1992: 140). Data were collected via a self-administered survey questionnaire and in-depth interviews (Mwansa & Murage, 2000, Brown & Berk, 1969: 289). Data were processed through a combination of multivariate analysis and narrative analysis (Hair et al., 1979: 22; Gergen, 1992: 16; Gathu, 1995: 90).

The target population of the study comprised of journalists involved in the reporting of politics. These include beat reporters, copy editors, news editors, news analysts, and journalists in managerial positions. Journalists were sought from within the some of the major news organizations in Kenya, specifically the Nation Media Group [comprising the *The Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *East African*, Nation FM and Nation Television] and Kalamka Limited [the *People Daily* and *The People on Sunday*], the Standard Group of Newspapers [*East African Standard* and *Standard on Sunday*] and The Kenya Times Media Trust [*Kenya Times* and *The Sunday Herald*].

Assumptions of the Study

It was assumed:

- 1) That there exists a sizeable number of journalists involved in the reporting of political affairs.
- 2) That journalists have a pronounced professional bearing against which they can measure their actions.
- 3) That journalists would consent to filling out the questionnaires and respond positively to requests for interviews.

Delineation of the Study

- 1) This study was limited to journalist responses to the issue of constitutional reforms. Public or social problems as defined above are diverse and may not draw similar attention from journalists or the public.
- 2) This study did not investigate the relationship between journalists and their news sources, which may be expected in investigations of journalist agency.

Limitations of the Study

The study experienced several limitations.

- 1) The first limitation had to do with the shortage of up-to-date primary literature especially in the area of current theory building in mass communication. To compensate for this, the study drew from instances where the work of theorists such as Michelle Foucault has been applied in multi-disciplinary contexts.
- 2) The study also suffered from the general inadequacy of local theory building among Kenyan scholars and students of communication. In recognition of this, one of the principal motivations of the study was to advance the construction of theories that explain and apply to mass media in Kenya.

Acknowledgment is also made of possible limitations arising from the choice of methodology.

- 3) The research tool, being rather long, may have invited resistance or casualness from the respondent.
- 4) By the very nature of their work, journalists are busy people, usually working against deadlines, and had little time to spare for filling out the research tool and availing themselves for interview. Narrative inquiry also imposes serious time

requirements for both the respondent and the researcher.

- 5) Other important limitations on account of methodology had to do with the choice of narrative inquiry (in-depth interviewing) to generate data on journalist strategies and experiences in reporting constitutional reforms. This method is too involving and assumes that respondents really are willing to divulge personal experiences.
- 6) A potentially hazardous limitation arose in the episodic nature of the clamour for constitutional reform and its attending crisis'. This was made even more real by the fact of the data collection taking nine months to collect. This length of time may have had the consequence of introducing time specific bias in the data. Had the crisis eased, the study would also have had to deal with a 'dead event'.

Fortunately, the crisis in reforming the constitution continued even at the time of writing. Far from easing, it has fed into an election and political transition year with possible perilous consequence.

To overcome these methodological limitations, the study identified competent research firms where data entry and analysis was done. The study also factored critical incident/event posturing in the in-depth interviews, in the hope that journalists would find their experiences worthwhile and reportable stories in their own right.

Outline of the Study

In Chapter One an outline the research problem is given. The outline details the study's background and justifications as well as its rationale and significance.

In Chapter Two an eclectic theoretical framework that shall be employed in the understanding and contextualizing the problem is offered. In particular the chapter contains a review of relevant literature in the study's core areas; newsroom politics,

journalist's self-agency and professional expectations, the quest for constitutional reforms in Kenya, media and democratization, and press history in Kenya. Also, it proffers a framework used to operationalize core areas of the study including theories regarding journalist orientation, journalist attitude, cynicism, and framing analysis.

In Chapter Three a description and discussion of the methods to be used in the study of the problem for both data collection and processing is given. The chapter provides justifications for methods and techniques preferred. The methods discussed include the descriptive survey method, factor analysis, and narrative analysis. Particular instruments to be used in the field are also discussed.

Chapter Four comprises a presentation of data collected. The presentation consists of the various computations achieved in the process of data processing through multivariate and narrative analysis.

In Chapter Five a discussion of the findings of the study and their significance in view of the research questions is presented.

CHAPTER II: THE SEARCH FOR AN APPROPRIATE HERMENEUTIC OF JOURNALIST CONDUCT

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a conceptual framework against which to study the conduct of journalists against the backdrop of changing political, social and economic landscape. Developing the construct shall involve review of related literature on the core areas of the study to clarify research problems, constructs and methodology (Leedy, 1992: 66).

Review of related literature will also be helpful in locating construct validity, which is instrumental for the contingent validity of the study. According to Frank Durham "construct validity offers a method for evaluating the correctness of an interpretative analysis" (Durham , 1998: 106). The contingent validity of this study depends to a great extent on a sound description and definition of news professionalism, an acceptable description and derivation of journalist orientation, and a sound hermeneutical reading of current developments in journalism. It is also predicated upon an exhibition of a consequential consonance between reliably collected evidence and forcefully applied theory to substantiate the authority of the analysis.

Inevitably, anybody who chooses to write about journalism today will very soon have to answer one question, the import of media theory, or theory at all to the practice of journalism. If the press is the fourth estate, then media theory has been called the fifth estate, a watchdog of journalism (Strelitz & Steenveld, 1998: 100) or as providing the connection between work and theory in the practice of journalism

(Tomaselli, & Shepperson, 1998: 91). The challenge of connecting media theory with media practice provides the underbelly of the study and is best put by the question whether journalism in multiparty Kenya, and in the rapidly changing social, political and economic environments in Africa, does need to rediscover its mission.

This study represents an effort in answering that question and therefore benefits from media scholarship that does not take the 'centre' for granted. Quite to the contrary the study finds much satisfaction in problematizing assumptions and claims made with regard to this 'centre' in journalism. In this regard the conceptual frame represents consciousness of the ways in which various entities and positions are set up in media discourse and in discourse about media.

Journalism Values and Crisis in Kenyan Journalism

Called to give a working definition of professional expectations of a journalist in multi-party Kenya, Ali Hafith, then Editor-in-Chief of the *Standard* opined that

The journalist, as a professional, is a person who has to practice on the same universal ethics of the profession, regardless of who owns or runs the industry. It is nonsensical and meaningless" he went on, "to categorize media professionals into the dangerous discriminatory categories currently being advocated by people who would like to set for us the rules of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not". Professional journalists should all have identical interests and views on the profession- first and foremost. Such other issues as advocacy journalism, among others, are secondary." (Hafidh, 1992: 36).

The then editor-in-chief of Kenya's oldest and second leading newspaper was owning up to turmoil going through newsrooms and media houses with the advent of the clamour for change in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990's. He acknowledged the invasion by 'social advocacy journalism' into the newsrooms of the 'established

press'. In so doing he was fore-grounding a concern that has become nearly universal, the rise of cynicism with regard to media and concomitant critic that journalism is in need of reform.

Partly in response to this perceived decay in traditional journalism have emerged journalism reform movements such as civic or public journalism or the alternative press. In Kenya, this has taken the form of the alternative press tradition for which the outstanding example is *The People* stable which began as a news weekly in 1993 but has now moved to become a daily with a separate paper on Sunday. Ali Hafidh, steeped in one tradition, was resisting the invasion of the latter and what it portends for the future of journalism's core traditional values. One critic in the US found the " 'do- gooding' philosophy" of civic journalism. "fraudulent", 'a bad idea' and its 'high minded' claims ...dishonest and ultimately 'anti-democratic'" (Kelly, 1996: 46).

Seven years after the 1992 School of Journalism seminar in which Kadhi made his remarks, the state of flux in Kenyan journalism's values and identities had consolidated to clearly marked journalistic traditions. At the center of this furor were news organizations, the individual journalist, the journalism profession and its identity in a changing society. Speaking to the issue, the managing director of Nation Media Group Wilfred Kiboro, complained that Kenyan news stands

...are stacked with evidence of abuses of press freedom, where rumour and gossip are sold as truth, where facts are twisted to achieve some sinister agenda of the publisher and his sponsor, where blatant lies and trivia are a daily menu. [And where] truth is no longer sacred (Kiboro, 1999).

Rumour and Gossip

Speaking at the same seminar, Kihu Irimu for the Kenya Union of journalists called for "legal and policy frameworks to be put in place to guarantee expression of

social cultural expressions of the people [and] that support the public initiatives” with regard to print and electronic media (Irimu 1999). According to Irimu, Kenyan journalists were increasingly finding themselves in the unenviable situation where, owing to the “over-concentration of media in a few hands,” they work for employers whose sole interest was the profit they can make from journalism. Journalism, he opined, must remain accountable to and dictated by public interest.

News Professionalism

A profession cannot exist if there are two or more occupations laying claim to the cognitive base of the profession (Soloski, 1989: 210). According to Soloski, to secure control of this cognitive base requires that firstly,

...a body of esoteric and fairly stable knowledge about the professional task be mastered by all practitioners and, [secondly], the public accepts the professionals as the only individuals capable of delivering the professional services (ibid).

The profession thus, “establishes a monopoly in the professional market place” (ibid). Central to the claims of journalism as a profession and a prerequisite for democratic governance is the gathering and reporting of information [news]. Following this, the turmoil in journalism is occasioned by an apparent struggle to redefine the cognitive base of the profession of journalism. Considering the institutional location of journalism and the potential contradictions of its appeal may help to foreground this.

Journalism, unlike other established professions, say law or medicine, is located largely within an institutional context (Soloski, 1989: 211). With globalisation and the increasing concentration of capital, journalism is coming more

and more under the control of single companies holding controlling interest in trans-border news organizations. The emergence of monopoly capitalism, with its large business organizations has in its turn led to further limiting journalism's expansion outside the ambits of its institutional contexts in the news organizations. The boon to journalism has been that the profession has become more secure, as these corporations provide new career possibilities both in the newsroom and in increasingly different contexts such as online and cable journalism. The catch for journalism is that its professionals are increasingly unable to take or exert control of the profession (Opiyo, 1994: 194)

News professionalism works to control the behaviour of the individual journalist in predictable fashion and to make her better suited for the business interests of the organization. It does this by first setting the standards and norms of behaviour and by under-grinding a reward system for the individual practitioner. (Soloski, 1989: 212). Journalists are supposed to get this under-grinding by going through journalism training institutions which aim at providing the cognitive standardization necessary for professionalism.

News organizations however do not leave the professional education of the journalists entirely in the hands of training institutions, the result would be that journalists would be too free to apply their own discretion to their work. Besides, this may provide journalists with a professional power base quite independent of the news organizations. Journalists therefore will usually finish off their professional training inside newsrooms, on the job. This will take the form of apprenticeship, with a professional hierarchy of news-personnel from a junior reporter to the managing editor or editor-in-chief. Journalists thus come to share the same "norms of behaviour that

emanate from news professionalism [and which] constitute a trans-organisational control mechanism" (Soloski, 1989: 213). To ensure the control of journalists, news organizations will go further to develop news policies, particular to the news organizations. Thus newspapers in the *Nation Media Group* stable, for example, will hardly report negatively on the Aga Khan, or the *Bhora* community, this being part of their internal news policy. They will also report news largely in line with the organization's usually unstated policy with regard to its clients in the marketplace including in this case the government (Opiyo 1994: 227)

Opiyo (1994) names several channels which news organizations use to control the work of journalists and in the process ensure organizational supremacy in defining what the news is on any particular day. These channels include news gathering routines, editorial meetings, and attitude promotion (Opiyo 1994: 195ff). According to Opiyo the combined influence of these factors is that journalist belief inclinations have little influence on the news content.

Objectivity

Of the norms prevalent in news professionalism, objectivity is perhaps the most dominant. From this issues other definitive values such as news judgment, selection of and behaviour towards sources, and the structuring of news beats (Soloski, 1989: 213). Objectivity requires journalists to seek out facts and report them as fairly and in as balanced a way as is possible. It therefore lies not in the character of news reports but in the behaviour of journalists. Journalists must act in ways that allow them to report on the news objectively. Making sense of the world does not constitute evaluating it and passing judgment, rather it refers to seeking out all

possible sides of an issue and presenting them impartially and fairly. In this way, a sub or an editor can apply the norm to a news story from a reporter and all should agree on the best professional presentation.

Objectivity in this sense is central to the integrity of a news operation. Journalists and by extension news organizations report on events, countercheck facts, and ensure that they cover all sides of an unfolding issue. The sources are responsible for how these events unfold and the accuracy of the facts. This serves to significantly reduce accusations of bias both for the news organization and the journalist. News reporting can err in so far as sources dupe the journalists and thus the news organization, but while these two should be able to detect such lies, ultimately the responsibility for bias lies with the sources and the nature of the event. In this mode, the fact that a particular candidate is featured prominently in the news in contrast with other candidates may result from their behaviour as candidates more than the behaviour of journalists or news organizations.

Objectivity is also central to the news operation because it shields the operation from accusations of being overtly political or ideological. News operations that are perceived as being objective secure monopoly positions in the market place. This is the hallmark of the so-called independent press. It also explains resentment of this press to public or civic journalism.

The integrity of a news operation is thus based primarily on the objectivity of its news personnel. Should news be written by any other standard, such as allegiance to a developmental philosophy as advocated by African governments largely between 1960-1990, or to civic value such as advocated by public and civic journalism, then the market place 'will be ripe for competition from news organizations that [hold]

opposing points of view' (Soloski, 1989: 214). The standard therefore is what is objective reporting and what is not. As far as there can be agreement on this, then monopoly control of the market place by the mainstream press is assured and will not be viewed as problematic either by the public, the journalists, media owners or advertisers. Newspapers would simply be reporting the news, the best way they know how.

In this way the work of the professional press becomes free of any problematic according to Ali Hafidh to "provide news which is true, reasonably complete, and meaningful for the audience towards which it is derived." According to him, "...if we [journalists] are ethical (that is if the journalists remain impervious to the demands of social advocacy) we shall not be swayed".

The Democratic Assumption

At the heart of the turmoil in journalism is the value beholden to the profession, objectivity and the relationship between adherence to this value and the claims journalism makes of itself in western style democracies as a "city on a hill", "the fourth estate", "watchdogs" against government, etc.

(Altschull, 1991: 32). To quote:

The ideal of a free press, one devoid of controls either from self-censorship, prohibitive legislation, restricting ownership or self serving commercial interests forms the basis of the doctrine that the press is vital to the working of a democracy. Democracy is assumed to thrive owing at least in part to the information disseminated by the media. "In a democracy, it is the people who rule, and their voices are heard in the voting booths. The decisions made by the people are based on the information made available to them. That information is provided, primarily by the news media. Hence, the news media are indispensable to the survival of a democracy." (Altschull: 1995, 29)


A democracy being an 'open' society, information to the citizens about themselves and how they are governed must be provided by news media that are unfettered. The press is part of the public arena with a duty to search after and report the truth so as to enrich the contents of debate and decision in the arena. The public arena fashioned after the capitalist enterprise in which it is located and of which it is part becomes a 'market place' of ideas (Altschull, 1995: 6). In this ideas can be traded freely with a view to developing a popular consensus against which citizens can lobby government and governments in turn can seek to influence citizens.

Objectivity as the defining professional norm in news professionalism has served the professions claim to public service well. According to Soloski "professions maintain a strong ideal of service to society and many of the professions' services come to be seen as universal goods that are available to all who need them" (Soloski, 1989: 211). For news professionals, this service has been the provision of information. Information is deemed vital for an effective and democratic governance system. News professionals are the central cogs in the communication system within the context of the entire political system in a democracy.

A democratic political system posits at a minimum "two kinds of persons... members [citizens] and the authorities". The members are the constitutive part of the system and provide it with two types of input referred to as 'demands' and 'support' (Chafee, 1975: 93). The system, acting through the authorities, "continuously performs a 'conversion process' that yields outputs that are variously called decisions, policies, actions, and services" (ibid). Media outlets provide putative audience members with "knowledge...of any changes in the state of the system regarding the authoritative allocation of values" (Chafee, 1975: 96). Holding any external or

internal constraints constant, such information should be free of bias and sufficient in enabling civic decision-making. A free press, whose bastion is the independent press, is the interlocutor in this information exchange. Objectivity serves this well as news professionals aim at providing information as opposed to say persuading readers. "Providing the audience members with information is the primary task of the modern journalistic profession. Commenting on the information and trying to shape public opinion through editorial persuasion is of secondary importance" (Becker, McCombs and Mcleod, 1975: 23).

Getting the Separations Right



Traditional journalism assumes a rich and vibrant democracy and posits itself a watchdog, or in the words of Edmund Burke, "the fourth estate, taking its place in an 'estates general' comprising the elite's in the democratic process". It promotes the notions journalists bring to their work, which is "to act as if they were instruments of popular education in a rich, vitalized democracy" (Schudson, 1995: 211). In this custom, traditional journalism has established principles of professional conduct that serve to identify journalism from the rest of the estates. In the resulting doctrine, editorial functions are separated from the business functions, the news pages from the opinion pages, facts from values, making the news from covering it and truth telling from its consequences. Newspapers are also separated from other institutions by their duty to report on them, one day separated from the next, reality from rhetoric, one's professional identity from one's personal identity as a citizen, and how one feels about something from how he reports on it (Rosen, 1994: 333ff). Among the values, objectivity has fostered in this tradition is a "neutral", detached posturing on the part

of the reporter relative to the subject he is covering, on selection of what is news, the language it is reported in, its length, the prominence it is given within the newspaper, and its frequency.

Critics of traditional journalism have accused it of being too keen on getting these separations right. Journalists, labouring to work within these separations, obfuscate the need for journalism to nurture a tradition of civic participation in governance that is vital for democratic growth. Journalism they contend must have two faces simultaneously, one that gives information and another that is sufficiently “engaged in the day’s news in ways that invite discussion and debate” (Glasser & Claft, 1998 11). Journalism must therefore seek ways of participating as opposed to being detached from efforts that seek to improve the quality of public life. Journalism must also desist from being the choice vehicle for the colonization of the life world by technologies of governance. In the words of Rosen:

Public journalists want public life to work. In order to make it work they are willing to declare an end to their neutrality on certain questions, for example: whether people participate, whether a genuine debate takes place when needed, whether a community comes to grips with its problems, whether politics earns the attention it claims (Rosen, 1994:11).

The disenchantment with traditional journalism has led to journalism reform movements in nearly all societies that avow democratic values. The reform movement variously referred to as civic or public journalism or the alternative press has taken root in Africa, Latin America and the United States of America. In the United States of America the age of monopoly capitalism, shrinking newspaper readership, an increasingly adversarial press and the challenge of online information technologies pose the greatest challenge to the news profession. In Latin and Central America and in Africa, journalism reform has arisen from perceived inadequacy of traditional

journalism to rise to the challenge of rapid social, economic and political change heralded by the demise of the cold war and subsequent rise of a unipolar world view centred on democracy, respect for human rights and the commodisation of states into free markets for international capital. In the one, the challenge for reform has risen from within the newsrooms of the independent press, in the other the challenge has risen from without the newsroom in what was benightedly referred to as the gutter press.

The turmoil in journalism, it would appear, has issued not so much from the practice of the craft, but from its mission, its democratic assumptions. While retaining their commitment to the traditional values of the news industry- timely, in-depth reporting and accurate analysis of events, the critics of traditional journalism move to practice what has been called 'conversational journalism' where ordinary citizens are actively engaged in the process of agenda setting. This practice envisions the daily newspaper as "a common carrier for civic discourse, a medium for conversation among citizens rather than a conduit for professionally packaged information" (Aderson et al, 1994: XIII). With the broad goal of enabling and improving civic participation in public life this new journalism seeks to provide citizens with the news and information they need to function fully as participants in a democratic society.

Practitioners in this chapel are particularly opposed to equation of the relationship of media and democracy with that of providing information. John Pauly one of the believers in this new priesthood gives four reasons why "a society organized around the principle of information can never be democratic" (Aderson et al, 1994: Ibid). These include the confusion of information technology with actual communication, excessive individualism, information overload and consequent


anxiety and the “actual marginality of the role of information in democratic social groups” (ibid). “What holds democracy together”, he says, “is not information but a mutual commitment to shared and appropriate ways of knowing”(ibid, XIV).

Journalism thus “needs to listen more and speak less” (Ibid, XVI). According to John Pauly, journalism

...Needs to offer democracy more meaning and less information. [it needs to] help citizens create a world subject to democratic control, a society of humane pace and scale, ... and to do so journalists may need to relinquish their more grandiose professional aspirations and simply open the pages of their daily newspapers to citizens voices and concerns (Ibid, XVII).

The contention that information alone is insufficient in enabling civic participation “appears to be supported by current trends in information and activism” at least in the US (Gade et al, 1998, 10ff). According to this study

People are bombarded with information from myriad sources; it is estimated that the average American newspaper includes more information in its Sunday edition than a person would have received in a lifetime a century ago. Yet, this abundance of information has neither solved social problems nor convinced citizens to partake in civic decision making (ibid).



This contention may not be without parallel in Kenya or sub-Saharan Africa, where the number and quality of newspapers and other news media have been on the upsurge in the 1990's. This has however not stopped people who came to power through ‘democratic elections’ such as Frederick Chilumba of Zambia from falling back on old ‘single party laws’ to lock out the opposition in future elections. Neither for that matter has it led to democratic consolidation in former single party states like Kenya.

A change in focus to “to recall journalism to its deepest mission of public service” (Rosen, 1995: 16) has led to a change in method. In the US, where civic journalism has made significant ground, as a precursor to going on the beat, journalists have to know what readers want by conducting investigations, citizen forums and juries, impromptu interviews, panel of specialists and subject polls. The objectives of these methods may differ but will often aim at directly bringing in citizen perspectives in the news gathering process, enabling journalists to listen more and tell less and increase media house awareness of subject issues by providing a data bank on citizen priorities and concerns. Occasionally this may entail newspapers themselves acting in tandem with communities to identify and solve a particular public problem

Benefits to media are enormous as the public rediscovers its confidence in local media institutions, the media gets better connected with its publics and journalists develop and refine new reportorial techniques in advance of the goals of civic journalism.

In Kenya, the challenge of reforming journalism has taken the form of an onslaught on traditional news outlets by so called ‘independent press’. Here the issue in the words of Pius Nyamora, the editor of one such alternative news outlet, was “the people’s right to know”. “Since the purpose of distributing news and enlightened opinion is to serve the public at large, the public’s right to know was more important to *Society* than the principle [of] objectivity. *Society* compromised this principal because the situation demanded it” (Nyamora, 1992: 18).

The newslect of the alternative press meant opening the pages of their papers to more voices almost to the exclusion of government sources. This according to

Nyamora 'was a mortal sin', which brought in "direct intimidation from the government which felt that [*Society* was] the mouth piece of the opposition" (ibid). In a veiled reference to the independent traditional press, Nyamora opined that "if [*Society* was] a multinational conglomerate with other massive business interests in Kenya, it could have compromised the peoples right to know, and consequently objectivity in order to protect business". The *Nation* and the *Standard*, which Nyamora was referring to, and which are the bastion of the independent news professionalism thus fail the journalistic mission in pretending to be objective when in reality government called the tune.

Commenting on journalism's greater calling, Nyamora says

Society's compromise is a drop in the ocean compared to the compromise by Kenyan society for three decades. For three decades, news was about His Excellency, the minister for this and that...the District officer- today said blah blah blah. No ordinary farmer or businessman made news.... Farmers and businessmen ...have problems too (Ibid).

Further, "multi-party Kenya requires a very lofty press... to be forthright one must compromise ...professionally" (Ibid: 20).

Clearly, however, this kind of compromise should not be equated to abandoning ones professional calling. "Journalists", Nyamora goes on, "must exercise a sense of responsibility...


In a country where rumours are a way of life and the majority of the people cannot interpret the written word; in a country where the majority of the people take the written word like the gospel, a journalist should be as accurate and as clear as possible. It is also important for the journalist to practice the highest degree of professionalism for the benefit of the people (Ibid).

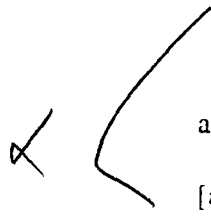
rumours

The belief that adherence to conventional criteria of objectivity only serves to kill democratic aspirations in Kenya is shared by many others in the alternative press.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these is Bedan Mbugua, the first editor of *The People* then a news weekly and currently the third largest daily next to the *Nation* and the *Standard*. In the celebrated *People Three Litigation*, the court of appeal found Mbugua, reporter David Makali and Lawyer GBM Kariuki in contempt of court for adducing "indecision and dishonesty" on the part of the court with respect to a ruling.

The court of appeal found that as the editor of the newspaper, Mbugua

1 f. 2  ...Actively encourages his journalists and writers to write with an aim to provoke debate and discussion on public issues that touch on the three arms of government and that insofar as the judiciary is concerned, he encourages his reporters and writers to perform their duties in a manner that will help in exposing judicial decisions to public scrutiny, believing that this makes it necessary for judges to feel accountable to the public for their decisions [Justice Omolo, *The People* 1994 19-25 June]

 Mbugua found nothing objectionable with 'encouraging his [sic] journalists and writers to write with an aim to provoke debate and discussion on public issues, [and] in a manner that [would expose] judicial decisions to public scrutiny'. In defense of this line of conduct. Mbugua wrote, in mitigation to the court which he was not privileged to deliver,

As I prepare for any eventuality, I want to state that I, and all of us in the alternative press, are willing to pay the penalties which we have to pay for having followed the dictates of our conscience in pursuit of what we believe to be right. Many people have paid the price before us and many people will pay the price after ourselves (Mbugua, 1994: 2).

Different strokes for a different priesthood or are these two sides of the same coin or simply one and the same thing with artificially different markers? The answer to the question may be crucial to the future of journalism. According to Soloski, 'the history of professionalism is marked by long and often bitter struggles by competing

occupations to secure a monopoly in the professional marketplace. A profession cannot exist if two or more occupations lay claim to the cognitive base of the would be profession" (Soloski, 1989: 211).

This new priesthood is not without its critics. As the court of appeals decision shows, public officials regard this kind of journalism as "a masked attempt on the part of journalists to take sides in political debates, influence the political agenda, determine community issues, or instigate public criticism of the government's policies and decisions" (Gade et al, 1998: 10ff). Government officials may be comfortable with a news professional who keeps to the job of telling the news and not pandering to readers or assuming a moral high ground. That this is so was demonstrated by the response of government to a *Nation* poll on citizen opinion on the subject of constitutional reforms in June 1999. In the poll an overwhelming 90% of pollsters indicted the President on his conduct on the issue. The day after the poll was published, none other than the Vice President loudly condemned the papers 'new' policy and the method it used to come up with the news item.

Government officials are not the only ones worried by this new priesthood in journalism. Journalists too, largely in the mainstream press, worry that news professionals are "abdicating their professional responsibility to assess the newsworthiness of events" (Seth, 1997: 12) The most extreme of these view this as "an attempt to control the public agenda" rather than report on it. They view it as "self serving", 'dishonest' and a 'fraud' that ends up seriously limiting public debate." (Ibid) Many share the view that journalism, the profession, is in danger of giving in to activists and in the process lose control of editorial decisions to forces and persons outside the newsroom. This would lead inevitably to advocacy creeping into

news columns. In the words of Ali Hafidh

We have heard of the 'alternative press' a term that is winning credence to mean the opposite of the established press. It is nonsensical and meaningless to categorize media professionals into the dangerous discriminatory categories currently being advocated by people who would like to set for us the rules of 'thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not'. Professional journalists should all have identical interests and views on the profession-first and foremost (Hafith, 1992: 35).

Referring to news professionals, such as Pius Nyamora, who get out of their observer and reporter mould to actively participate in shaping the events of the day, Hafidh wonders,

[A]re we not being taken for a ride by non-journalists who want to use us? Some people" he says "commonly speak of "The responsibility of the press" without realising that it amounts to a shift in the theoretical foundation of the Freedom of the Press from the individual to society. ...If we are to be professionally ethical, he goes on, we should not be blinded by a narrow dogmatism.... The media should provide news, which is true, reasonably complete, and meaningful for the audience towards which it is derived. The media should provide some forum for opinions and exchange of attitudes as a necessary part of community intercourse and development, under social responsibility and obligations to the nation and society. That is true freedom." (Ibid: 37)

Journalists in other words should strive to get the separations right because only then can they be news professionals. These separations constitute in effect the departure line between traditional and civic journalism (Glasser & Craft, 1998: 8f).

The Rise of News Professionalism in Kenya

The objectivity mantra has not always been the high water mark of the press in Kenya. (A colonial specialty, the press in Kenya rose from a very partisan tradition.) Colonialism imposed a state on the African populations and thus changed the nature of the putative civil society. By creating and imposing a state on African populations

and subsequently rigorously maintaining divisions between the two, and by first introducing mass education, urbanization and technology for printing and second manufacturing discontent by virtue of its racist policies, colonialism made it possible for the creation of a mass circulation press, in Kenya.

The development of professional norms for this press depended on which side the paper was serving, or which social conditions necessitated the paper. Press development was therefore first in the service of the settler population, then another brand in the service of the African nationalists and with the increasing demands placed on the colonial government, an official press to propagate government and propaganda.

The Pro-Settler Press.

As noted this press arose to cater for the needs of the new settlers. The first of such papers in East Africa was the *African Standard* founded at Mombasa in 1902 (Alot, 1982: 27). It was meant, "mainly to inform the white settlers and the colonized Kenyans about the activities of the colonial government" (Ibid, 27). Its founder, A.M Jevanjee, an Indian coolie who had come to work on the railway and made a fortune supplying inputs for its construction recruited a British journalist to establish the editorial policy of the paper. The paper established itself as a moderator of colonial policy and regularly carried critique of colonial administration decisions. The paper however soon changed hands, changing its name to the *East African Standard* and moved to Nairobi in 1910, barely three years after Nairobi became the headquarters of the British administration.

With the advance of African grievances in the 1920's onwards the role of the

East African Standard in the colonial state soon became that of “an extremist settler mouthpiece expressing all the White hysteria, all the angry settler demands for more and more repressive action by the Colonial Office” (ibid, 29). When opposing and discrediting colonialism became fashionable especially after the Second World War, it assumed a central role in justifying it and opposing nationalism in Kenya. This should not have been surprising, as one of the owners of the paper at this time was Lord Delamare, known for his extreme demands regarding Kenya as a White man’s country.

In the face of increasing African nationalistic demands the settler community established an even more racy paper in 1946, the *Kenya Comment*. The editor, Sir Ferdinand Cavelish, was at one time speaker of the Kenya Legislative Assembly from which position he resigned “at the prospects that the house was set for eventual majority [African] rule” (Ibid, 34). Announcing a change in the editorial policy of the paper in 1949, he stated that the

...chief endeavor [of the paper] will be to further the interests of the King’s empire in this corner of his dominions and, believing that a strong East Africa means a British European East Africa, ...shall strive to bring a spotlight to those things which will influence this belief. [Explaining their racial bias, the editorial went on to say that the paper’s] attitude towards non-Europeans is simply put. We believe that all men have a right to represent their views, but any suggestion that all men are equal in brain power, experience, or administrative ability, is nonsense (ibid, 34).

Meanwhile in 1927, the colonial government started radio broadcasting that championed the interests of the colonial elite.

The Counter Colonial [nationalist] Press.

As early as the 1920's, emerging African educated elite had realized the power of the new press in serving the ends of the interests of the owner. In this vein there arose a spirited effort to run broadsheets that countered colonial propaganda and sought to instill in their readership a sense of national purpose not based on colonial identity. The Kikuyu Central Association with Harry Thuku as the first editor founded the first such paper, *Tangazo*, in 1922. *Tangazo* was however short lived but was soon replaced by *Muigwithania* [the reconciler] founded in 1928 with Jomo Kenyatta [then Johnston Kamau] as its first editor.

Muigwithania has been described as

A chatty compilation on meetings, exhortations to join the KCA, to farm better, to become active in business, to educate children and parables designated to be read aloud to the great majority of Kikuyu who were illiterate and in accordance with [its name] promote unity among the Kikuyu (Spencer 1995: 69).

It is noteworthy that *Muigwithania* went beyond uniting the Kikuyu to reporting on "other native welfare associations in the various parts of the country to highlight African problems and seek their solution..." (Alot 1982: 52). The paper folded in 1940 with the proscription of the KCA by the colonial administration. Its place was soon filled by *Mumenyereri* [the caretaker] in 1944.

At the height of the struggle against colonialism, almost every region in Kenya had witnessed the birth of a periodical in this vein. Kenya's first crop of politicians had at one time founded or edited anti-colonial papers. These include Achieng Oneko, Tom Mboya, James Gichuru, J.M. Kariuki, Francis Khamisi, Joseph Otiende, Lawlence Sagini and Paul Ngei. [Alot 1982, 52] The ethnic and regional

concentration of the papers have been explained by the limits imposed on African civic initiatives by the colonial government (Wanjohi, 1997: 51).

From the outset, mediated communication in Kenya was therefore begun for political purposes either to promote the cause of colonialism or independence for the African. In this period too was begun the veritable press-state relations that came to characterize independent Kenya's press-state relationship. Thus the independent African press was perpetually harassed by the colonial administration with banning, seizure, and detention of its contributors. (Alot 1982: 54)

Not surprisingly, African journalism came to be defined by its commitment to the overthrow colonialism. Kwame Nkrumah, the first Ghanaian African head of state, and himself a former journalist described the "true African journalist" as one "who often works for the party to which he himself belongs and in whose purpose he believes. He works to serve a society moving in the direction of his aspirations" (Odhiambo, 1991: 24).

Post Colonial Press

As we have noted the state in Africa was a colonial creation and was not founded to serve African interests but rather those of the colonizer. As noted also, the new regimes in Africa failed to effectively decolonize the states they inherited. One of the consequences of this for the post independent press is that it inherited the characteristics it had acquired under colonialism. In the first place those papers that had existed to serve the anti-colonial effort fizzled out as their founders moved in to found the new independent state.

The history of the post independent press in Kenya is characterized by the

birth and rise of *The Daily Nation* and its sister publications *The Sunday Nation*, *Taifa Leo* and *Taifa Jumapili*. Together with the *East African Standard* and *Standard on Sunday* these provided the daily fair of news up to 1983 when the ruling party started the *Kenya Times* and *Times on Sunday*. This media terrain was further changed 1997 with the conversion of *The People* a news weekly founded in 1993 into a daily with a sister newspaper *The People on Sunday*. The period is also described by the relationship between the press and government that saw the rise of a rogue development ideology and concomitant pressure by the government to the press to tow the line.

The Daily Nation, currently the leading circulation newspaper in East Africa was founded in January 1960. From inception, the paper aimed to provide an alternative to the pro-colonial press whose flagship was the *East African Standard*. It would do this by acknowledging the newsworthiness of African events and the criticality of African audiences and editorial staff (Opiyo, 1994: 77). Began as a weekly on January 10 before turning daily in October of the same year, the paper pursued an editorial policy that sought to 'foster good will and understanding between the different races' in Kenya. The paper also sought to safeguard and promote the province of independent news operations declaring that it was "beholden to no single race, religion or party".

The success of the Daily Nation is unrivalled in East Africa. The paper and its Sunday edition command over 50% of readership in Kenya with the Sunday Nation selling an average 230,000 copies in 1999. In addition the Nation Media Group which owns the papers also runs a successful weekly East African [circulation 50,000], an FM and TV station.

Apparently the government of Kenya did not consider owning a newspaper important until 1983 when the Kenya African National Union [KANU] then the only legal party in Kenya started the *Kenya Times*. Inherited from the *Nairobi Times* of Hillary Ng'weno, proprietor of *The Weekly Review* for long a respected weekly magazine, the *Kenya Times* seems to have run into editorial and financial difficulties since inception. It got out circulation between 1983 and 1988 when the ruling party got into partnership with the late media mogul Robert Maxwell to found the Kenya Times Media Trust. The paper has an editorial policy that seeks to make it KANU's mouth piece. With a low circulation and very minimal advertising it has therefore benefited financially from KANU's vast financial resources to keep it afloat. It has however also been as vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the political changes that saw the popular clamor for multiparty politics as well as ongoing efforts to consolidate and widen democratic governance.

The government however had at its disposal a radio and television service inherited from the colonial government. Moreover, the government did not proceed to make legislation that was specific to either broadcasting or newspaper publishing. The owners and editors of these papers therefore proceeded to interpret the legal environment from the laws inherited from the former colonial master and the colonial legislature. The press in Kenya therefore inherited significant obstacles that were to plague it later.

In the first place, there was no existing tradition of a bill of rights in the colonial state framework. Freedom of assembly, expression, the press and others were therefore not entrenched. The independence constitution provided for what amounted

to a limited bill of rights where chapter V, section 79 (1) of the *Constitution of Kenya* guarantees that;

Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference [whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons] and freedom from interference with his correspondence.

This guarantee must not be misread as providing a constitutional framework for the existence of civil liberties in a liberal democratic sense. Rather they were included at the insistence of the departing colonial government and separatist elements at the constitutional negotiation table to protect themselves from the nationalist ambitions of the new government (Gatheru. 1995: 61). Thus even at independence no constitutional mechanism was made for, say, effective representation in the legislature, or ensuring that the excessive powers granted by the colonial legislature to the executive arm of government [even above itself] were comprehensively revised. In short there were no constitutional guarantees for a free press just as there were none for a functional democracy.

This was complicated by the existence of laws passed by the colonial legislature to check against the freedoms of individuals and African communities in the colonial state. These laws included the *Chiefs Act Ordinance*, the *Public Security Act*, the *Sedition Act*, the *Films and Stage Plays Act* and others. Furthermore, some pieces of legislation such as the *Preservation of Public Security Act* and the *Outlying Districts Act* gave the new head of state express authority to suspend the constitution and institute a police state very much like the colonial one. While in principle these

were meant to protect the state, in practice they came to be used against internal dissent for which the press was the first casualty.

The reality of African governance under this constitutional arrangement began to take its toll as soon as 1964 when the ruling party, KANU coaxed and bribed the opposition KADU into resigning and joining its ranks. With political opposition from without the ruling party diminished, the Kenyatta government began looking inwards to rid itself internal dissent. The most famous casualty of this was Jaramogi Odinga Oginga, then national vice president. Budded out of KANU in 1966, he founded an opposition party, which was heavily rigged out of parliament in the resultant by elections and was proscribed in 1969. All official opposition was therefore driven underground. The government's eye turned to the independent press.

The answer to the challenge posed by an inquisitive independent press lay in the rogue word, development.

The Development Press.

The period between 1960-1990 also saw the rise of a rogue ideology of development in Africa. Faced by internal dissent and a dearth of relevant African specific ideology, African leaders soon discovered the utility of development as rogue ideology. Post colonial Africa, they argued must concern itself first and foremost with the alleviation of poverty, disease and ignorance. The postcolonial state must seek to modernize and catch up with the rest of the world as fast as possible. To achieve these, all resources available including those of the media must be channeled to serving development. Furthermore, competitive politics while desirable and inherently African must not be allowed to jeopardize the unity of purpose required to

achieve progress. As such the government was the principal initiator of development and everyone else was expected to support it. In this case the demands of a free press were regarded as unbridled, individualist and encouraging dissension. To quote from Claude Uke;

... African leaders adopted the ideology of development to replace that of independence. But as it turned out what was adopted was an rogue ideology of development as a strategy of power that . merely capitalized on the objective need for development. ...[What was needed] they argued was ...hard work [to overcome the humiliation of colonialism].

[But] hard work was to be done literally in silence; the overriding necessity of development was coupled with the overriding necessity for obedience and conformity (Uke 1996: 9).

The modernization project undertaken by African states had a phobia for any oppositional and independent institutional or structural developments. Thus a free market, an independent financial system, independent political organizations, a functioning rule of law, a free and independent press, a vibrant civil society and all other posits of a democratic process were an anathema to the new state.

In the case of the media, journalism was especially helpful to the state in propagating its modernization project. This need soon gave rise to what has been called development or developmental journalism defined as “a notion of journalism according to which reporting of events of national and international significance should be constructive in the sense that it contributes positively to the development of the country concerned” (Kunczik, 1988: 83). This kind of journalism “pays sustained attention to the coverage of ideas, policies, programs, activities, and events, dealing with the improvement of the life of a people [and] takes the stand that the media have a social responsibility to promote development” (Edeani, 1993: 126). Of necessity

this kind of journalist must eschew the *laissez faire* detachment beholden to the libertarian press. The press in this development project is not the fourth estate but an extension of the civil service.

In the face of an increasingly centralist and autocratic government the independent press took to supporting the parochial state interests. Where an independent press existed by virtue of its independence from state ownership, such as was the case for the Nation Group and the Standard Newspapers; the papers strove to meet their commercial obligations even where this meant collaborating with the government. In an editorial reminiscent of journalistic norms at the time, the *Daily Nation* of November 2 1976, wrote of the editorial policy of the paper:

We give all possible support to [Kenyatta's] Government and to his Ministers to advance the well being of Kenya and her people; we strive to back the authorities in their efforts to maintain the principals of good government and the rule of law; we give every support to the government in its work of strengthening the nation to be able to withstand internal strife and external threats; we are second to none in our backing of [Kenya's] universally [acclaimed] self-help and *Harambee* movement. Need we give more examples? (*Daily Nation* November 2 1976: 6).

In 1983, the ruling party founded the first government owned daily in the country since independence, the *Kenya Times*.

The Press in the 1990's: The Rise of the Alternative Press

The 1990's have been characterized by a constellation of struggle for greater civil and democratic freedom. On the media front, this has been marked by the emergence of so called alternative press. The concept of alternative media embodies variant dimensions of oppositional news, independence, and difference whose major characteristic is marked by the boundaries of especial contests with the status quo.

Alternative media have thus been defined as “those forms of mass communication that avowedly reject or challenge established and institutionalized politics, in the sense that they all advocate for change in society, or at least a critical reassessment of traditional values” (O’Sullivan et. al, 1994: 10). Alternative media are characterized by their support and mobilizing functions for opposition and social movements.

Masiela (1996) argues for an eight-point criterion for assessing the significance of alternative media to Africa’s reform project. These include whether alternative media are engaged in sustaining community based organizations and social movements, whether they are used as “vehicles of praxis which create the opportunities for the processes of codification and decodification”, and whether they “contest the plausibility structures that underpin social change” (Masiela, 1996: 104). Alternative media should also be evaluated by their inclination to “problematize historical reality in which people are immersed”, by their ‘engage[ment] in permanent dialogue with the oppressed in a language that is part of the ‘social practice of the people’” and whether they promote learning, creativity and a “critical spirit” in readers (ibid. 105). Alternative media should also encourage a cultural renaissance or “return to the sources” among ‘the culturally alienated’. Alternative media should also promote self images that advance the “esteem and confidence” amongst its target publics (ibid)

The foregone provides an important statement on the role of media practice in the service of political change. Alternative media thus give voice to alternative discourses to that articulated by the ruling class. They source their legitimacy within the reform movement and are highly responsive to the interest groups that aggregate to vocalize oppositional agendas (Hemant 1996, 143ff). Alternative media attempt to

redefine the communication regime by routinely giving voice to a wider range of social actors and issues than state, commercial or public media. Alternative media outlets come in various stripes mostly small budget, low circulation independent media outlets. Most hardly survive for long owing to their unattractiveness to advertisers and large capital. Those that do tend to have very strong linkages with the communities or special interest groups that they serve (O'Sullivan et al, 1994: 10).

The papers that adopted the alternative media mantra such as the *People* news weekly, and magazines such as *Society*, *Finance*, *The Nairobi Law Monthly* [now *Africa Law Monthly*], and others were aligned to major movements that emerged in the struggle against the single party regime. They are notable for their criticism of government, incisive investigative reporting of government malpractice, their social mission of building up and enabling civil society and claim to truth telling as different from being impartial mediators between events and readers.

This media has been credited with "ushering in ...multiparty politics". It cited as "continuing to support a consolidation of the limited gains of multiparty politics in achieving the freedoms of expression, information and communication" (Gatheru & Shaw, 1998: 8). In the wake of the new press, "the Kiswahili and English dailies" are reported to have become "bolder in their hard news coverage and editorial analysis of Kenya's political and economic environment". They now routinely highlight instances of abuse of power, corruption in government and gross economic mismanagement. (Gatheru & Shaw, 1998: 8).

Perhaps the paper that best illustrates this is the *People Daily* and *People on Sunday*. The *People Daily* began as the *People* newsweekly in 1993. According to John Kamau one of its first staff writers, the idea for a *People* weekly was hatched by

Bedan Mbugua, Kamau Ngotho and Haroun Wachira. These three sat in the offices of Pentaline- a media consulting firm and decided to ask Kenneth Matiba who had just lost in the historic 1992 multiparty elections to form a newspaper of his own to balance the lopsided coverage he got from the *Nation* and the *Standard*. Their considered opinion was that these two newspapers supported the quo and were choosing between Mr Kibaki or the incumbent Daniel Arap Moi. The paper identified itself as a fierce critique of the government and in the name of fostering democracy offered exposes of government corruption that neither the *Nation* nor the *Standard* could publish. In its first issue, the *People Weekly* identified itself as a successor to *Beyond* one of the early anti-government crusaders banned by the government in 1989 for exposing massive rigging in the notorious single party *Mlolongo* (queue voting) elections in 1988. Bedan Mbugua identified as its editorial motto, free, frank and fearless. The paper which was done with professional zeal that rivaled the *Nation* and *Standard* was at once popular achieving a weekly circulation of 60,000 copies in 1994. From that high the fortunes of the paper began to waver, sinking to a low of 15,000 circulation in 1996. To forestall a further downward slide Mbugua, set about reorganizing the editorial bringing in Kiruri Kamau as special projects editor and Kamau Ngotho as news editor. Bedan Mbugua was committed to jail in a high profile contempt case in the court of appeal. George Mbugus who had been with the paper as associate editor assumed the role of editor. By this time the paper had begun its path to recovery. With this success the *People* decided to go daily which they did in 1998. To do this the paper recruited virtually the entire newsroom of the defunct *Society* magazine the notable figures being Mwenda Njoka, Mwangi Chege and Mukalo wa Kwayera. According to insider journalist accounts, the paper nearly folded in its first

year as a daily. It has however since established itself on the market with a daily circulation of 40,000 copies. It has however suffered a very high turnover of editorial staff the most remarkable being Kamau Ngotho who joined the *Nation* as a staff writer, from where he has penned the incisive JM and Bruce Mackenzie political assassination stories and Mwenda Njoka who has founded his own news journal.

Media Legislation

The development of news professionalism in the 1990's must further be viewed against the legislative and media ownership environment in the same period. No legislation currently exists that is directly connected to regulating the press. There have been attempts recently to draft an act to that affect, through the task force on press laws initiated by the Attorney General. As such unlike the American case, there is no explicit constitutional guarantee or legal protection of the press and its work in Kenya. While the constitution of Kenya provides for fundamental rights and privileges, no mention is made of press freedoms or the role of the press in facilitating the enjoyment of these freedoms (Gathu, 1995; Kabatesi, 1997: 177).

Numerous secondary legislation has existed up to November 1997, to assist the state check on the ability of the citizens to use their fundamental rights to question those in power. These included the sedition provisions under the Penal Code, contempt of court, defamation and criminal libel. In addition the state could act in abuse of its power arrest and later detain errant writers, editors or publishers. The most famous instance of this is perhaps the Court of Appeal's jailing of "The People Three", Bedan Mbugua and David Makali in 1994. Numerous other journalists, most

notably, Blamuel Njururi and Nixon Kareithi have either spent time in jail or fled to exile on account of state harassment.

Furthermore the state retains the power to proscribe publications, as has been applied to *Society*, *Viva* and *Financial Review*. When all else has failed, the state has used its control of statutory organizations, and immense business clout to withhold advertising to hostile media outlets.

In the absence of constitutional and legal guarantees on the primacy of the press, the Kenyan press has borrowed heavily from international conventions to operationalise their notion of the freedom of the press. Under the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948], the European Convention of Human Rights, the Banjul Charter and the OAU Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, press freedom is enshrined in the international rights regime.

Chapter V, section 79 of the Kenya Constitution attempts to domesticate these instruments by providing that:

Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate or ideas and information without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons), and freedom from interference with his correspondence (Gathu: 1995).

In practice, however, these rights have been derogated from by application of secondary legislation outside the fundamental provisions in the constitution. Section 79 of the constitution is silent on the right to seek information, which is the qualifying right of the role of a press in a democracy. Section 79 (2) of the constitution removes from section 79

proper by restricting disclosure of information by government officials. The press is in this way severely dysfunctional in its watchdog pursuits. This silence and subsequent derogation, has been largely interpreted by government as denial of this role to the press with the result that the government views the press with hostility in the process of seeking information. On its part the press has internalized this by limiting itself to reporting government functionaries mostly at public rallies. Even then, their speeches have to be properly recorded lest they claim they were misquoted.

Further, as was demonstrated in the *Republic vs. People Three* litigation, judicial reading of these constitutional provisions have been at variance with the understood norm. Subsequently, the Kenyan press has relied on the support given by international media rights agencies such as Article 19, Media Watch and Amnesty International when rights related to press freedom has been violated. The international donor community has also been increasingly vocal in the 1990's when the rights vocabulary entered its aid conditionalities.

Financial Influence on News Content

The influence of financial interests on news content cannot be ignored. News professionals in the mainstream press work in organizations whose primary objective is to make profit. Media organizations have increasingly become very big business with cross medium and chain ownership of news outlets. The rise of journalism as a profession is intricately tied to the performance of media industries. While individual

journalists may aspire to professionalism quite removed from the profit margins of their organizations, the relationship between the two is problematic.

Four of the six newspapers we are investigating are owned by private companies listed on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. The controlling interest in The Nation Media Group which owns the *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* is held by the Aga Khan while that of the *Standard* group is held by an "insufficiently disclosed" (Nation 30 October 1998) group led by Mark Too, then chairman of Lhonro East Africa and nominated Member of Parliament by the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union [KANU]. Kalamka Limited, a company where Kenneth Matiba has controlling interest, owns *The People* and *People on Sunday*.

The owners of the three media establishments have entrenched commercial interests in Kenya. The Aga Khan through a variety of companies has investments in tourism, health, education and real estate besides the now fledgling media enterprise. Lohnro PLC, has interests in large scale commercial farming, tourism, real estate and motor vehicle assembly. Kenneth Matiba, has investments in tourism, real estate, large scale commercial agriculture and private educational institutions. It is arguable therefore that all media establishments have more than a casual interest in what goes on outside the wall of their newsrooms. Would, the economic uncertainty that would follow a failed election or a constitutional crisis as precipitated by the NCA/NCEC August 1997 convention constitute such an interest?

Commenting on the possibility of proprietor interference with editorial discretion in Kenya, Joe Kadhi, one time variously Managing Editor for both Nation and Standard said;

In examining the impact of proprietors on news processing and coverage, I have had to depend mainly on my 30 years of experience as a journalist. I

have come across no newspaper owner who was willing to reign as a constitutional monarch with as little interference as possible in the running of [his or her] newspapers. Neither have I seen any proprietor who is ready to pay the piper and have no voice in calling the tune...Before hiring an editor" he continues, "a newspaper owner looks around for a person who's political and general outlook are in consonance with his own (Kadhi, 1992, 40).

He supports this by giving his experience of working under an editor "who did not see eye to eye with the newspaper owner". The result: "There were always arguments as to who was in-charge in the newspaper office" with the outcome being "chaotic" (Kadhi, 1992: 43).

Joe Kadhi proceeds to offer suggestions on professional ethics concerning "seven aspects of journalistic practice which, which when examined properly, can formulate what amounts to a code of newspaper ethics" and which hopefully can stem the tide against the undue influence of newspaper owners on their editors (Ibid). These are 'responsibility, freedom of the press, independence, accuracy, impartiality, fair play and decency'. These he reveals "were first adopted in April 1923, by the American Society of Newspaper Editors and have since been endorsed by many other journalists" (Ibid, 44).

Commenting on the principle of independence he remarks that as managing editor of the Nation, he

...knew that there was a standing rule that required editorial comment to be written, except in rare cases, on the most significant events of the day. The rule also required that editorial comment, like news stories contain facts. Editorials were not to be spiteful, prejudiced, propagandist or extremist. Editorials were required to avoid the bizarre and the offensive, and to always maintain a standard of decency and good taste. *Nation editorial always supported the principles and objectives of the Kenya government.* [my italics]. I was, however, free to criticize government policy both in the editorial columns as well as my personal column called "why?" *provided the criticism was necessary and remained objective and responsible* (Ibid).

With regard to accuracy, and governments criticism of the *Nation* over what it viewed as inaccurate reporting, “whenever that happened”, he says. “heads rolled”. “I know what it means when President Moi attacks *The Nation* over the radio for publishing “inaccurate” stories. I know how hot the temperature would be in the office of the chairman of *Nation Newspapers*, when he wants to know why it did not occur to the editor that publication of a particular news item was professionally imprudent” (ibid. 47). The consequences for whoever was responsible for such “professional imprudence” would be severe, “someone would be shown the door”.

Impartiality demands a “clear distinction between news reports and expression of opinion”. News reports “should be free from opinion or bias” (ibid. 48). A blurring of this distinction, it is argued results in a loss of editorial direction. Editors in this mould are whimsical and dictatorial; the best local example cited being that of George Githii’s tenure as Editor in chief at *The Standard* (Ochieng, 1992: 116). Ultimately fortunes run out for such editors, as the political and economic interests he is opposed to unite through none other than the proprietor of the paper. Githii in this case resigned citing undue influence from the proprietors of *The Standard*.

Ownership influence on the ethical demands on media practitioners extend to all the other areas such as fair play where newspapers are advised against publishing reports damaging to personalities or parties without giving them the opportunity to be heard. In real practice, this stems from ownership fears of libel suits that if successful can be quite costly and in any case take up valuable time in the courtrooms. The influence of proprietors on what a paper considers decent is usually very subjective. Joe Kadhi mentions this in his discussion, by recalling an incident where about to lay an issue to bed, he was “ordered” by “one of the top managers...to remove an ‘ear

piece' advertisement urging readers to use a particular kind of condom because it gave the user certain specific results which were described in the ad in words leaving little to the imagination". "What was interesting about the ad" he opines, "was not only that it had been approved by senior people in the Advertising Department and placed on the front page of the paper; but the fact that it took the visit by the Aga Khan for any one to realize that the publication of such material was indecent and uncalled for. [This] he says, "is an example of how sensitive people become when owners of newspapers are in town" (Ibid, 50).

But as Joe Kadhi proceeds to say in his articles, it is not every day that owners of such newspapers are in town. In their absence they have appointed "strong committees composed of extremely loyal personalities who are in constant touch with the press lords!" Such a committee existed at the Nation going by the name of "Editorial Policy Board" against who's word "no editor could dare to go" (ibid 51).

Newspaper owners therefore have very vested and regulated interests in the editorial contents of their papers. What did this mean for the three papers' coverage of an issue that caused a constitutional crisis in Kenya? How was this interest translated in the experience of media professionals who covered the unfolding of this crisis? To what ends did this coverage aim?

Changing the Constitution

A constitution can be defined as an agreement providing for values, rules, structures, and methods by which groups of people elect to relate with each other. A democratic constitution assumes a systemic political process with the citizens as members of a national polity providing its legitimacy and subsequent sovereignty. The

content of political life in the system consists of citizens making demands of the system and providing or threatening to withdraw support depending on the state authorities ability to provide policies and services to meet these demands. Support, or the threat of withdrawal of it, can be directed to given policy or service issues, or to incumbent government, or to the entire political community as a whole. This systemic nature of political life places heavy emphasis on both feed back between citizens and their authorities as well and vitally so for our study on the creation and maintenance of understanding within the national polity.

Viewed in this way, the communication system within a democratic system concerns itself with the way in which a political system operates from the viewpoint of its members. Information in this conceptualization can be defined as “ knowledge on the part of any member of the system of any changes in the state of the system regarding the authoritative allocation of value” (Chafee, 1975: 97). Notwithstanding the constraints placed on a free and independent press, it is faced with the primary responsibility of providing this form information. In this formulation the apparent bifurcation between traditional and civic news professionalism rests on the difference between enabling discussion and understanding and simply providing unbiased information. The role of the independent press during a constitutional crisis i.e. when the members are threatening withdrawal of support to the entire system is partly what concerns us here.

The years between 1989 and to the present saw the rise to national attention in Kenya demands to reform the constitution. The debate that accompanied this rise to national prominence counterpoised on the one hand political forces divided between the ruling party and the opposition and on the constituent civic society groups such as

religious organizations, the Law Society of Kenya, the intellectual community through various non governmental organizations such as Clarion, the Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change 4C's and others.

At the height of this debate in 1997, the civic movement, through the path breaking National Convention Assembly, was able to force what in effect was a constitutional crisis only surpassed in Kenya's history by the attempted overthrow of government in 1982. [Holmquist and Ford, 1998, 239] This was remarkable, as the organized civil society comprises over 700 not for profit organizations as far apart as Muslim and Christian. The NCA involved a loose coalition of these NGO's and opposition political parties who came to share the frustrations espoused by the former in the search for expanding democratic participation.

The rise of NGO's to national prominence can be partially explained by longer-term developments where NGO's have replaced government as the major providers of social services especially to disadvantaged sectors of the population. This has led to a lack of confidence in government as its services to the citizen's wane. Bilateral donors have compounded this by choosing to channel development assistance through these NGOs.

On the other hand, state power has progressively become weaker. The government has been unable for well over a decade to fund its development expenditure and continues to rely on bilateral and multilateral donors to do so. In the 1990's funding for its recurrent expenditure has become precarious as it has come to rely almost exclusively on the structural enhancement facility at the IMF for quick disbursement funds to bridge budget deficits. The precariousness of this situation was brought to a heed in 1991 when the World Bank and IMF suspended quick

subjective conditions of African States. African experience in statehood and governance has largely been ignored in the formulation and prescription of what democracy must mean for its peoples.

Notwithstanding the contradictions noted in the democratic ideals, (Schedler, 1998, 97ff; Dhal, 1971: 93) a form of democracy has been forced on Africa which entails a reduction of state power and the avoidance of its monopolization by one particular elite. In this, the essence of democratization has been seen as embodying mechanisms of group competition and allowing for the legitimating of their concerns in the governance process. This allows for the state to make policies deemed favourable to the citizenry from the articulation of the political and other vested elite's including the donor community. This arrangement best fits the good governance credo of the World Bank and bilateral donor community in the post cold war era.

Democracy in this fashion becomes "reduced to the crude simplicity of multiparty elections". There is no fundamental redefinition of the state relative to its citizens (Wanjohi, 1997: 92; Uke, 1996: 6). In the resultant government structure, sovereignty disappears, as does real participation of citizens. In other places where this happened, notably in Zambia and Malawi, in 1990 and 1994 respectively, the result was that new state based elite's sought to use the structures left by the departed ruling elite's to consolidate their hold on power. The near breakdown of the state and current efforts to rewrite the constitution of Kenya, call for fresh thinking of what democratization is for Africa.

The story of Africa's experience with democracy, in the fashion we have described it, begins with her encounter with colonialism. Colonialism created the African State and established the territorial boundaries very much as we know them

today. African states had been in formation long before this but colonialism marked the most elaborate attempt to force African ethnic organizations into elaborate territorial and centrally administered polities.

The character of the colonial state however was antithetical to democratic development. Its main features included a central administration imposed on the colonized peoples from the metropolis of the colonial power and an economy based on the extraction of raw materials for industries in Europe. To enforce this a colonial bureaucracy comprising largely the police, army and civil service was introduced. The colonialist also introduced a predominantly land owning settler community and merchant class. The emergence of the colonial state was also accompanied by the implanting of new religions, technological and lifestyles foreign to the natives.

Since the colonial state was an imposition, it had to seek ways of sustaining itself in the face of African interests. It sought to do this by at first a combination of coercion and manipulation and later in the face of mounting African nationalism through concession to African demands. In the face of conflicting settler and African demands that threatened to blow up the illegitimate existence of the colonial state, colonial authorities allowed for limited inclusion of Africans in constituent apparatuses such as legislative councils and civil service.

In Kenya, representative government was introduced as early as 1903 with the setting up of the Colonial Legislative Council [LEGCO], "an exclusive White assembly whose main role became to pass laws suitable for the smooth settlement and enrichment of the European Community" (Wanjohi, 1993: 18). Representation was later expanded to the Asians first through colonial government appointments and later through direct election. It was not until 1944 that an African was appointed to the

LEGCO. As late as 1952, during the break out of the Mau Mau uprising, there was only one such appointment (Ibid).

By this time the civil and state characteristics of the colonial state had become manifest. The civil society comprised of an extreme right and left, the one comprising of a settler community demanding complete control of the destiny of the colony and the other African nationalist demands. Africans were, by and large, denied the opportunity to organize themselves in order to articulate their interests. Where this happened it took the shape of ethnic welfare associations that derived their legality from the colonial executive. Nascent minorities such as the Indians and Lebanese who had been transposed for purposes of providing cheap technical labour to the colonial economy [such as rail workers] had also began organizing within the confines of the limited civil society.

The executive arm of the colonial state was headed by an appointee of the colonial power. In the face of increasing demands from a sharply divided civil sector, the executive was increasingly called upon to employ force to quell the demands especially of the Africans. Corresponding legislation was introduced in the colonial legislature back this use of force. Ultimately, increasing African demands dictated that only by the suspension of any pretence to civility could the colonial state be maintained. This happened in Kenya through the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952. At this time the Africans had completely rejected the colonial state. In turn the colonial authorities criminalized any African civic expression.

The colonial state was called upon by the economic circumstances of the colonial situation to initiate and carry through majority of economic activities such as the provision of infrastructure, as well as providing the institutional mechanisms such

as force to ensure its survival. As such it was an all-powerful and arbitrary state. The only security of the state lay in providing a conducive environment for the extractionist economy and when faced by African demands the accumulation of more power over them.

Research on Journalist Orientation

Research on journalists types, measured against journalist role expectation in an essentially democratic society, has identified four types of journalists, the participant, the disseminator, the adversarial and the civic or alternative journalist. The participant journalist has also been variously referred to as interpretative/investigative (Bare, 1994; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1983) and concerned traditionalist (Gade et al. 1997). The disseminator has been variously labeled as a neutral observer. The adversarial journalist first labeled as such by Weaver and Wilhoit in 1983 has also been referred to as whistle blower (Opiyo, 1994: 76).

Much of the research about how journalists view their role in society is framed within the libertarian and social responsibility theories of the press. In these theories journalists are seen as providing information and as playing a watchdog role both of which are viewed as necessary in the democratic process. In perhaps the seminal study in the US on journalists' attitude towards their work, Johnstone, Edward Slawski and William Bowman, categorized journalists as identifying themselves in two strophes: neutral and participant. The neutral journalist viewed the news professional as reporting 'nothing but the truth'. She views her role as that of a neutral messenger and will thus aim at being detached and objective. Participants viewed themselves as having an obligation to go beyond reporting factual information to provide

“interpretation and contextualisation necessary to give events meaning” (Johnstone et al, 1976: 113ff). Journalists in this study therefore identified themselves with either a libertarian or a social democratic role in the political process.

Using largely similar items, David H Weaver and G Cleveland Wilhoit in 1983 identified three belief systems representing the role journalists conceive for themselves. These are interpretative/investigator, information disseminator and adversarial (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1991: 113ff). The interpretative journalist resembles the participant in the Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman model. The information disseminator reflected the neutral perspective while the adversarial appeared after the investigation added questions to explore the depth of the participatory role. The adversarial journalist though not in opposition to the ruling elite or the entire system was antagonistic and disputant.

In a 1994 study of news workers in three leading newspapers in Kenya, Baruck Opiyo found three classifications of journalists largely similar to those identified in the Weaver and Wilhoit study of US journalists. These he called the “whistle blower”, “disseminators” and “participants”. Whistle blowers “generally believed that the press’ major political role was to watch over government on behalf of the people”. A whistle blower “believes in a strictly adversarial relationship between the press and government” and considers “her primary political role to be one of exposing malpractice and errant actions of government and its officials” (Opiyo, 1994: 154). This issues out of the conviction that “because of the innate tendency of government officials to breach their obligations to the public, often for self gain, a critical and skeptical press is called in order to guard the public’s economic and political rights” (ibid).

Disseminators on the other hand believed that "the press should do no more than facilitating discourse in society, informing both government and the public without getting involved either way" (Opiyo, 1994: 153). The disseminators held to the ideal that journalists should keep their personal values and interests in the story and should be content with being neutral purveyors of information. This journalist considers her "primary professional effort [as] gathering and disseminating 'in a non-partisan manner' a wide spectrum of news stories considered informative to [a very broad] audience" (ibid, 167/8).

Participants were beholden to the belief that "the press and government were equal partners in the governing process" and that in consequence the press had the duty to constantly generate ideas for the benefit of both government and the public. (Ibid. 154). Participant journalists believe that the press has the duty to formulate alternative viewpoints from the government and sell them to the audience.

In a 1994 survey of news staffs at four metropolitan newspapers in the US, John Bare improved on the work of Weaver and Wilhoit by adding three types of civic journalism measures to journalist role perceptions, these were: personal civic journalism, community trust, and institutional civic journalism (Bare, 1991: 88ff). One referred to journalist attitude regarding their personal duty to solve community problems, the other journalist faith in community leaders ability to solve local problems and the last one journalist's attitudes regarding their newspapers duty to solve community problems. In so doing Bares study expanded the role perception beyond the fixation to journalist/press role in an input/output democratic system where the government was the supplier and the public the consumer of public policy, to journalist identity and affiliation with civic communities and civic agenda,

journalist faith or cynicism of community leadership and journalist faith or cynicism of their respective media organizations in helping solve community problems. This study therefore turned attention away from media engagement with government to media engagement with civic institutions and civic agenda.

Bare found that investigative/interpretative [participant] was predominant in newspapers without a stated bent for civic journalism while the civic journalist was predominant at the *Wichita Eagle* whose editor had pioneered civic journalism. He concluded that “traditional and civic journalism belief systems co-exist [provided that] when two belief systems are in conflict, the more traditional belief system is less important” (Bare, 1991: *ibid*).

The Bare study thus became the first to document a major shift in journalist attitude, requiring that newspapers they worked for be aggressively involved in identifying and solving community problems. This attitude tears right through the separatist ideal thereby posing significant challenges to the practice of traditional journalism.

In a consequent 1997 study, a group of researchers among them Peter Gade, Scott Abel, Michael Antecol, Hsiao Yin Hseh, asked journalists at two newspapers to react to a series of statements about the role of the media in society and civic journalism. Their study identified four types of journalists; civic, concerned traditionalist, neutral observer, responsible liberal. [Gade et al, 1998 10ff]

The civic journalist espouses the view that ‘media are failing to meet the needs of democracy and a new approach to journalism is needed’ in the practice of journalism. He desires a ‘more active media that works with the public to help citizens refocus on issues important to a healthy democracy’ [*ibid*]. Most civic

journalists view the media as being part of the problem in efforts to enable civic discourse and will hold the view that a new kind of press is needed to refocus political debate. For the civic journalist the journalists need to help people confront and solve issues and work toward public judgment and participation in the resolution of problems. Specifically the civic journalist holds the view that the media should bring people together to help solve society's problems. The civic journalist sees this role as being different and superior to that of media serving as independent watchdogs over society's institutions.

The concerned traditionalist believes journalists should be responsible to society, but that it is not the media's responsibility to ensure that the survival and consolidation of democracy. This journalist holds the view that the media have generally lived up to their social responsibilities and should certainly not be required to stretch this to include active engagement in issue advocacy. This journalist does not have a singular vision of what exactly is wrong with public life, what changes need to be effected and how.

For the concerned traditionalist the crisis in journalism today is caused by its practice and not in its principles (Gade et al, 1998 10ff). Though this journalist does not find anything with being part of the fixing of what is wrong in society the media will however fulfilled its responsibility to society when the media report and analyze news without shaping or directing it. In this mould this journalist disagrees with the notion that the news professionals have failed to inform citizens about the real needs around them.

The concerned traditionalist however holds the view that journalists should get involved in civic efforts, in their private capacities. A newspaper can also spend its

resources in civic work provided this does not jettison the news operation. This journalist agrees strongly that journalists should be agenda setters but will disagree just as strongly that journalists should set a public agenda based on public demands. The public however does play a vital role in journalism and good reporters will pay a lot of attention to citizens. Journalists should in this regard get closer to the attitudes and opinions of the public. This may not translate into citizens being the sources of news.

The neutral observer "believes that journalists should remain objective, even detached from what they report" (Ibid). He is 'the only type who is ambivalent about media commitment to social responsibility'. This journalist is fundamentally opposed to the ideals and methods of civic journalism and opines that democracy will survive whether or not reporters change the way they practice journalism.

The neutral observer could not agree better with the statement that 'the central mission of journalism is reporting and analyzing the news, not shaping it or directing its outcomes'. He agrees with the idea that 'it is not the journalist's responsibility to fix what's wrong in a community' and will strongly disagree with the idea that 'the role of journalism is to ensure that public life goes well. Instead media role should be to reveal these problems in the process 'acting as windows to the world, pointing things out and holding problems up for scrutiny'.

The neutral observer is uncomfortable when the media serve as independent watchdogs over society's institutions. He/she would rather the media provided factual information leaving the public to make their own judgments of the truth. This journalist does not subscribe to the view that 'journalists have failed to live up to their responsibilities to inform people about the challenges around them'.

The neutral observer prescribes to a notion of professional independence closely linked with journalistic neutrality and freedom from social responsibility (Gade et al, 1998 10ff). This kind of journalist is the only one to disagree with the statement that 'the media are too powerful to pretend that they have nothing to do with social well-being'. He is also the only one who holds the view that 'mobilizing for public projects is not the business of the journalists'. Newspapers should not subsidize or promote events to get around to solving public problems. Newspapers 'should refrain from using their own resources as a civic partner'

The neutral observer does not believe that it is the media's role to get people to participate in a democracy. Journalists should instead 'separate their work from the political process'. This journalist disagrees with the statement that 'journalists should work to improve the way in which they participate in politics instead of denying that such participation exists'. The role of the media in a democracy is to provide information which people can use to participate in a democracy but not to get the people to participate in one. This journalist therefore strongly disagrees with the statement that 'reporters need to change the way they do journalism in order for democracy to survive'

For the neutral observer all the business of being citizen focused is really about doing good business. For this journalist, journalists should always set the news agenda and should not rely on citizen groups and opinion polls to tell them what to write about. This journalist therefore disagrees with the idea of opinion polls being good methods of finding out what the news is. However this objection to the public setting the news agenda does not translate into discounting the place of citizens as news sources. More than any other type, the neutral observer 'supports the belief that it is a

journalist's responsibility to cover the news from citizen up, and not from the expert down'.

The responsible liberal "thinks the ideals of objectivity and social responsibility serve journalism well, but is open minded toward civic journalism" (ibid). This kind of journalist would not go so far as to call for a new press system. Journalists, he thinks 'should remain detached, reporting on issues of importance in a healthy democracy to an intelligent, rational audience'.

This journalist type sees the media's role in public affairs as 'providing a window to the world, pointing out issues and problems for public scrutiny.' Average citizens, he agrees, 'are intelligent and capable of rational choice if given the opportunity.' The issue therefore is not to help them in arriving at solutions to problems but to reveal these problems. A journalist's primary responsibility is to 'report and analyze news, not to shape it or direct outcomes'. Journalists should not have an agenda outside telling the news. Objectivity therefore remains the prima mantra of the news professional.

The responsible journalist agrees that 'good reporters have always listened to citizens'. This does not however translate into a responsibility on the part of the media to get the citizens to partake in a democracy, it should be sufficient to provide them with the information necessary to participate. For this type of journalist, the profession is not in need of reform, and reporters do not need to 'change the way they do journalism if democracy is to survive' (Gade et al, 1998 10ff).

The responsible liberal agrees that 'freedom of the press does not belong to editors and publishers, but to the people'. The media therefore does have a responsibility to the people, and this type believes that they have lived up to this

responsibility well. This type therefore strongly disagrees that journalism has failed the public and is to blame for the crisis in public knowledge, confidence and interest in public affairs. It is not the overriding goal of journalism to ensure that public life goes well. This type of news professional disagrees that journalists have failed in the task of informing the people about the challenges around them and that a new kind of press order is needed to refocus the public discussion.

The responsible journalist thinks that its all right for the newspaper to use its resources as a civic partner. It is also appropriate to use methods such as focus groups and surveys to bring citizens into the news reporting process. Civic journalism, therefore, does have merit, but not all its methods and goals are acceptable. Journalism does not need the kind of lecturing in moral philosophy and new ethics that the advocates of advocacy journalism subject it to.

The responsible liberal does not buy into some of the foundational tenets of the journalism reform movement. These tenets include 'the journalists role [being] to enrich the civic life of the community', that it is 'the media's role is to bring people together to solve society's problems'.

Weaving the Canvas

The foregoing has offered analytical fabric for reading media debates and practices in lieu of the reporting of constitutional reforms. The strands of this fabric include the various journalist belief systems relative to the role of journalism in a democracy and the politics of values and practice in news professionalism and in particular the bifurcation imposed on journalist practice by traditional demands of objectivity. They have also included the assumed indispensability of journalism to the

survival of democracy. The review has also offered a chequered reading of journalism history in Kenya beginning with the colonial- both pro-settler and anti-colonial, and through the post colonial press including mainstream independent press, the demands of the state for a developmental journalism in the service of a rogue development ideology to the rise of a radical alternative press in the pursuit and service of the democracy project in Kenya.

The rest of the chapter constructs an analytical schema for an empirical investigation of the interplay between journalist orientation and the framing of constitutional reforms. The schema employs a combination of framing theory, the theory of cynicism, and journalist attitude to interrogate the factors identified above as contending influences in the reporting of constitutional reforms.

Various scholars have advised that recognizing various levels of analysis within the news enterprise and developing appropriate integration frameworks can best accomplish the study of various influences on newswork. The levels of analysis include, news gathering routines, newsroom, news organizations, news workers, and environmental.. In perhaps the seminal study of the contending forces that are at play in the reporting of politics in Kenya, Baruck Opiyo calls for the adoption of an integrated framework comprising the various levels of journalist type, the news organization [and its business inclinations] and the political environment (Opiyo, 1994: 39). News, he argues, is determined by a combination of many rival stimuli working at various levels in the process of news making. As has been argued above, the institutional location of journalism, the need to return a profit, the legislative environment, the cultural and historical orientation of journalism's professional development at a particular site and contemporary demands on the profession by

politicians the ruling class as well as by oppositional movements in a democracy all act to determine what we get as news.

While recognizing that organizational routines, the business motif of mainstream news organization and the susceptibility of these organizations to influences from the political marketplace are powerful influences on the location of the journalist in determining the news of the day, it would be structuralist to the extreme not to posit a central role of the newsworker in the news making process. In the absence of this the journalist become a cog in the wheel of the information industry, a hybrid of a technical education, technological innovations, news routines and professional requirements and constraints (Berly and Warren, 1996: 3). To fail to acknowledge the possible influence of journalists on their work is to fall for a fatalism in which change within the profession can only come from the professional training programs, from the demands of news organizations or from the pressure exerted on these organizations by their external environments.

This study locates its operative level of analysis as the journalist, his or her professional frame of reference with regard to her convictions about the role of her work and the media generally in advancing a social cause. Such an approach has been justified in part by conversations presented above, where journalists argue over the meaning and value of their work and craft in conferences and within the pages of their papers. Such an analysis is nevertheless in need of a framework against which to measure the real import of journalist convictions and agency. Such a framework is offered below anchored in a combination of framing theory, the theory of cynicism and journalist attitude.

Framing Theory

Framing as a theoretical construct has been used to refer to the entire process of encoding, processing and decoding media products. According to Pan and Kosicki (1991: 57),

we may conceive of a news media frame as a cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable and is related to journalistic routines and conventions. Framing therefore may be studied as strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or a characteristic of the discourse itself.

According to Entman.

Communicators make conscious or unconscious decisions in deciding what to say, guided by frames [often called schemata] that organize their belief systems. The text contains the frames which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments (Entman, 1993: 157).

This study finds the theory of framing particularly relevant at the level of the construction of news [the news frame]. It does this against a broader qualification of framing as a “powerful discursive strategy in which the media, employing active agents with specific purposes promote elite social discourses as the public discourse of the common sense of society” (Tucker, 1998, 33).

News frames, or social narratives, to use Frank Durhams phrase, are therefore at the centre of the framing process. According to Tucker, “as a discursive strategy, media frames perform specific functions, including problem definition, diagnosis, evaluation and policy recommendation, that serve the social interests represented by the elite discourses” (ibid). This is important in providing a linkage between cynicism as an elite discourse [and thus the making of the demand for constitutional reforms as

a social problem] and journalist, media and citizen cynicism. In this formulation the quest for constitutional reforms reflects acute cynicism on the part of especially the Kenyan middle class towards government and the entire constitutional order. Not only are journalists part of the middle class, but they are also located at a very controversial site in the entire claim making process that has accompanied middle class unrest (Mutunga, 1998, 30).

According to Tucker, “framing shapes the symbolic platform on which members of society think and talk about public issues” (ibid). Our construction of media, journalistic and citizen cynicism (for which see below) operationize this definition of framing as “both a process and effect in which a common stock of keywords, phrases, images, sources and themes highlight and promote specific facts, interpretations and judgments, making them more salient” (Ibid; Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992). “At issue”, says Tucker, “is the power of media frames to define particular aspects of reality in ways that support specific social interests within the field of public discourse” (Ibid).

To make the connection between media framing and public common sense, such as we shall assume in the construction of media and public cynicism, one has to fall back to the discursive character of hegemony and ideology and Stuart Halls concept of what is common sense. Common sense, is “a category of social discourse in which self-validating, normative beliefs about the way life does and should work become ‘taken for granted’ as the natural and immutable truth” (Hall, 1985: 105).

Hegemony on the other hand, “is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but which is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an ‘unstable

equilibrium” (Fairclough, 1995: 92). Hegemony is about

Constructing alliances and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions and through ideological means to win their consent. [It] is a focus of constant struggle around points of greatest instability between classes and blocs to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms. Hegemonic struggle takes place in a broad front which includes the institutions of civil society...(ibid)

The news frame and the process of media framing provide one possible site where hegemonic struggle takes place. Our conceptualisation of cynicism anticipates such struggles at this cite.

Within the media effects tradition, framing has been used to extend the agenda setting research model of the role and how of media in public issue formation. In this regard, research on media frames have involved examining how frames are constructed (Entman & Rojecki, 1993), how frames are influenced by policy makers and advocacy groups (Hertsgaard, 1988) and how frames affect media consumption (Gamson, 1992; Graber 1988). Within this tradition, media frames are presumed “to communicate through familiar signs and symbols that are embedded in the routines and conventions of the production and reception processes” [Tucker, 1998,43].

According to Tucker, at the cognitive level “ frames are the means by which individuals interpret, organize and make sense of their social and natural worlds.”

Frames thus serve, sociologically, as “social structures which organize symbolic material in ways that promote a specific perspective or ‘spin’” (ibid). Tuckers own study “employs critical theory to analyze how media frames work to produce and reproduce social power through the construction of common sense”. This he hopes

particular story line” [Rhee 1997, 28]. News frames therefore provide the reader or audience with the criteria with which to make judgments about who is responsible for what in the unfolding of a particular social phenomenon.

News framing is only one side of the coin in the framing paradigm, the other side comprising of how readers, viewers and other media audiences frame media products, ‘the news’. This latter provides a fertile ground for study of the interface between news frames and media effects. Somewhere betwixt is the individual journalist, who is a first hand audience of the event and is simultaneously involved in constructing the news frame. The journalist is also sandwiched between being the first audience of news texts as well as being a member of the larger polity wherein is the rest of the audience.

This study is concerned primarily with the construction of news frames by journalists and how this is influenced by this paradox of being part of the putative audience of the news product.

Journalist Attitude

It is possible that journalists have all sorts of values other than those required of them by their profession. While the adherence of journalists to particular values may not be a direct function of attitude, establishing and measuring journalistic attitude with respect to a particular object can be useful in correlating attitude to behaviour. Attitude has been defined as “a process of individual consciousness, which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the real world.” It has also been defined variously as “a way of being ‘set’ toward or against certain things”, a “predisposition to behave in a consistent way toward a given class of objects”, or as

“an enduring system of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings and pro or con action tendencies with respect to a social object” (Severin & Tankard, 1988: 157). The concept of attitude has also been further subdivided as having an affective, a cognitive and a behavioural component (ibid). To operationalise this area of journalist attitudes and their possible influence on behaviour we take an attitude that has been identified as being common to journalists: cynicism. Cynicism, as we shall see, fits into all three identified components. It is both affective and cognitive and may also be linked to overt actions of journalists. The research design builds from this logical framework on attitude using the specific benchmark of cynicism to ascertain the relationship between journalist orientation and conduct with regard to the issue of constitutional reforms.

Constructing Cynicism

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines cynicism as ‘cynical attitude’. To be cynical is to be ‘like a cynic’ who is in turn “a person who believes that people do not do things for good, sincere or noble reasons, but only for their own advantage(s)”. Cynicism as an area of research has been of interest to political communication especially with regard to citizen cynicism concerning government. It has been claimed for instance, that public cynicism concerning government has been highest in the US in the 1990’s. Political communication consultants are not only concerned with what communication strategies government should take to reduce the level of public cynicism (Berman, 1997: 103) but also how to advance the fortunes of political parties, candidates and causes in the face of such cynicism (Friedenberg, 1997: 205).

Cynicism, in this paper is discussed in the general sense as is reflected in the poll commissioned by the Nation Media Group. In this respect, it issues from trust and requisite social capital. All human relations require trust that "promises will be honoured", and that "individuals are not taken advantage of" (Berman, 1997: 105). Trust is in this sense "purposive" acting as it were, as "a lubricant of [social] relations" [Ibid] . Trust also provides a sense of belonging that serves the emotional needs of individuals.

Citizen cynicism therefore is, in an objective sense, low trust or in the words of Berman (1997: 105), "a pervasive disbelief in the possibility of good in dealing with others", in our case government. Requisite social capital refers to the number of trusting and mutually supportive relationships that members of a group [or polity like the nation] draw on in realizing their economic social and political aims" (Glenn, 1987: 249).

The relationship between citizen demands for constitutional reforms and citizen cynicism is a vicious spiral. Citizen demands for constitutional reforms originate, in the first place from cynicism about the government's ability to help them fix their problems. In particular, as the Nation Media Group poll revealed citizen's view the government as part of the problem. In return, the government can act to restore public confidence by meeting their demands and fears comprehensively. On this issue however, the government has consistently not done this, (Holmquist & Ford, 1998: 231) resulting in very low social capital on the part of the citizens. According to Berman (1997: 105), "disappointment over unrealized goals contributes to cynical attitudes, which, in turn serve as barriers to forming productive relations, thus causing social capital to further erode in a vicious cycle." The resultant erosion of trust in

government leads to even greater demands for more comprehensive constitutional reforms. In the final analysis, this situation of very low social capital in the relationship between government and citizens accompanied by ever more visible claims for a new constitutional order, led to near constitutional crises in 1997.

Media Cynicism

Critics of the press in the 1990's have decried what they see as increasing media cynicism concerning government. They argue that news reporting, especially political news reporting "is increasingly organized by prescriptions that stem from cynicism in the press corps and promote cynicism in audiences" (Hundson, 1999: 1998). To begin with, the press has always had an anti-politics bias. Quoting Paul Taylor, a journalist with the *Washington Post*, Michael Hundson says with regard to journalists that "our habits of mind are shaped by what Leonel Trilling once described as 'the adversary culture'...we are progressive reformers, deeply skeptical of all the major institutions of society except our own". In this tradition, the press has viewed itself as the vanguard of the people against a government potentially bent on darkness. It would rather therefore report on the bad rather than the good of government. It will hardly for instance praise the president.

According to media critics, journalists, like the cynics they are, "leave the impression that politicians will promise anything to get elected, ...[neglecting] to remind the people ...that politicians with rare exception will work hard and often successfully to make good on their campaign pledges" (Patterson, 1993: 11). Most media critics in Africa will disagree with this last assertion that politicians do work

hard to deliver on their campaign pledges, even those elected into office in the clamour for democracy in the 1990's.

The literature from the US is important in helping to conceptualize the manifestations of this media cynicism. A large collection of literature is now available on journalistic coverage of presidential elections in the US as 'horse race', or strategy in contrast to detailing issues and policy positions. In this mould, journalists view political careers "as more orientated to politics as a game, than to politics as policy" (Peterson, 1993: 60-1). This 'game schema' is characterized by 'direct[ing] attention to conflicts and to a few individuals' in contradistinction to "social conditions and the larger interests individuals may represent" [ibid] Other indicators of this trend include a visible move away from reporting candidate speeches to reporting strategic moves and positioning behind them. In this direction also, quotations from politicians are few and tend to emphasize positions as opposed to policies.

In the 'game' framework, media coverage of a major public issue focuses on who is winning and who is losing and is characterized by the metaphors of war and competition. They centre on performance, style and public perception of the issue rather than on policies and differences between them. In the resulting scenario performance polls "become inordinately important" (Capella & Jamieson, 1997: 33).

According to the critics, the result of the strategy/game schema is to extricate the voting public from the election and to diminish the edifying value of a campaign's most revealing moments. The result is that media reporting of politics conspire to promote in the public, a cynical understanding of politics (Sarracino 1998; Aronson, 1998: 116ff). According to Lawrence Chickering, "perhaps the most pervasive and corrosive influence on our politics comes from media cynics, who through their

control of our political theatre control which of our political leaders get to walk on the stage, who gets to speak and when the curtain goes up and down” (Chickening, 1997: 11-12).

The cynicism that derives from this is further fuelled by the nature of multi-party politics which “leads us to believe that [the hope that] people in all walks of life will reach out to each other, come together, and work to build a common enterprise’ is inherently impossible and [that] state and society are inherently in conflict” (Ibid). In this sense, according to Chickening, “cynicism is built into the very terms of our discourse.”

Measuring Cynicism

According to Paul Starobin, (1995: 25ff), cynical attitudes towards government focus on the “integrity, purpose and effectiveness of government and its officials”. A distinction is however made between ‘ardent cynicism and its milder forms’. “Ardent cynicism is usually linked to ideological beliefs that are highly critical of government”. In this strophe, government is the fault, is always committing offences against the citizens and only changes for the worse. Even where there is likely to be progress, these are only ‘smoke and mirrors to appease and mislead the masses’, in real terms, nothing has changed.

In its milder form, citizen cynicism is less critical of government, and blames other factors such as the lack of resources for the failure of government to deliver on promises and expectations. This kind of cynicism is also likely to “give greater weight to facts” and therefore away from generalizations. By pointing to the facts, citizens may cite the declining economy, the poor state of infrastructure such as roads, and

declining public health instanced by the lack of medicines or bed capacity in public hospitals. The milder expression on cynicism is therefore open to persuasion once the government 'fixes', the problems.

The following conditions have been cited as leading citizens to experience disenfranchisement and question their relationship with government:

- When citizens belief that government is using its power against them
- When citizens belief that government is not helping them
- When citizens do not feel as being part of government or feel misunderstood or ignored
- Citizens find government services and policies to be ineffective

According to Berman, "when citizens experience these feelings intensely.... they become ardently cynical and withdraw from government. When they experience these feelings moderately..., they may develop milder forms of cynicism." (Berman 1997, 106) This study uses this theory and understanding of cynicism to first interrogate the personal opinions of journalists towards government generally and over the issue of constitutional reforms in particular and secondly apply to the media framing of the constitutional reform conflagration between government and the ruling party on the one hand and organised civil society and opposition political parties on the other.

The resulting framework thus comprises of constructing journalist type, journalist attitude, and journalist framing and agency with regard to constitutional reform.

Constructing Journalist Orientation

This chapter began with a review of the crisis in journalism and where journalists struggle to define the meaning and import of their work to democracy. Journalist orientation was determined by asking journalists to respond to a battery of statements reflecting the core values of whistle blower, neutral, participant and civic journalist. These statements were selected randomly from readings and statements made by journalists and about journalism relating to their work relative to their value system. Factor analysis was then performed to establish the various value constellations and thus the various journalist types available.

Journalist Attitudes towards Constitutional Reform

Journalist attitude towards constitutional reform was established by operationalising the various measures of cynicism identified above. Through this it was possible to determine journalist cynicism towards the whole gamut of constitutional reform including whether the reforms are necessary, and what their attitudes are towards the major protagonists on the issue. Journalist responses to items in this section were then be compared with their responses on measures of journalist orientation.

Journalist Agency, Activism and Newsroom Politics

Newsroom politics refers to the interface between journalist agency based on the journalist belief inclinations and management editorial preferences in the newsroom. It assumes that journalists will struggle over the reporting of particular issues despite traditional journalistic values of reporter neutrality and objectivity

towards the issues and events they cover. The newsroom is thus a major site of struggle for the construction of meaning. The politics we are concerned about here is that of privileging certain perspectives and perceptions over others. This we argue will parallel real life issues. Journalists we argue are actively involved in changing/altering the content of news stories. On the other hand, media managers will be out to manage the incoming story to take account of paper policy and its inclination in the political and economic divide. Thus ensues an active struggle in the relations of power between journalists, their texts and media managers. News stories are therefore just that-stories who's meaning reflect a journalists attempt to control his daily work and a media managers preoccupation with gate-keeping. The questions that arise from this is how hegemonic either of the two are both over the story and in relation to each other. We contend that an active interaction of these struggles over the meaning of texts is what constitutes change and continuity in the news industry. Far from conventional assumptions, journalists do engage the hegemonic interests of media institutions and the news story is thus a site of struggle. The newsroom is in this case a major site of social and political change.

Narrative Analysis

Constructing journalist agency involved a process of interviewing journalists with the aim of extracting personal narratives that locate activism within the newsroom and newsgathering process. The result will be narratives of personal identity that will be possible to compare with journalist types and cynicism as it comes through the survey instrument. According to George Gergen, narratives of identity are generated when individuals "are embedded in community life, and develop life stories

that account for their past, present and future” (Gergen, 1992: 16). This is the kind of narrative Mbugua gave as justification for his choice to go to jail over his opinions of the judiciary.

Given the potentially unwieldy nature of such stories, the design of the interview and choice of respondents was such that only respondents who have ‘a narratable life’ with respect to activism were interviewed. In addition the interview employed critical event approaches to structure the direction and length of the interview. Critical events are characterized by their departure from routine processes and are exceptional by virtue of their criticality in a discipline or profession. According to Spikes, critical events are “highly charged moments and episodes that have enormous consequences for personal change and development” (Spikes, 1985: 230). Critical events have also been credited with having a “confirmatory and preservation function” in sustaining the beliefs, interests and commitments of participants. Their criticality is often times marked by a strategic redefinition of life goals of those involved in the event (Woods, 1999: 355). Critical events can either occur unplanned, unanticipated and uncontrolled, or they can be planned, expected and predictable.

The narratives thus generated become texts for qualitative interpretation. Narrative analysis takes as its unit of investigation the story itself (Gathu, 1995: 90). The import of the investigation is to “see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives (Ibid). The critical event approach to narratology allows us to elicit responses about particular experiences from respondents without imposing on them any preferred structuring of the experience thus narrated.

Narratives being as it were a respondents construction of parts of his experience upon careful analyses yield rich data both on the historical event and the respondents positioning of self relative to the event and the demands of the organization or profession. An analysis of respondent's narrative around the same critical event will be instructive in reconstructing the event and tracing possible same influences in structuring how they program the self relative to the events.

Narrative analysis is also relatively free of difficulty associated with validity of representativeness at the individual level and the necessity to compute respondent responses into a statistic. The resulting narratives will therefore provide a rich source of data with which to describe and analyze responses to the survey questionnaire.

Conclusion

Journalists perceive themselves as being either neutral disseminator of information, active non-intrusive participants in the information dissemination process, adversarial watchdogs in a vibrant public sphere or activists committed to finding enduring solutions to community problems.

Partly in alignment to these journalistic belief constellations and partly in response to the demands placed on journalism by fast changing socio-political and economic realities has emerged a journalist reform movement that seeks to bring back to journalism a sense of its calling to civic initiatives and duty. This reform movement has met with resistance both in the mainstream newsrooms, among media owners and amongst those in power who are likely to be the first casualties of a re-energized public sphere.

The reform movement brings into sharp focus long held doctrines in the journalism canon especially the value and application of objectivity and neutrality or detachment within the practice of journalism at individual, institutional and societal levels.

At the individual level, this has meant an affront on the need for the journalist to remain outside the story he or she is writing and in its place emphasizing that journalists need to get and remain connected with public issues by actively partaking of them. At the institutional level, this has meant breaking down the walls that separate the media houses and their discourses from the civic life of those on which and for which the press has been predator.

Journalism therefore finds itself under attack by reformists, a majority of whom like Bedan Mbugua, David Makali and Blamuel Njururi, are well-schooled practitioners who demand that journalism must reform itself in order to contribute effectively in improving the quality of public life.

The journalism reform movement foregrounds the question of the importance of journalist belief in influencing what we read in our newspapers. It also turns on its head the modernist construction of journalism, as an ordered and impartial, one would say scientific vehicle devoid of any ideological contest. This is particularly so given that the reform movement has been fuelled almost exclusively from within the margins of the newsrooms.

It is in this respect valuable to trace how these matters have played themselves out in the coverage of an issue likely to be at the heart of each journalist.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study proposed to determine the various kinds of journalism orientations there are presently in Kenya and to investigate the relationship between the professional orientation of the journalist, journalist framing of the crisis on constitutional reform and how journalist value orientations with regard to reporting constitutional reform has interacted with news house policies in the newsroom. In order to do this, some acceptable design of the way the study will proceed was called for. This chapter describes the design of the study in terms of the target population, the data needed, a descriptive survey consisting of a self-administered questionnaire and semi-structured extensive interviews with select journalists and data processing through the use of factor analysis and narrative analysis.

The study targeted journalists involved in reporting politics and various news personnel involved in handling copy and making editorial decisions. The method of interviewing consisted of self-administered questionnaires and unstructured interviews. The methodological design incorporated critical events research methods that lay emphasis on exploration of events that have occurred in the past using qualitative and unrestrained techniques that aim to seek meanings and understanding as well as recreate the contexts in which events occurred.

Descriptive survey is a method of observing events for purposes of carefully describing and analyzing the observations (Leedy, 1992: 140). The method is predicated on the assumption that a phenomenon under observation is normal and can thus be used to draw inferences that can be applicable in the future. Using descriptive

QA38	0.458141	0.454938		
QA33				
	0.434044			
QA40				
	0.428812			
QA19				
	0.419809			
QA37		0.456627		
QA25				
QA26				
QA13			0.587079	
QA3			0.553677	
QA16			0.514566	
QA32				
QA1				
			0.616972	
QA39			0.568547	
QA15	0.460539			0.473479
QA44				0.456695
QA6				
QA14				
				0.410904
QA11				
				0.461530
QA36				0.410806
QA28	0.443121			0.443314

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

10 components extracted.

a

Appendix IV: Unrotated Factor Matrix

Component Matrix											
Component		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
QA18	0.691294										
QA30	0.632148										
QA20	0.611600										
QA42	0.564021			0.499137							
QA27	0.561847										
QA22	0.542420										
QA29	0.535252										
QA31	0.504883										
QA21	0.479693										
QA9	0.469841										
QA43	0.459579							0.459174			
QA2	0.440620										
QA41	0.430354										
QA35	0.421884			0.400264							
QA23	0.420329										
QA34		0.413297									
QA5		0.609955									
QA8		0.539431									
QA4		0.496696									
QA10		0.489594									
QA7											
QA24		0.471830									
QA12		0.469860									
QA17											
			0.623162								

Appendix III: Total Variance Explained by Adopted Factor Solution

Total Variance Explained

Initial Eigenvalues

Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings

Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings

Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	6.333490	14.39429	14.39429	6.333490	14.39429	14.39429	3.747231	8.516436	8.516436
2	3.678579	8.360408	22.75470	3.678579	8.360408	22.75470	3.455043	7.852370	16.36880
3	2.973471	6.757888	29.51259	2.973471	6.757888	29.51259	3.101112	7.047982	23.41678
4	2.730772	6.206301	35.71889	2.730772	6.206301	35.71889	3.098302	7.041597	30.45838
5	2.513684	5.712920	41.43181	2.513684	5.712920	41.43181	2.948653	6.701485	37.15987
6	2.005369	4.557658	45.98947	2.005369	4.557658	45.98947	2.655526	6.035288	43.19516
7	1.712931	3.893027	49.88250	1.712931	3.893027	49.88250	2.069369	4.703111	47.89827
8	1.652310	3.755251	53.63775	1.652310	3.755251	53.63775	2.037188	4.629973	52.52824
9	1.630205	3.705011	57.34276	1.630205	3.705011	57.34276	1.831165	4.161738	56.68998
10	1.472751	3.347163	60.68992	1.472751	3.347163	60.68992	1.759974	3.999942	60.68992
11	1.406981	3.197685	63.88761						
12	1.372229	3.118702	67.00631						
13	1.288889	2.929295	69.93561						
14	1.112840	2.529183	72.46479						
15	1.061608	2.412746	74.87754						
16	1.011404	2.298645	77.17618						
17	0.953446	2.166923	79.34311						
18	0.848469	1.928339	81.27145						
19	0.792549	1.801249	83.07269						
20	0.722432	1.641891	84.71459						
21	0.701496	1.594309	86.30890						
22	0.619513	1.407984	87.71688						
23	0.589096	1.338855	89.05573						
24	0.570007	1.295471	90.35121						
25	0.551408	1.253200	91.60441						
26	0.486468	1.105609	92.71002						
27	0.427277	0.971085	93.68110						
28	0.392070	0.891069	94.57217						
29	0.334516	0.760264	95.33244						
30	0.282690	0.642478	95.97491						
31	0.263110	0.597977	96.57289						
32	0.251751	0.572163	97.14506						
33	0.210682	0.478823	97.62388						
34	0.184412	0.419118	98.04300						
35	0.170011	0.386390	98.42939						
36	0.136858	0.311042	98.74043						
37	0.126016	0.286400	99.02683						
38	0.116404	0.264555	99.29139						
39	0.085798	0.194996	99.48638						
40	0.075684	0.172009	99.65839						
41	0.054954	0.124895	99.78329						
42	0.044005	0.100012	99.88330						
43	0.032327	0.073471	99.95677						
44	0.019018	0.043223	100						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

have you responded? How does this compare with pressure from elsewhere such as political parties and your news organisation? Have you had divided loyalties on the issue?

- In your estimation, does your news organisation meet your reader's demand for information on governance issues?
- Have you ever discussed these issues with management or colleagues in the organisation?
- What would you say is the biggest challenge facing journalism with the onset of multiparty politics?
- What has been your moment of greatest trial as a journalist?

- What in your view is the most critical event with regard to your newspaper's/news organisation's coverage of the constitutional reforms story?
- In your view what did it mean for your organisation to cover the story this way
- What in your opinion is the most critical/memorable event in your coverage of the constitutional reform story?
- Are you aware of any conflicts between journalists and editorial management in the coverage of the constitutional reforms story?
- If your response to the above is yes, what was the conflict about? How did it unfold? How was this resolved?
- What would you say peaked this story?
- It has been claimed that journalism has been unable to find its footing on this story, would you agree?
- To what extent are mainstream media engaged in sustaining community based or popular agendas?
- To what extent are journalists in the mainstream press engaged in providing readers with alternative ways of reading the current developments in the country?
- There are those who say that mainstream media have been too cosy, that the media works well to ensure that it does not disrupt their peace and merry too much.
- Once every so often the president takes a broad swipe at the press, in particular the Nation. How does the press react internally?
- Recently the Nation commissioned opinion polls on issues it deemed critical to the public. What was the motivation? Some would say to push up sales!
- What do you think has been the impact of the so called journalism of courage as practised by the *People Weekly*, *Society* and the *Nairobi Law Monthly*?
- Journalism at the Nation Group and the Standard is bending too heavy to the interest of MBA's in the news organisation. Do you agree?
- Are you under any pressure by community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations to provide certain kinds of coverage? If yes how

Appendix II: The Interview Schedule

This schedule of questions seeks to access your opinion on the media framing/handling of the constitutional reform story. Opinion is sought over various issues and themes that may help to foreground your experiences and views on personal agency and conflict in the newsroom. We are especially interested in the connections between how you interpret your professional obligations, your work environment, and the various forces/factors at play in defining the outcomes of your work as a journalist. This is your story.

The questions provided here are guides, this being a loosely structured interview. There is an assumption that the mass demonstration activities in the build up to the 1997 election christened *Saba Saba*, *Nane Nane* and *Tisa Tisa*, the rise of the IPPG, the Safari Park Compromise, the Post Safari Park Stalemate all constitute critical points and events in the story under investigation.

Possible Questions:

- What do you think with respect to neutrality in the reporting of the story
- Are you aware of any attempts by management to police the issue. If response is yes, in what direction was the attempted influence
- Are you aware of any conflicts between your particular reporting of a story and the preferred editorial position
- If answer to the above question is yes, at what point in the news framing process did this occur?

-Assigning, before going to the beat, in the field, at the point the reporter handed in the copy to the sub, between the sub and the senior chief sub, between the subs and the editor, directly between the reporter and the news editor, any other]

- What are the possible explanations for this?
- What did you do? Are there any explanations for it?
- What influence, if at all, did such conflicts have on the way this particular beat was conducted?
- Do you influence where the news were placed in the paper?

SECTION C: BACKGROUND DATA

Please tell us about yourself by filling in details as indicated. You are free not to enter your names. All information provided will be strictly confidential. Should you value freedom of expression above the demands of confidentiality, however, you are encouraged to indicate your name as well as whether you would like to be quoted in this citations that result from the survey.

NAME: (Optional) _____

SEX: F _____ M _____

AGE: 21-25 _____ 26-30 _____ 31-35 _____ 36-40 _____ 41-45 _____

46-50 _____ 51-55 _____ 56-60 _____ 61-65 _____ 66++ _____

News Organisation Working for: [Indicate Whether T.V., Radio, Newspaper, News Agency etc]

EDUCATION BACKGROUND [PLEASE Indicate Highest Level]

Formal Education

Form IV _____ Form VI _____ First Degree [indicate type and subject/Major e.g. BA-history, B.Sc – Biochemistry]:

POST GRADUATE DEGREE: MA. _____ MBA _____ Ph.D. _____ Other _____

[Please specify] _____

Professional Education

Diploma in Journalism _____ BA/B.Sc in communication/Journalism _____

Television/Radio etc. _____

Post Graduate Diploma In Journalism _____ MA/MSc/MFA in communication Journalism/Television/Radio/ Film etc _____

Number of years as a Journalist: _____

Previous occupation if any [e.g. teacher, sales person etc] _____

Thank you for taking your time to respond to the questionnaire.

33) The mainstream media in Kenya has served as a kite bag machine for maintaining the status quo.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
34) President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that would lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
35) The government has abdicated its responsibilities in offering services to Kenyans.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
36) Prof. Kibutha Kibwana, a co-converor of the NCA/NCEC has been using the civil society to ascend to political power.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
37) The government is serious in turning the economic decline around as can be seen in the appointment of a team of technocrats (the dream) team at the helm of the civil service.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
38) Mass action and other forms of civil disobedience are inappropriate and unnecessary in the struggle for constitutional reform.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
39) Social, economic and political life in Kenya have degenerated to the extent that only desirable form of change if we are to create a possible impact is a revolution.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
40) National Development Party Leader Hon. Raila Odinga's cooperation with KANU will be the waterloo of his political career.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

20) The critics of President Moi's handling of constitutional reforms have failed to acknowledge the validity of his argument.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
21) Life is a game., you win some , you lose some	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
22) The average citizen does not feel that she is a part of government.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
23) Radical reorganisation of Kenya political structure is not only an anethma to the government but also to the media.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
24) The future of democracy in Kenya lies in independent citizens organisations that are genuinely grassroots. voluntary and democratically administered.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
25) Most citizens trust government to do a good job in carrying out its responsibilities?	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
26) Many journalists know of so many actual governance cases such as corruption but cannot dare write about them or even appear to be investigating.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
27) The government is run by clique [a kitchen cabinet] in state house and is not guided by the best interests of its people.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
28) The women fronted by women organisations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers are a bunch of urban elites using the current climate of reform to advance their very personal interests..	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
29) If the media is one of the pillars of a democracy, in Kenya this pillar stand stronger than the others	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
30) As far as the cabinet is concerned, I have a great deal of confidence in it.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
31) Media houses have failed to invest in engaging new reporting skills that would enable media to be of a better service to democracy.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
32) Government has misunderstood or ignored the opinions and aspirations of the citizens in its formulation of policy and programmes.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

6) Opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issue of governance in Kenya.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7) The ruling party would do anything to get itself in the saddle on constitutional reform.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8) The independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reforms.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9) Government policies and programmes, however well meant, are ineffective.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10) Comprehensive constitutional reforms provide the only hope that democracy and good governance can flower in Kenya.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
11) Many highbrow media investigations of governance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
12) The ruling party has used its position in government against the citizen in shaping public issues.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
13) Most people in Kenya would tell a lie to get ahead in life.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
14) The media has made a valiant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
15) The churches and religious organisations opposed to a parliament led constitutional reform process are mistaken in their frontal involvement in the politics of constitutional reform.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
16) Multipartyism has done little to help Kenya foster its national goals.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
17) When editors sit down to select the stories for the day, there are normally only two significant considerations: the interests of the ruling elite and those of the media owners.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
18) Mainstream media managers and owners have for the sake of self preservation, struck a deal to operate like a cartel to ensure that the public has access only to the information they (the big people in the media) they want them to have access to.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
19) Kenya media is so focused on the profit motif that any journalism beat that consumes time, energy and money cannot flourish in the present press set up.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

40) Mobilising support for public projects, such as the constitutional reforms, is not the business of journalists but civic activists.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
41) The media should just provide the facts and leave the public to decide where the truth is.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
42) The mainstream press in Kenya has reduced freedom of the press to mean freedom of the powerful whether in government, opposition or in business.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
43) Media should provide factual information and let the public discern the truth.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
44) Journalists are citizens first and journalists second.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

SECTION B

This section aims at accessing your opinion on life in Kenya generally and on key institutions, process and personalities in Kenya's political landscape over the last five years. Besides each of the statements please indicate by placing a tick () against the appropriate response along the scale provided (between -3 and +3) whether you Agree Without Reservation (AWR), Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A), Strongly Disagree (SD), Totally Disagree (TD) or are Undecided.

	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR
1) NGO's and so called civil society are essentially conduits of donor funds, their interest in constitutional reform is guided first and foremost by how much money they can make out of it.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2) The government handling of demands for constitutional reform has at best been reactionary, often conspiratory.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3) Kenya's power problems are not so much national but a planning problem.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4) Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies, such as Kenya power and lighting Company Ltd Managing Director because he eats with media managers.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5) In reporting the crisis on constitutional reform mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

39) The media's freedom belongs to the people and should be used to serve them not the whims of news editors	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
26) It is the role of the media to bring people together, very much like a 'Kamukunji' (Baraza) to deliberate and solve society's problems.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
27) During critical moments in history, the media more often than not, fail the public by setting and imposing agenda that are in the interests of media owners and the powerful.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
28) Journalists tend to underestimate the intelligence of their readers.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
29) Journalists have failed to inform citizens adequately about the challenges that surround them, such as a governmental ineptitude.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
30) The media are part of the problem in enabling popular citizen participation in public life.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
31) Mainstream media accept too unquestioningly dominant explanations of the day by such institutions as the World Bank and IMF.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
32) Journalists are integral members of Kenya's elite and therefore see societal issues from the elite point of view.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
33) Journalists should remain detached from what they report.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
34) Journalists need to help citizens confront and solve issues.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
35) Reporters need to change the way they do their work in order for democracy to work in Kenya.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
36) Journalism should seek to set only those agendas that are based on public demands.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
37) Given the change the average citizen is capable of and mature judgement on any public issue.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
38) The media are too powerful to pretend that they have nothing to do with the way things shape up in public life.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
39) Journalists tend to report positions and extremes rather than seek to strike common ground on the issues.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

10) Media reporting of an issue should promote national integration.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1		+3
11) The media has no business taking sides on a politically divisive issue.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1		+3
12) In reporting a crisis media should concentrate on getting the facts straight without trying to doctor them it to promote supposedly national interests.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
13) Serious analysis of mainstream media reveal inclinations towards narrow and unfocussed journalism.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
14) The media should not confuse its voice with that of the communities or the community's various expressions.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
15) The media should report and analyze news without attempting to shape or direct it.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
16) The media needs to watch over the civil society and other organised societies as religions just as it does government.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
17) Rather than try to fix social problems, journalists should concentrate on revealing them.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
18) The media have failed to rise to the challenge of consolidating participatory democracy in Kenya.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
19) Kenya media should invest more in publishing in Kiswahili and local languages their media of communication.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
20) A new kind of journalism is needed to refocus public debate on society's real needs.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
21) It is the media's responsibility to ensure that public life, such as health, education and representative democracy works well.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
22) The journalist professional mission is to report and analyse the news and not to seek to direct its outcomes.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
23) Kenyan journalists are too close to the leaders and the government and too far from the average citizen (<i>Mwananchi</i>)	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
24) Kenya needs a new kind of press system to refocus political disclosure away from the elite to citizens and communities.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

Hello, I am a graduate student presently writing on how journalists and media houses frame the clamour for constitutional reforms. The need for constitutional (governance) reform is one of the most recurrent problems in Kenya's public life. I value your assistance in enabling me to learn how journalists and media houses frame the issue and whether there have been any conflicts in the newsrooms between the value orientation of journalists and those of the media houses over the issue. The results of the research will be made available to the media organisations, journalist organisations and training institutions.

SECTION A: CONSTRUCTION OF JOURNALIST ORIENTATION

The following statements have been made with the reference to the role of journalism in a democratic society and within the specific context of the democracy project in Kenya. Besides each of the statements please indicate by a tick () against the appropriate response along the scale provided of between -3 and +3 whether you Agree Without Reservation (AWR) Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Strongly Disagree (SD), Totally Disagree (TD) or are Undecided.

	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR
1) The media have a duty to actively support and enable popular social movements	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2) The media in Kenya cannot be relied on to fight for a far reaching (comprehensive) governance reform.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3) The quality of Kenya journalism has been compromised as all too often the mainstream media glosses over sensitive stories in a manner that amounts to editorial cover-up.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4) The media should serve as independent watchdogs of government.	-3	-2	-1	0	-1	+2	+3
5) Media reporting should encourage national as opposed to sectarian interests.	-3	-2	-1	0		+2	+3
6) Most of the investigative and other exposes by the mainstream media do not suit or serve the direct and immediate needs of rural Kenyans.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7) The legitimacy of the press is caused more by its taking sides with social causes than by how balanced is its reporting on them.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8) Journalist must remain neutral and outside the events and causes they are covering.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9) The media's role in public life is to point out the issue such as scandals and hold them up for public serenity.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

Questionnaire No:

Code:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOURNALIST ORIENTATION, NEWSROOM POLITICS AND JOURNALIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CRISIS OVER REVIEWING CONSTITUTION IN KENYA.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Return Address:
BILLINGTON MWANGI GITUTO
P.O. BOX 75473
NAIROBI

Please return by: _____

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Habermas, “the universal condition for possible understanding” and where the goal of coming to an understanding “is to bring about an agreement that terminates in the intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust and accord with one another” (Habermas 1989, 3) is highly in doubt.

The connections between journalist orientation and internal media democracy point to an even grimmer prospect for media coming to the aid of democracy. A democracy being an ‘open society’, journalists fail to claim a place as midwife to democracy.

reflect democratic cultures or values. Given the weight of the news organization, as an employer and the co-option of senior journalists in management into looking after the bread side of things for their organizations and themselves, individual journalists view themselves as having very little scope to bring their beliefs to bear on the outcomes of their work.

This in its turn creates a very fraught position where journalists are forever arguing with themselves and colleagues about the value of their work and the ends to which it should serve. Some journalists resign to this as some kind of fate, something that as long as news are created to profit media organizations they cannot change; others prefer to take an evolutionally perspective and to find hope in the notion that things have been changing. Previously their greatest threat came from outside media organizations, from the ruling politicians. Presently the threats seem to issue from an unholy alliance of some of these forces with media owners and editors. Previously it used to be uncommon to find bold investigative reporters in the mainstream of media organizations, now even media organizations recognize that incisive investigative reports can ensure that the paper retains its region of readers, and hopefully its attraction to business. In the wake of the bold efforts of some pioneering journalists of a decade earlier and following this latter recognition, a contingent middle of the road practice is emerging where such journalists are given recognition. Everything may not be lost. Yet other responses from journalists is to creatively reinvent/obfuscate/emasculate the whole news operation by imposing their own sense of values so that the news operation makes sense to them.

In a situation where media practitioners are highly skeptical about their own practice, deeply cynical about the media institutions, where they are stifled by lack of internal media democracy, the extent to which media forms part of, to quote Jurgen

provide areas which further research into the linkages between the press and the framing of social problems should consider.

This study investigated journalist attitudes from the mantra of their professional belief orientations and the experiences of individual journalists relative to these belief positions. While the study found the apparent incongruity between these belief systems and the conduct of news organizations to be a major source of journalist cynicism, it is possible that this cynicism issues or feeds from other sources as well. Notable amongst these would be journalist material working conditions including their pay, promotion, negative ethnicity and others. An investigation of these and other sources may be needed for a comprehensive theory of journalist cynicism.

A study of this nature might have also benefited significantly from a reconceptualisation of the news making enterprise as one of myth making and where news organizations, their products and individual journalists invest themselves in [re]producing certain narratives. It may, for instance, be possible that journalist cynicism is part of a wider narrative characterized by despair about the ability of Kenyans to turn their situation around.

Conclusion

Journalism orientations suggest a hybrid mesh of legitimating creeds at the heart of journalism. All of these creeds present in different dimensions support for a role for journalism in enabling democracy and democratization. Journalists are however skeptical that the environments in which they work are conducive to this kind of outcome. Journalists view the greatest threat to journalism's ability to serve democracy as issuing from organizational cultures within the newsrooms, that do not

journalism and society all call for sustained academic investigation. Journalism training institutions such as Daystar University may have to take up the onerous task of re-educating journalism, making it aware of its own practice, and the apparent need to reconnect with itself and society.

There are several things this research did not set out to do and which could be of further interest. This research did not inquire into the relations between media houses and journalists from an organizational perspective. The study could therefore not establish how journalists, whom as we have seen are deeply cynical about their media organizations negotiate everyday work situations and the impact this had on media content. While journalist attitudes towards the media houses they worked for was almost always contemptuous, this was accepted at face value. The fact of its ubiquity in newsrooms across different news organizations does point to a need to incorporate an organizational framework in investigating news framing. An investigation that incorporates the organizational frame would be especially important in revealing how news products come to acquire acceptability and legitimacy with the cynical journalists.

The study did not also seek to inquire into the decision making process in media houses and to answer questions related to this such as the possible influence external agencies such as prominent figures in the establish had on the news selection process. This may have proved useful in validating journalist perceptions that the content selection process was flawed to the extent that media managers were cronies with these establishment figures.

The study did not also seek conduct a manifest or latent content analysis of media content relative to the various claims of the journalists and also to establish bias or frames media constructed for the various issues studied in the research. All these

themselves carry their own agenda on the issue regardless of the players associated with it. This might also be an indicator of the belief that media while supporting in principle and in kind the resolution of various social problems, should however remain neutral and non-partisan in terms of political action and actors.

Media craving for this non-partisan neutral mantra is however qualified somewhat by the high support journalists give to the notion that media content or investigations critical of key figures in the establish is doctored or unlikely to see the light of day owing to media managers' proximity to the subject of such exposes. That media managers and politicians in the establishment can conspire to censor media content and conduct pose obvious challenges to the role of the media in enabling or supporting democracy. Journalist support for this view is corroborated by journalist support for notions that regard internal media cultures as being undemocratic.

The journalist-legitimizing creed is supportive of a reading of journalists, as being potentially divided about the role media should play in transition to democracy.

The findings of the study point to a view of media systems in Kenya as more preoccupied with lending a hand to the search for order. Even where journalists, and perhaps media houses, may acknowledge that there is an urgent and overriding need to change the way state affairs are managed and the entire conduct of politics, media is also preoccupied with a need to do this in such a way that it does not upset the existing relations that confer to media business interests opportunity to turn profit.

The conclusions of this study ought to be of importance to media training institutions, which compete with news houses and the external environment in conferring to journalists core professional orientations. The apparent disconnection between journalism belief systems and public life, journalism cynicism towards major institutions in society including the media itself and the changing dynamics between

Recommendations

The conclusions of this study ought to be of interest to a number of sectors in society. It ought to be of interest to media houses, to political parties, to government, to civil society interested in influencing public discourse and to the media academy interested in research in journalism.

Journalists hold the media houses they work for and the entire media enterprise in Kenya with great cynicism. Journalists are especially aware of the media as a self-serving enterprise and hold little prospect that the media in its present form can be of redemptive value to democracy.

Media houses also ought to be more conscious of the different role expectations that journalists expect media to play in a democracy. Such awareness and designing media operations and media house policies to reflect them will be useful in addressing journalist cynicism.

Journalist value orientations or legitimating creed is important for democracy in several respects. 1) In the absence of overt control of media content by the ruling elite, the extent to which journalists and other media professionals align themselves to the range of social forces, including the ruling party, government, opposition parties and civil society all competing for their attention. In this respect the findings that a) journalists have very little respect for both the ruling party and the opposition, b) that journalists have very little regard for government, and c) that journalists have above average esteem for civil society including religious organisations should be instructive.

Journalist support for issues related to structural reformation of politics and power arrangements in Kenya, while not supporting the agents through which these changes ought to happen is also important. Indications are such that journalists

may actually be disengaging from a position that enables them to be potentially part of the process of playing mid-wife to democratic consolidation.

- The paucity of democratic values and the opaqueness characterizing newsroom cultures in denial of the existence of competing journalist belief orientations is perhaps best explained by reading media houses as being invested with hierarchies. These hierarchies are reinforced by conventional 'considerations' establishing a sort of pecking order in the profession.
- Relative to the organizational frame of news-work. Journalists subsist in marginal positions in the news making process. This, best read within the thresh of disciplining the subject, has the result of effectively locking out rank and file journalists (those outside editorial management), out of the dominant framing process of media discourse and newsrooms as discursive sites.
- Journalists, however, do invent various strategies to overcome their location at the margins of this discursive situation. These strategies, captured here as re-framing and storying, have the effect of repositioning the journalist relative to the framing process-partly though sabotage of this process, and remembering rank and file journalists into alternative, if sub-altern, belief clusters.

Summary of Conclusions

- The professional ideology of journalism does have several faces. To explain this one would have to factor a variety of conditions- organizational, environmental, idiosyncratic and socio-historical.
- The multifaceted dimension of journalist belief systems may point to evidence of contests between economic, political and cultural elite against emerging counter-values and politics. This may point to success by the elite in either absorbing discourses that are oppositional and preventing intra-group solidarity amongst non-dominant groups and the emergence of counter-beliefs to positions of dominance.
- This process of diversification or diversity- potentially an elite discourse- may potentially be part of the process of avoiding major conflicts at the base of the professional ideology of journalism.
- Journalism's' democratic assumptions or its assumed connection with public life seem to provide the legitimating and archetypal (organizing) function of myth. As a myth, it continues to provide the bedrock of professional mobilization and identity formation of journalism. In reality, the truth value of this myth is contestable.
- In being ardently cynical of both the opposition, government and ruling party, and by maintaining traditional skepticism towards emerging civil society, journalists

thereafter through the clamor for constitutional reforms. They credit a vigorous mostly urban-based civil society and the nascent political opposition for this outcome. Media watchers may want to answer the question regarding the contribution of the mainstream press to this process. In view of the findings of this study, mainstream media may be wrongly credited with coming to the aid of democracy. While the findings of this study would be insufficient to draw such a conclusion, more studies would have to be conducted investigating how media actually covered the clamour for democracy through manifest and latent content analysis, perhaps an investigation of the connections between prevailing archetypes in media content and readers et cetera. Nevertheless the findings that journalists hardly have scope within media organizations, and that media have not invested in new reporting styles or developed new organizing philosophies in the upsurge of demands for pluralism, point to a media potentially out of tune with the times.

Journalism has been viewed variously as a city sitting upon a hill watching and guarding democratization and the civilization it is based on or enables from self-destructing largely out of its own internal contradictions. This city defined by its need to report on the rest of the establishment in society comes to adopt and propagate values that emphasize its separateness but also, which may be an often understated part, provides its own internal value logic on how it addresses the same maladies it would find in others. As we saw earlier the result is a doctrine of separation.

If the mission of journalism is the service of democracy and if the faith of an individual journalist in this mission is at the heart of the soul of journalism enterprise, then journalism may be in need of rediscovering this soul.

process? What are the connections between the practice or nature of journalism in Africa and the future of democracy? This study sought to investigate these questions by first inquiring after the possible range of professional journalist orientations vis-à-vis their view in the role of the media in enabling democratization and in the second place cast the emergent belief inclinations if at against ongoing democratization processes in Kenya using, in particular, the struggle to rewrite Kenya's Independence Constitution.

The study in part confirmed findings by earlier researchers, notably for the Kenyan case (Baruck Opiyo) in 1993 that Kenyan journalists are indeed classifiable according to their beliefs in the role orientation of journalism in a democracy. This study moved beyond the earlier study by supplying role definitions that included support for active media engagement in civic affairs. The finding that journalists share different belief orientations is significant in placing pluralism at the heart of the journalism enterprise. It also disabuses a notion that journalists are uniform and can be addressed by a single criterion.

The study's core findings pose several challenges to the notions that connect the future of democracy to the practice of journalism. Journalists, the study found, perceive newsrooms as lacking in internal democracy and as failing to nurture a pluralism the kind of which is requisite for media to come to the aid of democracy. Journalists also find the media through media managers and owners too close to those in power for the good comfort of those who might wish to see the media play an aggressive role in the democracy project. There is also apparently little connection between journalist creeds and journalist actual preferences in real life.

Democracy watchers in 1997 credited Kenya's democracy project as coming from the brink of suffocation in the second multi-party elections in 1997 and

environments, that journalists are in active conversations about the meanings of their work , their relationship with it. There is no simple dichotomy in which journalists write for their papers and the newsrooms run the profession. While a newsroom will be struggling to impose order, and read meaning into otherwise disparate events- such as the suicide of a senior government officer, journalists will be struggling to and will chose these moments and their outcomes to evaluate and shape their relationship with the newsroom, and their place in the entire profession. Finding in the newsroom a hard master, they will silently impose another sort of order, one which is completely in defiance of news values as they may be understood in the newsroom. Thus a journalist will keep a story, for a rainy day, or a journalist will seek a posting that enables him to use the resources availed to him to run errands. Journalists seem to impose a moral authority over their media houses which they perceive as incorrigibly corrupted, they seem to give only that which can be minimally expected from them. They seem to view this as somebody else's enterprise and not to demand of it too much.

The Import of These Findings

This study was motivated in large part by claims linking the conduct of journalists to the fortunes of democratization in Africa. To return to Kasoma's statement about the linkages between the success of African democracy and the professional practice of African journalists, several questions arose: How varied is the practice of journalism in Africa? To what extent can the fortunes of democracy be tied to the real life experiences and value inclinations of African journalists? How do African journalists measure or position their professional values and practice in relation to the assumptions informing the role of journalism in the democratization

vantage points within the news gathering process. This reading of the moment in news production from a social constructivist sensibility, posits a moral process of “social influence (where) individuals (predicate) in common” with the resultant beliefs being viewed as “construing.... held in common” (Rychlack 1992, 50). This kind of testimony tends to reconstruct the individual vis-à-vis the news enterprise. It affords structure to what somebody else has sought to dismember by conferring agency and residual moral resources to individual actors where “morality requires an organism that is fundamentally an evaluator, functioning according to an active process in which a ‘position’ must be continually be taken (framed, affirmed, believed in, hoped for etc.) precedent to the actions that follow” (Ibid, 55-6). While taking place at the individual level, storying is essentially a group act as stories resonate with experiences of other group members and provide an archetype for the belief consolidation process (Traber, 1988: 121)

In this view journalists seemed to take forte, in the strength of their own narratives of identity (for which see Gergen 1992, 16) where they have a past, a present and a future in the business of truth-telling, regardless of the happenings in higher enclaves of the news-house hierarchy. This view also recognizes that individuals are responsible to these narratives of identity both for themselves and others. To put it another way, once a journalist has framed or adopted a particular narrative of identity, the journalist will proceed to base their conduct on that frame. Through storyfying, not only do individuals carry individual coping resources, they keep re-enacting their beliefs and in the process re-enact a community that may be in opposition to the dominant one.

These and other instances may show that journalists do carry a conversation with themselves and are not entirely helpless in the face of hostile media

positioning people. Discipline in the way it works in as we have seen in newsrooms and news organizations become techniques of domination and control.

A finding corollary to this, however, is that journalists are not nevertheless entirely helpless in the face of demeaning media organizations. Journalists invent various strategies to cope with this situation. The most notable of the strategies included, re-framing and outright sabotage of the accepted news process. The process of re-framing typically involves contestation with those on whom the newsroom culture has bestowed the privilege of 'framing' the issue being reported on (Smith, 1999:153). Such framing, as we have seen elsewhere, involves making decisions about the parameters of an issue, what comes in the background, what gets foregrounded and what shades exist in between. Re-framing for instance occurred in instances where journalists would create informal solidarity amongst reporters, over such things as the way a story should be worded, and a systemic disengagement from viewing the news making process as significant in the journalist's personal life. Thus one journalist, a senior parliamentary reporter, who led a group of others in digging out a story he had placed on queue in the computer network, upon discussing how the new intro by a sub changed the whole perspective of the story simply surmised that one of the chief problems in that media house is that they insist on hiring "illiterate sub-editors"

While at the beginning of the decade, re-framing took the shape of grand schemes, such as starting 'alternative' media outlets and using these to challenge conventional journalism values, the forms encountered by the research were more subtle such as journalists resisting newsroom conventions about what is significant.

Another notable journalist response can be explained by way of testimony by which is meant stories about self that seek to locate the individual journalist at

strategy that assures that the news process and product is predictable in terms of meaning and that it does not disrupt the current ordering of things. By placing and keeping journalists at the margins of news work, new organizations are able to maintain control of the news frame and whatever can be achieved through it.

Additionally the study found journalists very uncertain /insecure in their work environments. While a majority of journalists interviewed long for freer working environments, they feel that they have very little chance of bringing this about. While they would wish their media houses to respond better to issues of governance, they feel that negative forces such as the influence of business, corruption and cronyism are so entrenched in media management and practice that they can do little to effect changes. Journalists tended to view this state of affairs as an inevitable outcome of the linkage between media ownership, business interests and media management. Journalists are careful not to offend the hand that feeds them, aware that there are not many opportunities in the market for their skills. Journalists therefore resign to going about their business in ways that remove them from being committed or too overzealous.

It is possible to advance various explanations for this. Prominent amongst such explanations would be a reading of this as a disciplining project first within the immediate contexts of newsrooms and the discourses they engender, but also within a larger disciplining project as exhibit of instruments and architecture dominant groups employ to keep contesting discourses out of the mainstream of public life. The various disciplining mechanisms adopted by media organizations include marginalization, denial, and exclusion. The use of such disciplining can be read one of the major techniques of power, of organizing systems of knowledge and belief, but also of

and oppressive to the journalist and untenable with media claim to be a critical ingredient in the making and functioning of a democracy. Several factors may serve to explain this finding. The first is a view of newsroom conventions as a closed shop with the editor at the door performing a gate-keeping role. In this view media freedom is a province reserved largely for editorial managers and media owners. Another way of viewing this is to adopt the view of the news organization as hierarchical and where power is vested in those in the senior echelons of editorial and business management. A hierarchical reading of the decision making process in news organizations, is also consistent with a view of conventional 'considerations' and news filtration that informs newsroom cultures. (Tomaselli *et al.* 1989: 28)

This view is also consistent with a notion of the newsroom culture as being organized around a need by news organizations to impose order to otherwise disparate and uncoordinated daily happenings. The overriding motif for this ordering is a need to reduce the happenings in the day into commodities called news that culturally accepted commodities consumers can buy (Kaplan, 1997: 336). In this ordering again, though the media is imbued with democratic imaginings, the most primary considerations are business related.

Another key finding of the study is that journalists stand in relatively marginal positions in the news making process. To a large extent, journalists are not really in control of the products of their work and as such may not be held accountable for this product. Journalists view news organizations as being structured in ways that emphasize the separatist doctrine of the journalist from her work and its outcomes. This finding is interesting in the light of journalist claims that media managers are elite and in the business of promoting elite discourses. It is possible to read the marginality and exclusion of journalists from the news framing process as a discursive

both from a strategic view of resistance and perhaps even more important wherever journalism has found it necessary to reinvent itself.

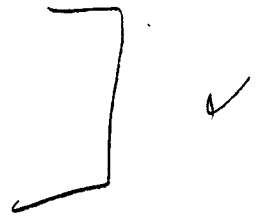
On the other hand, the realities of journalism as a dependent profession, quite unlike say law or medicine, is that it finds itself having to negotiate with the commercial, political and other interests of media owners, political orders, and business interests whose interests in journalism would not always sit well with the narrative claims about journalism's mission.

One other finding of the study was that journalist attitudes towards parliamentary political parties are characterized by a great degree of cynicism about the usefulness of these parties. Journalists are ardently cynical of the ruling party's intentions in governance. Journalists viewed the party as misusing the citizen. The study also found journalists very skeptical about the real intentions of opposition political parties. Journalists viewed these parties as adding little value to the pursuit of democracy in Kenya.

This finding conforms to studies elsewhere that have come to view journalists as cynics regardless of the reality in the political arena they are reporting in. In these studies media are seen as being skeptical (at the very least) of politicians and political parties. They are viewed as reducing processes such as national elections to contests between largely two combatants and to concentrate on the mechanics of who is ahead of who, rather than say what issues really separate the candidates, or what issues voters are bringing in the campaign. In this the media become part of the problem rather than an aid to genuine public discourse.

One of the findings of the study concerned the extent to which journalists expressed dissatisfaction with the inner workings of their media houses. The vast majority of journalists found the policy making process of the media houses opaque

This finding supports a somewhat contradictory view of journalists as vanguards of the democratization process, but simultaneously as conservatives who would hardly support the means which may be necessary to bring about or secure democratic consolidation.



To begin to get a handle on this one would have to make recourse to the theory of myth, grand-[meta] narratives and archetypes. According to Bruce Lincoln such narratives should be classified "not by their content but by the claims that are made by their narrators and the way in which these claims are received by their audiences."

(Lincoln, 1989: 24) Myth belongs to that class of narratives that

Possess both credibility and authority. ...A narrative possessive of authority[as opposed to say a fable] is one for which successful claims are made not only to the status of truth, but what is more, to the status of paradigmatic truth. In a sense the authority of myth is somewhat akin to that of characters, models, templates and blueprints, but one can go beyond this formulation and recognize that it is also akin to that of revolutionary slogans and ancestral invocations in that through the recitation of myth one may effectively mobilize a social grouping. Thus myth is not just a coding device in which important information is conveyed, on the basis of which actors can then construct society. It is also a discursive act through which actors evoke the sentiments out of which society is actively constructed" (Lincoln, 1989: 25).

It would seem that the historical development of journalism in the west, and in order to continue to find itself useful journalism needed to invent some myth about its continuing connection to functioning of democracy. Various historical epochs have presented different challenges to the truth claims and thus the authority of this myth. Thus the appeals to public service- the fourth estate, the view of journalism as providing the fabric of the public sphere, the watchdog role of journalism, and increasingly journalism as a civic partner in re-invigorating public life, serve as variants of the same myth. This myth continues to provide the bedrock of professional mobilization and the identity formation of journalism professionalism. It has been told

extension of this thinking, there would arise a coordination problem if the group did not share some core values and beliefs in the first place. In this context also any emergent new beliefs is in need of legitimation and would have to fight, so to speak, for the heart of the group.

Another finding related to the various faces of journalism was that different journalist types will have varying attitudes towards the matter of democratic consolidation and the various protagonists in this debate. It may be plausible to view the various value positions as the markings of strands in a discourse. By taking up subtly different positions, journalists constitute part of the discursive trajectory that informs the real world from which they seek to report events. It is for instance, remarkable that while nearly all journalists will support democratic consolidation through exhaustive reform of the constitution, they are divided on how this should be achieved.

The second major finding concerned the attitude of journalists towards a battery of objects including constitutional reforms and democratization, the government, the ruling and opposition political parties, civil society, the media coverage of constitutional reform, internal newsroom/media culture and life in general.

The study found the vast majority of journalists to be in favour of structural reformation of the social, political and economic life through reform of the constitution. Support for this was however varied amongst the major journalist professional orientations. Moreover, those journalists who would support democratic consolidation will be hesitant to support the means thus far used by civil society organizations to achieve it. The majority are cynical that democratization, as is manifested in a multi-party political arrangement has been of value to Kenyans.

in ways that are additive, also serves to aid a process of avoiding major disputes amongst elite, such as, as we saw earlier, those witnessed among journalists in early 1990's.

Beliefs, however, are important as authenticating structures, in providing the canvas or framework against which human action is organized. A pluralism of beliefs can, theoretically, lead to a pluralism of practice. The extent to which this is the case would form an interesting subject of further enquiry.

The study also found considerable overlap between the various emergent journalist types. While this could be a function of the method of analysis i.e factor analysis, more likely it could be a reflection of a flux in values that may be in agreement with the challenges facing the profession. In other words, these are times heavy with change, and it is conceivable that the battleground for new and old is as much alive in newsroom cultures as elsewhere. This should be healthy. At any rate typologies are not meant to wipe away any inherent ambiguities in the organization of belief clusters but rather to reduce social variation to a few grand types (ibid). It is a useful way to begin to conceptualize and analyze how people respond to their social environment. Beliefs refer to the authenticating structures, the way in which people use to justify to themselves and to others, the decisions and actions that they take, the belief processes, blinders and blinkers, if you will, through which people mediate behaviour and action.

This overlap can also be explained in terms of group relations. In this view, belief systems are, essentially properties of well-defined groups or movements and not individuals (Djik, 1999: 120). As we saw earlier, professional groups, such as journalists would have to develop professional belief clusters chiefly in relation to other claimants to a similar position, and to meet the need for self-perpetuation. In

journalist responses to these other organizational and environmental agents.

It would seem that an explanation of the phenomena is possible only through adopting a contingent view of the factors at work in journalist socialization.

The various faces of journalist identity may also indicate that journalism may be changing in response to the challenge of the times. Alarming, a majority of the journalists would support a more direct engagement of media in providing solutions to national problems. The constellation of journalists who view the whole media liaison with democracy as constituting this kind of support is a significant departure from traditional notions of media as being an independent, separate, impartial purveyor of information to an active citizenry. It is also distinguishable from other traditional notions of an adversarial press, blowing the whistle on government and other cooperate publics in society but being careful to distinguish and maintain its independence from them. The kind of journalism advocated by this cluster of journalists would see journalism redefine its mission in its connection with democracy in a way that locates journalism more centrally in providing solutions to social problems, to being in greater proximity to their reading public. This kind of journalism is also likely to support a reformation of the exercise of power so that its sources, uses and benefits are defined by the average citizen.

Yet, it is also possible to read the multifaceted dimension of journalist belief systems as evidence of the influence and ability of dominant groups, the elite, in society being successful in absorbing discourses that are oppositional and from other non-dominant groups (Djik, 1999: 179). Within a larger theory of discourse formation, this would point to discursive success by these dominant groups in preventing intra-group solidarity and the emergence of counter-beliefs into positions of dominance. Such adoption of emergent oppositional beliefs by professionals, albeit

journalism. Our investigations however do not point to such possibilities locally. The various types of journalist orientations are shared among all the four newspapers included in the study. This is peculiar as the newspapers share very diverse dimensions regarding proximity to or ownership by political parties, government support, or control, and various other influences such as those advertisers. This diversity is demonstrated by for instance the *Kenya Times*, on the one hand, and the *People Daily* on the other. The one is owned by the ruling Kenya African National Union, the other by an opposition politician fiercely critical of the government.

Another possible explanation for this is the social political environment found outside both the professional socialization routes and the news-house organization (Hendrickson & Tankard Jr, 1997: 1). Unlike a lot of other professions the connection between journalism and public life is such that journalism finds itself a major receptacle to social political and other changes in public and private life of citizens. Such an external environmental perspective enables a framework where the various contesting forces in a society compete either consciously or unconsciously to influence journalist value formation. Within a context of rapid changes in the political order such as the struggle for greater democratic freedoms, these competing forces and the internal need for media to locate itself more centrally at the service of democracy provide a fertile ground for rapid value and belief formation across the entire media industry spectrum.

At the heart of the value formation process will be the individual journalists themselves and the moral resources they bring to their work. Adopting a moral constructivist view enables, as we shall see later, us to enlarge the framework of socialization in a way that not only brings in individual journalists experience and perspective but also gives us the conceptual tools with which to engage individual

The findings may also be slightly different as the current research posed the issue of journalist role orientation vis-à-vis an ongoing democratization process. A majority of journalists [77%] were for instance in agreement about the necessity for greater democratization, but this majority shrunk when confronted with the question of active journalist support for it. It may be possible that some of these roles become well formed as the major structures and peculiarities of the emerging democratic dispensation take root. (see for example Waisbord, 1996, 344)

It is possible to explore this outcome, the existence of several diverse journalist orientations, from several routes. The first is the various influences of the professional socialization process. A majority of these journalists either received their professional training at the University of Nairobi Journalism school and the Kenya Institute of Mass Communications. The schools has a typical western (American) curriculum (Ochieng, 1992, 81) whose values stress a mixture of the libertarian and social responsibility functions of the press in society. The libertarian view, heavily influenced by the ideas of John Stuart Mill stresses the press as a market place of ideas. The social responsibility view of the press tresses the need for journalism to provide a certain service to society.

Journalist socialization is however a function of numerous factors. Of these socialization within a particular news-house is crucial and together with the trans-organisational framework provided by news professionalism provide perhaps the most enduring sources of journalist professional socialization (Soloski 1989 227). In this view, particular news-house conventions are supposed to produce distinct professional value inclinations among journalists. The 1994 U.S study found basis for seminal support of this contention. In the research, civic journalists were more likely to be found in papers where the top editors had embraced and actively supported civic

possible theoretical explanations for them. The chapter shall then proceed to the major lessons deriving from these observations. This is followed by a contemplation of the import of the lessons and implications for further scholarship in the field. Finally, the chapter presents a conclusion of the study based on the questions it sought to answer and the significance of the findings in light of developments in journalism and the relationship between journalism and society.

Discussion of Findings

One of the key findings of this study was that, measured against their expectations and opinion of the role of the media in a democracy, journalists do have distinct belief constellations. These belief systems were adversarial, civic, concerned participant, disturbed disseminator and nationalistic participant. The finding was consistent with research done using vastly different methods in Kenya (Opiyo, 1994: 154) and the USA (Bare, 1991: 88f) in the first half of the 1990's.

Unlike the previous findings however which found three and four journalist types, this particular research came up with five such types. The reasons for this may be varied. Previous research conducted within the context of the rapid democratization and within a framework of a media system emerging from single party rule may not have benefited from a consolidation of belief and experiences issuing from this movement. This research coming ten years after the first street demonstrations and agitation for greater democratization, may have benefited from such a process. The external media environment has changed considerably, as some journalists noted; newsrooms are now freer. Indeed editors seem to be going to work to impose new patterns of behaviour on journalists not driven by the overarching demands of the lack of press freedom that characterized previous generations of news regimes.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study sought to determine the professional orientations of journalists, explore the relationship between these orientations and journalist framing of the crisis on constitutional reform in Kenya and how journalist value orientations have interacted with news-house policies regarding the crisis.

In order to achieve this purpose the study first attempted to answer the question whether there were distinct journalist orientations undergirding professional journalist belief systems. Secondly, the study sought to determine journalist framing of the crisis over constitutional reform by first establishing the prevalent journalist attitudes toward the crisis over reforming the constitution. This later was to be established as a measure of journalist attitude towards the call for constitutional reform itself, and the major protagonists in the crisis on constitutional reform including the government, major parliamentary political parties, civil society, the religious sector and the general public. Determining journalist framing of the crisis on reforming the constitution was also to be aided by establishing the attitude of the journalists towards media handling and framing of the constitutional reforms. Assuming that journalists did have differing belief orientations, the study also sought to establish the various strategies and experiences of journalists with regard to the organizing and articulation of value positions within the newsroom.

The previous chapter presented the major findings relating to the areas under investigation. This chapter attempts a synthesis of these findings in light of the questions raised by the research. In discussing and seeking to make sense of the findings, this chapter shall proceed first to discuss these findings within the context of

government. They are mildly cynical towards civil society. In the same stroke journalists are cautious not to engage in unqualified condemnation of the head of state, who is also head of government.

- Journalists are distressed with the lack of internal democratic cultures in news organisations. They hold that there is very little prospect for media to play a genuine supportive for equitable and all embracing discourse.
- Journalists stand in relatively marginal positions in the discursive process of determining the frame of news. It is arguable whether overtly journalists come into this process at all. In connection with this, journalists are very insecure about their work
- Journalists however respond creatively in order to cope and challenge this situation through seeking to reposition themselves, covertly and through subterfuge, at the centre of the news making process.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the various research findings in of terms emergent journalism belief systems, the relations between belief orientations and journalist attitudes to various players and issues on the democracy platform and how journalists cope with newsroom cultures that ignore their value orientations. The study found that there are five predominant value clusters: the adversarial, civic, disturbed disseminator, concerned participant and patriotic participant. The study also found that, though there were numerous similarities, different journalist types did respond to statements about democratisation differently. All journalists however had great reservations about the lack of internal news house democracies that would enable a thriving of the various journalist belief inclinations.

good stories on a good day. But you cannot file all of them. There is a good chance that one of them will get killed. So you keep it for the next day, or some other time when you may not be so lucky.”

Adopting an Evolutionally Perspective

Yet other journalists seem to prefer adopting a positivistic perspective that factors current handicaps as contingencies which journalism will somehow overcome. This kind of positivism is captured in the view expressed by a bureau chief in Kisumu. According to him, “times have changed...we are able to be more independent than before. We are able to say what we have to say. We wrote a story on the President being stoned at Shamakhokho ... Of course we cannot say very negative things about the president- our media system is still evolving...”

Summary of key findings

- Measured against their expectations of the role of the media in a democracy- journalists do have distinct belief constellations. These, the study found to be adversarial, concerned participant, disturbed disseminator and Nationalistic participant.
- A vast majority of journalists are in favour of structural reformation of the social, political and economic life through, for instance, overhaul of the Nationalistic constitution. Journalists are however hesitant to recommend ‘mass action’ or other popular public protests as way of agitating for or forcing this change. Moreover, a majority of journalists are critical of the current multi-party dispensation.
- Journalists are cynical towards all the political parties regardless of their being in power or in the opposition. Journalists are also ardently cynical about the

for instance be a telephone call from state house. You had to be really daredevil to stay on that kind of beat. I still have school children going to school."

"Fighting the Good Fight": Journalists Left to their own Devices Getting By.

Yet journalists are not entirely helpless in the face of a hostile media environment. To the contrary journalists are in active conversations about the meanings of their work and their relationship with it. Often times this goes far beyond "talking with colleagues about what happens in their organisations." There is indeed no simple dichotomy in which journalists write for their papers and the editors run the profession. While a newsroom will be struggling to impose order, a lot of which is necessary in order to string together disparate happenings in a day into a single news day, journalists will impose another sort of order, in complete defiance of conventional news values. In the words of one journalist: "I write with a lot of bitterness... (Professor Yash Pal) Ghai, the chairman of the review commission came here (to Kisumu) the other day and gave a very good talk. He spoke so well and on very important things on what he expects will be in the constitution. This should have been the story. Instead (the story) concentrated on (whether the review commission will beat) the deadline. Unlike any other institution we are the eye of the public but we do not give them the story."

Finding the newsroom a hard master, this particular journalist turned his "employment" into a sort of project. "I enjoy the resources at the bureau- unlimited email and internet for instance. I can do anything I like here... (he then goes to his desk removes some files and in conspiratorial tones moves into a story about his run ins with a lawyer who is swindling his family property). ... You cannot afford to be too enthusiastic here. Some of my colleagues are able to collect two or maybe three

Journalist Response to Editorial Tyranny

The personal expectations and aspirations of journalists, it would appear, are perpetually in discord with the editorial style and policy, if at all, of their media houses. News houses, apparently, make no effort to accommodate or make room for individual professional value inclination of journalists who work for them. Newsrooms, apparently, just expect journalists to muster personal resources to cope. In the face of an unyielding bureaucracy, journalists adopt different responses and coping behaviour dependent largely on personal resourcefulness.

Resignation to the Status Quo.

According to one journalist, in the face of a hierarchical newsroom culture that places "all power" in an editor, journalists have very little room to manoeuvre.

There really are very few choices for journalists who dissent with their editors, you cannot leave, there are very few jobs. You can raise issues at editorial meetings, we have such meetings every day, but that is about all you can do. You cannot go to other papers, we have friends there and they tell us the same things happen. As a person you can get very frustrated, it can be very frustrating here. After the frustration sets in, it's up to you to retain a level head

Another journalist, "we have personal differences that colour the way sub-editors and reporters work. To avoid the conflict, as you are being socialised in the newsroom, you learn what not to touch".

According to one bureau chief, journalists just have to accept things the way they are is nothing they can do "save for personal protestations". "In 1992, I wrote the story that broke the formation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-FORD. This was the crystal moment in Kenya's nascent multi-party movement. It was not clear what the government was going to do. Everybody was so scared. There might

editor at the onset of agitation for multi-party democracy in the early 1990's and during the critical first multi-party election year of 1992.

To quote from the editor

Mutegi Njau was a strong man. He would not fear anyone. He would stand up to such people as (the managing editor) and tell them off. When somebody from statehouse, or some other place where seniority is found called the newsroom, they would often be given to Mutegi Njau. Thereafter, subsequently, they would call the reception and ask never to speak to Mutegi Njau. The next time they called they would still speak to Mutegi Njau and they would learn not to expect to push the paper around. As it turned out in 1992, the (paper) was lucky to have Mutegi Njau.

You cannot say that Mutegi Njau was enforcing editorial policy. He would be in conflict with a lot of other senior people in the paper, but he seemed to have a lot of faith in letting the truth out. Mutegi Njau would come to the newsroom and declare that 'inside me an individual I have sworn to myself to tell the truth'... Sometimes you are lucky (as a journalist) to have an editor who sees eye to eye the same way you do.

Yet the reverse is can also apply. According to one reporter, a paper that began as a popular investigative weekly, on changing editors had lost all the sparkle that brought life to it. " We have a lot of censorship at the (paper) nowadays. We have toned down the hard-line stance. ...All the nice intentions when the paper became a daily are lost. It was better when it was part of the alternative press, now it has lost its appeal. The (paper) for instance has lost a lot of opportunities. People are being sacked everywhere and no one paper is raising a stink.... The paper has failed its initial group of readers. "

The result of all this, in the words of one journalist is that "the media can become functionally incompetent... The whole process of news has been bastardised by (senior) members of the fourth estate"

According to another journalist, “there really is no such thing as editorial policy. The (editorial) manager’s friends, friends of media owners, what they stand to lose or gain, that kind of thing matters as much as any other values you may learn in class. These concerns usually override what anyone may want to call editorial policy”.

Another journalist “News is what the editor decides. The writer will think what he is writing is news. *news ni ile kitu editor amesema* (news is what the editor has decided).

“Loosing out on Nice Intentions”

The downside of this situation is that almost everything that runs in a paper depends on the professional and personal idiosyncrasies of the editor. An editor can therefore, as it were singly, pull the paper out of a gutter or take it there. According to a respondent, if an editor is compromised, this severely compromises the standing of the paper in public. “You used to be frank, now you are not, neither are you very independent. You used to be bold, now you cower”.

A compromised editor can present a real hazard to a journalist on a routine work mission. One of the respondents presented a good case in point. Apparently, a reporter at the Mombassa Bureau of the paper got into trouble with a senior cabinet minister while attempting to cover a story on corruption at the port. On getting the gist of the reporters inquiry, the minister, politely enquired which paper he was working for and whom the particular editor was. The next thing the reporter got was a reprimand for working on this story too hard. The story never got published.

Another aspect of this is that the media come to take the shape of the personal idiosyncrasies of whichever “brand” of editors is in town. According to one of the editors, the Nation Group of Newspapers was very lucky to have Mutegi Njau as an

not in kind. While journalist type five may view average Kenyans as being extremely given to dishonesty, it is possible that this journalist, at 53.6% agreement does not however view life from entirely cynical perspectives. The other journalist types are virtually identical in the nature of their ardent cynicism both towards citizens and life generally.

Journalist Organizing and Articulation of Value Positions within the Newsroom

A majority of journalists interviewed had had bitter disputes or reservations with paper policy touching on their belief inclinations. One journalist, for instance had difficulties reconciling herself with the paper's practice of unashamedly taking sides with the opposition. Her colleague working at the same paper did not have that kind of problem and rooted for a partisan but objective paper. This later colleague moved from the *Kenya Times*, owned by the ruling Kenya African National Union to *The People* which she said "is a party paper that leans towards the opposition (and) cannot be neutral as it has to serve interests outside the newsroom.

While at the *Kenya Times*, she was forced against professional inclination to take up sports reporting as a specialty, since the particular editor she was working under kept refusing to assign her political stories. She also found sports writing a good escape from the requirement of having to slant copy at the paper. At the latter paper, she enjoys greater latitude in what she can write.

The Editor as Editorial Policy

According to a majority of journalists interviewed the editor in chief is the person in charge of editorial direction at the paper. "His word is paper policy - you are not advised to keep picking quarrels with him about the merits of this or that story".

that may be friendlier to democracy. The journalist will however not agree, at 43% agreement that the press has played a supportive cast in maintaining the status quo.

Journalist Attitudes Towards Life in General

Journalist attitudes towards life in general were sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *Most People in Kenya would tell a lie to get ahead in life*
- *Life is a game you win some, you lose some*

Table ten: Journalist Attitudes towards life in general

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
Most People in Kenya would tell a lie to get ahead in life	1		9.1		27.3	36.4	27.3		11
	2			14.3	35.7	35.7	14.3		14
	3		7.7	7.7	30.8	38.5	15.4		14
	4				44.4	33.3	22.2		9
	5	7.1	7.1	7.1	35.7	21.4	21.4	7.1	14
% of Total		1.6	4.9	6.6	34.4	32.8	19.7	1.6	
Life is a game you win some, you lose some	1	9.1	9.1	9.1	18.2	18.2	9.1	27.3	11
	2	7.1				57.1	21.4	14.3	14
	3		7.7			46.2	7.7	38.5	14
	4	11.1		11.1	11.1	44.4	11.1	11.1	9
	5			7.1	7.1	42.9	35.7	7.1	14
% of Total		4.9	3.3	4.9	6.6	42.6	18.0	19.7	

The vast majority of journalists, at 86% support the view that *most People in Kenya would tell a lie to get a head in life*. 81% again an overwhelming majority support the view that *life is a game, you win some, you lose some*.

Support for this ultimately cynical attitude towards life is so perverse that whatever variations there are among journalists constitute differences in degree and

The nationalistic participant will agree almost unreservedly, at 74% that *many highbrow media investigations of governance scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story*. This journalist will also agree by a near similar margin, at 79% that many journalists actually do know of potentially newsworthy scandals but cannot investigate them for fear of incrimination by their editorial seniors. This journalist agrees by 64% that Kenyan journalists are in practice often stopped from carrying out or continuing with investigations that may scandalise the business and political associates of editorial managers. This journalist is the least supportive at 50% of the notion that Kenyan mainstream media has served democracy well. The journalist is also indecisive, at 43% regarding the notion that media houses have failed to invest in new reporting lore that would make journalism more accessible to democracy.

On the specific matter of constitutional reforms, this journalist is the least supportive, though with a comfortable 64% agreement that media has made a heroic effort of defining the issues on constitutional reform. This journalist also disapproves, at 57% of the notion that mainstream media intentionally alter content so as to avoid anarchy. In the same vein, the journalist does not support the view, at 43% agreement, 36% disagreement and 22% indecision, that *the independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reforms*. This journalist does not view, by 43% agreement, a radical reorganisation of the political structure as necessarily posing any apprehension to the media. This journalist also does not subscribe, by 43% agreement, 36% disagreement and 21% indecision, to the notion that in their choice of copy, media editors are keen to serve political elites and media owners. This journalist however supports, albeit modestly at 57% the view that commercial considerations imperils the ability of media to invest in reporting styles

This journalist will however accord higher support, at 67.6% to the statement that *Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies because they eat with media managers*. This journalist however agrees without any reservation, 100% that media has served Kenya's democracy well and though moderately supportive, at 44% will not approve of a statement that implies that media has failed to invest in reporting styles that would make it serve democracy better.

This journalist will confer significant support, at 67% to the notion that media has done a heroic job in reporting on the issues informing constitutional reform. This journalist however objects almost unreservedly, at 79% to the statement to the effect that media has intentionally biased content so as to avoid anarchy. This journalist will however offer modest support, at 56% to the notion that *the independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reforms*.

This journalist will also provide modest agreement, at 56% to the notion that radical reform of the political structure is not only a dilemma to the ruling elite but to media as well. The journalist will however frown at, at 67% disagreement, a statement to the effect that editors seek to serve the political elite and media owners. This journalist will however agree almost overwhelmingly, with 78% agreement with the statement to the effect that the profit motif is so overriding that improving news coverage, or adjusting media operations such that they are more accessible to democracy is secondary. Similarly, while this journalist will not agree to the statement that media deliberately seeks to serve the needs of those in power, he will consent, with 67% agreement to a notion that the media nevertheless does end up serving as a support mechanism for the ruling political and economic order.

democratic dispensation. This journalist is also the most undecided, at 43% about whether media has invested in new reporting styles that enable it to better serve democracy.

On the matter of constitutional reform, this journalist is significantly, at 67% agreement, in support of the statement that *the media has made a valiant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform*. This journalist is indignant, at 79% disapproval, with the statement to the effect that mainstream media has intentionally biased content so as to avoid anarchy. This journalist however also agrees with a high 72% that media has nevertheless conducted itself such that it plays a conciliator in the debate that has ranged on constitutional reforms. This journalist does not support, with 57% disagreement, the notion that radical reforms in the political structure pose any threat or would be received with hostility by the media. Though not out rightly in disapproval, this journalist nevertheless also disagrees, at 43% with the notion that the primary interests editors seek to serve in selecting copy are powerful political elites and media owners. This journalist will also disapprove, at 57% of the statement to the effect that the profit motif is so overbearing on mainstream media operations that any news gathering that threatens to be too costly cannot be tolerated. In a similar vein this journalist differs, with 64% disagreement, with the statement to the effect that the mainstream media has been a political lifeline for the status quo.

The disturbed disseminator will in be agreement, though moderate, that many highbrow media investigations do fail to come to print owing to complicity between editorial managers and potential subjects of the expose. Similarly this journalist will give lukewarm support, at 55% to the statement to the effect that journalists know many actual instances of scandal but are gagged from even seeming to cover them.

constitutional reform, the mainstream media has intentionally biased content so as to avoid anarchy. While refuting such misdemeanour on the part of the media, this journalist will however support, by 72% the notion that the media has nevertheless sought to play a conciliatory role on the matter of constitutional reform.

This journalist will also support, albeit moderately, at 57% that the media would loath a radical reorganisation of Kenyan political structure. The journalist also supports with a stronger hand, at 72% that editors seek first and foremost to serve their powerful political constituencies and media owners in their selection of copy to run.

The journalist will also agree with a near similar margin at 74% that the Kenya media is so focused on profit that any news gathering and other work methods that would entail additional expenses would not be considered viable. While this journalist does not support the notion that the mainstream press in Kenya has served as a life bag for the status quo, neither will s/he disapprove of it. This journalists attitude on the matter is marked more than agreement, at 44% than disagreement, at 36% which disagreement is further qualified by a 21% indecision point.

The concerned participant does not support the view that *many highbrow media investigations of overbalance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire to with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story*. This journalist will also agree, albeit moderately at 58% that there are many journalists who routinely come across governance related scandals but cannot even seem to be working on them for fear of apprehension by their editorial seniors. This journalist is also in least agreement, (50%) almost to the point of ambivalence at 43% disapproval, on the issue of whether journalists are stopped from carrying out investigations of scandals because they touch on the accomplices of their editors. The journalist does support, with 64% that Kenyan media is indeed one of the strongest pillars in the

anathema to government but also to the media. This journalist however does not support, by a 55% disavowal, the extremist view that *when editors sit down to select the stories for the day there are normally only two significant considerations: the interests of the ruling elite and those of the media owners.* This journalist will however agree by 55% that Kenya's mainstream media "has served as a life bag machine for maintaining the status quo". The journalist will also concur by a high 73% that *Kenyan media is so focused on the profit motif that any journalism beat that consumes time, energy and money cannot flourish in the present set up.*

The civic journalist will agree by a high 71%, lower than the 78% for the adversarial journalist, but nevertheless significant, that *many highbrow media investigations of governance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story.* This journalist will also agree overwhelmingly, by 86%, that *many journalists know of so many actual governance cases such as corruption but cannot dare write about them or even appear to be investigating.* This journalist will also support the view, by 80% that Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies because they eat with media managers. This journalist also advances above average support, 58% for the view that media, as one of the pillars in a democracy stands stronger than the others in Kenya. The journalist is however potentially indecisive, at 36% disapproval, 36 indecision and 38% agreement, on whether the media has failed to invest in new reporting lore that would enable it serve democracy better.

This journalist however concurs with the highest approval of 86% that *the media has made a variant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform.* The journalist also disagrees with the notion that when reporting on

Analysis by Journalist Type.

As in previous instances, journalist attitude toward internal media cultures and toward media handling of constitutional reforms and the democracy project differs in intensity and direction from one journalist type to another. The adversarial journalist will support by an overwhelming 82% the notion that media investigations of governance related scandals routinely fail to be published owing to editorial complicity with subjects of the expose. This journalist will also agree by 64% that journalists are aware of such cases but will not even consider investigating owing to their interpretation of 'official' media house practice. Similarly, this journalist will vouch very highly, by 82% for the position that journalists are indeed routinely stopped from attempting to carry negative stories about persons who have influence in the corridors of power. By comparison and in line with the negative support indicated for internal media culture, this journalist does not endorse a position that in the democratic dispensation, the Kenyan media stand out as a stronger pillar than others. With 36% disavowal, 27% indecision and 36% agreement, this journalist is however potentially undecided, about whether Kenyan media have failed to invest in new reporting styles that would enable media serve democracy better.

On media handling of constitutional reform, this journalist does however endorse the media by a significant 73%. In the same breadth however, this journalist will support by 64% the view that *in reporting the crisis on constitutional reform, mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos*. Significantly no other journalist type supports this view. This journalist will also agree by 64% with the statement that the independent press '*has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reform*'. In the view of the journalist however, by 64% agreement, *radical reorganization of Kenya's political structure is not only an*

invest in engaging new reporting skills that would enable media to be of better service to democracy.

Journalist perception and attitudes to media handling of constitutional reforms is however more affirmative than their view of internal media culture. Nearly eight out of ten (79%) of the journalists for instance agree with the statement that *the media has made a valiant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform*. In a similar vein 55% of journalists disavow the statement that *in reporting on constitutional reform, mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos*. The strength of this disavowal is however somewhat qualified by the 32% of journalists who concur with the statement. In largely similar strokes, 61% of journalists concur with the statement that *the independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reform*.

Journalists are however wont to qualify their endorsement of media handling of constitutional reform. 52% of all journalists concur with the statement that *radical reorganisation of Kenya political structure is not only an anathema to government but also to the media*. At 44% disagreement, journalists would also hardly disapprove of a statement to the effect that in choosing which copy to run editors consider only two considerations, the interests of media owners and the ruling elite. Indeed at 45% more journalists agree to this statement than disagree. Similarly, a notable 61% of journalists concur with a statement to the effect that the search for profit is so primary to media houses that the ability of media to manoeuvre in order to respond better to the entry of civil society as news makers is limited. Nonetheless few journalists, at 47% would support the notion that the media has acted as a life bag machine for maintaining the status quo.

Table Nine: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
The independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reforms	1	9.1		9.1	18.2	18.2	45.5		11
	2		14.3	14.3		28.6	28.6	14.3	14
	3	7.7		15.4	7.7	61.5	7.7		14
	4		11.1	22.2	11.1	33.3	11.1	11.1	9
	5								14
		7.1	14.3	14.3	21.4	42.9			
% of Total		4.9	8.2	14.8	11.5	37.7	18.0	4.9	

Journalist Perception and Attitudes towards Newsroom Democracy and Adherence to Core Professional Values

A majority of journalists give the impression that journalists are unhappy with the goings on inside their own media houses. 63% of journalists concur with the statement that *many highbrow media investigations of governance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story*. Similarly 69 % of journalists agree with the statement that *many journalists know of so many actual governance cases such as corruption but cannot dare to write about them or even appear to be investigating*. A near similar number of journalists concur with the statement that *Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies because they eat with media managers*. In keeping with this outlook only 59.9% of journalists would vouch for the statement that *if media is one of the pillars of democracy, in Kenya this pillar stands stronger than the others*. In the same vein, journalists are divided and significantly indecisive, at 32% disagreement, 32.2% agreement and 35.5% undecided, when confronted with the statement that *media houses have failed to*

Table Nine: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
When editors sit down to select the stories for the day there are normally only two significant considerations: the interests of the ruling elite and those of media owners.	1	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	9.1		11
	2	14.3		14.3		42.9	14.3	14.3	14
	3	7.7	15.4	15.4	15.4	7.7	15.4	23.1	14
	4	11.1	11.1	44.4		11.1	22.2		9
	5								14
		14.3		21.4	21.4	21.4	21.4		
% of Total		11.5	6.6	24.6	11.5	21.3	16.4	8.2	
Radical reorganisation of Kenya political structure is not only an anathema to government but also to the media	1	20.0				20.0	60.0		11
	2		20.0	20.0	40.0	20.0			14
	3	20.0		20.0		40.0		20.0	14
	4	25.0	25.0			25.0		25.0	9
	5								14
		16.7		16.7	16.7	33.3		16.7	
% of Total		8.1	6.5	21.0	12.9	38.7	4.8	8.1	
The media has made a valiant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform.	1			18.2	9.1	18.2	36.4	18.2	11
	2	7.1	7.1			57.1	21.4	7.1	14
	3					38.5	30.8	30.8	14
	4			11.1	22.2	55.6	11.1		9
	5								14
				21.4	14.3	57.1	7.1		
% of Total		1.6	1.6	9.8	8.2	45.9	21.3	11.5	
In reporting the crisis on constitutional reform, mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos	1	9.1		9.1	18.2	27.3	27.3	9.1	11
	2	14.3	14.3	28.6	7.1	21.4	7.1	7.1	14
	3	15.4	7.7	61.5	7.7			7.7	14
	4	22.2		33.3	11.1	11.1		22.2	9
	5								14
		21.4	7.1	28.6	21.4	21.4			
% of Total		16.4	6.6	32.8	13.1	16.4	6.6	8.2	

- *In reporting the crisis on constitutional reform, mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos*
- *The media has made a valiant effort to report on the defining issues on constitutional reform.*
- *In reporting the crisis on constitutional reform, mainstream media has deliberately slanted copy so as to avoid chaos*
- *The independent press has tended to play a conciliatory role in the debate on constitutional reforms*

Table Nine: Journalist Attitude towards Media handling of Constitutional Reforms

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
The mainstream media in Kenya has served as a life bag machine for maintaining the status quo	1			18.2	27.3	36.4		18.2	11
	2		14.3	21.4	21.4	28.6	7.1	7.1	14
	3	23.1	7.7	30.8		15.4	15.4	7.7	14
	4		11.1		22.2	55.6		11.1	9
	5		7.1	28.6	21.4	35.7		7.1	14
% of Total		4.9	8.2	21.3	18.0	32.8	4.9	9.8	
Kenya media is so focused on the profit motif that any journalism beat that consumes time, energy and money cannot flourish in the present press set up.	1	9.1		18.2		18.2	18.2	36.4	11
	2	7.1		21.4	7.1	50.0	7.1	7.1	14
	3	15.4		46.2		15.4		23.1	14
	4			11.1	11.1	22.2	33.3	22.2	9
	5								14
				28.6	14.3	35.7	7.1	14.3	
% of Total		6.6		26.2	6.6	29.5	11.5	19.7	

Table Eight: Continued

If media is one of the pillars in democracy, in Kenya this pillar stands stronger than the others.	1	9.1		36.4	9.1	18.2	9.1	18.2	11
	2								14
			7.1	7.1	28.6	35.7	14.3	7.1	
	3	7.7		15.4	15.4	46.2	7.7	7.7	14
	4					66.7	22.2	11.1	9
	5	7.1		28.6	14.3	28.6	21.4		14
% of Total		4.9	1.6	18.0	14.8	37.7	14.8	7.2	
Media houses have failed to invest in engaging new reporting skills that would enable media to of better service to democracy.	1	18.2	27.3	27.3	18.2	9.1			11
	2	21.4	21.4	28.6	14.3		14.3		14
	3	23.1	30.8	23.1	7.7	15.4			14
	4	22.2	22.2	22.2	22.2	11.1			9
	5								14
		35.7	7.1	35.7	21.4				
% of Total		24.6	21.3	27.9	16.4	6.6	3.3		

Media handling of constitutional reforms

Journalist attitudes towards media support for democratisation was sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *The mainstream media in Kenya has served as a life bag machine for maintaining the status quo*
- *Kenya media is so focused on the profit motif that any journalism beat that consumes time, energy and money cannot flourish in the present press set up.*
- *When editors sit down to select the stories for the day there are normally only two significant considerations: the interests of the ruling elite and those of media owners.*
- *Radical reorganisation of Kenya political structure is not only an anethma to government but also to the media*

- *Media houses have failed to invest in engaging new reporting skills that would enable media to of better service to democracy.*

Table Eight: Journalist attitudes towards media handling and framing of the constitutional reform crisis.

	Fact or	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AW R	Tot al
Many highbrow media investigations of governance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story.	1		9.1		9.1	27.3	18.2	36.4	11
	2	7.1		7.1	14.3	7.1	28.6	35.7	14
	3			38.5	23.1	15.4	7.7	15.4	14
	4	11.1		11.1	22.2		11.1	44.4	9
	5	7.1		14.3	14.3	42.9	14.3	7.1	14
% of Total		4.9	1.6	14.8	16.4	19.7	16.4	26.2	
Many journalists know of so many actual governance cases such as corruption but cannot dare write about them or even appear to be investigating	1			36.4		9.1	36.4	18.2	11
	2		7.1	7.1		35.7	28.6	21.4	14
	3		15.4	23.1	7.7	30.8	7.7	15.4	14
	4	11.1	11.1	22.2		33.3	11.1	11.1	9
	5								14
		7.1		7.1	7.1	64.3	14.3		
% of Total		3.3	6.6	18.0	3.3	36.1	19.7	13.1	
Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies because they eat with media managers.	1	9.1			9.1	27.3	9.1	45.5	11
	2	7.1	7.1		7.1	21.4	21.4	35.7	14
	3	7.7	7.7	23.1	7.7	15.4	23.1	15.4	14
	4	11.1			22.2	22.2	11.1	33.3	9
	5								14
		7.1		7.1	21.4	35.7	28.6		
% of Total		8.2	3.3	6.6	13.1	24.6	19.7	24.6	

statement however leaving 71% in agreement. Like many of his other colleagues this journalist endorses, albeit moderately at 57% the notion that NGO's are essentially conduits of donor funds and have no genuine interest in constitutional reform. This journalist however highly disagrees, at 72% with the notion that religious organisations should not take a lead role in claim making around constitutional reform. Although significantly undecided at 24% 50% of journalists in this mould will disapprove of the notion that Professor Kibutha Kibwana is less than genuine in his push for greater democratisation from a civil society rostrum. The journalist however agrees with the view, by a high 72% that women NGO activists are not to be trusted and are out to take advantage of the current clamour for reform.

Journalist Attitudes Towards Media Handling and Framing of the Constitutional Reforms Crisis

Journalist attitudes towards media were sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *Many highbrow media investigations of governance related scandals fail to see the light of day because editors conspire with potential subjects of the expose to kill the story.*
- *Many journalists know of so many actual governance cases such as corruption but cannot dare write about them or even appear to be investigating*
- *Kenyan journalists are routinely stopped from writing adversely about government cronies because they eat with media managers.*
- *If media is one of the pillars in democracy, in Kenya this pillar stands stronger than the others.*

for constitutional reform and disagrees by 64% that they are mistaken in this. This journalist also disapproves by 57.1% the notion that Professor Kibutha Kibwana, a lead civil society activist is using this activism as a platform to political power. This journalist appears to throw the restraint thus far demonstrated to the wind, when considering the claims of women and women led Non-Governmental Organisations concurring 71% that *women fronted by women organisations such as Federation of Women Lawyers are a bunch of urban elites using the current climate of reform to advance their personal interests.*

The disturbed disseminator at 99.9% concurrence is by far the most conspicuous in support of the notion that the future of Kenyan democracy lies in independent, democratic and genuinely grassroots organisations. In the face of present civil society, this journalist is moderately supportive of the notion that NGO's are essentially conduits of donor funds and are less than genuine in their declared mission of say enhancing democracy and good governance. A notable 44% do not subscribe to this view. This journalist at 67% disagreement is decidedly against the notion that religious organisations are out of their league in taking a lead position in the agitation for constitutional change. Like others this journalists shares the view, at 78% in favour, that women NGO activists are urban and elitist seeking to take advantage of fortunes that may come in the way of constitutional reform. This journalist is however decidedly in disagreement, at 56%, with the notion that Professor Kibutha Kibwana has been using the civil society democracy mantra to advance his fortunes in politics.

The nationalistic participant is the most undecided at 27 % whether *the future of democracy in Kenya lies in independent organisations that are genuinely grassroots, voluntary and democratically administered.* This significant indecision is compensated for somewhat by the fact that not a single journalist disagrees with the

bunch of urban elites' out to use the present climate of reform to advance their own personal fortunes. 46% concur compared with 46% who disapprove of this notion.

The civic journalist supports highly (at 79%) the statement that *the future of democracy in Kenya lies in independent organisations that are genuinely grassroots, voluntary and democratically administered*. However again, only 36% of journalists in this type would approve of this notion without hesitation. This type of journalist also supports, moderately, the notion that the controlling objective of NGO's in constitutional reform is to make money. This journalist however agrees overwhelmingly at 86 % with the statement *the women fronted by women organisations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers are a bunch of urban elites using the current climate of reform to advance their personal interests*. This kind of journalist is also the only one to agree, even though on average at 50% that *Professor Kibutha Kibwana, as co-convenor of the NCA/NCEC has been using the civil society to ascend to political power*. This type of journalist is also ambivalent, about the frontal engagement of mainstream churches and religious organisations in constitutional reform. 37% approve of the notion that the churches and other religious organisations are wrong to engage themselves so frontally on the matter. 43% disapprove.

The concerned participant will agree only moderately (at 50%) with the notion that the future of Kenya's democracy lies in genuinely grassroots, democratic and independent civil society. This journalist is, however; also ambivalent, with 43% concurrence and 43% disapproval, to the statement that *NGO's and so-called civil society are essentially conduits of donor funds. Their interest in constitutional reform is guided first and foremost by how much money they can make out of it*. This journalist supports the lead position taken by religious organisations in the agitation

personal interests. Faced with the a similar notion, but this time personalised in the name of Kibutha Kibwana, one of the lead activists in favour of a comprehensive civil society led constitutional overhaul, journalists are more cautious in finding conniving in his character. Significantly more journalists (at 42%) disapprove of the statement that *Professor Kibutha Kibwana, as a co-convenor of the NCA/NCEC has been using the civil society to ascend to political power*. Moreover a lot of them. 24% were unable to make up their minds either way on the statement. Only 34% found the statement favourable.

Analysis by Journalist Type

The adversarial journalist is highly supportive (at 73%)of the notion that the future of democracy lies with independent, genuinely grassroots and democratically run civil society. Only 36 % of this type of journalist would support this statement without hesitation. Faced with the reality of today's NGO's, this journalist is more reserved and agrees by an overwhelming 82 % with the notion that the organising motif in NGO's is to make money out of the clamour for constitutional reforms. This kind f journalist would also approve with moderation the frontal involvement of mainstream church organisations in constitutional reserve. A notable percentage of this type of journalist 36% indeed agree with the statement that *the churches and religious organisations opposed to the parliament led constitutional reform process are mistaken in their frontal involvement in the process of constitutional reform*. This journalist is potentially indecisive about the notion that Professor Kibutha Kibwana maybe using the NGO platform as a stepping-stone to politics. A significant 36 percent disapprove of this notion while 27% concur with it. This type of journalist is ambivalent to the notion that women in Non-Governmental Organisations are 'a

Table Seven: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AW R	Total
The churches and religious organisations opposed to a parliament led constitutional reform process are mistake in their frontal involvement in the politics of constitutional reform	1	36.4	18.2	9.1		18.2	18.2	36.4	11
	2	7.1		35.7	21.4	35.7		7.1	14
	3	23.1	46.2	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	23.1	14
	4	33.3		33.3	22.2	11.1		33.3	9
	5	14.3	28.6	28.6	7.1	21.4		14.3	14
% of Total		21.3	19.7	23.0	11.5	19.7	4.9	21.3	

General Analysis

In general, journalists appear to be less severe with civil society and Non-Governmental Organisations than they have with political parties and government. 79% of all journalists for instance, concur with the statement that *the future of democracy in Kenya lies in independent organisations that are genuinely grassroots, voluntary and are democratically administered*. The vast majority of journalists also hold in high esteem the mainstream religious organisations and disagree by 65% with the statement that *The churches and religious organisations opposed to a parliament led constitutional reform process are mistaken in their frontal involvement in the politics of constitutional reform*. Journalists are however guarded in their approval of NGO's and sections of these NGO's. Accordingly 60% of journalists concur with the notion that NGO's are "essentially conduits of donor funds and are guided "first and foremost by how much money they can make out of" constitutional reform.

Similarly 79% of journalists disapprove of women/gender based Non-governmental organisations and overwhelmingly concur with the statement that *the women fronted by women organisations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers are a bunch of urban elites using the current climate of reform to advance their*

Table Seven: Journalist Attitudes Towards Civil Society

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AW R	Total
Professor Kibutha	1	9.1		27.2	36.3	9.0	9.0	9.0	11
Kibwana, as a co-convenor of the	2		14.3	14.2	21.4	14.2	21.4	14.2	14
NCA/NCEC has been	3		38.5	23.0	23.0	7.6		7.6	14
using the civil society to	4	11.1	22.2	22.2	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	9
ascend to political power.	5	14.3	14.3	7.1	28.5	21.4	14.2		14
% of Total		6.5	18.0	18.0	24.5	13.1	11.4	8.1	
The women fronted by	1	9.1	9.1	27.3	9.1	18.2	9.1	18.2	11
women organisations such	2			7.1	7.1	35.7	28.6	21.4	14
as the Federation of	3	7.7	7.7	15.4		23.1	23.1	23.1	14
Women Lawyers are a	4			22.2		22.2	33.3	22.2	9
bunch of urban elites	5								14
using the current climate									
of reform to advance their									
personal interests.		7.1		21.4		42.9	28.6		
% of Total		4.8	3.2	17.7	3.2	29.0	25.8	16.1	
The future of democracy	1		9.1	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	11
in Kenya lies in	2			7.1	14.3	42.9	14.3	21.4	14
independent organisations	3	7.7		7.7	7.7	23.1	23.1	30.8	14
that are genuinely	4					44.4	44.4	11.1	9
grassroots, voluntary and	5								14
democratically									
administered.					28.6	35.7	14.3	21.4	
% of Total		1.6	1.6	4.9	13.1	36.1	21.3	21.3	
NGO's and so-called civil	1	9.1			9.1	36.4	27.3	18.2	11
society are essentially	2			14.3	21.4	35.7	21.4	7.1	14
conduits of donor funds.	3	7.7	7.7	30.8	15.4	7.7	23.1	7.7	14
Their interests in	4			44.4		22.2	11.1	22.2	9
constitutional reform is	5	7.1	7.1	21.4	7.1	28.6	28.6		14
guided first and foremost									
by how much money they									
can make out of it.									
% of Total		4.9	3.3	21.3	11.5	26.2	23.0	9.8	

This journalist feels as passionately as the others, at the highest 86% agreement that the governments handling of constitutional reform borders on conspiracy against citizens.

Journalist Attitudes Towards Civil Society

Journalist attitudes towards civil society organisations were sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *Professor Kibutha Kibwana, as a co-convenor of the NCA/NCEC has been using the civil society to ascend to political power.*
- *The women fronted by women organisations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers are a bunch of urban elites using the current climate of reform to advance their personal interests.*
- *The future of democracy in Kenya lies in independent organisations that are genuinely grassroots, voluntary and democratically administered.*
- *NGO's and so-called civil society are essentially conduits of donor funds. Their interest in constitutional reform is guided first and foremost by how much money they can make out of it.*
- *The churches and religious organisations opposed to a parliament led constitutional reform process are mistake in their frontal involvement in the politics of constitutional reform*

The disturbed disseminator, in comparison with other types, is modest in agreement, at 67% that the government is run by a kitchen cabinet, but however holds the strongest view, at 78% agreement, that the government has misunderstood or ignored the aspirations of citizens in its formulation of policies and programmes. This journalist however does not feel as strongly, at 67% that the government has abdicated its responsibility to citizens and is almost ambivalent. This is the only journalist who actually approves, at 56%, of the governments handling of the economy though this is qualified somewhat by 44% disapproval rate. This journalist, in comparison with the others is also moderate in disavowal of the cabinet. These sympathies notwithstanding, this journalist does view by the highest agreement, at 100% that the citizen feels cut off from the governance process and by 78% that the government approach towards constitutional reform borders on conspiracy against citizens.

The nationalistic participant will be the least in agreement at 57%, and most undecided at 21% that the government is run by a kitchen cabinet. This journalist will also be the least in agreement, at 57% and most undecided, at 21% that the government has misunderstood or ignored the aspirations of citizens in its formulation of policy and programmes. At 51% agreement and 21% indecision, this journalist is also conspicuous for her considerable sympathy towards government. This journalist is also not sure, at 43% indecision, 21% disagreement and 36% agreement about the government's seriousness in turning the economy around. This journalist however joins the rest with the low regard with which they hold the cabinet, at 79 disapproval of the statement that *as far as the cabinet is concerned I have a great deal of confidence in it*. Though lower than the average, this journalist does share with the others, at 66% agreement that the citizen does feel disenfranchised by government.

house and is guided by interests other than those of citizens. This journalist is however in less agreement, at 57% that government has ignored the aspirations of its citizens in the formulation of policies and programmes. The civic journalist however, maintains a distinction between policies and programmes and perhaps, government execution of the same and would nevertheless vote very highly, at 79% that government has nevertheless abdicated its responsibilities towards citizens. Similarly this journalist would vouch very confidently, at 85% agreement that the average citizen feels effectively disenfranchised from government. This journalist disapproves, by 50% that the government is serious in turning around the economy, has very little confidence at 71% disapproval, in the cabinet. This journalist believes deeply, at 86% agreement, that the government has been conspiratorial in its handling of constitutional reforms.

The concerned participant will agree 100% that the government is run by a clique in statehouse and by 78% that the government has misunderstood or ignored the aspirations of the citizens in its formulation of policies and programmes. This journalist also has the highest agreement, at 86% that the government has abdicated its responsibilities towards citizens and agrees even more strongly, 93% that the average citizen feels effectively disenfranchised by government. At 79% disagreement, this journalist has also the highest misgivings about the governments serious in turning around economic decline and shares with the Nationalistic participant, at 78.5% disavowal, the highest disaffection with the cabinet. This disavowal is also manifest in the 86% agreement, shared also by the Nationalistic participant and civic journalist with the statement that *the government's handling of constitutional reform has at best been reactionary, often conspiratory.*

Journalist indignation with government is such that 79% of journalists concur with the view that the citizen feels no longer part of the governance process. An even higher 84% agree with a statement that suggests that government handling of key issues such as constitutional reform, where the citizen ought to be the key denominator, has been conspiratorial.

Analysis by Journalist Type

While on the face of it, journalists seem homogeneous in their negative attitude towards government, on scrutiny, journalist attitude does differ in intensity and direction across journalist types.

The adversarial journalist concurs highly, at 73% with the statement that *the government is run by a clique (a kitchen cabinet) in state house and is not guided by the best interests of its people*. This journalist agrees, though less passionately at 64% that *the government has misunderstood or ignored the opinions and aspirations of the citizens in its formulation of policy and programmes*. Though generally agreeable, this journalist at 57% is less inclined however to vouch for the view that government has completely abdicated its responsibilities towards the citizen and similarly, at 55% agreement, that the citizen feels effectively disenfranchised. Similarly this journalist is ambivalent, at 36% disagreement and agreement and a relatively high 27% indecision, that the government is serious in turning around economic decline. This journalist however has little confidence in the cabinet, at 73% disapproval and has very little trust, for government motives in constitutional reform with a 82% approval that government has been conspiratorial.

The civic journalist will agree highly, much higher than the adversarial journalist at 77% agreement, that government is run by a kitchen cabinet at state-

Table six: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
The average citizen does not feel she is a part of government	1	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0				11
	2		20.0	20.0	40.0		20.0		14
	3	20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0				14
	4	25.0		25.0	25.0	25.0			9
	5	16.7	16.7	50.0	16.7				14
% of Total		1.6	1.6	6.5	11.3	38.7	17.7	22.6	
The governments handling of constitutional reforms has at best been reactionary, often conspiratory.	1			9.1	9.1	9.1	36.4	36.4	11
	2			7.1	7.1	35.7	35.7	14.3	14
	3	7.7			7.7	30.8	38.5	15.4	14
	4		11.1	11.1		44.4	11.1	22.2	9
	5								14
			7.1		7.1	64.3	14.3	7.1	
% of Total		1.6	3.3	4.9	6.6	37.7	27.9	18.0	

General Analysis

The great majority of journalists hold an extremely gloomy view of government. More than seven in ten (76%) of journalists agree with the statement that *the government is run by a clique (a kitchen cabinet) in statehouse and is not guided by the best interests of its people*. A lower but still immense 66% of journalists concur with the view that *government has misunderstood or ignored the opinions and aspiration of the citizens in its formulation of policy and programmes*. An even higher 71% concur with the view that *the government has indeed abdicated its responsibilities in offering service to Kenyans*. By comparison only 31% of journalists concur with the notion that the government is serious in turning around economic decline. 50% of journalists actually disagree with such a view. A high seven out of ten (74%) of journalists disagree with a statement that expresses 'a great deal of confidence' in the cabinet.

Table Six: Continued

Government has misunderstood or ignored the opinions and aspirations of the citizens its formulation of policy and programmes	1	9.1		18.2	9.1	36.4	9.1	18.2	11
	2			14.3	28.6	21.4	14.3	21.4	14
	3	7.7	7.7		7.7	30.8	23.1	23.1	14
	4		11.1	11.1		55.6	22.2		9
	5								14
		7.1		14.3	21.4	35.7	21.4		
		4.9	3.3	11.5	14.8	34.4	18.0	13.1	
% of Total		4.8	3.2	11.3	14.5	35.5	17.7	12.9	
The government has abdicated its responsibilities in offering services to Kenyans	1			27.3	18.2	27.3	9.1	18.2	11
	2	7.1	7.1		7.1	50.0	7.1	21.4	14
	3	7.7		7.7		38.5	30.8	15.4	14
	4	11.1	11.1	11.1		33.3	22.2	11.1	9
	5	7.1		7.1	21.4	28.6	21.4	14.3	14
% of Total		6.6	3.3	9.8	9.8	36.1	18.0	16.4	
The government is serious in turning the economic decline around as can be seen in the appointment of a team of technocrats at the helm of the civil service.	1	9.0	9.0	18.1	27.2	36.3			11
	2		14.2	35.7	14.2	21.4	7.1	7.1	14
	3	7.6	38.4	30.7	7.6		7.6	7.6	14
	4	11.1		33.3		33.3	11.1	11.1	9
	5								14
		28.5		7.1	42.8	21.4			
% of Total		11.4	13.1	24.5	19.6	21.3	4.9	4.9	
As far as the cabinet is concerned I have a great deal of confidence in it.	1	18.2	27.3	27.3	18.2	9.1			11
	2	21.4	21.4	28.6	14.3		14.3		14
	3	23.1	30.8	23.1	7.7	15.4			14
	4	22.2	22.2	22.2	22.2	11.1			9
	5	35.7	7.1	35.7	21.4				14
% of Total		24.6	21.3	27.9	16.4	6.6	3.3		

Journalist Attitudes towards the Government

Journalist attitudes towards the government were sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *The government is run by a clique (a kitchen cabinet) in state house and is not guided by the best interests of its People.*
- *Government has misunderstood or ignored the opinions and aspirations of the citizens its formulation of policy and programmes*
- *The government has abdicated its responsibilities in offering services to Kenyans*
- *The government is serious in turning the economic decline around as can be seen in the appointment of a team of technocrats at the helm of the civil service.*
- *As far as the cabinet is concerned I have a great deal of confidence in it.*
- *The average citizen does not feel she is a part of government*
- *The governments handling of constitutional reforms has at best been reactionary, often conspiratory.*

Table Six: Journalist Attitudes towards the government

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
The government is run by a clique (a kitchen cabinet) in state house and is not guided by the best interests of its People.	1		9.1	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	11
	2				21.4	21.4	42.9	14.3	14
	3					38.5	23.1	38.5	14
	4	11.1	11.1		11.1	33.3	22.2	11.1	9
	5	7.1		14.3	21.4	35.7		21.4	14
% of Total		3.3	3.3	4.9	12.1	29.5	23.0	23.0	

compared with 67% of the disturbed disseminator and 79% of the concerned participant.

Journalist response to the statement *the ruling party has used its position in government against the citizen in shaping public issues* is largely similar to their view of the extent to which the party can go to get in control of the entire constitutional reform project. Thus, at 91% the adversarial journalist agrees with this statement a shade behind 93% agreement in the concerned participant. Agreement is weakest in the disturbed disseminator at 67%. Likewise only 29% of the *Nationalistic* participant would vouch for this statement.

A similar response pattern is witnessed in journalist response to statements touching on the president. While a majority of journalists hold the view that *the critics of President Moi's handling of constitutional reforms have failed to acknowledge the validity of his argument*, the reverse is actually true across journalist types. Fifty percent (50%) of *Nationalistic* participants actually disapprove of this statement, and are thus less sympathetic of the president. Disapproval for the statement is also significant among the concerned participants at 43% and noticeable among disturbed disseminators and *Nationalistic* participants 27% and 33% respectively. By comparison the highest outright approval of this statement occurs amongst the civic journalists at 38% followed by the adversarial journalist at 27%. The *Nationalistic* participant at 14% would be the most hesitant to approve of the notion that the president has had less than a fair consideration by his critics.

The Nationalistic participant is highly supportive (at 71%) of the notion that *the ruling party would do anything to get itself in the saddle of constitutional reform*. This journalist is also highly supportive of the notion that *the ruling party has used its position against the citizen in shaping public issues*. On average (at 50%) this journalist will disapprove of the notion that the validity of the president's positions and arguments on constitutional has been under-acknowledged by his critics. This journalist is however ambivalent (at 29% disagreement and 36% agreement) and undecided (at 36%) on the with regard to the statement that *President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that might lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya*.

The Nationalistic participant supports overwhelmingly (at 86%) the notion that *opposition political parties have failed to offer viable alternatives to the issues of governance in Kenya*. This journalist is also potentially undecided (27%) of the prospects offered to opposition political leaders in cooperation with the ruling party. A majority of journalists in this mould (at 50%) however hold such prospects with baited breath.

Comparison across Journalist Types

While journalist disapproval of the ruling party is high, its extent and extremity differs across journalist types. While 91% of adversarial journalists approve of the statement that *the ruling party would do anything to get itself in the saddle on constitutional reform*, only 64 % of civic journalists would. While 71% of Nationalistic participants hold the view that the ruling party is desperate to hem in constitutional reform, only 36 % of them would vouch for this without hesitation

at 93% to the notion that the ruling KANU has used its position in power against the citizen in shaping public discourse. This journalist is ambivalent about the notion that the president is misunderstood and not adequately acknowledged by his critics. While this journalist does not support this notion (at 43%) the weight of disagreement is similar at 43%. This journalist disagrees however (at 50%) that the president has no interest in constitutional changes that would lead to a flowering of democracy.

The concerned participant is also highly critical (at 72%) of the opposition political parties as viable alternatives to the problems of governance.

The disturbed disseminator is highly supportive (at 78%) of the notion that the ruling party is desperate to retain its hold on power and would do anything to get itself on the saddle of constitutional reform. This journalist is however only moderately supportive (at 68%) of the notion that *the ruling party has used its position against the citizen in shaping public issues*. Though moderate, this journalist is the most supportive (at 67%) of the notion that the president has not gotten fair acknowledgement of the validity of his position on constitutional reform. This journalist is also, however, the most supportive of the notion that *President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that would lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya*.

The disturbed disseminator is also deeply suspicious about the prospects of opposition parties being harbingers of good governance and agrees by 67% that *opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issues of governance in Kenya*. Though potentially undecided (at 33%) about the fortunes that leaders in the opposition can harvest from cooperation with the ruling party, majority of journalists in this mould will agree that such a course of action will only be to the detriment of whoever pursues it.

not getting as much credit as is due to him on positions he has taken on constitutional reform. This journalist will also be extremely cautious to view the president as someone who has no interest whatsoever in the flowering of democracy in Kenya.

The adversarial journalist's disdain for the ruling party compares favourably with that of the opposition political parties. At 91%, this journalist supports overwhelmingly the notion that *opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issues of governance in Kenya*. This journalist would not be sure about the proposition that the *National Development Party's Leader, Raila Odinga's cooperation with KANU (the ruling party) will be the Waterloo of his political career*.

The civic journalist will on agree (64%) with the notion that the ruling party is desperate for and would do anything to hem in constitutional reforms. The journalist is however more supportive (at 86%) of the notion that that the ruling party has abused its position vis-à-vis the citizen to skew public discourse to its favour. This journalist is the most supportive (at 71%) of the view that President Moi has not had fair consideration from his critics on constitutional reform. This journalist is also, however fairly suspicious of the ultimate intentions of the president, and that these intentions may constitute lending a hand to the flowering of democracy in Kenya.

This journalist is also however also highly critical of the opposition and at 71% is more disapproving of the opposition than of the ruling party. This journalist is also on average (at 50%) in agreement that seeking cooperation with the ruling party would only be to the peril of leading figures in the opposition.

The concerned participant supports overwhelmingly (at 86%) the notion that the ruling party is desperate to maintain the status quo and would do anything to get control of the constitutional reform process. This journalist also lends greater support

The amity with the president however does not amount to an overall approval of his interest in the constitutional reform exercise. Few journalists (37%) disapprove of the notion that *President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that would lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya*. An appreciably higher number of journalists (42%) approve of this statement, while an unusually large number (21%) are undecided. It would seem therefore that while journalists involved in the crisis on reforming constitution made deliberate effort to understand the president, and give due weight to the validity of his argument, this is merely a way of levelling the playfield in argumentation. Few of these journalists actually believe that the president comes into the arena with nothing but the best intentions for the country.

Journalist reservations with opposition political parties is near similar with their disapproval of the ruling party. Nearly eight out of ten (77%) of journalists concur with the statement that *opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issues of governance in Kenya*. Few journalists however would transform disappointment with the opposition into approving cohabitation between key players in the opposition with the ruling party. Thus only 24% of journalists disapprove of the notion that *The National Development Party's Leader Raila Odinga's cooperation with KANU will be the Waterloo of his political career*. In comparison 43% of journalists concur with this statement. A significant 32.3% are undecided.

The adversarial journalist would agree overwhelmingly (91%) that the ruling party is desperate for and would do anything to get itself in control of the constitutional reform process and that the ruling party has abused its position relative to the citizen to get a handle on shaping public discourse in its favour. This type of journalist will however be cautious that the president, who is also leader of KANU, is

Table five: Journalist attitudes towards Opposition Political Parties

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
Opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issues of governance in Kenya.	1		9.1			36.4	27.3	27.3	11
	2		7.1	7.1	14.3	14.3	35.7	21.4	14
	3	15.4	7.7	7.7		7.7	15.4	46.2	14
	4		11.1	22.2		11.1	11.1	44.4	9
	5			14.3		28.6	42.9	14.3	14
% of Total		3.3	6.6	9.8	3.3	19.7	27.9	29.5	
National Development Party's Leader Raila Odinga's cooperation with KANU will be the Waterloo of his political career.	1	10		20	40	10	10	20	11
	2	14.3		14.3	21.4	28.6	14.3	7.1	14
	3	7.1		14.3	42.9	14.3	7.1	14.3	14
	4		11.1	11.1	33.3	22.2	11.1	11.1	9
	5	7.1	7.1	7.1	28.6	35.7	7.1	7.1	14
% of Total		8.1	3.2	12.9	32.3	22.6	9.7	11.3	

The majority of journalists polled are deeply distrustful of the ruling party.

78% of all journalists concur with the statement that *the ruling party would do anything to get itself on the saddle on constitutional reform*. 79% also concur with the statement that *the ruling party has used its position in government against the citizen in shaping public issues*. Relatively few journalists, 7% and 5% respectively are undecided.

Journalists are however more guarded when the focus is moved from the ruling party generally to the president and head of state, who also doubles up as National chairman and leader of the ruling party. Far fewer journalists would issue a blanket condemnation of the president as they do of the party. Thus 57% of journalists agree with the statement that *critics of President Moi's handling of constitutional reforms have failed to acknowledge the validity of his argument*. The majority of those who differ with this statement (24%) do so only mildly.

Table four: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
Multipartyism has done little to help Kenya foster its <i>National</i> goals	1	18.2	9.1	9.1		18.2	9.1	36.4	11
	2	7.1		14.3	14.3	21.4	42.9		14
	3	7.7	23.1	30.8	7.7		15.4	15.4	14
	4	33.3		22.2		11.1		33.3	9
	5	7.1	7.1	21.4	7.1	35.7	7.1	14.3	14
% of Total		12.9	8.1	21.0	6.5	17.7	16.1	17.7	
The critics of president Moi's handling of constitutional reforms have failed to acknowledge the validity of his argument	1		9.1	18.2	9.1	36.4	9.1	18.2	11
	2			7.1	21.4	35.7	21.4	14.3	14
	3	7.7	7.7	38.5	7.7	15.4	15.4	7.7	14
	4		11.1	22.2		44.4	11.1	11.1	9
	5	14.3		35.7	7.1	28.6	7.1	7.1	14
% of Total		4.9	4.9	24.6	9.8	31.1	13.1	11.4	
President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that would lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya.	1	9.1		36.4	27.3	18.2	9.1		11
	2	14.3		14.3	14.3	21.4	28.6	7.1	14
	3	7.7	15.4	30.8	15.4	7.7	15.4	7.7	14
	4	22.2		11.1	11.1	33.3	11.1	11.1	9
	5	7.1	7.1	14.3	35.7	14.3	14.3	7.1	14
% of Total		11.5	4.9	21.3	21.3	18.0	16.4	6.6	

Opposition Political Parties

Journalist attitudes towards opposition parliamentary political parties were sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *Opposition political parties have failed to offer a viable alternative to the issues of governance in Kenya.*
- *National Development Party's Leader Raila Odinga's cooperation with KANU will be the Waterloo of his political career.*

Journalist Attitudes Towards the Major Parliamentary Parties

The Ruling Party

Journalist attitudes towards the ruling party was sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *The ruling party would do anything to get itself in the saddle on constitutional reform.*
- *The ruling party has used its position in government against the citizen in shaping public issues*
- *Multipartyism has done little to help Kenya foster its National goals*
- *The critics of President Moi's handling of constitutional reforms have failed to acknowledge the validity of his argument*
- *President Moi has no interest whatsoever in constitutional reforms that would lead to a flowering of democracy in Kenya.*

Table four: Journalist attitudes towards the ruling party

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR	Total
The ruling party would do anything to get itself in the saddle on constitutional reform.	1				9.1	36.4	36.4	18.2	11
	2		14.3	7.1	14.3	14.3	28.6	21.4	14
	3			7.7		7.7	38.5	46.2	14
	4		11.1	11.1		11.1	11.1	55.6	9
	5	14.3		7.1	7.1	35.7	21.4	14.3	14
% of Total		3.3	4.9	6.6	6.6	21.3	27.9	29.5	
The ruling party has used its position in government against the citizen in shaping public issues	1				9.1	36.4	27.3	27.3	11
	2	7.1		7.1		42.9	35.7	7.1	14
	3					38.5	23.1	38.5	14
	4	22.2	11.1			11.1		55.6	9
	5	7.1		7.1	7.1	50.0		28.6	14
% of Total		6.6	1.6	3.3	3.3	37.7	18.0	29.5	

differs in extremities and polarity between the various journalist types. While 65% and 62% of disseminators and concerned participants disapproves of this notion in contrast 67% and 50% of the adversarial and the disturbed disseminator support the notion that matters in the state are so dire that only very radical change as implied in a revolution would help.

Similarly, while on the face of it a majority of journalists are unhappy with multipartism, a clear 57% and 55% of the concerned participants and disturbed disseminators respectively disapprove of the statement that *multipartyism has done little to help Kenya foster its National goals*. Disapproval is also significant with the adversarial at 36% and Nationalistic participant at 37%.

With regard to the tactics and form of activism in pursuit of democratisation, while majority of journalists disagree that methods involving mass action and civil disobedience are undesirable and would presumably support methods used in by pro-democracy activists in the 1990's, disagreement is higher among the Nationalistic participant at 71% and concerned participants at 64% compared with the adversarial and disturbed disseminators at 55% and 56% respectively. A contrast emerges with the civic journalist who at 36% would hardly approve of such actions. Journalist ambivalence to civic unrest is however strongly manifest across all types with 50% disapproval in the civic journalist and 36%, 29% and 22% in type the adversarial, concerned participant, disturbed disseminator journalist respectively. Disapproval is lowest with the Nationalistic participant with 21% respectively. Correspondingly none of the journalists in the adversarial, concerned participant, the disturbed disseminator and the Nationalistic participant types would disavow such methods without reservations.

While an absolute majority of journalists would favour structural changes in society to enable democracy and good governance, a significant portion of these (49%) disapprove of the current multi-party political arrangement, itself an outcome of efforts to democratise that date to 1991. Very few (13%) would totally disapprove of the statement that *multipartism has done little to help Kenya foster its National goals* with majority of those who object to the statement doing so only mildly (18.0%). A majority of journalists would however support the methods that were favoured by opposition and civil society activists in pushing the democracy project in the 1990's. 57%, therefore disapprove of the notion that *mass action and other forms of civil disobedience are inappropriate and unnecessary in the struggle for constitutional reform*. Again a significant number (33%) approve of the notion and thus would be happy presumably to see a push for democratisation that is devoid of mass protests.

Analysis by Journalist Types

While the majority of journalists are in favour of democracy and constitutional reforms, an analysis by journalist types reveals that different types of journalists will relate differently to the issue. Support for this is highest with the concerned participant at 86% and lowest amongst the disturbed disseminator at 67%. While support is also high in the other journalist types, this support is somewhat qualified, as only 43% of civic and 36% of the disturbed disseminator would approve of this without hesitation.

In similar fashion journalist disapproval of extreme actions and tendencies such as those implied in the statements *social, economic and political life in Kenya have degenerated to the extent that the only desirable form of change is a revolution*

Table Three: Continued

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR
Multipartyism	1	18.2	9.1	9.1		18.2	9.1	36.4
has done little to	2	7.1		14.3	14.3	21.4	42.9	
help Kenya	3	7.7	23.1	30.8	7.7		15.4	15.4
foster its	4	33.3		22.2		11.1		33.3
National goals	5	7.1	7.1	21.4	7.1	35.7	7.1	14.3
% of Total		13.1	8.2	19.7	6.6	18.0	16.4	18.0
Mass action and	1	9.09	9.09	36.36	9.09	18.18		18.18
other forms of	2							21.42
civil			7.14	28.57	14.28	21.42	7.14	7
disobedience are	3	7.69	23.07	30.76	7.69	15.38	15.38	
inappropriate	4	22.22		33.33	22.22	11.11	11.11	
and unnecessary	5							
in the struggle								
for constitutional								
reform		35.71	7.14	28.57	7.14	14.28	7.14	
% of Total		14.75	9.83	31.14	11.47	16.39	8.19	8.19

Summary Data on Journalist Attitudes on Constitutional Reforms/Democracy and Democratisation

A majority of journalists (77%) favour constitutional reforms and hold the view that *comprehensive constitutional reforms provide the only hope that democracy and good governance can flower in Kenya*. Only 54% of journalists however would approve of this statement with conviction with 23% supporting it moderately. Journalists are moreover careful to distinguish constitutional reform and the need for democracy and good governance with 'revolution'. A notable 50% of them disapprove the notion that *social economic and political life in Kenya has degenerated to the extent that the only desirable form of change is a revolution*. A significant proportion (35%) however approve of this extremist notion.

Journalist Attitudes Towards Democratisation

Journalist attitudes towards constitutional reforms was sought in journalist responses to the statements:

- *Comprehensive constitutional reforms provide the only hope that democracy and good governance can flower in Kenya*
- *Social, economic and political life in Kenya have degenerated to the extent that the only desirable form of change is a revolution*
- *Multipartyism has done little to help Kenya foster its National goals*
- *Mass action and other forms of civil disobedience are inappropriate and unnecessary in the struggle for constitutional reform*

Table Three: Journalist attitudes towards the call for constitutional reforms and greater democracy

	Factor	TD	SD	D	U	A	SA	AWR
Comprehensive constitutional reforms provide the only hope that democracy and good governance can flower in Kenya	1	9.1			9.1	18.2	36.4	27.3
	2		14.3	14.3		28.6	21.4	21.4
	3			15.4		7.7	23.1	53.8
	4		11.1		22.2	11.1	22.2	33.3
	5		7.1	7.1	7.1	42.9	14.3	21.4
% of Total		1.6	6.6	8.2	6.6	23.0	23.0	31.1
Social, economic and political life in Kenya have degenerated to the extent that the only desirable form of change is a revolution	1	18.2	27.3	9.1	27.3	18.2		
	2	7.1	14.2	14.2	14.2	28.6	7.1	14.3
	3	23.0	23.0	23.0	7.7	7.7		15.3
	4	22.2			11.1	44.4	11.1	11.1
	5							
% of Total		13.1	16.39	21.3	13.1	21.3	4.9	9.8

The resulting comparisons are provided below by journalist response to the various categories.

Table Two: Factor Scores

Overlap

The above classifications, while helpful, should nevertheless be used with a little caution. It should be noted that, as described earlier, part of the process of obtaining clarity of factor solutions entailed disregarding factor scores with less than .40 eigen values. Usually factors with a loading of more than .30 would be considered significant for purposes of interpreting the underlying dimensions of that factor. What this means is that several variables loaded significantly on more than one factors suggesting that they shared some underlying common properties with it. This may lead one to suppose that in theory at least, journalists were sufficiently ambivalent about their interpretation of the role journalism should play in a democracy.

In an effort to shed light on these overlaps, factor solutions were obtained using the Principle Axis Factoring Criteria. The factor loadings obtained via Principle Axis Factoring were near identical in structure to those obtained in Principle components.

Further effort was made to limit the number of factors extracted to first to 8 and then 7 to with changes being noted but along the same general continuum of the factor structures obtained earlier in the 10 factor.

Journalist Attitudes toward the Crisis Over Reforming the Constitution

After determining the various journalist orientations, the next step was to obtain individual journalist factor scores based on the final factor solution and use these to determine journalist type responses to a battery of statements seeking to establish journalist attitudes toward players considered stakeholders or claim makers in the constitutional reform process and the very notion of constitutional reform itself.

Factor 5 is defined by the following statements

- *Media reporting of an issue should promote National integration*
- *Journalists must remain neutral and outside events they are covering*
- *Journalist are integral members of Kenya's elite and therefore see societal issues from the elite point of view*
- *Media should serve as independent watchdogs of government*
- *In reporting an issue, media should concentrate on getting the facts without trying to doctor them*

Summary of Factor 5. This seems to me like a neutral journalist who is however concerned that media has a duty to both report and keep watch on government. This journalist also shares the view that media practitioners are presently too close to government which position may reduce their ability to view matters objectively. The utmost belief value of this journalist however is that journalists have a duty to promote National integration and even while maintaining independence and a close watch on government, this should be in promotion of National integration. This professional is, thus, of the view that the media should consider 'National interests' in the way they report an issue. Nevertheless this should not lead the journalists to being actively involved in the issues that they are reporting on. This journalist shares the notion with others that Kenyan journalists are more identified by their proximity with the social-economic and political elite in contra-distinction to proximity to the citizenry. For this journalist, it is important that media maintains a watchdog role over government, but this should be achieved by getting the information out and not seeking to direct their outcomes. We shall call this journalist the Nationalistic participant.

constitutional crisis. Thus journalists should not confuse their role in reporting with that of social activists. In the words of a reporter at one of the dailies (name withheld),

I have a problem with reporting that seeks to take sides. News reporting should not be about giving people some kind of publicity. News should not be tilted. ... There was this time when it was three o'clock in the afternoon, the paper (which was in policy supporting the Ufungamano/opposition side of the constitutional reforms conflagration) did not have a page one story. The editor (name withheld) arrives and asks the reporter to call Mutava Musyimi, (chair of the faiths led Ufungamano constitutional review initiative). Whatever Musyimi said was headline news the following day. I just felt bad....

For this journalist, the media is however, too interlocked in the social political and economic fabric of society not to take up some place and not to be concerned with the direction public discourse and events take. In this mould it is necessary for the media to invest in moving its social location closer to the public by publishing in local languages. This kind of journalists is also of the view that journalism as it is presently constructed, is inadequate in helping shape public debate- setting the agenda- to focus on society's real needs. Thus, according to the same reporter, "Journalists have been unable to find their footing with regard to democracy. They seem unable to make up their minds on how to support democracy without compromising on professional values".

While this journalist is concerned about the usefulness or place of journalism to a changing society, it is important that journalism professionalism itself should not be sacrificed at the altar of social missions. This seems to fit a disturbed disseminator orientation eager to retain in partiality but distressed by some apparent irreverence by the media towards taking up its responsibilities as a key player in society.

the media's problem what the public does with this information. Certainly media should not go as far as seeking to direct the outcome of the information it purveys by mobilising the public for particular projects. This journalist seems to fit a concerned participant orientation.

Factor 4 is defined by the following statements:

- *Journalists should remain detached from what they report.*
- *Kenya media should invest more in publishing in Kiswahili and local languages as their media of communication*
- *Rather than try to fix social problems, journalists should concentrate on revealing them*
- *Mobilising support for public projects, such as constitutional reforms is not the business of journalists but civic activists*
- *A new kind of journalism is needed to refocus public debate on society's real needs.*
- *The media are too powerful to pretend that they have nothing to do with the way things shape up in public life*
- *The journalist's professional mission is to report and analyse the news and not to seek to direct its outcomes*

Summary of Factor 4.

This journalist believes that the separation between what journalists report and their individual beliefs is central to the profession. This journalist also believes that journalists should be content with revealing and not solving social problems, such as a

In this vein journalists should take it upon themselves to help citizens confront and solve social problems as opposed to merely reporting or holding up these problems to public view. The freedoms journalists enjoy belong to citizens in contradistinction to media institutions. Thus media institutions and journalists, should use the opportunities availed by these freedoms to advance causes that are integral to solving civic problems. This journalist believes that a new kind of press system is required in Kenya in order to bring the citizen to the centre of political and civic discourse. However journalists and the media need to be watchful that they are not taken in by the claims of civil society and that their new reporting does not serve the interests of sectarian interests. This type of journalist seems to fit the civic/public journalist orientation.

Factor 3 is defined by the following statements:

- *Journalists tend to underestimate the intelligence of their readers*
- *Journalists have failed to inform citizens adequately about the challenges surrounding them*
- *Media are part of the problem in enabling citizen participation in public life*
- *Mainstream media accept too unquestioningly dominant explanations of the day by such institutions as the World Bank and IMF*

Summary of Factor 3: This journalist seems one who believes in the social responsibility mantra of the press, that the press does have responsibility to society to inform it, but that media has generally tended to patronise its readers, and given the weight of social problems in Kenya, media has not done as much as it should have to bring these problems to the attention of the public. Should it do this however, it is not

reporting beats. As it were, according to one reporter at the *Nation*, “the media has not sought to harvest knowledge on the matter... and ...has been content to do drab reporting”. As it is presently, the media presently cannot be relied on to carry the torch of entrenching alternative governance values and systems. This seems to fit the adversarial orientation.

Factor 2 is defined by the following statements:

- *It is the media's duty to bring People together very much like a Kamukunji.*
- *Media freedom belongs to the People, not to editors.*
- *Media needs to watch over civil society and other organised societies (such as religious organisations) just as it does government.*
- *Kenya needs a new kind of press system to refocus political discourse away from the elites to citizens and communities.*
- *Journalists need to help citizens confront and solve issues.*
- *Media reporting should encourage National not sectarian interests.*
- *It is the media's responsibility to ensure that public life works well.*

Summary of Factor 2. This kind of journalist is defined by the profile of an civic or public good activist, holding a primal view that journalists and media institutions should lead the way in bringing the public together to deliberate on and solve social problems. This view is reflected in an interview with one of the journalists working with the *People* Newspaper in which she expressed the view that

(think) the media needs to go beyond being a watchdog, this watchdog thing is misplaced, we need change. We need a kind of journalism that actually goes all the way in identifying and solving an issue. This kind of journalism, the type practiced by the *People* weekly was very good and brought a lot of good tidings. But the benefits die easily....

- *Reporters need to change the way they do their work in order for democracy to work in Kenya*
- *The media in Kenya cannot be relied on to fight for far reaching (comprehensive) governance reform in Kenya*
- *The media has no business taking sides on a politically divisive issue*

Summary of Factor 1. This journalist has an aversion for the media being used to serve 'powerful' communities in society and would rather press freedom was used in the aid of governance issues. This journalist considers that the media has duty to come to the aid of reforming democracy and that the media has failed in this light. The exercise of this duty should not be misconstrued to mean that the media can take sides or should seek to do more than providing factual information. This journalist would probably identify with notions shared in interview with journalists that a paper should "strive to be very fair and balanced". ...and "should not be seen to be taking sides", except where there are overwhelming reasons to do so. One such reason offered itself when the paper had to come to the aid of the public in getting an armistice between the then rival positions on the review of the constitution, through holding a public opinion poll that according to the paper revealed the public's desire for a merger of this process.

The media should be content to leaving it to the public to discern what is right or wrong after it has been presented with accurate and factual information. The media does have a responsibility in the face of the challenge of democratisation. In order to face up to this challenge, reporters, perhaps not the entire media system, need to change the way they work, by focusing perhaps more on other newsmakers, such as civil society, in the unfolding public sphere and reconceptualising work habits such as

b) Determining the attitude of the journalists towards media handling and framing of the constitutional reform crisis

c) Establishing the various strategies and experiences of journalists with regard to the organizing and articulation of value positions within and outside the newsroom

3. The study also sought to describe the relationship between journalist orientation and journalist attitudes towards the various actors in the constitutional reform crisis, including the media, the government, parliamentary political parties, civil society organisations and the very notion of a comprehensive reform of political, economic and social life through an overhaul of the constitution.

Journalist Orientations

As indicated, to determine journalist belief orientations factor solutions were obtained from journalists' responses to a battery of statements on the role of the press in the process of democratisation. From the final 10-factor solution, five factors were considered competent as descriptors of underlying belief clusters.

Factor 1. This factor is defined by the following statements

- *The mainstream press in Kenya has reduced freedom of the press to mean freedom of the powerful whether in government, opposition or in business*
- *The media has failed to rise to the challenge of consolidating participatory democracy in Kenya*
- *Media's role in public life is to point out the issue such as scandals and hold them up to public scrutiny*
- *Media should provide factual information and let the public discern the truth*

considered satisfactory if it could account for over 60 % of the variance. The final factor solution accounted for 60.69% of total variance.

Interpretation of the Factors

In order to interpret the factors, a decision had to be made about which factors were worth inclusion in the final factor solution. In this all factor solutions that were greater or lesser than .30 were considered significant. In the final solution, in an effort to achieve further clarity on the structure of loadings, only those loadings that were greater or lesser than .40 were considered for inclusion in the factor solution. Where a variable loaded significantly on more than one factor, a further decision was taken in preference of where it loaded highest.

The outcome of this process is presented below in the findings. In discussing the outcomes, all the characteristics as portrayed in the variable loading on each factor were considered important in characterisation and labelling. The higher loadings are however given more weight comparatively, in ascribing the label.

The Findings

This study sought to establish several related issues:

1. The various journalist orientations in Kenya
2. Journalist framing of the crisis over reforming the constitution by:
 - a) Establishing the prevalent journalist attitudes toward the crisis over reforming the constitution as measured in their attitude toward the call for constitutional reform itself, the major parliamentary political parties, civil society, the religious sector and general public, and by

Table One. The rotated factor Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix

	Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
QA42	0.753976										
QA18	0.690274										
QA9	0.619083										
QA43	0.615682										
QA35	0.499185						0.472416				
QA2	0.459460										
QA11	0.400411										
QA26		0.674388									
QA25		0.637597									
QA16		0.605380									
QA24		0.601793									
QA34		0.591286									
QA5		0.537206									
QA21		0.481199									
QA7											
QA28			0.800883								
QA29			0.692143								
QA30			0.619595								
QA31			0.415918								
QA33				0.736258							
QA17				0.710963							
QA19				0.541212							
QA40				0.528488				0.407617			
QA20				0.448422							
QA38				-0.425823	0.409151						
QA22	0.408105			0.422933							
QA41											
QA10					0.674977						
QA8					0.623334						
QA12					0.559306						
QA32					-0.527308						
QA4					0.516459						0.408717
QA13						0.754156					
QA3						0.647667					
QA23						0.560526					
QA44							0.702449				
QA6							0.560070				
QA27											
QA39								0.720643			
QA1								-0.626630			
QA37									0.668214		
QA36									0.483226		
QA15									-0.469770		
QA14											0.704340

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a

Rotation converged in 13 iterations.

A combination of Latent roots and percentage of variance criterion was used to determine the number of factors to extract. Using the former, only those factors that recorded eigenvalues greater than one .10 were considered significant. The others were discarded. In addition the percentage of variance extracted by the various factors was also used to determine the validity of the extracted factors. A solution was

Factor Analysis

As explained elsewhere, a factor analysis of the responses was to be performed to determine the various journalist belief orientations. Factor Analysis refers to several multivariate statistical approaches used to analyse relationships among a large number of variables and to explain these variables in terms of their common underlying dimensions. Principal component analysis was used to identify the latent dimensions in the various variables in the first schedule. The factor scores obtained at the end of the process were then used to identify journalists who most closely matched the various dimensions identified in the factor matrix. The composite of these individuals, as identified in the factor structures were then cross-tabulated with the various journalist responses on the second schedule.

Variables included in constructing the research instrument were obtained from analysis of media reports, reports of media seminars, reports of other researches as narrated in journals and other academic literature. Forty (40) variables were taken representing the widest possible range of statements about journalist role orientations.

Journalist responses were processed into a correlation matrix between the responses to the variables. Extraction of factors was achieved via an orthogonal solution.

Rotation (see table One) is required primarily because while achieving mathematically acceptable reductions of responses from the unrotated matrix, the information achieved was inadequate to begin to answer questions on journalist types. An orthogonal varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation was thus performed. Rotation helped achieve clarity and theoretically more meaningful and simple factor solutions.

through narrative analysis the study sought to make sense of them relative to the study's core questions.

Respondents Profile.

Only 51 journalists indicated the news organisation they presently worked for. Of these 30% were from the *Nation*, 19% from the *People*, 23% from the *Standard* 28% from the *Kenya Times* and 8% from the Kenya News Agency.

79% and 21% of the respondents were male and female respectively. The majority of the female respondents were aged between 21 and 25 years old.

A majority of the respondents were high school graduates with 45% being form four and 22% being form six graduates. A relatively high number, 30% had a first degree, 4% had training beyond a first degree. Twelve journalists, about 12% did not indicate their levels of education.

Only 21 journalists indicated any level of previous occupations outside journalism. A majority of these were teachers at the secondary school level. Other notable previous occupations included tutors and lecturers, librarians, accountants, and self-employment.

Only 57 journalists provided data about the number of years they have worked as journalists. About 35% of these had worked for between 1-3 years, 26% between 4-6 years, and 14% between 7-9 years. A further 16% and 3.5% had worked for between 10-12 and 13-15 years, respectively. The rest had worked for between 19-21 years 3.5% and 22-24 years 2%.

be involved in political affairs reporting. The researcher would then secure assurances from journalists regarding the best time to pick their responses from them.

To secure the validity of content, two steps were taken. First the statements used in the questionnaire were obtained either from journalist reports directly, through such trade journals as *Expression Today*, and from journalist articles presented to seminars and professional conferences in the 1990's. Further items were constructed from analysis of literature on journalist role orientations. A pre-test of these statements were conducted using four journalists from the *Daily Nation*. Following this, statements that seemed ambiguous or which seemed to represent the same value were eliminated.

Additional data was sought from journalist responses to an interview schedule that sought to seek a journalist's value identification with the issues addressed in the questionnaire. Eighteen such interviews were obtained from journalists representing a *National* sample from the newsrooms in of the *Nation* and the *People Daily* in Nairobi and from the newsrooms of the regional Bureaus of the *People*, the *Standard* and the *Nation* in Mombasa and the *Nation* and *Standard* in Nyeri, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu. Additionally interviews were obtained from news workers in the Kenya news agency from Mombasa, Kisumu and Embu. The researcher had hoped to conduct excess of twenty (20) of such interviews based on an analysis of journalists involved in what was considered political reporting. With the difficulty of getting responses from journalists in newsrooms in Nairobi, whereupon the research had to rely more heavily on newsrooms outside Nairobi, this expectation was relaxed. With very few exceptions, almost all journalists in the regional bureaus are routinely engaged in reporting politics. These responses were treated as authentic texts and

sample, and partly in response to the challenges of obtaining responses from the newsrooms based in Nairobi, responses were sought and obtained from journalists in the regional newsrooms of Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru and Nyeri for the Nation and the *Standard* Newspapers. The researcher found that outside Nairobi, the *People Daily* and *Kenya Times* newspapers have bureau only in Mombasa. Thus outside Nairobi, journalist responses for these papers were restricted to the Mombasa Bureaus.

Responses were also obtained from the Kenya News Agencies (KNA). At the time of the study, the Kenya News Agency was undergoing a massive structural reformation as part of a wider Public Service Reform Programme. This process entailed declaring redundant or retiring majority of journalists on the service. Following preoccupations with their changing professional fortunes it proved especially difficult to get hold of journalists in this agency. Responses were however obtained from journalists in Embu, Mombasa and Kisumu.

To ensure the validity of the data collected several steps were taken. The first was to ensure that all respondents met the classification of 'journalist' provided earlier. The second was to ensure that the journalist was involved in political affairs reporting either as a beat reporter or (sub-)editor or editorial managers. The third was to ensure that journalists filled out the entire range of statements. To ensure this, the researcher would first arrange for a meeting with the head of the bureau or news editor of the respective newspaper or agent. The meeting would establish the professional preparations of the various journalists in the newsroom and which of the journalists would be engaged in political beats. The questionnaire would thus be presented only to those who met the training or apprenticeship criteria and who would

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This study sought to, in the first place, determine various journalist belief orientations on the role of the press in a democracy and, in the second place, to determine whether there was a relationship between the various orientations (if at all) and the journalist attitudes towards the democracy and governance project in Kenya as it has been sketched in the struggle for comprehensive constitutional reform. Assuming that there were indeed, distinct journalist value orientations, the study in the third place sought to interrogate the interface between such actuation of values, if at all, and organisational policies.

To achieve the first, journalist responses were sought on a battery of 44 statements pertaining the role orientation of journalists. In the second schedule journalist responses were sought from a battery of 40 statements appertaining to journalists attitudes towards the core issue of constitutional reform and the principal players in the crisis on constitutional reform. To achieve the third objective responses were sought from interviews with 18 journalists using critical event ethnographic methods to get life stories about their value inclinations and how these manifest themselves in their work. This chapter presents and analyses data obtained from the various responses.

Data for the first and second objective was obtained journalist responses to 110 questionnaires distributed across five news organisations in Nairobi and the major provincial capitals. Sixty two (62) questionnaires were returned representing a response rate of 56.4%. This response rate was considered satisfactory (Babbie, 1998, 241). In addition to the newsrooms in Nairobi and in order to achieve a *National*

particular experiences from respondents without imposing on them any preferred structuring of the experience thus narrated.

Narratives being, as it were, a respondent's construction of parts of his experience upon careful analyses yield rich data both on the historical event and the respondents positioning of self relative to the event and the demands of the organization or profession. An analysis of respondent's narratives on the same critical event is instructive in reconstructing the event and tracing possible same influences in structuring how they program the self relative to the events.

Narrative analysis is also relatively free of problematic associated with validity of representativeness at the individual level and the necessity to compute respondent responses into a statistic.

Personal narratives are potentially cumbersome. As such the design of the interview and choice of respondents was such that only respondents who had 'a narratable life' with respect to activism were interviewed. To achieve this, the design and conduct of the interview employed critical event approaches. As stated before critical events are distinguished by their deviation from conventional processes and are distinctive by virtue of their criticality in a person's life or within the history of a discipline or profession (Ngimwa, 1996: 76, Pauly, 1991:12).

The research methodology used in critical event analysis is usually that of historical ethnography [Kelchertermans, 1991]. This is necessary since events can only be seen to have been critical after they have occurred. Historical ethnography involves exploration of events that have occurred in the past, using qualitative and unconstrained methods that aim to explore meanings and understandings as well as recreate the contexts in which the event occurred.

In media research, critical event methodology has been used to explore audiences' reception, and use, of news about a critical event such as the death of a president. The method is used to "assess the social conditions that affect how people attend to and subsequently use news reports about salient events" (Kraus, 1975:199). Ultimately critical event analysis offers a valid method of collecting data for empirical explanation.

The narrative analysis method was used to process data from these personal experiences. Narrative analysis takes as its unit of investigation the story itself (Gathu, 1995: 90). The import of the investigation is to "see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives. The critical event approach to narratology allows us to elicit responses about

Council of Kenyan Muslims [SUPKEM] and organized civic organizations such as the National Convention Executive Council, NCEC, the Kenya Women's Political Caucus, KWPC and the Law Society of Kenya [LSK].

In this schedule of statements several measures of cynicism were employed to construct statements that interrogate the attitudes of journalists towards government, the opposition, their news organizations, the media broadly civil society and the religious domain. Journalists were exposed to a battery of questions which required them to respond within a seven point Likert type scale ranging as indicated above. The gauge used in constructing the statements factor measures of cynicism including ardently cynical, moderately cynical, and merely skeptical. These measures were also given in their inverse order substantiating journalist faith in the various institutions. These inverse measures include unblemished confidence, qualified confidence and tolerable confidence.

Data from this section were processed to show the number of journalists who are ardently cynical, moderately cynical or merely skeptical of the various institutions under investigation. On the inverse the analysis also revealed how many journalists have absolute, qualified or tolerable confidence in the institutions.

Narrative Analysis.

Through extensive interviews journalists were encouraged to narrate personal experiences around major issues reported and covered in their dailies concerning constitutional reforms. The texts from the interviews provided content for qualitative interpretation.

In 'Q' type factor analysis, correlations are tallied between groups of respondents instead of groups of variables. High correlations occur when a respondent's pattern of response is much like another respondent's. Factors emerge when there are relatively high correlations within groups of people. Factor analysis of "Q" sorts therefore yields groups of individuals who share attitudes and beliefs.

Factor analysis was useful in determining which statements are the best descriptors of belief constellations as well as which individuals share the same share similar belief constellations.

Several factor analytic models are available in factor analysis with the two most employed approaches being the principal component analysis and common factor analysis. Computations were conducted using the principal components factor model. (see Lindeman et al., 1980: 248). (Lindeman et al., 1980 248; Mbennah, 1994: 139; Mbennah, 1999: 226; McKeown & Thomas, 1988: 7; Wells & Sheth 1971 Quoted in Aaker 1971: 560; Hair et al., 1980: 221ff; Tatsuoka, 1991: 199ff;).

The estimates of the factor loadings derived were used as the basis for identifying variables for further analysis.

Establishing Journalist Attitudes towards Constitutional Reform

The interview schedule also contained questions that sought to access journalist attitudes towards government generally and select players in the constitutional reform debate. These later include the Kenya African National Union, KANU, opposition political parties, religious organizations such as the National Council of Churches of Kenya, NCCCK, the Episcopal Conference, the Supreme

data categories. For ease of conceptualization some discussion of factor analysis is in order.

Factor analysis is a statistical approach that can be used to analyze the inter-relationships among a large number of variables and then explain these variables in terms of their shared characteristics (factors). The approach involves finding a way of condensing the information contained in a number of original variables into a smaller set of dimensions with a minimum loss of information. Factor analysis “enables the researcher to gain insights into the common underlying bonds or dimensions by which otherwise highly divergent phenomena tend to correlate among themselves (Hair et al., 1979: 22). The objective in factor analysis is to decompose into “meaningful components or dimensions, the extent of relationships empirically observed among a set of divergent variables” (ibid). Factor analysis provides us with techniques of combining or reducing large number of individuals or statements into discrete groups within the larger population. Two techniques for doing, the ‘Q’ and ‘R’ type factor analysis, are available.

In ‘R’ factor analysis, high correlations occur when respondents who share high scores on a given variable, say A also share high scores on another variable, say B and conversely, respondents who score low variable A score the same the B. Factors then emerge when there are relatively high correlations between groups of statements. The idea here is that, if the responses to a set of statements are highly correlated, then these statements measure some factor that is common to all of them. Statements in one set will be correlate highly with each other but poorly with statements in any other set.

newspapers duty to solve community problems and journalist faith in the ability of their audiences to solve their own problems.

In view of the ongoing democracy project in Kenya and in light of the opposing claims Kenyan journalists have made on the role of journalism in the transition, journalists were asked to stake their opinion on whether newspapers should be directly engaged in sustaining social movements such as the pro-democracy lobby, whether journalists should use opportunities availed to them by their profession to question the plausibility structures that undergird the status quo, whether the work of news papers in changing societies does not include bringing to question the historical realities in which citizens find themselves and whether their newspapers should not find ways and develop media products that engage the citizens in a permanent dialogue about their condition. Journalists were also asked to indicate opinion on measures whether the work of journalism should not be to engage readers on a return to the sources [cultural and historical renaissance] movement and lastly whether the work of the media in the democracy project is not to articulate reporting styles and news criteria that promote their readers self-esteem and confidence in the light of adversities that may plague reform. Data from this section of the questionnaire was processed using the factor analysis method.

Factor Analysis

The factor analysis method has been widely applied in solving research problems requiring either reduction of massive data into smaller manageable categories while revealing the underlying dimensions of linkage between the various

by news professionalism while its positioning relative to other existing and possible beats will be assumed with the fact of its routinization in 1997.

The existence of bias, however, evades even the most elaborate of research design (Leedy, 1992: 167). In this particular instance, the researcher has a bias, in favour of reforming of journalism to enable the media to become effectively a platform for public dialogue. In this direction, it is possible that the researcher is biased in favour of reporter subjective positions determining her conduct as a journalist.

Data Processing

Data processing entailed three tasks, namely constructing journalist orientation, establishing journalist attitudes and agency with regard to constitutional reform and establishing the relationship between journalist orientations and the latter.

Constructing Journalist Orientation

Journalist orientation was determined by asking journalists to respond to a battery of statements reflecting the core values of whistle blower, neutral, participant and civic journalist as established in chapter two. These statements were selected randomly from readings and statements made by journalists and about journalism relating to their work and its role in solving community problems. Several measures were employed in accessing journalist belief constellations, these include journalist attitudes regarding their personal duty to solve community problems, journalist faith in community leaders to solve local problems, journalist attitudes towards the

Pre-testing the Instrument

A pretest of the survey instrument was done with select journalists to establish its ability to source the required data. The pretest also helped establish the face validity of the various items and whether journalists were able to identify with the instrument and fill it with ease.

Safeguarding against Bias

Bias refers to “any influence, condition, or set of conditions that singly or together distort the data from what may have been obtained under the conditions of pure chance.” It may also refer to “any influence that may have disturbed the randomness by which the choice of sample was obtained” (Leedy, 1992: 166).

The research design guards against bias in several ways. First, all newspapers that were used in constructing the basic population of the study profess to adhere to professional news values. In addition, with the exception of the Kenya Times, these papers have not have had a history of government ownership since their inception. The years 1997- 2000, starting with an election year and moving to the protracted struggle for control of the constitutional reform process, presented a potentially rich source for a study in political communication, or media reporting of politics.

Moreover, selection of the interviewees was be done on the basis of those who were in this particular news beat, those who received their copies and the editors who authorized the beat and assigned reporters to it. The beat system is a relatively routinized way of newsgathering in established news organizations (Soloski, 1989: 215). The legitimacy and value of this news beat is presumed to have been determined

agree', 1 for 'agree' and 0 for undecided. Negative scores are given for each of these measures in their inverse form thus -3 for 'totally disagree', -2 for 'strongly disagree', and -1 for 'disagree'. Each respondent was therefore given an overall score per category of variables.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire for the survey was divided into four main sections. The first section contains statements aimed at accessing journalist identification with the role of media in society. The statements have factored the core values of the four-journalist belief systems: neutral, participant, adversarial and civic journalist. The second section sought to access journalist attitude towards the issue of constitutional reform and the major protagonists in the constitutional reform conflagration. The last section aimed at accessing background nominal data of the journalist including the name [optional], age, sex, newspaper working for, educational background, years in employment etc.

The first and second sections of the questionnaire contained opinion statements besides which journalists are asked to indicate along a seven-point scale whether they agree without reservation, strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, totally disagree or are undecided. The choice of items was made from an analysis of all the variables that describe both possible journalist orientation and journalist attitude towards constitutional reform and the major actors. The statements were constructed to stimulate response and thus force respondents into differentiating between their extent of agreement or disagreement with the statement.

Data needed for journalist attitude towards constitutional reforms and towards the major protagonists in constitutional reform was contained in the second schedule of the survey instrument and comprised of journalist attitude scores on statements that operationalize various measures of cynicism.

Data needed for journalists personal histories of their handling of the issue within their organizations comprised of journalist narrative responses to interviews seeking personal narratives of select confessing and eschewing activists.

The Survey Instrument

Measurement

To get appropriate responses from journalists to facilitate processing their orientations and preferences regarding constitutional reforms, a battery of statements were adopted from journalist and other commentary on the media especially as expressed in media review journals and seminar papers. To assemble statements, the research used the archives of the Media Institute, the Kenya Union of Journalists, and the Frenndrich Erbert Foundation office in Nairobi. The statements were phrased to elicit response from journalists indicated along a summated seven point rating scale indicating direction and intensity of agreement or disagreement with the statement.

Babbie defines a scale as “a composite measure constructed on the basis of an intensity structure among items comprising the measure” (Babbie, 1990: 164). In a Likert type scale, respondents are presented with a statement and are asked to indicate their levels of agreement or disagreement (Aaker & Day 1986: 222). Each measure on the scale is given a score, in this case 3 for ‘agree without reservation, 2 for ‘strongly

education or a bachelor's degree in science for education and science specialists respectively. This further served to reduce concerns of non-representation.

The sample for news personnel was done by identification through the use of by-lines and with the aid of news editors. Other news personnel, specifically sub-editors, senior subs, news editors and the managing editors were identified with the assistance of the newspaper management. In both cases letters were sent out to the respective managing editors informing them of the intended survey, the possible dates and requesting for their time and assistance in locating news personnel and facilitating successful interviews.

Data

The data for the study fell into four categories; data on journalist orientation, journalist attitudes towards the issue of constitutional reforms, and journalist attitude towards the major protagonists in constitutional reform, and journalist's personal histories of their handling of the issue within their organizations.

The data needed for the purposes of constructing journalist orientation comprise of individual journalist attitude scores on forty items that seek to establish journalist agreement or disagreement with the core values of the major journalist types. The scores were obtained by journalist responses along a Likert type scale that grades agreement along a seven point axis; agree without reservation, strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree and totally disagree. The forty items are statements reflecting the core values of the various journalist types and are presented in a way that will provoke reaction from the journalist.

call to find out whether the questionnaire has been filled and to reschedule pick up time where necessary.

It proved especially difficult to access the broadcasting stations. Owing to these difficulties and considering that with the exception of the Kenya Broadcasting Service, the other two target stations relied largely on their newspaper division for news, it was considered appropriate to narrowcast on the respective newspapers. Owing to further difficulties in accessing newsrooms in Nairobi, characterized by, for instance inordinate delays in returning questionnaires and granting interviews, the decision was also taken to span out to the regional bureaus in Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret and Nyeri.

Sampling

The sample for the survey was arrived at through purposive sampling of the target population. The primary reason for choosing purposive sampling was the relatively small number of news organizations being studied and even within these the relatively few news personnel involved in political reporting. The target journalists were most likely to be reporters who 'specialize' on the political beat of the news gathering mechanisms of the organizations. The number of such reporters in Opiyo's 1994 study of three news organizations with the exception of *The People* were 17 with six each in the *Nation* and *East African Standard* and five at the *Kenya Times* (Opiyo, 1994: 126). Moreover, according to Opiyo (1994) the manner in which journalists become specialty reporters in Kenyan newsrooms is fairly flexible, by dean of interest or other qualifications in addition to journalism such as a bachelor's degree in

Population

The total universe population for the study was Kenyan journalists. The definition of a journalist was given as a professional news worker who is identified as such by virtue of his professional preparation through either a journalism training institution or/and apprenticeship or on-the-job training in news organizations. There exists no legal definitions of a journalist in Kenya and virtually all journalists identify as such either by virtue of specialized training or practice.

The study population was, however, specific to journalists involved in the reporting of politics. These included beat reporters, copy editors, news editors, news analysts, and journalists employed in managerial positions in news organizations to enhance or enforce editorial policy. Journalists were sought from within the major media organizations in Kenya, specifically the Nation Media Group (*The Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation*,) and Kalamka Limited (the *People Daily* and *The People on Sunday*). Others included The Standard Group of Newspapers (*East African Standard* and *Standard on Sunday*), The Kenya Times Media Trust (*Kenya Times* and *The Sunday Herald*) and the Kenya News Agency (KNA).

The researcher identified contact persons within each news establishment who introduced him to individual journalists and who were partly responsible for tracking down the individual responses to the research tool. Using the office of the contact person, the researcher was able generate the telephone and physical addresses of individual respondents for the purpose of making telephone/personal contact. Either the contact or the researcher then delivered the self-administered questionnaire and arranged for pick up time. The researcher and the contact persons would thereafter

survey methodology, is beneficial in a) securing access the various journalist belief systems b) examining the attitudes of news personnel towards the principal subjects in constitutional reform; the government, the ruling party, the opposition [by political party], religious organizations and constituent civil society], c) accessing news-workers' assessment of media performance with regard to the issue and d) accessing narrative accounts of the experiences of journalists in applying their value conflicts to their work and any resulting conflicts in the newsroom.

Collecting Data

According to Babbie (1990:52), surveys are often done for the purpose of establishing spread of certain traits or attributes in a given population. It can be used for the purposes of describing, exploration and explaining the distribution of a trait such as attitude in a total sample and thus to infer to the total population. Survey research is also useful in describing sub-samples and comparing them, in this case reporters, sub-editors and journalists in editorial management.

The survey design involves collecting of data through the use of a self-administered questionnaire in a "single time description" (Babbie, 1990: 62). It involves identifying the population, selecting a sample of respondents and administering the questionnaire.