



## THE ANNUAL KENYAN LEADERSHIP MONTH IN THE MEDIA – 2006



- A COMPREHENSIVE REPORT -

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‘Placing development concerns at the heart of broadcasting requires the exploration of new strategies as well as sources of funding and support’. Development, by its very nature, necessitates a long-term perspective, and so is at odds with the overall orientation of mainstream journalism for easily grasped and digested stories’. UNECA

## ABBREVIATIONS

SMS	Short Message Services
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDI	In-Depth Interviews
MFAF	Media Focus on Africa Foundation, Kenya
KIPPRA	Kenyan Institute for Public Policy Research Analysis
UoN	University of Nairobi
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers
KBC	Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation
KTN	Kenyan Television Network
CMD	Centre for Multi Party Democracy
KSHS	Kenyan Shillings
ALIN	Arid Land Information Network

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The year 2006 saw the implementation of Africa's first multi-media leadership campaign, dubbed 'The Annual Kenyan Leadership Month in the Media' (which carried the Swahili slogan 'Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo') as pilot project designed and executed by the Media Focus on Africa Foundation (MFAF), Kenya.

The campaign which, by transferring knowledge and enhancing awareness on issues of good leadership and best practices of governance, aimed to work as a civic education program.

MFAF, in collaboration with the mainstream media, managed to implement and create an alternative national leadership discourse platform free from censorship and encouraged debate on exciting topical issues, and sought public opinion and attitudes on various leadership categories (Community, political, religious and administrative).

A wide range of programmes in the form of radio and TV panel discussions, educational soaps, phone-in programmes, local and international documentaries, TV and Radio episodes, mini-soaps, promos etc, were broadcast in both radio and television. The print media, Short Message Service (SMS), and an interactive website also formed an integral part of the communication strategy. The underlying premise for this approach was to empower the public, civil society and the media to demand for good leadership and greater accountability and transparency from leadership.

By broadcasting 15 TV shows and 70 Radio programs on leadership and governance, over a four-week period across 9 radio and 2 TV Stations during the Month of November/December 2006, supported by countless promo's, newspaper ads and innovative branding, 'The Kenyan Leadership Month in the Media' could dominate the airwaves.

The month long, multi – media campaign in November 2006, was spread thematically and centred on weekly principle themes: Leadership and quality of life; Youth and Women Leadership; Leadership and Ethnicity; and Leadership and Peace building.

Preceding the campaign, qualitative research whose core aim was to identify the current perceptions on concepts of leadership and governance as well as to identify knowledge gaps and conception/misconceptions on these issues was conducted. Desktop research was concurrently carried out by senior researchers of the University of Nairobi in order to find a more academic evidence base that could inform the campaign.

This was followed by a Leadership Workshop (Sept 2006), in order to identify and prioritize emergent issues both in content and nature and secondly, to build consensus on the formulation of responses to these key issues to be conveyed in messages during the media campaign.

Informed by this research, MFAF compiled a 'Moderators Training Manual' and organized a five-day training workshop for all TV and radio moderators in order to ensure that the campaign themes messages were well understood and communicated effectively.

Prior to the start of the campaign, a quantitative survey in follow up to the qualitative survey was conducted with the view to explore in-depth the public's understanding, perceptions and evaluation on the practice of leadership and governance in Kenya.

The introduction of this cross media communication strategy, promoting 'effective leadership and best practices of governance' came with its challenges. The campaign itself was expensive, and at inception, required timely financing and logistical support. Any lapse therefore meant a shift in planning and implementation. Some elements of the campaign like the SMS learning program were insufficiently acknowledged by the donors and were financed by MFAF themselves with scarce resources.

The Bill Board campaign and the Open Air Concert had to be called off due to financial constraints. In addition, being a new player in the Kenyan market place meant that MFAF had to establish a base, systems, and networks, recruit staff, plan, and implement its pilot project within a compressed period.

On content and nature of the campaign, there was at times suspicion amongst MFAF partners - including the media - as to the political intentions of the campaign. Partners and implementing agencies had to be convinced that the campaign was purely educational in nature and intention despite the fact that it aimed to spark off debate.

However, this debate aimed to focus on issues and not on personalities or specific political parties. It took some time before some partners and implementing agencies fully understood MFAF's vision and mission resulting in serious time delays.

Obtaining prime time slots within a short period on key broadcasting stations called for intense negotiations, bargaining, and sometimes lobbying especially taking into account the newness of the organization and lack of sufficient knowledge in the mechanics of the Kenyan media. It took time before this was settled.

However that notwithstanding, the campaign marked the entry of a new era for the media and civil society who both participated impressively as well as the public at large. Based on their cooperation and enthusiasm one of the core MFAF objectives were namely to create a national media platform for debate and review on issues of leadership and governance was achieved.

This contributed to an alternative civic education national leadership discourse platform in which over 75 civil society organisations, corporate leaders and government officials participated.

Kenyan civil society, as well as the media appeared to be unified in their support and participation during the campaign and expressed the need to develop a common communication agenda for change. Most candidly crucial issues effecting Kenyan society were discussed in all radio and TV programmes. (see chapter 6. Thematic Highlights)

According to the media impact study carried out by the Steadman Group an estimated 6.5 million Kenyans of ages 15 and above was reached by the campaign. However it must be stated that their research methodologies were limited in reach and mainly based on the urban population. Audience figures for the rural areas were only depending on estimations and extrapolation.

A majority of the polled people (more then 50%) who proved to be exposed to the campaign (in total 25% of a sample of 1000) said that they would be more cautious in the future when electing a leader and showed levels of enhanced awareness on criteria of good leadership. However, pre- post campaign results also reveal inconsistencies in their thinking about leadership. For instance, after the campaign one is still prepared as much as before, to accept bribes and handouts during the elections – free money -, however now, it will not influence their leadership choices as much (drop of 14%) as the base line study indicated, held just before the campaign. \*

Taken into consideration the relative short duration of the campaign and despite the fact that it run as pilot project with many lessons to be learned, we may conclude that, the 2006 edition of ‘The Kenyan Leadership Month in the Media’ was widely seen to be an successful event. This was confirmed by all people participating in the campaign such as representatives from civil society, the corporate world and government as well as based on reactions from the public at large.

*\* Pre-and post evaluative study on perceptions and understanding of leadership and governance -  
Staedman Group.*



There seemed to be consensus about the fact that the 'Leadership Month' had made a difference in Kenyans expectations of their leaders which would likely affect their choices during the electoral process.

We wish to acknowledge with gratitude the support we received from our advisory council which was represented by:

- Mary Njuguna - SNV
- Allyce Kureiya - SNV
- Dr William Ogara - CORAT AFRICA
- Janet Awimbo - PACT KENYA
- Linet Misati - UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
- Korrir Singoeie - CENTER FOR MINORITY RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT
- Jerry Okungu - NEPAD
- Lucy Maikweki - POPULATION SERVICES INTERNATIONAL
- Dr. Julius Oladipo - LEADERSHIP CONSULTANT
- Dr. Eric Aligula - KIPPRA (Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis)
- On invitation Simekha Joseph - PROJECTS AND ALLIED CONSULTANTS

However all this would not have been possible were it not for the generous financial support MFAF received from its donors namely:

- The Royal Netherlands Embassy - Kenya
- Department For International Development (DFID - Kenya)
- The Finnish Embassy - Kenya
- ICCO - Netherlands
- Intervida World Alliance (INWA) - Spain
- CORDAID - Netherlands, and all the local and international partners

The Second Edition of "The Kenyan Leadership Month"- 'Uongozi bora ni maendeleo' campaign is expected to take place in the months of August /September 2007, in anticipation of the up-coming December elections, and will focus more than in 2006 - on political leadership and the role civil society can play in determining the political landscape in Kenya. This year we will organise a 6-week campaign under the umbrella of: Leadership & Quality of Life with the following sub-themes: 1.Resource Allocation 2. Public Service Delivery, 3. Health & Education 4. Infrastructure & Development 5. Ethnicity & Unemployment and Peace & Security.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Media Focus on Africa Foundation, Kenya, implemented ‘The Annual Kenyan Leadership Month in the Media’ 2006 as a pilot for a series of three envisaged campaigns in November/December 2006, promoting the virtues of ‘effective leadership’ and ‘good governance’.

Democracy and good governance are generally seen as key ingredients for socio-economic development and a guarantee for peace. However, the building of democratic societies depends on the existence of a leadership that understands, embraces and practically demonstrates democratic ideals as well as a public that understands that the leadership one gets depends on the process of making informed choices.

By mobilizing public opinion on issues of leadership and governance, MFAF introduced an innovative and effective tool in the empowerment of large sections of the Kenyan population on leadership and governance.

Through the enhancement of deeper awareness and the transfer of knowledge, MFAF facilitated a conscious national debate in order to review leadership issues in Kenya and its relation to good governance. The campaign aimed at empowering civil society – as potential agents of change - and the public at large to demand for good governance and greater accountability and transparency by its leadership.

## 1.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

MFAF undertook a four-week media campaign ‘Uongozi bora ni Maendaleo’ on radio, TV and the print media. The campaign also included a national SMS learning program and website whose objective was to address the subject of ‘leadership’. It conducted extensive research and facilitated this communication process, in close co-operation with civil society in Kenya and in partnership with mainstream media organisations.

The campaign featured four themes:

1. Leadership & Quality of Life
2. Youth & Women Leadership
3. Leadership & Ethnicity
4. Leadership & Peace Building

During the campaign, radio and TV programming included prominent TV and radio panel discussion programmes on topical leadership and governance issues; radio phone-in discussion programmes and weekly radio and TV episodes of existing and popular educational soaps with specifically written scripts on leadership and governance issues in English and Kiswahili. Finally, daily satirical radio mini soaps with dialogues between a bad and a good leader were also utilised. To promote these programmes daily electronic Promo's and other announcements such news coverage of MFAF press conferences were made on radio and TV.

On Radio 70 shows:

- 42 Radio phone-in discussion programs over 9 stations
- 8 Episodes of the educational “Tembea na Majira” (KBC)
- 20 Satirical mini soaps over 7 FM stations – horizontally programmed – with 4 daily re-runs on each of the 7 stations at 8am, noon, 6pm, 10 pm.

On TV 15 shows:

- 5 Broadcasts of ‘Newline’ on Kenyan TV Network (KTN);
- 4 Broadcasts of ‘Face the Nation’ on Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC);
- 4 Documentary films on African and Kenyan leadership issues on KTN;
- 2 Episodes of the KBC TV Soap ‘Makutano Junction’;

## **1.2 GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN**

The goal of the campaign was to attain and sustain good governance in Kenya through quality leadership based on meritocracy.

The objectives of the campaign were:

1. To broadcast a wide range of radio and televisions programmes on issues of leadership and good governance.
2. To provide access to a wide range of sources of information on leadership and good governance to Kenyan audiences in order to:
  - Recognize, appreciate and understand the elements that make for good leadership.
  - Encourage public reviews and discussions of examples of good and poor practice of governance in Kenya.
  - Encourage debate and consensus on what should be done to improve the current state of affairs in Kenya.
3. To support the evolvement, development and institutionalization of good leadership in Kenya.

4. To bring the concept of leadership into people's ordinary discussions and encourage them to voice their own opinions about their leaders based on a clearer understanding of good and bad practices of leadership and governance.
5. To encourage civil society to develop a common communication agenda to promote leadership and good governance through mainstream media.

## 2. RESEARCH

### 2.1 Step 1: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Preceding the campaign a series of approximately 16 Focus Group Discussions (FDG's) and 30 In-Depth Interviews with Kenyan leaders were executed by the Steadman Group, assisted by senior researcher of the Kenyan Institute for Public policy Research Analysis (KIPPRA) and of the University of Nairobi (UoN) in order to sophisticate the research methodologies.

The FDG's and IDI's were conducted in urban, peri-urban and rural areas, with representatives of a range of civil society organizations, local government representatives, trade unions, community and religious organizations, research institutes and individuals.

Core aim of this research was to identify the current perceptions on concepts of leadership and governance as well as to identify the knowledge gaps on these issues in order to be able to address these during the campaign.

#### 2.1.1 Key Findings on Perceptions on Leadership & Governance

The financial status of individuals seeking leadership positions is seen as one of the key determinant when making choices of leaders, especially political leaders. Indeed, to many of the respondents, being propertied and having a strong financial status (never mind the sources of the finances) is in itself a representation of "leadership." Evidence of having money is seen as "ability to help your people." This makes it difficult for credible leaders to emerge based on their ability and position on important issues.

Fewer respondents perceived the following factors as being important in determining leadership choices:

- Education
- Public speaking and social skills
- Talent - (respondents in Mombasa and Kitui perceive education as unnecessary when one has a "leadership talent")
- Creativity, and Charisma
- Technical skill
- Increased civic education amongst the public

*“In African continent as a whole you will find that most leaders are being elected because they are financially stable because when given a task of organizing others you are ready to assist the ones who are not in a position” – Respondent in Kakamega*

*“The need to have a meal on the table for the family overrides the need to select leaders who are credible. Kibera residents perceive it as a trade off, whereby I benefit and you benefit.....poverty contributes in that if my children are hungry and someone can buy your vote I will sell my vote, I benefit him while he benefits me.” – Respondent in Kibera, Nairobi*

*We will look out for a person with cash because we do not just need a leader who will listen and has nothing. – Respondent in Isiolo*

*“Money is a factor but when they elect somebody on financial grounds; there are also other aspects that people look at but you see money is an added advantage for you to be a leader. We start with the basic then we come to money despite how you got it; money is a factor.” – Respondent from Kajiado*

### 2.1.2 Suggestions to issues affecting Kenyans

The biggest threat to the Kenyan society's efforts to entrench a culture of quality leadership and good governance is seen as the fragmented nature of the Kenyan society along ethnic, religious, and sectarian lines. Kenyans do not perceive themselves as one people with a common identity. Most respondents believe that if Kenya had at least one national unifying factor, this challenge would be surmounted. The widespread use of Kiswahili in Tanzania is seen as one such nationally unifying factor for Tanzanians.

Respondents also see solutions aimed at change of attitude and nurturing of proactive collective responsibility towards building quality leadership and good governance as standing a better chance of achieving the desired effects. This is especially seen as the antidote to tribalism and the catalyst for a more accommodative Kenyan population. In order to minimize tribalism and other divisions, socialization of children should encourage nationalistic feelings from an early age; therefore, primary school curricula and the national education policy should support and incorporate this.\*

*“The first and most important thing is for us to sensitize the people that the power to have leadership lies with them so I think that is the only way we can do it because we can have good constitution and have very bad leaders.” – Respondent in Kisumu*

*“Even us we should be truthful. I think if you see there is someone doing wrong you don't keep quiet. Set an example and the rest will follow. – Respondent in Likoni*

\* See full study: 'Perceptions on Leadership & Governance in Kenya' a stedman Group's Research Report prepared by Projects & Allied Consultants Ltd [www.mediafocusafrica.org/html/reports.html](http://www.mediafocusafrica.org/html/reports.html)

## **2.2 Step 2: DESKTOP RESEARCH**

A series of consultations with the MFAF's advisory board resulted in the choice of the thematic areas of focus – mentioned above. In order to find a good evidence base that would inform the campaign and accentuate the realization of accurate and reliable academically researched information and data on the themes, MFAF contracted senior researchers from the University of Nairobi's Institute for Development Studies (IDS) to develop and apply appropriate methodology for desktop research. Through the research, the outcome was the compilation of an extensive eighty-page document on the five themes of the campaign which is currently being considered for publication.

The 'Five Chapters on Leadership': available upon request.

## **2.3 Step 3: THE LEADERSHIP WORKSHOP**

Media Focus on Africa Foundation (MFAF) in collaboration with its Advisory Committee, SNV, and CORAT Africa convened a two-day content development workshop for its 2006 Leadership Month campaign.

The workshop brought together 40 organizations with representation of our primary stakeholders in the Leadership Month campaign, including MFAF partners, representatives of civil society organizations, international development organizations, leadership and governance experts, moderators, and editors of TV and radio discussion programs. Representatives of media houses and as well as PR companies involved in the November 2006 Leadership Month media campaign were also invited.

The overall objective of the workshop was, firstly, to identify and prioritize key issues that were emerging during the deliberations both in content and in nature. Secondly it aimed to build consensus on the formulation of responses to these key issues to be conveyed in messages during the media campaign.

The workshop embraced the concept of the campaign whole-heartedly and reached a broad based consensus concerning the preferred key issues that would be translated into messages to be conveyed during the media campaign. The workshop secured also a broad consensus on the various categories of preferred target groups as well as the campaign style, tone and language.

## 2.4 Step 4: MODERATORS TRAINING

To ensure that the linkages between leadership and governance according the respective campaign themes messages were well understood and communicated effectively, MFAF organized a five-day training workshop for all TV and radio moderators. For this purpose, a 'Moderators Training Manual' for moderators was prepared by our governance consultants 'Projects & Allied' and was critically discussed in depth during the workshop.

The overall objective of the training was to equip the moderators with information and to add to their knowledge and experience in leadership and good governance. \*

## 2.5 Step 5: THE BASE LINE SURVEY

One week before the actual start of the campaign, November 5th 2006, MFAF in collaboration with the Steadman Group conducted a base line survey. The study was conducted on a national scale between 30th October and 4th November 2006. The principle focus of this study was to explore the public's understanding, perceptions, and evaluation on the practice of leadership and governance in Kenya. The survey was a follow up to the qualitative study (Focus Group Discussions and In-Depth Interviews) by way of a quantitative methodology. The qualitative findings informed the basis of the questionnaire of the quantitative phase.

This study explored more in-depth the public's opinion and attitudes on four leadership categories, namely: Community, political, religious, and administrative. The underlying premise of this approach was that these leadership categories constitute the most visible or overt forms of leadership and therefore the ones the public relates to most.

According to the qualitative findings, a leader's financial ability is a core emotive driver towards leadership selection. This is not a contradiction, as a financial aspect plays an inherent role at emotive level. The prevailing state of poverty amongst Kenyans has to a great extent contributed towards this. \*\*

*\* A moderators Training Manual for the "Annual Leadership month in the media 2006" Promoting leadership and good governance through a multi media campaign in Kenya. Compiled by MFAF and Edited by Simekha JME*

*\*\* See full study: 'Perceptions on Leadership & Governance in Kenya' a stedman Group's Research Report prepared by Projects & Allied Consultants Ltd [www.mediafocusonafrika.org/html/reports.html](http://www.mediafocusonafrika.org/html/reports.html)*



### 3. CAMPAIGN BRANDING

MFAF together with the Scan Ad Group/McCann Kenya developed a logo, photos, and a slogan to give the campaign its own identity. Branding helped to develop the uniqueness of the campaign and created awareness of the same.

MFAF defined the campaign objectives, and jointly with the Scan Ad team, strategised on where to remain most visible. Messages were thematically tailored and cut out for the various target audiences. Creativity, choice of the mediums and the formats applied, set the campaign in motion.

MFAF also commissioned the Scan Ad group to design slogans and produce pictures along thematic lines. The pictures were shot on locations in Kenya and captured on sites that were relevant to the campaign and could easily be identify by with the target groups. Theses images were used in both the print (half - page weekly messages and advertisements in the Standard Newspaper along the theme of the week) and in electronic media that run before and after the television debates, through the entire campaign period.

The following campaign slogans were applied:

1. Leadership & Quality of Life 1:  
‘Good leaders ensure better lives for everyone; not just for themselves’
2. Leadership & Quality of Life 2:  
Good leadership means a better future for our children’
3. Women Leadership:  
‘Women can make great leaders. Some even give birth to whole movements’
4. Youth Leadership:  
‘Given a chance, young leaders can give Kenya a fresh start’
5. Leadership & Ethnicity  
‘There are many qualities to a leader; tribe is not one of them’
6. Leadership & Peace Building:  
‘True leaders get people work together, not against each other’

*\* For Campaign Identity Press Ads see: [www.mediafocusafrica.org/html/campaign.html](http://www.mediafocusafrica.org/html/campaign.html)*

## 4. RADIO PROGRAMMING LEADERSHIP CAMPAIGN

On Radio there were in total 70 shows:

- 42 Radio phone-in discussion programs over 9 stations
- 8 Episodes of the educational soap ‘Tembea na Majira’
- 20 Satirical mini soaps over 7 FM stations – horizontally programmed – with 4 daily re-runs on each of the 7 stations at 8am, noon, 6pm, 10 pm

### 4.1 THE RADIO TALKS SHOWS

A total of 42 radio phone-in and discussion programmes ran across nine (9) radio stations over the four-week media campaign period.

MFAF sponsored the biggest and most popular existing talk shows in Kenya and in others, created new talk show formats where required. The topic of the week would concurrently run in all talk shows across the stations harmoniously over a period of four weeks along the thematic areas.

The talk shows were hosted by respected recognized presenters of the station. MFAF was next to the content also responsible for selecting and inviting the guests/panellists, based on their expertise of the topic of the week.

Short 10sec advert stabs would run in between segments of the shows to highlight the month, the message, partners, and sponsors as well as to encourage people to participate in the SMS Leadership Quiz.

	PROGRAMME	SHOW HOST	LANGUAGE
Kenya Broadcasting Corporation	‘Maoni Yenu’ Talk Show	Leonard Mambo	Swahili
Citizen Radio	‘Good-Evening Kenya’ Talk Show	Kamau Munyua	Swahili
Citizen Radio	‘Roga-Roga’ Music/Talk show	Fred Obachi	Swahili/English and vernacular
Easy FM	‘Evening Talk’ Talk Show	Bernard Otieno	English
Kiss FM	‘Cross-Fire’ Talk Show	Paul Ilado	English

Classic FM	Kivumbi' Talk Show	Granton	Swahili/English
Metro FM	'Metro breakfast' Talk Show	Fanuel Odera	English
Capital FM	'Saturday Breakfast Talk'	Esther Arunga	English
Hope FM	'Spotlight' evening talk	Mukwanja Franklin	English
East FM	'Mid-Morning Talk' Talk Show	Pravin Adam	English

*See Annex 1: Rationale Choice of Radio Stations*

#### 4.2 RADIO SOAP 'TEMBEA NA MAJIRA'

Besides the talk shows, the radio campaign featured four (4) episodes of the popular educational TV soap "Tembea na Majira" with specially written scripts on leadership and governance that were broadcasted once a week with one re-run each week (8 in total) on KBC Swahili Service.

Tembea Na Majira (Move with the Times) is a weekly radio soap opera, broadcast nationally in Kenya in Kiswahili. The soap is 15 minutes long and set in a rural agricultural zone. Originally, the content was purely agricultural, but it was expanded to include socio-political and economic issues.

MFAF, scriptwriters and producers worked out how the messages could be woven into a storyline and which characters will carry them. Characters were introduced and developed for both dramatic and educational functions. Most scriptwriters were well grounded in the subject matter.

The Soap had a system of audience feedback sessions in the field and was accompanied by a magazine program called Sikizia Ueruvuke (Listen and Be Enlightened), which provides factual information about social issues. The magazine is also 15 minutes long and includes interviews with ordinary people in the rural areas, a Tip of the Week, listeners' letters and competitions. Plenty of songs and music keep the program lively.

### 4.3 MINI-SOAPS

Furthermore, we incorporated within our radio campaign formats daily mini soaps across all stations in line with the theme of the week. These (20) mini soaps (5 times a week) with an approximate length of 2 minutes each – spoken in a mixture of English and Swahili - were satirical in nature, featuring a dialogue between a good and a bad leader which aimed to equally inform and entertain the public.

This radio campaign format was designed to capture audiences across the board by offering them ‘a slice of life’ to ensure that there was wide reach, and to realize maximum impact.

The soaps were rolled out as episodes; to create loyal following throughout the campaign period and topics, because of the suspense created to find out what the main character does next. Lastly, the mini soaps were horizontally programmed and broadcasted during 20 days just before the news on different prime time slots, 4 times a day, over 8 stations involved during the campaign.

MFAF have received numerous and very interesting feed back from people traveling in cars and on public transport around the country who recounted experiences of debates with other travelers during their trips sparked off by the catchy messages.

*See Annex 2: Four Examples of the Mini Soap*

### 4.4 PRESENTER MENTIONS

MFAF also had the leading presenters on each station endorse the month by talking it up during music breaks and providing updates on the topics of the week and driving the listeners towards the talk shows, talking up the mini-soaps, encouraging them to sample the SMS learning programme and website. The Presenter talk ups breathed life into the campaign with each of them using their own style to drive it. The mentions also gave the campaign an authentic and non-partisan feel because the presenters endorsing it were people the listeners revered and trusted.

#### 4.5 GAMING/TEASERS

MFAF developed a range of gaming elements to perk interest, test and reward listeners understanding the leadership campaign; however large prizes were limited so we could only do this on a select few stations. The idea was to question listeners on what they heard in the leadership Mini Soaps and topics discussed on talk shows.

## 5. TELEVISION PROGRAMMING LEADERSHIP CAMPAIGN

On TV we ran 15 shows:

- 5 Broadcasts of 'Newslane' on Kenyan TV Network (KTN);
- 4 Broadcasts of 'Face the Nation' on Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC);
- 2 Episodes of the KBC TV Soap 'Makutano Junction'
- 4 Documentaries

### 5.1 KTN

This is a free to air privately owned television station with mostly urban appeal and upwardly mobile audience with a majority of upper and middle class viewers in Kenya's most populated urban and peri-urban areas. At the time of the campaign, the station had its footprints in the following towns and their environs; Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru, Meru and Nyeri.

#### 5.1.1 NEWSLINE (KTN)

This is the leading local Talk show in the country with an estimated audience of more than a million. It's hosted by one of the most respected talk show journalists in Kenya with immense experience in live television interviews. The show is renowned for hosting various prominent personalities from diverse disciplines

Regularly, the program hosts one guest with live call-in sessions but during our campaign, there were a minimum of three guests per show and a live audience of up to twenty people. The guests and members of the audience were picked based on their areas of specialisation and within the thematic topics. They were drawn from civil society, religious organisations, private sector, and political parties and in some instances government.

### 5.2 KBC

This is a free to air public/state owned television station with the widest national reach. It broadcasts to most parts of the country including all the major towns and rural areas. As such, its programming appeals to a cross section of social economic groups spanning the AB, C1, C2 and D social groups. Like in Radio, KBC television advantages are its heritage-having been established before independence, national coverage, urban plus rural audience and a stable of local programming.

### 5.3 FACE THE NATION (KBC)

As the Leading talk show in the National broadcaster, Face the Nation like Newslane, hosts personalities from diverse disciplines but whose approach in debates differ in style. Ordinarily this is a live program but for the campaign, it was a pre-recorded show [KBC has no live broadcast facilities] whose content was edited prior to airing.

During the campaign, MFAF had control over the content and style of the debates. MFAF collaborated with the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) to provide co-moderation and the panellists for the shows.

### 5.4 TELEVISION SOAP “MAKUTANO JUNCTION” (KBC)

‘Makutano Junction’ is an innovative television drama, based in a fictitious Kenyan village, which was set up to feature information on education, sustainable rural livelihoods, health, governance and other societal issues that matter to the people in an informative yet entertaining manner. The programme is broadcast in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, and in Kenya alone has 5 million regular viewers. The opportunity to reach previously unattainable audiences through television, in more remote parts of Kenya is enormous.

Makutano Junction has reached 5 million regular viewers in Kenya alone, broadcasting through the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). In Kenya, television ownership has increased dramatically in the last six years, from 23% of households owning a TV set in 1998, to 34% in 2004. 50% of TV owners live in rural areas and this trend is set to continue. \*

MFAF ensured that scripts along the thematic areas were written and that the producers were grounded on the subject matter. Leadership is one of the key re-curing issues throughout series two of Makutano Junction. The importance of good leadership at all different levels of a community, styles, and qualities of a good and bad leader are dramatized and discussed at length and the verdict is left for the people to make.

\* See: Web Page from ‘Makutano Junction.org’ on page 24





## Development Issues Leadership

Leadership is one of the key reoccurring issues throughout series two of Makutano Junction. The importance of good leadership at all different levels of a community is emphasised through various characters and their interlinking lives. Media Focus on Africa (MFoA) is the organisation that has informed and directed much of the story content on leadership. The main leadership issues addressed through the series are summarized below.

### What makes a good leader?

The question of what makes a good leader is important, as it will eventually influence one's choice of leader. Deciding on a good leader requires you to know what the characteristics of a good leader are and to be able to recognise them.

For the people of Makutano a leadership choice has to be made between Mr Mabuki and Mr Mulani for town Councillor. In the end Mr Mabuki wins on his qualities as a good leader.

### The MFoA have devised the following list of elements that make up good leadership.

1. Integrity, honesty, compassion, ability to stand well under praise
2. Uncorrupted, accountable, transparent. Selfless, promoting the welfare of the people
3. Decisiveness, self-confidence, ability to recognise one's limitations
4. Consensus building (political/tribal/gender), respect for other opinions
5. Competent, openness to new ideas, vision, the love for peace
6. Respect for the rule of law/constitution, respect for human rights
7. Ability to surround oneself with competent subordinates
8. Ability to train others to become leaders/successors
9. Ability to mobilise forces towards national goals and values
10. Ability to build a democratic culture of civic decision-making

*Excerpts of Makutano Junction Soap as appears in their website*



## 5.5 DOCUMENTARIES ON KTN

A total of four documentaries were aired on KTN TV. Three were existing international documentaries on African leadership & governance issues. These films were acquired by MFAF from international producers/distributors. All films were selectively chosen on criteria of content and quality.

Given the fact that documentaries are scarce on private and/or public Kenyan broadcasting corporations it took hard work to convince the Kenyan media houses to program these films. For the international stories we sadly enough we had to satisfy ourselves with off-prime time slot such as the Saturday afternoons. Only a film with the subject of the making of the Kenyan constitution made it on a Thursday 9.30 pm. is consequently scored very high in the audience figures.

The films screened were: \*

- 'Africa – who is to blame?' BBC Four
- 'The Tall Man with the Long Shadow' Journey Man Pictures, UK
- 'It's My Life', Day Zero, South Africa
- 'The Making of the Kenyan Constitution. The Executive' Visual Communications, Netherlands. (Produced in co-operation with Media Focus on Africa)

**The Executive; The making of a constitution:** To this day, Kenya has been struggling to draw up a new constitution; a constitution that would guarantee the rights of everyone, ensure equitable distribution of power and wealth, a constitution that would see the country elevate itself from tribal suspicions to more ethnic inclusivity, all in the interest of national development. The process of constitution making begun in earnest shortly before the 1997 general elections but it was not until 2003 that the constituent assembly set up the year before sat to discuss the draft constitution. This draft was the culmination of the work of The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC). The documentary that we ran last, on December 22nd 2006, was half hour long and focused on this process of constitution making with special emphasis on the tent that discussed The Executive chapter of the draft. The documentary follows the discussions in the tent unobtrusively, recording the goings on without any attempts at analysing or offering an opinion on the process. It used shots not hitherto seen on Kenyan TV on the process and showed Kenyan leaders at work. Leaders were seen negotiating positions, arguing their points of view in order to convince their opponents on the values of each other's arguments and therefore position on the draft. The Executive was produced and directed by the award winning, world acclaimed documentaries producer, Fleur Van Dissel as pilot production for a bigger, more elaborate production on the entire process of Constitution making.

\* See Annex 3: See rationale and description documentaries

## **6. THEMATIC HIGHLIGHTS ON RADIO AND TV DEBATES**

### **6.1 THEME 1: LEADERSHIP AND QUALITY OF LIFE**

Each week saw one of the selected themes intensely debated on radio and TV.

Based on the 'Moderators Manual' we had selected the linkages between the theme and these themes related to issues of leadership and governance.

For week 1 (November 5th till 12th 2006) we selected the theme 'Leadership & Quality of Life' and formulated the following objectives we wanted to achieve:

#### **6.1.1 Objectives**

1. To transfer knowledge on the relationships between leadership, good governance, management of public resources and quality of life;
2. To encourage debate on the relationships between citizens and public resources and citizens' potential role in management of public resources;
3. To promote better understanding on the importance of good leadership and best practises of governance in the use and management of public and natural resources;
4. To discuss the most effective agenda to improving the quality of life of Kenyans through effective leadership;
5. To discuss the role of the media in promoting effective leadership in the interest of fair and equitable distribution of public resource.

#### **6.1.2 Thematic recommendations**

- Perpetrators of corruption within the political establishment must be prosecuted to avoid further plunder of public resources. Anti-corruption laws must become efficient and rigorously implemented.
- Government must eliminate public resource wastage and land grabbing.
- There is need to strengthen and depoliticize the running of institutions of governance in the country for instance through the institution of an independent watchdog.
- The writing and enactment of a new constitution should be expedited.
- Citizens must fully exercise their responsibility in ensuring that public resources are efficiently managed.
- Citizens must scrutinise their leaders before electing them. There is need to elect leaders of integrity and proven record. Those holding elective posts and are tainted should be voted out.
- The power to change bad leadership rests with the people who must use their vote wisely.

- There is need for more civic education on issues of human and democratic rights, equitable allocation of resources and on how to more effectively participate in the decision-making.
- People must be able to make informed choices when electing leaders.
- Campaigns of this nature must be encouraged so that people can discuss topical issues.

### • The Question of the Week:

Does Leadership affect your Quality of Life?

### • Key Issues Emerging from debates on Quality of Life:

Our Leaders could take society much higher standards of living if they would understand and respect the relationship between people's livelihoods and good governance.

Lack o good leadership in Kenya breeds endemic corruption, poor economic performance, unemployment, and rising poverty among other social vices. These set backs in turn contribute to social, economic and political underdevelopment in Kenya

More than 60% of Kenyans live in poverty as a direct consequence of bad governance by poor quality leadership. A country's leadership determines the quality of the life of its people

If we had good Leadership we would achieve rapid economic growth and development, and improved standards of living

Good leadership is honest, accountable, and transparent and can ensure equity in the distribution of resources.

Bad leadership in Kenya has manifested itself mostly in the concentration of power in the office of the presidency with benefits skewed towards specific individuals.

Good Leadership is NOT just about performance and delivery. It is about changing the quality of people's lives.

There is a Need for national values

Lack of political will hampers the enabling of governance structures to check leadership

Leadership must take responsibility for their actions.

## **6.2 THEME 2: YOUTH LEADERSHIP**

### **6.2.1 Objectives**

1. To facilitate debate on the participation of young people in leadership and public life and decision making in Kenya in general;
2. To facilitate debate on inter-generational equity and its position in the development of society;
3. To facilitate discussion and better understanding on factors that work against effective involvement of young people in leadership;
4. To discuss the merits of active involvement of young people in our country's leadership;
5. To discuss the most effective agenda to improving youth's participation in leadership;
6. To discuss the role of the media in promoting the just cause of young people in Kenya's leadership.

### **6.2.2 Thematic recommendations**

- The first responsibility is with the young people, they should present themselves to compete for and take up leadership roles. If there is no place for them in the traditional political parties ruled by the old establishment then they must consider starting their own political movements.
- There has to be deliberate official policy and practice to address intergenerational equity in order to redress the imbalances we see in Kenya's leadership. Competing for leadership roles without addressing the structural hindrances will not make any significant change.
- Official support to youth development should not be limited to the corporate world. Not all young people are cut out for business. Youth leadership development programmes also deserve official support.
- Young leaders should communicate what they stand for and have to offer and not just market age. They must have a communicable profile that can attract attention for them to communicate their leadership agenda.
- If equity were to be exercised in the allocation of national resources, more young people would be developed and come up as alternative across the country.

- **The Question of the Week:**

Can the youth be trusted with Leadership?

- **Key Issues Emerging from debates on Youth Leadership:**

Participation of young people will enable and groom them to put to use their leadership potential.

Young people have demonstrated exemplary leadership performance in the civil society and in the private sector, why not in political leadership.

Participation gives young people opportunities to make decision on what concerns them. They constitute with 70% the majority of the Kenyan population

The youth have been deliberately and systematically marginalised and are perceived as incapable or inexperienced owing to societal and cultural prejudices. They are “political tools” for hire by the “old foxes.”

The onus to change the leadership situation in Kenya lies most with young citizens. They could offer freshness and new impetus.

No succession mechanism exists to translate young people into leadership positions.

Kenya has a historical record of young people making a visible difference in political leadership; e.g. Tom Mboya, Paul Muite, James Orengo. Why not anymore today?

### 6.3 THEME 3: WOMAN LEADERSHIP

#### 6.3.1 Objectives

1. To facilitate debate on improving participation of women in leadership and public life in Kenya;
2. To facilitate debate on gender equity and its benefits for development of society;
3. To understand and facilitate discussion on factors that work against effective involvement of work in leadership in Kenya;

4. To discuss the merits of improved participation of women in our country's leadership;
5. To discuss the most effective agenda to improving women's participation in leadership;
6. To discuss the role of the media in promoting the just cause of women in leadership.

#### 6.3.2 Thematic recommendations

- Government through affirmative action must deliberately enact structured policy to remove structural, social, political, cultural, and social constraints that undermine women's participation in leadership.
- Government invest in developing and supporting women in economic and political leadership. There should be government supported leadership skills development programmes.
- The media should actively promote the agenda of equitable participation of women in leadership and decision making as a national agenda and not a women's agenda.

#### • The Question of the Week:

Can Woman be trusted with Leadership?

#### • Key Issues Emerging from debates on Woman Leadership:

Women constitute slightly more than half of the Kenyan population. It is their right to pursue and exercise leadership roles in numbers proportional to their numeric strength.

Women play a widely acknowledged vital role in resource production (85% of the national agricultural production is generated by women), yet their importance is not reflected in decision-making processes on resource allocation that determine socio-political and economic development.

Like the youth, women have been deliberately and systematically marginalised by the political elite.

The women are being perceived as fractious and divided.

The media has not played its role in making a strong case for women leadership but has instead demeaned them.

Women have unique needs that are best represented in decision-making processes at all levels by women leaders. Our policy and legislative environment will best reflect response to such needs when there are substantive numbers of women leaders in our institutions, which is not the case now.

An increase in the number of women in leadership will bring in a diversity of skills, knowledge, experiences, and style.

Women have unique skills and talent and given an opportunity will demonstrate these abilities.

#### **6.4 Theme 4: LEADERSHIP AND ETHNICITY**

##### **6.4.1 Objectives:**

1. To review the negative impact of negative ethnicity/tribalism on society and its effect on upholding principles of governance in Kenya;
2. To appreciate the importance of objective leadership in promoting national goals and values;
3. To appreciate how good governance and democratic leadership devoid of ethnic jingoism are closely related;
4. To understand the relevance of governance and the positive linkages at different levels in society – the family, the community and the state;
5. To examine the role of ethnicity as a major constraint of equitable development;
6. To understand our role as citizens in nurturing good governance devoid of negative ethnicity;
7. To discuss the need of a media promoting national unity.

##### **6.4.2 Thematic Recommendations**

- The leadership and the public at large should openly discuss ethnicity and tribalism. There are prevalent tendencies to deny the existence and effects of negative ethnicity.
- People should be encouraged to celebrate their diversity, openly discuss the place of ethnic unity pacts for political goals.
- Political leaders should stop nurturing ethnic differences as tools for self-preservation.
- There is need for Government to examine the place and role of affirmative action in correcting historical imbalances between Kenyan communities.

- There is urgent need for the development of institutions, institutional mechanisms (entrenched in a new constitution) and processes that recognize meritocracy and equity.
- The principle and practice of participation is critical in ensuring that all citizens have an equal chance to talk about, and be party to, the decisions on how society affairs should be administered by public institutions.
- Good governance should ensure and promote national unity. The presence of good governance promotes the value of national unity in the eyes of all ethnic groups because it guarantees benefits for all regardless of any cultural differences.
- Need for promoting Swahili as a unifying factor. We can learn this from our Tanzanian brothers.

### • The Question of the Week:

How does ethnicity affect good governance?

### • Key Issues Emerging from debates on Leadership and Ethnicity:

Good leadership is all inclusive, is accountable, embraces democracy, respects the rule of law, equity and human rights.

Nothing is wrong with belonging to an ethnic group but negative ethnicity may lead to violent clashes, unemployment, and economic decline.

Ethnicity is selfish and applies practices that are retrogressive. It is deeply rooted in our society.

Ethnicity leads to Inequality in distribution of public resources, employment.

Public appointments and development in some regions is organised on the basis of ethnic-political considerations and is favouring those who are politically correct – read - belong same community.

Ethnicization of politics and political Parties deny parties an opportunity to articulate national issues and agendas. It also labels parties according tribal lines instead of concepts or ideas.



Ethnicity is used by politicians as a tool for self-preservation. The result is violence, internal displacements, and destruction of property – particularly of poor people - as evidenced in the infamous tribal clashes in Western, Rift Valley, and Coast in 1992 and 1997, 1998 and more recently in Molo and Marsabit in the course of this year.

Economic stagnation in some areas across the country is largely attributed to ethnicity.

The media has failed to live up to its responsibility especially when handling the question of ethnicity.

Culture nights, the education system, posting of teachers for instance, to their place of origin etc. are factors that promote ethnicity

Ethnic hegemony/superiority breeds deeply ingrained feelings of hatred. There is the misconception that once a leader is elected, it is his communities 'turn to eat'.

Development considerations in all the three post-independence presidencies, including the current regime are based on ethnicity. Is there hope for this country? What would be the way forward?

Voting patterns by Kenyans are based on tribe. Presidential votes, and recently during the 2005 referendum, are manifestation of ethnicity.

Ethnicity in Kenya is a battle between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' The rich and powerful invoke the names of their communities as they trade deals with their counterparts from other communities as the poor fight and kill each other in the name of "defending their community". Names of communities are now often invoked in defence of individual criminal activity.

The country was divided by colonial masters and the current breed of politicians has perfected the art.

Leadership has turned identity into a commodity.

Kenyans see everything from a tribal eye.

There is a need for civic education and drastic review of our values.

There is need for Kenyans to make bigger demands from the leadership in taking a lead to pacify this country.

## **6.5 Theme 5: LEADERSHIP AND PEACE BUILDING**

### **6.5.1 Objectives:**

1. To appreciate and discuss the relationship between leadership and peace building;
2. To review the role of leaders in nurturing and building a culture of peace;
3. To appreciate and discuss the importance of peace for national development;
4. To discuss and appreciate how good governance and peace are closely related in the sense of equitable allocation of resources;
5. To examine the symbiotic relationship between peace and responsible and prudent management of public affairs by leaders;
6. To understand our role of the media in building a culture of peace.

### **6.5.2 Thematic recommendations**

- Making the right choices while picking our leaders does not mean avoiding conflict, or avoiding strong and difficult emotions. It means confronting potentially volatile situations directly with an open mind, in order to hear the messages. That is a powerful kind of leadership that our country desperately needs.
- Genuine leaders see how to deal with conflict in such a way that new information and understanding are allowed to emerge, leading to emergence of magnificent new solutions.
- It is crucial that our society nurture and train leaders who can deal effectively with questions of peace building in our country.
- Policies and structures that can contribute to strengthening and solidifying peace can be institutions that offer forums for prevention of violence and peaceful conflict transformation.
- Maintenance of law and order is dependant on responsive leadership and good governance practices will reduce security-ensuring safety for all.
- Consultative leadership ensures continuously informed public authorities for proactive maintenance of law and order. Institutionalizing consultations makes key community leaders an important part of a public peace building strategy.

- Sustenance of peace between communities emerging from a conflict situation relies on the honesty and trust of leaders. Insincerity amongst leaders has always been the cause of unending conflicts between communities.
- Good leadership and governance translates into sustainable economic growth and will guarantee equitable access to national resources creating opportunities for citizens who would otherwise engage in desperate coping acts that fuel conflict.
- Leadership and governance structures and processes that recognize meritocracy and equal opportunity for all are peace building pillars. Leadership should uphold and respect these institutions in the interest of peace.
- The power of the media should be used proactively as a peace building tool. Leaders would build a better Kenya with peace building messages than trading hostility through the media.

#### • The Question of the Week:

Is leadership responsible for fostering peace?

#### • Key Issues Emerging from debates on Leadership and Peace Building:

Leadership is instrumental in peace building in any society. Kenya not an island of peace.

Leaders are supposed to make proactive contributions towards structural support for and intensification of peace; this does not usually need to wait for conflicts. Peace building entails the various efforts purposefully undertaken (by leaders) to ensure that people and communities continue to live peacefully

Peace building consists, among other things, of the construction of a deliberate policy framework that supports peace and uphold the rule of law, human rights and social justice

In most cases, the success of peace-building initiatives is largely dependent on the actions and attitudes of leaders, to whom whole communities listen in situations of potential conflict

The leader - as peacemaker – should be able to see cultural diversity as a positive force, and an opportunity to resolve conflict.

A regime that ensures equal rights for every citizen in the country and allows equal access to our national resources ensures peace.

Bad governance practices are being perceived as discriminative against communities will lead to resentment and reactionary coping mechanisms.

Unemployment caused by ethnicity creates conflict.

Battle for the scarce resources such as pasture or water led to many conflicts.

Inequitable resource allocation on the part of government is responsible for conflicts.

Tensions are not necessarily bad, but leadership must harness societal energies for its own good.

There is need to re-examine our value systems and focus more on moral criteria.

Current systems used in peace building are inappropriate.

Structures of governance need to be re-assessed, leadership is not the only problem, structures to enforce good leadership are lacking.

Citizens must practice nationalism by exercising their choices more prudently.

Retrogressive cultural practices e.g. cattle rustling, have in more instances than not, resulted in conflict.

Absence of peace often means prevalence of tensions and destructive conflicts that result into loss of human life, displacement of populations, loss of property, disruption of socio-economic and cultural activities, destruction of the natural environment.

Porous borders and conflicts in neighbouring countries and a combination of other external factors have resulted in the proliferation of small arms and spillovers, thereby creating a potential for conflict within.

## 7. MEDIA IMPACT SURVEY

The objective of the media impact survey was to measure the overall reach and effectiveness of the campaign, more specifically to track the proportions exposed to the campaign and its resulting impact on knowledge and attitude, and measure changes in attitudes and knowledge.

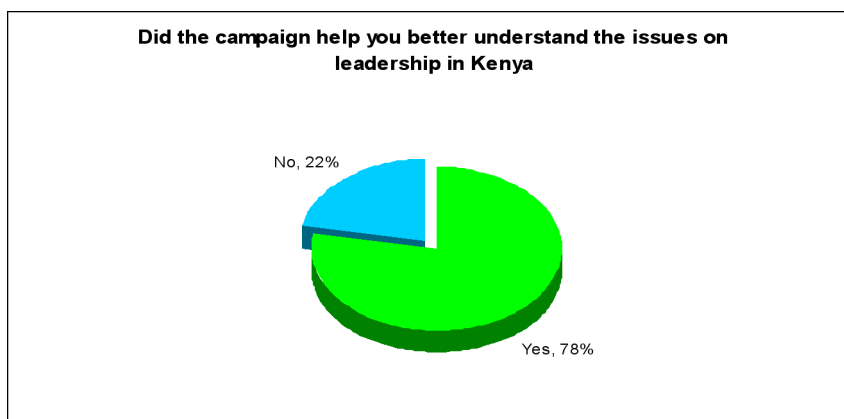
Respondents were asked to recall any campaign adverts, programs or talk shows on good leadership in Kenya that they had seen or heard within the past 3 months period. Overall, all respondents had seen/heard something on leadership within the period of interest, which means that leadership messages are a common feature in our media today. However, specifically 10% gave descriptions that fitted the “Leadership month campaign”. If we project these figures to the national adult population which constitutes 17.4 million (aged 18+) then this would translate to 1.7 million people.

To arrive at an unaided prompt, all respondents were asked if they could specifically recall the ‘Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo’ campaign. For those that answered in the affirmative, they were then asked to describe what they actually saw/heard and these responses were coded as either correctly recalling the campaign or not. From this, 17% gave descriptions that fit the campaign and they represent the unaided prompt recall. When we combine the two categories, those that recorded either spontaneous or unaided recall we have a total of (25%) which translates to 4.4 million aged 18+.

Note: This figure does not reflect a total estimated audience figure for the country as a whole. With caution one can assume that this figure lays around 6.5 million people of aged 15 and above.

For 78% of these 4.4 million people aged 18+ the campaign seemed relevant for their better understanding of issues of leadership in Kenya. \*

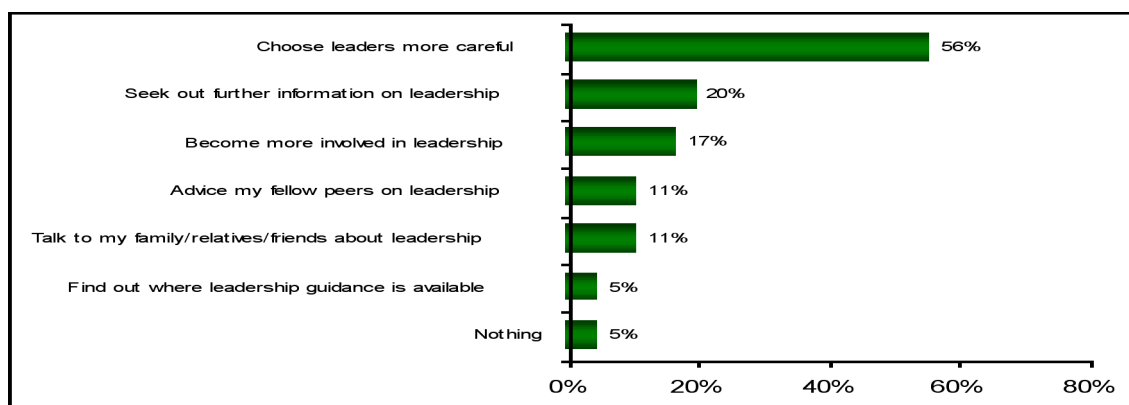
*\* See: Post-evaluative study on perceptions and understanding of Leadership and Governance by the Steadman Group*



*Fig. 3.6 Campaign relevance*

### SOME KEY FINDINGS:

If we focus on the 25% of the total sample (this percentage translates to 4.4 million people) that recalled the campaign spontaneously or had an unaided prompted recall then 56% of those mentioned that they would take more caution in choosing a leader next time, while 20% would seek more information on the leader and an additional 17% would be more involved in leadership. Subsequently, there was an increase in dialogue with 11% wishing to advice their peers and 11% discussing with friends/family. Only 5% would do nothing suggesting that the campaign has not been beneficial them at all.



*Fig. 5 As a result of seeing/hearing the messages what do you intend to do?*

The survey which was carried out approximately 8 weeks after campaign also measured fluctuations in a pre- and post campaign on ratings of political leaders which saw slight changes in satisfaction on preferred criteria adhered to leadership:

Integrity and honesty remain the top attributes in choosing a leader, while gender and age are least important. However, it must be noted that fluctuations are minimal between pre- and post campaign surveys and that there is an increment between pre- and post surveys for those who would choose a female candidate possible as a result of the campaign.

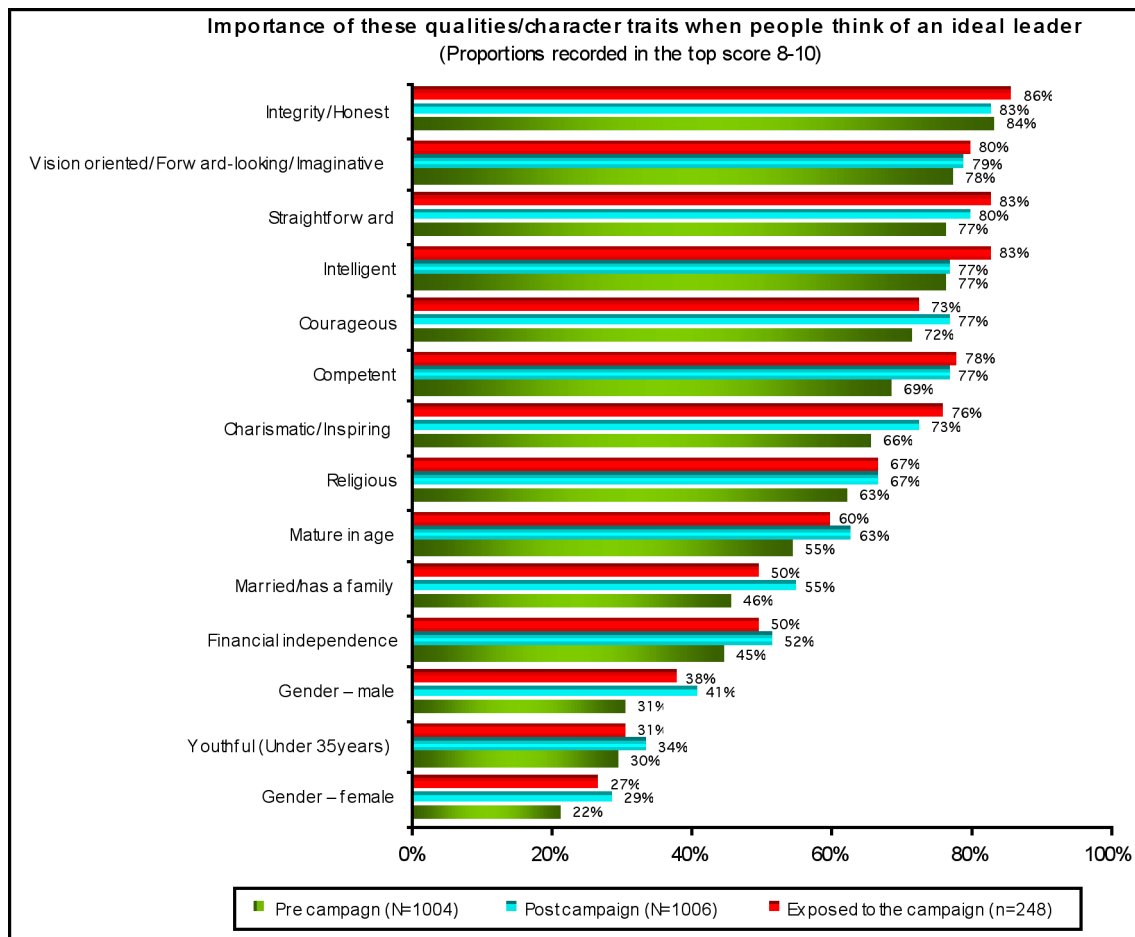


Fig. 4.2 Leadership qualities – ratings on importance

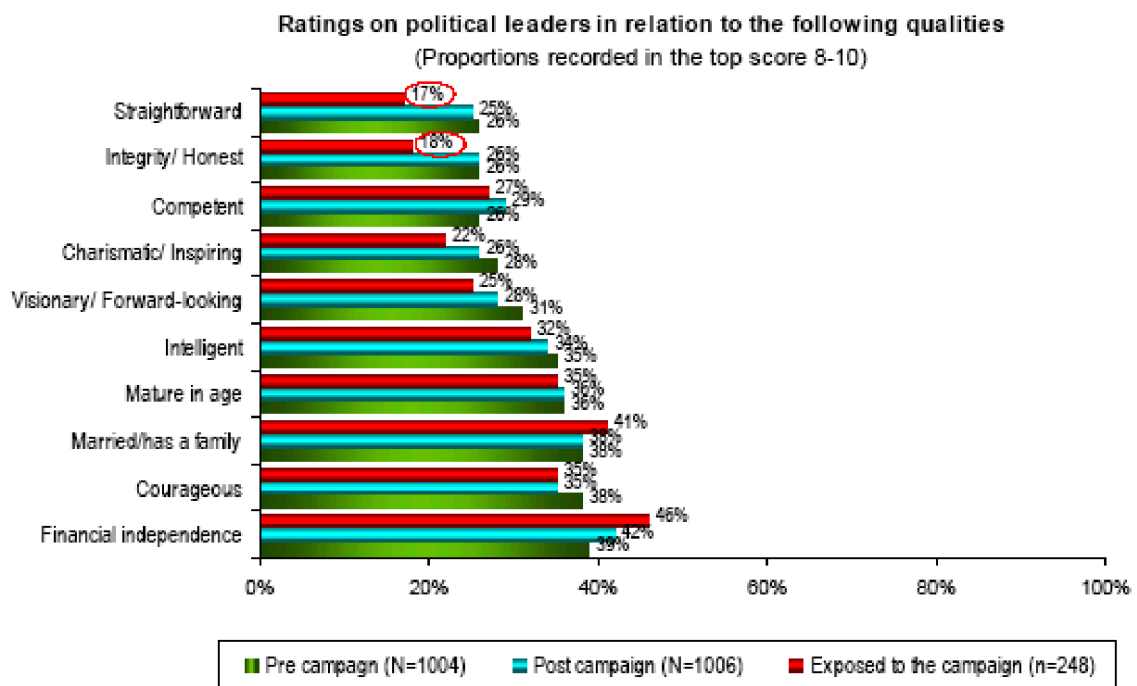


Fig. 6 Ratings on political leaders in relation to attributes (read down from lowest to highest satisfaction)

The people polled (the electorate) rate the current crop of political leaders lowest on the most important attributes (competence and integrity).

Significantly is however that those exposed to the campaign are now more critical of political leaders in relation to integrity (a drop from 25% to 17%) as compared to the general population, a difference that could be attributed to the campaign.

The campaign did try to address the issues of financial independence, in the context that it should not be used as a basis of electing a leader. The association of wealth as pre-condition for effective leadership in people's perceptions became apparent during Focus Group Discussions MFAF undertook in July 2006 in preparation of the campaign. It was therefore extensively discussed during the media campaign from the perspective that leaders with a track record of integrity and vision could entrust with the interests of the community in contrast with somebody who was known to be corrupt and who would not hesitate to buy votes by offering handouts.

However the post campaign survey shows an interesting shift in this respect. There seems to be a slight increase of people prepared to accept bribes in exchange for their votes – it is free money - however, this time with 14% less guarantee for the candidate of getting his vote.

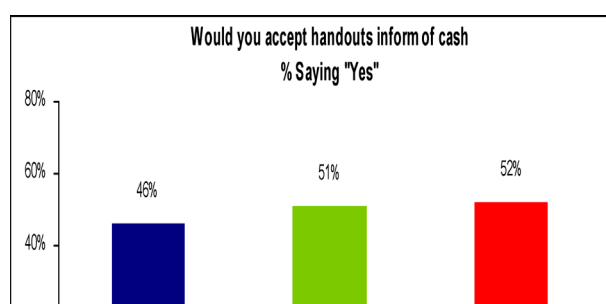


Fig. 4.4 Views on receiving handouts from politicians

Base: Respondents who would accept a cash handout	Pre campaign	Post campaign	Exposed to the campaign
It is free money that I need	73%	63%	60%
The money belongs to the tax payer	10%	4%	6%
Poverty	9%	5%	5%
The money might be the only benefit from the politician	7%	3%	5%
It is given as a gift for motivation	4%	5%	3%
Money is luring	2%	1%	0%
It wont change my prior choice	0%	9%	14%
When it is from a good leader	3%	0%	0%
It leads someone to vote easily	2%	1%	1%

Table 4.4 Reasons for accepting handouts



## 8. IN CONCLUSION

### CAMPAIGN CHALLENGES

1. The introduction in Africa of the MFAF cross media communication strategy promoting 'effective leadership and best practices of governance' through collaboration with mainstream media houses created challenges for both MFAF - the initiating organization - and the local media, hardly ever been exposed before to:
  - a. Foundations trying to bring about positive changes in governance and transparency through the established media channels;
  - b. Taking ownership of the responsibilities that media organizations have with regard to democratization and development in Africa.
2. The MFAF communication strategy and the intensity of the campaign was therefore labour intensive and required timely financing and logistical support. The uncertainty of the timing of financial support resulted in shifting of the launch dates and to shelving other relevant side activities such as the Open Air Concert.
3. Some side activities of the campaign such as the development and implementation of our SMS learning program as well as the need to have a clear campaign identity – branding - were not or insufficiently acknowledged by the donors and were financed by MFAF with scarce resources. This resulted in an SMS program that was not or hardly supported by the necessary print and electronic promotions in order to become successful and the cancellation of a Bill Board campaign in the 4 proposed Kenyan cities.
4. Owing to the specific content and nature of the campaign, there was at times suspicion amongst MFAF partners - including the media - as to the political intentions of the campaign which was purely educational in nature and intention and aimed to focus on issues and not on personalities or specific political parties.
5. Being a new player in the Kenyan market place meant that MFAF had to establish a base, systems, and networks, recruit staff, plan and implement its pilot project within a compressed period. It called for a lot of commitment and sacrifice for this to happen.
7. On campaign content and messaging, there was clear need to retrain Radio and TV moderators and show presenters and hosts with the help of the Moderators Manual. Settling into content called for diligence on the part of the hosts and persistence on the part of MFAF.

8. MFAF used - during this pilot project - mainly urban and national broadcasters. Per consequence the vernacular radio stations, which enjoy great popularity in the rural areas, were due to logistical constraints on the part of MFAF not involved. It appeared to be a great challenge to control content in so many languages at the same time. For this reason the campaign reach was limited to people who speak English and/or Swahili. MFAF will address this issue during the next campaign in 2007. This means that we will also have to diversify our formats in order to access the uneducated target audiences.
9. From the very outset, we clashed with the media houses to deliver the messages on our behalf. The media houses had their own agendas to pursue and were unfamiliar with organizations claiming (joint) editorial to achieve their objectives. Based on the research we aimed – through messaging - to address existing conceptions and misconceptions as well as knowledge gaps on issues of leadership and governance.
10. The perceived public confusion (according the media impact study) on the intentions and meaning of certain messages confirms the limitations of a short term/focused media campaign. Messaging on complicated issues that aim at change of attitude and behaviour interfere with popular beliefs and therefore need to be conveyed with consistency and in high frequency. In order to achieve consistent results, MFAF learned from this campaign that it is important to allow the target audience to link and translate the newly acquired knowledge with their practical real life situations.

## **CAMPAIGN ACHIEVEMENTS**

1. MFAF was able to realize its core objectives by broadcasting 15 TV shows and 70 Radio programs on leadership and governance issues over a four/five week period across 9 radio and 2 TV Stations during the Month of November/December 2006. This included promotions and advertisements in both print and electronic media with key messages on good leadership and best practices of governance.
2. MFAF's programs were watched and listened to on Radio and TV by an estimated 6.5 million people aged 15 years and above.
3. By using the most popular and existing (discussion) programs on Kenyan Radio and TV stations, MFAF was able to reach out to the public at large and facilitate debate on a national level, creating a national media platform for review of issues of leadership and governance in Kenya.

4. By providing quality information on these issues – on different educational levels and through different media formats - MFAF was able to contribute to enhancement of better understanding and appreciation of the elements that make for good leadership and governance to thrive in the country.
5. Enhancement of awareness, due to the campaign, was proven to be increased based on the Media Impact Survey conducted by the Steadman Research Group in February 2007. Of all the people exposed to the campaign (an estimated 4.4 million, 78% = 3.43 million believed that the campaign had helped them to better understand issues of leadership in Kenya and in addition to that another 56% = 2.46 million stated that ‘next time they would choose their leaders more carefully’. (Based on figures only representing 35% of the country as a whole)
6. From the campaign, MFAF succeeded in bringing the concept of leadership and good governance into people’s ordinary discussions (away from politics – in the family, the church, the community organisation or business) and encouraged them to voice their own opinions about their leaders based on a clearer understanding of good and bad practices of leadership and governance.
7. Kenyan civil society, commonly seen as potential agents of change, embraced the campaign was unified in their support and participation during the campaign, and the need to develop a common communication agenda to promote leadership and good governance through mainstream media was intensely discussed.
8. The Kenyan media known for its vast, diverse and sometimes partisan interests supported the campaign – first hesitantly but later unreservedly - free from interference in the MFAF editorial agenda. The uniqueness of the campaign and its intensity ignited a lot of media interest.
9. The campaign remained objective, focussed and a political, and was widely accepted across the board, even in circles of government.

## 9. SIDE ACTIVITIES: THE SMS LEARNING PROGRAMME



The SMS quiz ran for 24 days officially starting on 14/11/2006 and ending on 07/12/2006. In general, the quiz worked quite well with little resources available. The following is a summary of the statistics and general observations we made during the period.

*See Annex 4: SMS learning campaign statistics*

Almost 8000 Short Messages SMS were sent which means that 8000 times questions has been answered and feedback with relevant information have been received by the public. In African countries every mobile phone is used by an average of 6 people, so in total 48.000 could have been reached by the SMS messages.

The most important result though is that the respective organisations learnt a lot about: how to organise a SMS campaign, what formats to use, what educative content is working, what parties are involved. Enough information and experiences to develop an effective SMS campaign in the 2nd edition of the campaign in July 2007.

### 9.1 LESSONS LEARNT FROM SMS CAMPAIGN

1. The program schedule and topics for all related media were made short before the start of the campaign, therefore:
  - The content for the SMS campaign was made late, while the development of the software, the marketing strategy, an appealing format, challenging content could best be fine-tuned based on draft versions. Looking back, the development process really started when the first draft quizzes were made. There was too little time to adjust it concerning everybody's feedback
  - The promotion activities were set too late and therefore the promotion on radio was only picked up in week 3 of the 4 weeks.

2. Leadership and good governance is a sensitive issue. The phrasing of the words and choice of questions are important and should be made by local copywriters. The first versions were made by Butterfly Works, who laid down a format and challenged the Kenyan experts to start thinking about the content. The collaboration with the copywriter finally led to a good balance between educative/challenging and locally accepted. However, time was too short to experiment more with different formats.
3. Because of the lack of funds, there was too little room to experiment with incentives, more promotion, and lower fees per SMS, to get a better idea of the impact of these criteria in a campaign.
4. The public was flooded with SMS competitions and campaign, were every minute airtime was giving away and large prizes like cars and trucks. It is hard to compete with those prizes.

## 9.2 FEEDBACK FROM THE ARID LANDS INFORMATION NETWORK

A special program was developed for pastoralists with our partner, Arid Lands Information Network (ALIN). Through their network of 16 Community Information Volunteers (CIV's), the SMS quizzes were promoted to their target groups, which are hardly reached by other media in campaigns. In preparation of the campaign, we had an online discussion with the CIV's about the daily leadership and governance issues in their area. They were very enthusiastic about being involved in this campaign. Their most effective / used media is Open Knowledge Network (OKN), through the CIV's and the people that visit them regularly. The idea was to give feedback on the campaign in articles to be posted on the OKN. The cost of the SMS (Kshs. 5, - above normal rate) was too expensive for the people owing to economic hardships as a result of losses following the mid 2006 drought. The CIV's participated and shared the information with their visitors. We plan to develop a concept that is mostly based on the OKN and has SMS as an extra application. The CIV's in Tanzania sent us a mail to check on the possibilities of a Tanzanian campaign; they were very enthusiastic about the themes and the messages.

## 9.3 PROGRAM IDEAS FOR THE 2007 SMS CAMPAIGN

The 2nd edition of the Leadership Month in the media is close to the elections. To be relevant it has to be related to the elections and add value to the political discussions on issues that are relevant to the majority of the people such as equitable allocation of resources, unemployment, ethnicity, security, human rights issues etc. Compared to other media, SMS is the most

interactive and reaches the individual Kenyan directly. It is ideal for getting feedback on the political issues that are most important to Kenyans and the opinion of the public at large.

In 2007, we will implement an SMS campaign that pushes the agenda for the election campaigns. Through SMS, we will engage the public on topical issues. We will provide a channel for participation and post the findings on TV, radio and in newspapers.

In order to influence leadership through increased public participation, we will reduce the SMS costs by way of seeking sponsorship. In addition, rewards will be given to participants in the TV and radio shows. This kind of format will promote interaction and maximise the use of the SMS as a communication medium, while adding value to the debates.

*See Annex 5: 8 examples SMS quiz questions.*

## Civil society organisations represented and panelists participating in the MFAF radio and tv programs

ORGANISATIONS	NAME AND TITLE
SNV	Allyce Kureiya, Portfolio Manager
University of Nairobi	Prof. Okoth Okombo, PH.D
Centre for Minority Rights	Yobo Rutin, Programme Manager
Kenyan Commercial Bank	Martin Oduor, Deputu CEO
Nepad	Dr. Grace Ongile, CEO
Nepad	Jerry Okungo, Communication advisor
Kenyan Institute of Public Policy & Research Analyses	Dr. Eric Aligula, Senior Policy Analyst
Nairobi Stock Exchange	Jimnah Mbaru, CEO
Projects and Allied Consultants	Simekha, J.M.E, Associate
Youth Agenda	Kepta Ombati, CEO
Kenya Youth	Hellen Tombo, CEO
Urgent Action Fund	Betty Murungi, CEO
Education Centre For Women	Mary Njeri, Deputy CEO
Africa Leadership Institute	Sande Oyolo, CEO
Parliamentary Agriculture Committee	Edna Gathigia
Centre for Law and Research	Anne Njogu, CEO
League of Kenya women voters	Monica Omolo, Member
KANU/Political Party	Uhuru Kenyatta, Party Leader
KANU/Political Party	Badi Ali ,Chair Youth
LDP/Political Party	Ochieng Kanyadudi – Chair,Harmonisation Team
UNDA / Political Party	Pauline Owoko, Women Leader & Member NEC
UNDA / Political Party	Ken Njiru, Secretary General
PLDP /Political Party	Susan Kariuki ,Program Manager
PLDP /Political Party	Dr. J. B .Washington Makodingo
Ford People/Political Party	Opar Francis
US University	Dr. Elizabeth Akinyi Nzioki
Human Rights Commission	Maina Kiai, Chairperson
Philo Ikonya	Gender, media and Human Rights Consultant
Wan Wan Wan	Gwada Ogot, CEO

Environment Management Authority  
 National Executive Council  
 National Executive Council  
 Kenya Land Alliance  
 Kamotho Waiganjo Advocates  
 Kenya Pastoralists Forum  
 GFL Partners  
 Haggai Institute  
 Adopt A Light/Corporate  
 Society for International Development-  
 African Women Child Features Services,  
 Nat Council of Churches of Kenya  
 Hindu Council of Kenya  
 Labour Party Of Kenya  
 National Rainbow Coalition  
 Mbai And Associates  
 National Rainbow Coalition  
 Moi University  
 University of Nairobi  
 Maendeleo ya Wanawake  
 Kenya pastoralists forum  
 Youth Agenda  
 Media Focus on Africa  
 Peace Negotiator  
 National Council of Churches  
 Kenya Human Rights Commission  
 Subukia Youth Association  
 Nakummatt/Corporate  
 Public Service Reform Programme  
  
 University of Nairobi  
 Ford People Political Party  
 Shirikisho Party Political Party  
 Labour Party  
 Democratic Party  
 Liberal Democratic Party  
 Pastoralists Forum  
 World Vision  
 East African Human Rights Institute

Martin Shimba  
 Valerie Gituto, Programme Manager  
 Cyprian Nyamwamu, CEO  
 Lumumba Odenda, CEO  
 Partner  
 David Edoket, Member  
 Livingstone Musumba, CEO  
 Ezekiel Liberia, Chair  
 Esther Pasis, CEO  
 Dan Okello, CEO  
 Mary Okello-Orlale, CEO  
 Rev. David Oginde  
 Rashmin Chitnis, Chairperson  
 Hon. John Cheruiyot  
 Hon. Njoki Ndungu  
 Benson Mbai, Partner  
 Hon. Kilemi Mwiria  
 Dr. Kabaji  
 Benson Maisori  
 Rachael Kamweru  
 William Ntoina  
 Ndolo Asasa  
 Jeremiah Kiwoi  
 Bethwel Kiplagat  
 Rev. Mary Mbugua  
 Wanjiku Miano  
 Njenga Kihanya  
 CEO  
 Joyce Nyamweya,  
 Permanent Permanent Secretary  
 Rev. Dr. Dominic Wamugunda  
 Ogembo Masese  
 Mashengu wa Mwachofi  
 Jane Ogwapit  
 George Nyamweya  
 Mumbi Ng'aru  
 Nashipae J  
 Adan Wachu  
 Harun Ndubi, CEO



## **ANNEX 1. RATIONALE CHOICE OF RADIO STATIONS**

### **A&B. KBC (KENYA BROADCASTING STATION) & METRO FM**

This is the official National radio broadcaster covering the entire country. It seeks to inform, educate, and entertain the public through Radio and TV services. KBC propagates all that consolidates national unity, peace, love, and development. KBC's advantages are its heritage - having being established from independence - national coverage, urban plus rural audience and high degree of local content programming.

### **C. CLASSIC FM**

Started in 2004 Classic FM has been able to cut across the urban and peri-urban towns countrywide. Its audience is perceived to be mature and in touch with current affairs, leadership matters, politics as well as diverse social issues etc.

### **D. HOPE FM**

Kenya is a predominantly Christian society. Hope FM is an influential and leading Christian radio station. With transmission to most of the primary urban towns across Kenya, Hope FM has a wide listenership within the Christian fraternity. It hosts the most renowned and outspoken personalities amongst the leading churches in Kenya, who call for the upholding of practices of good leadership and governance in Kenya.

### **E. EAST FM**

This is a station serving the Asian community. In order to embrace the principle of diversity and inclusivity in the leadership campaign MFAF sought to extend its reach to the Asian population. The Asian community is largely influential in Kenya, and is credited for its business acumen, besides its profound service to the less fortunate in society. They are a part and parcel of various forms of leadership throughout the country and constitute a sizeable part of vote.

### **F. EASY/NATION FM**

This is the radio station owned by the largest Media Group in Kenya – The Nation. Its enviable background has made it a trusted and top source of news and information. It covers all urban areas.

### **G. KISS FM**

This is the leading FM station in the entire country largely among the youth. The youth in Kenya comprise over 60% of the total population thus making them a critical target group in

the leadership campaign. Kiss FM covers all major towns and has cultivated a cult following. It is also known for developing the most unique lines of approach in its broadcast and has the nationally most respected radio talk show in the land 'Crossfire'. It also covers all urban areas in the country.

#### **H. CITIZEN RADIO**

Citizen Radio is the parent brand of the Royal Media Radio Group, which owns 9 radio stations, most of which are vernacular stations. They therefore have a very strong touch with the rural communities. Like the KBC, it has a national reach.

#### **I. CAPITAL FM**

98.4 Capital FM is one of the pioneer FM Radio Stations in Kenya. It attracts an audience of young up market business oriented adults, who are well educated and well informed. It covers all urban areas in the country.

#### **KTN**

This is a free to air privately owned television station with mostly urban appeal and upwardly mobile audience with a majority of upper and middle class viewers in Kenya's most populated urban and peri-urban areas. At the time of the campaign, the station had its footprints in the following towns and their environs; Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru, Meru and Nyeri.

#### **KBC**

This is a free to air public/state owned television station with the widest national reach. It broadcasts to most parts of the country including all the major towns and rural areas. As such, its programming appeals to a cross section of social economic groups spanning the AB, C1, C2 and D social groups. Like in Radio, KBC television advantages are its heritage- having been established before independence, national coverage, urban plus rural audience and a stable of local programming.

## ANNEX 2. EXAMPLES OF MINISOAPS

4 Examples out of series of 20 – according the themes selected - of satirical Mini Soaps broadcasted 4 times a day over 8 stations in Kenya during the Kenyan Leadership Month in the Media - 2006

### LEADERSHIP AND ETHNICITY

#### STING THEME INTRO

SFX: Internal car ambience

ANNCR: This November is the Kenyan leadership month. Have you taken a closer look at leadership today?

MVO1: Thanks for giving me this job of driving you Mr. Bongo

MVO2: Yes you might not be a good driver, but come on we are not just tribesmen, your mother is my mother's best friend's sister, so that makes us cousin's

MVO1: No her brother is your sister's best friends...

MVO2: Hey watch out...cousin!

SFX: Car screeches

MVO1: So sorry Mr. Bongo Sir I didn't see the road , where are you campaigning today bwana Bongo?

MVO2: We have to go deep into the villages and talk to the people, remind them about what our community is all about

MVO1: They'll vote for you boss, you are not like Mr. Safa who tries to talk to every single tribe, these people seen you grow up and your father was everyone's friend, yah? Yah bwana Bongo?

MVO2: Hey don't look at me look at the...

SFX: Screech and accident

#### FADE UP THE SOBER THEME TRACK

ANNCR: Many so called leaders use their language and tribe to control and misdirect their fellow Kenyans into believing their superior or inferior to others in our social and political systems. This ethnic tactics are used to maintain or assume power. Any Leader who creates ethnic divides should not be allowed to come into power at what ever level in our communities.

**Uongozi Bora ni Maendeleo a message from the Media Focus On Africa.**

Wengi wa wanojiita viongozi hutumia lugha na makabila yao kuwahadaa na kuwaelekeza wengine kwa dhana kwamba wao ni duni ama wanafaa zaidi ya wengine katika mfumo wao wa kijamii na kisiasa. Mbinu hizi hutumiwa kuhifadhi mamlaka ama kupata uongozi. Kiongozi yeyote anaye sababisha migawanyiko ya kikabila hastahili uongozi wowote ule kati yetu.

Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo. Ujumbe huu umeletwa kwako na Media Focus On Afrika.

## LEADERSHIP AND YOUTH

### STING THEME INTRO

ANNCR: This November is the Kenyan leadership month. Have you taken a closer look at leadership today?

SFX: Bar ambience with TV on

YOUTH1: Hey these leaders of today are bogus, non of them cares about youth of today

YOUTH2: I'll never vote for them, there's not even a football field in this area

YOUTH1: The only exercise I get these days is lifting a bottle of beer to my mouth

YOUTH1&2: They laugh

MVO1: Hey vijana seems your running out of drinks

YOUTH2: Ha Bwana Bongo you are interested in buying us a drink?

MVO: Just one drink...never! (Shouts) Give the boys a crate of whatever they are taking!

SFX: Crate slams down

YOUTH1&2: Cheers Mr Bongo,

YOUTH1: I think I know where my vote is going

SFX: Bottles and glasses

MVO2: Hey don't you young men feel you are drinking a bit too much, why don't we try...

YOUTH1: Hey Mr. Safa you are not going to get votes by abusing us.

YOUTH2: Yah and your old voice is affecting the music

SFX: They all laugh at Safa

### FADE UP THE SOBER THEME TRACK

ANNCR: Despite strength in numbers, intellectual, physical, social superiority many youth have chosen to sit back and complain instead of rising to responsibility. Taking responsibility includes standing up to take leadership positions or supporting the youth who do instead of being used by the other so called leaders in disruptive activities.

Uongozi Bora ni Maendeleo a message from the Media Focus On Africa.

Ijapokuwa wana nguvu za idadi, kimawazo, maumbile na pia kijamii, vijana wameamua kukaa yu na kunungunika badala ya kuchuka usukani. Usukani huu ni pamoja na uongozi katika vyama mbali mbali vya vijanabadala ya kutumiwa na wengine wanaojidai kuwa viongozi kuleta rabsha. Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo. Ujumbe huu umeletwa kwako na Media Focus On Afrika.

## LEADERSHIP AND WOMEN

### STING THEME INTRO

ANNCR: This November is the Kenyan leadership month. Have you taken a closer look at leadership today?

SFX: Door persistent knocks, cutlery in

MVO1: (Shouts) Hey madam there's someone at the door!

FVO: (Running from distance) You are right next to the door why couldn't you open?

SFX: Door swings open

MVO2: Hello Mrs. Bongo

FVO: Very fine Bwana Safa

MVO1: Hey Mr Bongo! Nice of you to pass by, sorry this woman took a long time to open the door.

MVO2: No problem at all, with the great progress these women are making in town we are the ones who'll be opening all the doors for them (chuckles)

MVO1: No we are the leaders who'll take care of the women, they have too many other things to do taking care of the family.

FVO: What do you mean! We can make great leaders ...

MVO2: Hey relax and get our guest some tea he's dying of thirst

MVO1: Actually I'm okay madam wha...

MVO2: Believe me she wants to make you some tea (laughs)

### FADE UP THE SOBER THEME TRACK

ANNCR: In our country today women tend to be pushed aside from leadership roles and decision making. Though it's feared some women when elected as leaders fall prey to concentrating on feminine interests rather than national issues; it's up to the women to rise up and take up leadership roles which many are very capable of handling.

Uongozi Bora ni Maendeleo a message from the Media Focus On Africa.

Wanawake humu chini hadi sasa wametengwa mbali na maswala ya uongozi na uamuzi wowote. Ilihali kuna hofu kwamba wanawake wakiwa viongozi watajishughulisha na maswala ya kike badala ya maswala ya kitaifa, jukumu la kubadilisha dhana ni ni kwa wanawake kuzinduka na kuchukua nafasi za uongozi kadri ya uwezo wao. Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo. Ujumbe huu umeletwa kwako na Media Focus On Afrika.

## LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC RESOURCES

### STING THEME INTRO

ANNCR: This November is the Kenyan leadership month. Have you taken a closer look at leadership today?

SFX: Farm ambience, car pulls up

MVO1: Hey bwana Bongo what's that?

MVO2: Can't you see it's a horse, I thought you went to school Mr. Safa!

MVO1: What would we need a horse for around these sides.

MVO2: It's part of my campaign to beat you to being the leader here bwana.

MVO1: What you'll get horses to vote for you?

MVO2: I intend to provide horses for everyone to ride instead of bicycles, then they'll all vote for me

MVO1: That's pretty expensive?

MVO2: Not expensive compared to the airport I'm building there so we can fly food to the market.

MVO1: The market's only 1km away, if was voted in I would rather use the council funds to work on the road

MVO2: Flying is much more comfortable, and...

MVO1: Hey Bongo are you making a lake there?

MVO2: No a swimming pool idiot for the important ones in village

MVO1: But I can't swim?

MVO2: Then I guess Safa you are not important.

### FADE UP THE SOBER THEME TRACK

ANNCR: As citizens we must know that we are responsible for our public resources, and we should therefore ensure these public resources are efficiently managed by leaders. It's our duty to ensure those who mismanage our resources are not given the chance to hold leadership position.

Uongozi Bora ni Maendeleo a message from the Media Focus On Africa.

Kama wazalendo tuna jukumu la kulinda rasilimali yetu na hivyo basi tuhakikishe viongozi wetu wanatumia mali ya uma ipasavyo. Ni jukumu letu kuona kwamba wanaopora mali ya umma hawapati fursa ya kuongoza tena. Uongozi bora ni Maendeleo. Ujumbe huu umeletwa kwako na Media Focus On Afrika.

### ANNEX 3. RATIONALE CHOICE AND DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTARIES

A total of four documentaries were aired on KTN TV.

**Africa – Who’s to Blame?:** This was a sixty minutes documentary produced for The BBC’s channel four and aired for the first time on the channel on June the 23rd 2005 at 9pm. It told Tells the story of misery and poverty in Africa through the eyes former Ghanaian president, Jerry Rawlings, and a young Kenyan law student, June Arunga. This documentary brings to question the issues of leadership and governance. Is Africa doomed to fail? Can her leaders help get her out of her misery? How? What must they do? In running this documentary, MFAF hoped to yet again ignite debate on the role of leadership in transforming people’s lives. It aired on KTN on November 11 2006.

**Long Shadow of the Big Man:** This timely and broad-ranging documentary unravels the complex reasons behind Africa’s arrested development over the past 50 years. It paints the picture of a continent ravaged by war and the politics of the ‘Big Man’. Throughout we examine the relationship between good governance and prosperity. Produced and distributed by United Kingdom’s Journeyman Pictures, the documentary raises the question: what hope does the continent have of equitably managing its mineral resources and finding the path to true democracy? It catalogues Africa’s leadership challenges in way that MFAF hoped would get Kenyans focusing more on the relevance of leadership in ensuring better lives. Long Shadow of The Big Man aired on Saturday, November 18th. 2006 on KTN

**It’s My Life:** This was not just a documentary on the sacrifices of a South African civil society leader who has Aids; it was an indictment of a system, a blatant defiance of a suffering individual in the face of a most debilitating disease and pressure from friends and relatives. It was an award-winning documentary produced by Brian Tilley on the HIV positive acting chairperson of Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Zackie Achmat who refused to take his anti-retroviral drugs as long as they were not made available for all the Aids patients in his country. Filmed over five months, ‘IT’S MY LIFE’ follows Zackie as he leads a court battle against the multi-national drug companies to allow the introduction of cheaper, generic drugs, and takes on the South African government for it’s confusing policies of denial around HIV/AIDS. MFAF wished to bring to the attention of Kenyan viewers the extent to which individual leaders can go in the fight towards improvement of the lives of their people. By focusing on the achievements of Zackie Achmat, it was hoped that Kenyans would apply the experiences of this gallant leader in questioning their own leaders. The key questions emerging are: To what extent Kenyan leaders go to protect the interests of the people?



Does Kenya have leaders such as Zackie Achmat? How can Kenya get such a leader? ITS MY LIFE aired on December 2nd, a day after World Aids Day

**The Executive; The making of a constitution:** To this day, Kenya has been struggling to draw up a new constitution; a constitution that would guarantee the rights of everyone, ensure equitable distribution of power and wealth, a constitution that would see the country elevate itself from tribal suspicions to more ethnic inclusivity, all in the interest of national development. The process of constitution making begun in earnest shortly before the 1997 general elections but it was not until 2003 that the constituent assembly set up the year before sat to discuss the draft constitution. This draft was the culmination of the work of The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC). The documentary that we ran last, on December 22nd 2006, was half hour long and focused on this process of constitution making with special emphasis on the tent that discussed The Executive chapter of the draft. The documentary follows the discussions in the tent unobtrusively, recording the goings on without any attempts at analysing or offering an opinion on the process. It used shots not hitherto seen on Kenyan TV on the process and showed Kenyan leaders at work. Leaders were seen negotiating positions, arguing their points of view in order to convince their opponents on the values of each other's arguments and therefore position on the draft. The Executive was produced and directed by the award winning, world acclaimed documentaries producer, Fleur Van Dissel as pilot production for a bigger, more elaborate production on the entire process of Constitution making.

## ANNEX 4. SMS LEARNING CAMPAIGN MESSAGE STATISTICS

Safaricom Stats		MPL Stats			
Date	Total SMSs Billed	Incoming	Outgoing	TotalNoOfQuestions	TotalNoOfAnswers
14-Nov	4	4	6	6	4
15-Nov	32	32	49	11	11
16-Nov	70	36	71	27	18
17-Nov	205	207	414	66	117
18-Nov	260	263	644	252	147
19-Nov	161	155	466	256	123
20-Nov	100	99	376	243	88
21-Nov	567	564	1,269	595	298
22-Nov	273	274	949	579	223
23-Nov	586	574	1,550	850	373
24-Nov	391	390	1,376	861	316
25-Nov	311	303	1,263	866	312
26-Nov	313	312	1,284	840	261
27-Nov	291	286	1,242	1,017	353
28-Nov	847	851	2,436	1,233	446
29-Nov	464	469	1,872	1,233	416
30-Nov	463	465	1,899	1,256	392
1-Dec	375	375	1,743	1,208	302
2-Dec	356	352	1,715	1,250	326
3-Dec	309	321	1,670	1,236	286
4-Dec	347	347	1,741	1,245	284
5-Dec	419	417	1,875	1,406	345
6-Dec	419	427	1,988	1,382	314
7-Dec	342	343	1,866	1,411	300
8-Dec	83	83	128	-	-
	<b>7,988</b>	<b>7,949</b>	<b>29,892</b>	<b>19,329</b>	<b>6,055</b>

1. There were no question pushed out on 08/12/2006 but there were people who were still registering and they were sent the questions for the day before. Those questions and answers.
2. have been tallied with the previous days as per the table above.

Total number of questions = 48 (sent out 2 per day)

Number of registered subscribers = 1,226

Number of de-registered subscribers = 67

Total number of times subscribers registered wrongly = 252

Total number of times subscribers registered correctly = 1,311

3. The Total SMS' Billed indicates the total number of subscribers who were sent a question and were available to receive the questions and had sufficient credit on their phones at the time.

The total number of participants was quite low as compared to other promotions done in the past. The main reason could be lack of an incentive for subscribers - such as airtime awards or other - to participate in the quiz considering the cost per message was KShs. 5/= above normal rates. Another reason could be that the quiz was only for Safaricom subscribers who were at the same time stimulated in an extensive beer promotion SMS campaign with substantial awards such as the possibility to win cars. MFAF received a short code for free from Safaricom, which implicated that Celtel subscribers were unable to participate.

Looking at the number of subscribers and those who unsubscribed, we can say that there was a high level of interest in getting the questions since only 67 people unsubscribed.

The number of times subscribers registered wrongly was 16%, which means that a good number understood the instructions.

## ANNEX 5. SMS QUESTIONS

Some Examples of SMS Quiz Questions send out via Safaricom and facilitated by Mobile Planet – Provider, Kenya.

### SMS QUESTIONS: QUALITY OF LIFE

#### Question 1

What is “Mali ya Umma”?

ONE The resources for government activities and betterment

TWO The resources for community activities and betterment

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Mali ya Umma are the resources that belong to a community for now and the future, no individual or section of community can claim exclusive ownership.

#### Question 2

Which of the following are considered public resources?

ONE Land, water, minerals, forests

TWO TVs, Mobile phones, Clothes,

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Land, water, minerals, forest, wildlife are some of the most natural resources that the public owns and is responsible for.

#### Question 3

What is the role of our leaders when it comes to public resources?

ONE To manage the resources.

TWO To use the resources

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Leaders are meant to manage resources for a community, ensuring they are used to improve the quality of life for all.

#### **Question 4**

If my tribesman misuses public resources I should

ONE forgive him

TWO hold him responsible for his actions

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: We shouldn't let our tribal background cloud our judgment, bad leaders of every tribe should be held responsible for their bad decisions.

### **SMS QUESTIONS: WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP**

#### **Question 1**

Women are better followers rather than leaders!

ONE Yes

TWO No

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: No, women can be great leaders; in fact they give birth to entire movements!

#### **Question 2**

What is the best role for women in our society?

ONE Cooking, cleaning, childcare and tilling the land

TWO Building nations

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Women use their diverse skills and strong character to build and run families which makes them fit to build great societies.

#### **Question 3**

What makes a woman a great leader?

ONE Fighting for the rights of women issues

TWO Representing the needs of the entire community

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Some women are perceived as being feminine issue driven, great women leaders represents the interest of all in the community.

#### **Question 4**

Women are responsible for close to 85% of the national agricultural produce

ONE True

TWO False

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: True, women are behind 85% of our agricultural production but unfortunately still not make decision when it comes to policies on agriculture.

### **SMS QUESTIONS: YOUTH AND LEADERSHIP**

#### **Question 1**

What is a major advantage of youthful leaders?

ONE Great years of experience

TWO Their energy and new ideas

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: The youth are accomplished in intellect, technology, and are full of youthful energy, they can make a great contribution to our community as leaders.

#### **Question 2**

As a young person, don't I have the right to inherit any leadership positions held by my parents?

ONE Yes

TWO No

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: No you can't inherit leadership you have to prove yourself by displaying your own leadership character and skills

### Question 3

What is the right age for young people to take up leadership roles?

ONE above 35 years

TWO There is no right age

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: There isn't a right age for leadership but there is a right attitude. Great leaders come in all shapes, sizes and ages

### Question 4

What's one simple way for a young person make a contribution to leadership in our country?

ONE by taking up the responsibility to vote

TWO by supporting demonstrations and riots

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: By voting for leaders who represent the interest of all in the community the youth can make their mark in Kenya.

## SMS QUESTIONS: ETHNICITY

### Question 1

The most important thing when choosing a leader is

ONE where they come from

TWO where they are taking us

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Where a leader comes from is not important but where they are taking the people in terms of future growth and development.

### Question 2

What do you call someone leads by always reminding of our tribal background?

ONE A hero of tribe

TWO A bad leader

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Bad leaders use our common ethnic background to manipulate us into supporting them and blind us from their poor performance.

### **Question 3**

The bigger the tribe the bigger the share of the national cake they deserve

ONE Yes

TWO No

Answer: No! National resources should be evenly distributed or on the basis of those who need them most, not according to tribe or region.

### **Question 4**

Ethnic conflicts such as tribal clashes show

ONE display the strength and quality of a tribe

TWO display weak leadership structures

Answer: Ethnic conflicts are caused by weak leadership structures by leaders using fighting as a tactic to maintain or assume power

## **SMS QUESTIONS: PEACE BUIDLING**

### **Question 1**

What do you call a leader who's committed to the search for peace?

ONE A weakling

TWO A Peace Builder

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: A peace builder is not weakling; he/she takes the huge challenge of creating a harmonious and cooperative community



### Question 2

Some physical conflicts like cattle rustling can be excused as our natural way of life

ONE Yes

TWO No

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Good leadership seeks to resolve conflicts and doesn't let them naturally fall into violence resulting in loss of life and property

### Question 3

In moments of conflicts, who are the biggest losers?

ONE The leaders of course

TWO The fighting communities

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Leaders who incite or ignore conflict should not be voted in as we are the ones who stand to lose property & life by their actions.

### Question 4

A peaceful nation is one in which

ONE communities work together to achieve common goals

TWO communities keep to themselves

Reply ONE or TWO 2 play

Answer: Peaceful nations are made up of communities who resolve conflicts in an effort to share common ideas and interests.