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SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 2006 STANDARD GROUP RAID: A
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF *THE STANDARD* AND *DAILY NATION***

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other forum in any other university or examination body.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Mr. Fredrick Hinga and my mother Mrs. Jennifer Hinga for their continued support towards my education. To my brothers and sisters for your love, concern, encouragement and enthusiasm which has brought me this far. Thank you all.

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I would like to thank the Almighty God for granting me wisdom, knowledge, understanding, finances and good health to pursue this course. Secondly, I would like to acknowledge my family for their encouragement throughout this study.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Censorship -suppressing and control of information and ideas that are circulated by the media to the people within a given society.

News stories are stories that bring out news or rather the happenings of a specific event or day.

A media house is a company that carries out media related functions of enlightening the public.

State censorship - a situation whereby a government controls or rather suppresses the ideas circulated by the media to the public.

Editorial policies are the rules and regulations that a given media house operates by, they are usually drafted by the editorial team in the media house.

News media -media bodies that provide news and information to members of the public.

Government interference refers to a situation whereby the government of the country meddles in the affairs of the media.

ABBREVIATIONS

KTN: Kenya Television Network

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

H-bomb: Hydrogen bomb

SG: Standard Group

DN: Daily Nation

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ABSTRACT

The media are a very powerful tool in society and should ideally be free of any government control and interference. The Kenyan Constitution upholds press freedom and thus anytime the government interferes with the media, it will be infringing on their constitutional right. Regardless of this constitutional provision, the Kenyan government has sometimes sought to interfere with the media operations. This study seeks to find out how the two leading newspapers in the country reported on the Standard Group raid of 2006. The main objective of this study was to find out how the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* covered the Standard Group raid of 2006. The study also sought to find out the themes that came out in the stories done on the raid and to establish the sources of the stories done on the raid. This study used the qualitative research approach and content analysis as the data collection method. The method of analysis that was used by this study was thematic analysis. The mass communication theory used by this study was the Agenda Setting theory. The population used in this study was all the stories on the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers for the month of March 2006, from 1st March to 31st March. The sample used for the study was a census of all the stories on the Standard Group Raid. The data collected was presented in form of tables and graphs. The study found out that most of the stories on the raid were done by the *Standard*. It also found that the *Daily Nation* had no editorial and the *Standard* had only one editorial. The study found that majority of the stories on the Standard Group raid were news stories. The study concluded that the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers had covered the Standard Group raid adequately but had downplayed the affected parties that are journalists and media owners. The political angle of coverage of the Standard Group raid had taken prominence during the reporting on the raid by the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. The study recommended that the *Nation* and *Standard* should have had more editorials to show their strong standpoint against the raid. Another recommendation was for the two dailies to minimize politicization of the raid when reporting on similar incidents in the future.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

This chapter outlines the background of the study and further looks into the Standard Group offices raid of 2006. The chapter presents the problem statement. It also presents the study area, objectives of the study, research questions, and rationale of the study, justification of the study, the scope of the study and limitations.

1.1 Study Area

This study was carried out in Nairobi, Kenya, specifically focusing on the Standard Media Group and the Nation Media Group.

1.2 Background of the Study

The government of any given country has a certain level of control and influence on majority of the aspects of society. Ideally, the media should be free from government control and thus a self-regulating body. The media thus become a very powerful tool in the society, more so due to the role it plays in enlightening the members of the public. Media frames become very important in the society as they create the main ideas among the public, thus play a major role in the public opinion. According to Gamson (1989), media frames are defined as the central organizing ideas for making sense of relevant events and suggestions of what an issue is. This power that the media has in society is why it is said to have the agenda setting role. McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that media content not only helps to monitor activities that citizens care about, media organizations may also highlight issues and be agenda setters. The media comes in fourth place after the three arms of the government: the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Executive, thus is referred to as the Fourth Estate. According to Gadi

Wolfsfeld (1997), political power brings with it status, organization and resources. This may be why the government may interfere with the media operations.

In Kenya, the Constitution states that the media should be self-regulating thus completely free from any kind of government interference. Article 34, section 2 and sub-section A, states that the state shall not exercise control over or interfere with any person engaged in broadcasting, the production or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information by any medium. Article 34, Section 3 states that broadcasting and other electronic media have freedom of establishment, subject only to licensing procedures which are independent of control by the government; political interests or commercial interests. This constitutional provision clearly states that the media should be self-regulating and completely free from government interference. This is however not the case as there have been quite a number of incidents of government interference in the media. Throughout the world, there have been instances of government interference with media operations. This interference in the media by the government has been manifested in various ways; for instance, through forceful intervention such as raids and violence, through creation of laws that aim to muzzle the media, through censorship of the media or even through intervention in their programming and editorial policies.

The Standard Group raid happened in the Media Group's offices in the city center their printing plant on Likoni road, which was allegedly carried out by hooded police officers. On the morning of 3rd March 2006, Kenyans woke up to the shocking news of the Standard Group offices raid at their I&M building offices in the city center and the media house's printing plant which is located on Likoni Road in Industrial area. Hooded police officers just past midnight carried out the raid on the media house. During the raid, the hooded officers confiscated and destroyed some equipment and some computers stolen in the media house's

offices. Moreover, the hooded police officers burnt hundreds of newspapers at the printing plant. The Standard Group claimed to have incurred losses of about 5 million shillings from the raid, which they insist was government instigated. This incident was covered extensively by media houses, both local and international for days after it happened and the media fraternity and members of the public even carried out demonstrations against government interference in their operations.

1.3 Problem Statement

The media play various important roles in the society. One of them is that of the public informant. The media, as per the Kenyan constitution should be free from government control. This however has not always been the case, as the government sometimes tends to infringe on the media's right to freedom. An example of this was during the Standard Group raid of 2006 when hooded police officers raided the Group's printing plant and offices. During the Standard Group raid, KTN's transmission was shut down temporarily, newspapers were burnt and computers were destroyed. This went against the practice that the media should be self-regulating and freely operating for it to be able to play its role in the society. This study seeks to investigate how the two main media houses in Kenya reported on the Standard media Group raid of 2006.

1.4 Study Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to find out how media houses reported on the Standard Group raid of 2006.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1.) To find out how the Standard Group raid of 2006 was covered by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers.

2.) To establish the themes that stood out in the stories published on the Standard Group raid by the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers.

3.) To find out the sources of stories published on the Standard Group raid by the *Standard* and *Nation*

1.5 Research Questions

1.) How was the Standard Group raid of 2006 covered by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation*?

2.) What themes stood out in the stories done on the Standard Group raid by the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers?

3.) What were the sources of stories published on the Standard Group raid of 2006 by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation*?

1.6 Rationale for the Study

The main purpose of this study was to establish how the two main newspapers in Kenya covered the government's interference with the operations of the media in Kenya, using the Standard Group raid as a case study. This paper looked into the case study with the aim of finding out how the media houses reported on the raid, in terms of what stories took the lead, who were prominent parties covered, were there editorial pieces done on the raid, were the stories objective? This study was carried out mainly to find out whether the parties affected in the raid got enough coverage.

1.7 Justification of the Study

There have been various instances of government activities interfering with the media all over the world throughout the years. This study sought to find out how the two leading

Kenyan newspapers, the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* reported on government activities during the Standard Group raid. On the other hand, this study was of importance as it was of use to other scholars so that they can use it as an example of how media houses report on government interference in the Kenyan media and more so infringing on press freedom. Scholars used this study in future as a reference when carrying out further studies in this area.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The study covered the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspaper stories on the Standard Group raid during the month of March 2006 when the raid took place. This study was a qualitative research and was carried out for a period of 62 days.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

Unavailability of some information was an issue during this study. This was due to lack of proper documentation of the incident, which made it difficult for the researcher to find some newspapers. For instance, the researcher was unable to find the *Daily Nation* newspaper for 2nd March 2006.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter looks at the works of various authors and scholars who have studied the area of government interference in the media. It also relates what other authors to this study have done and furthermore showed any gaps that these previous studies may have left. This chapter furthermore delves into the various theories that were related to this study and come up with a conclusion for the literature review section.

2.1 Literature review

There are have been various instances of government interference in the operations of the media all over the world. The government can interfere with the operations of the Fourth Estate in various ways. First would be through intervention in their programming or in the media's editorial policies. In such a situation, the government dictates what to air and what not air to the media house, albeit indirectly. An example of this was seen in Britain when BBC could not report on some issues like the Suez crisis and the H-bomb issue, simply because the government had directed them not to (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991). According to Scannel and Cardiff, BBC could not air these programmes since it would not be in the government's best interests. This kind of intervention in the programming schedule of the BBC is a clear indication of the British government interfering in an industry that should be self-governing. On the other hand, the government may also interfere with the media operations through censorship. Censorship refers suppressing public communication or speech and any other kind of information that maybe considered objectionable, harmful, sensitive, politically incorrect or inconvenient as determined by governments, media outlets

and other relevant authorities. Censorship is therefore the control of information and ideas circulated by the media. In some countries, the media have been seen to self-censor, mainly so as not to go against the government. An example would be the Lebanese media. Shutting down transmission of media houses is another way in which the government can interfere with the operations of the news media. For instance, after the Buganda riots of 2009 in Uganda, the government shut down transmission on CBS Buganda for a whole year (Daily Monitor). Similarly, in Kenya, during the Standard Group raid, KTN's transmission was blocked for 24 hours. Violence is the last kind of government interference where media entities and journalists are attacked or their rights are violated. Recently, in Egypt, there were riots towards the end of June where a journalist was killed and about ten others injured. In Uganda, during the demonstrations on high food and petrol prices, the police were seen forcefully preventing the journalist from doing live coverage. The government can also interfere with the news media by passing legislative laws that muzzle the media; the Ugandan media has done this by passing the Anti-Terrorism law has elements that could link journalists to terrorism if they give coverage to rebels. The Phone Tapping law also allows the government to eavesdrop on calls, making it difficult for journalists to hide their sources.

2.2. Press freedom in Britain

Paddy Scannell & David Cardiff (1991) looked into the operations of the BBC in their book, *A social history of British Broadcasting*. In part one of their book, Scannell and Cardiff look into the relationship between BBC and politics and more so into how controversial issues were dealt with between 1922 and 1939 (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991). In this book, the authors look into how a country's government can interfere with the media and its operations. The authors further look at what the relationship between the BBC and politics was during this

period. They look at the various instances when the British government intervened in the programming of the BBC. Though the BBC is Britain's public broadcaster and is deemed to be free from any form of government interference, there have been several instances where this has not been true. Back in 1985, the Home Secretary at the time, Leon Brittan, requested the Chair of BBC Governors, through writing, not to air a programme on Northern Ireland in the Real Lives Series. The Governor promptly complied with the request. (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991). Over ten years later, the events surrounding BBC's reporting on the Hutton Inquiry and the Iraq war have raised several questions. One example of this was the Suez Crisis of 1956.

Though there has been public proof of government interference in the operations of BBC, majority of the academic studies that have done on British broadcasting have shied away from investigating how great the government's role has been. *Governing the BBC*, published in 1979 by Asa Briggs is a book that studies of the role of the Governors of the BBC based on the author's considerable access to BBC archives as he was writing of the official history of the Corporation. Briggs in his book, *Governing the BBC* looks at nine case studies from the early days of the BBC to the 1970's whereby the BBC found itself under political pressure. Briggs, (1979). There are however a number of instances of government interference in the BBC from the pre-war period that Briggs has not covered which have been uncovered by Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff in the first volume of their *A Social History of British Broadcasting* (Scannell and Cardiff 1991). The H-bomb case, the Suez crisis case and the War Game case are some of the cases that have been extensively covered by Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff in the book. In all the three cases, the chair of the BBC Board of Governors is seen to be the bridge between the government and the Corporation.

2.2.1 The H Bomb case

In 1954/1955, a programme on the hydrogen bomb was proposed. The head of features at BBC wanted to air a programme on atomic weapons on the 9th anniversary of the Hiroshima tragedy (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991). This programme was to cover several issues: Los Alamos 1945, the decision to use the bomb in war, the physics of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, dangers of peacetime explosion of hydrogen bombs and lastly, hydrogen bombs in war. This Defense White Paper would make public Britain's decision to manufacture a new weapon. This made the H-bomb programme a very sensitive issue. This is why the government intervened before the programme was aired, due to its delicate nature it was argued, the programme was not to be aired so as not to worry the public.

2.2.2 The Suez crisis

The Suez crisis of 1956 was another instance of government interference with the BBC's editorial policy. BBC, being the national broadcaster in Britain found itself in a very critical situation since, as the chair of the BBC Board of Governors was also a director of the Suez Canal Company. This made it hard for the government not to intervene in the programming of the BBC in a bid to control information flow to members of the public. According to Scannell and Cardiff, the British government was very particular about what could be aired by BBC during this period due to the sensitivity of the issue in relation to Britain (Scannell & Cardiff 1991). Suez crisis was very clear. Briggs, 1979, gives an account of government pressure on the BBC during the Suez crisis of 1956.

2.3 Press freedom in the Middle East

In Syria on the other hand, the media is far from being liberal and free from government interference, which was expected to happen when Bashar al-Assad came to power (Islam 2008). According to Roumeen Islam, Syrians today get their information from three Arabic newspapers and one English newspaper, all of which act as a mouthpiece for the government and the Ba'ath party to promote their ideologies. Lebanon has also been a troubled country for many years, with civil wars being very common for decades. The Lebanese media should be free from government interference. However, Lebanese state censorship of the media over the past few decades has been rampant. Self-censorship by the media themselves has also been seen in the country since most media houses would rather be supportive of the government than report against the government (Islam, 2008). However, the Lebanese media are considered the most 'free' in the Arab region.

This is however not true since it is seen that the freedom of the media in Lebanon is restricted. Roumeen Islam argues that the Lebanese media are not free from interference by the government; censorship by the state is rampant along with self-censorship by the media institutions. Thus, the media in Lebanon cannot report objectively on issues but rather selectively inform the public. Furthermore, in Lebanon; a specific media institution speaks for each sect. Islam also highlights various instances of journalists being harassed in Lebanon on issues they have reported (Islam, 2008). The print media in the country operate under a 1962 law, which has had a few amendments over the years (Islam 2008). This press law provides the press with a level of freedom with minimal formal state censorship. It established the limits within which the freedom of the press should be exercised. The actual implementation of these limits, however, was determined by the unique confessional nature

of the Lebanese system of government. The audiovisual media in Lebanon on the other hand operate under a 1994 law, which saw a Higher Council for Audiovisual Media established. This council is made up of ten members who are chosen mainly by their sectarian affiliation rather than their media expertise; 5 are appointed by the council of ministers and the other 5 are appointed by parliament. This goes to show that in no way will the media be free of government interference.

2.4 Press Freedom in Africa

Hatchen (1993) argues that media in Africa have failed to grow and prosper because African governments have not promoted the economic and political climate, which would lead to independent, critical and economically viable media. Instead, African leaders have taken it upon themselves to control and suppress the media, resulting in what he calls a “kept press” whose role is that of a “cheerleader” supporting unpopular leaders and their policies. Faringer (1991) also attempts a limited look at press freedom in Africa, whereby she examines the media in Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana, all British colonies. With liberation of African countries from colonialism, it was expected that a free press could now blossom. These are political problems, economic and financial problems, infrastructural problems, human resource and training problems. For example, Bofofo argues that predominant patterns of state ownership, management and control of the media in many African countries provide little leeway for the free access to information for the media and the expression of critical or opposing viewpoints.

Besides, although most African constitutions contain clauses on freedom of speech or expression, few have explicit guarantees of media or press freedom and free flow of information. He goes on to add that the excessive political, legal and extra-legal constraints

on the media in Africa have a debilitating impact to the extent that these measures undermine the capacity of the media to appropriately and effectively fulfil their functions in building democratic societies and protecting and defending basic human rights of the people.

According to a World Press Freedom review done by the international Press Institute in 1992, pre-publication censorship is still an ongoing practice in Cameroon. In Algeria, on the other hand, the president at the time suspended a number of publications through a presidential decree no 92-320 and a few journalists even apprehended. According to this review, the media in Africa is a long way from being free. However, in the World Press Freedom index report for 2015, Namibia was in position 17, the only African country in the top 20. Ghana is the second highest ranked African country by this index at position 22. In East Africa, Kenya was in position 100 and Uganda at position 97. The World Press Freedom Index is a report done by reporters without borders and it ranks the performance of 180 countries. The criteria for ranking these countries is based on media independence, media pluralism, respect for freedom and safety of journalists, the institutional, legislative and infrastructural environments that the media operate in. There was a drastic decline in freedom of information in the year 2014. At least two-thirds of the countries surveyed for the 2015 World Press Freedom Index performed less well than in the previous year. The annual global indicator, which measures the overall level of violations of freedom of information in 180 countries year by year, has risen to 3,719, an 8 percent increase over 2014 and almost 10 percent compared with 2013. This decline affected all continents.

2.4.1 Press Freedom in Kenya

Kenya is considered to have evolved over the years since colonial times in terms of press freedom. However, regardless of the many developments on the media front, the press in Kenya only have a degree of freedom. Just like in other African countries, the press in Kenya

has been used by various government regimes as a channel to propagate the ideologies and matters of the ruling party. According to Ochilo, P. J. Omolo, it is against the above background in relation to the nature of the political system in Kenya now and the country's historical development of the media and its relations with government that provides us with the basis to analyze press freedom and the role of the media in Kenya (Ochilo, 1992).

In Kenya, the media has had a critical role to play under multi-party politics. Indeed the media have been in the forefront, especially the print media, in sensitizing the Kenyan population on the virtues of a democratic system. At times, they have done so against the wishes of the government of the day. Political education by the print media especially after the repeal of section (2A) of the Kenyan constitution in 1991 that made Kenya once again a multi-party democracy, went a long way in preparing the Kenyan population on what it means to belong to different parties in one country and the significance of the individual's right to vote.

Ansah (1992) argues that the media have a key role to play in the political, economic, social and cultural transformation of the society. For example, the media, he argues, have a crucial role to play in the promotion of democracy and development in Africa, more so in nations like Kenya, which have for a long time been under single party rule. Ansah argues that for this role to be achieved, the media in Africa must provide a forum for collective discussion and evaluation of options to enable the public to arrive at well considered decisions. Furthermore, the watchdog role of the media where the media plays a checkpoint role to the excesses of the government needs to be an integral part of the functions of the media, more so in Kenya under the multi-party politics. There are a number of factors that can limit Press Freedom and more so the roles and functions of the Media in Kenya. In the African context, one key area where the role of the media is most crucial (Ansah, 1992) is in the expected

contribution of the media to the process of establishing open, democratic and stable societies. However, this resides in the media's ability to expose and criticize bureaucratic incompetence, corruption, abuse of power and the violation of human rights. Ansah adopts the position that the mass media constitutes the institutional framework for exercising a regular scrutiny on the activities of the government to see how performance matches promise or how programmes are being implemented. In a democratic society, actions of the government, which is only a trustee²⁸ of the collective will and power of the people, are expected to be regulated by the force of public opinion and the press is the most appropriate medium for gauging and reflecting public opinion. The position of Ansah and the now widely-accepted conceptualization of development that puts a premium on the human factor, human dignity and active participation of the people in the development process.

In recognition of this central role of the media in human oriented development process, Sevigny has observed that: If we accept that the direct participation of people is essential to their own development, then we must also recognize that such participation will not be possible if people are denied the means to express themselves, to share experience and ideas. If they cannot learn what is going on in their own country, in their region, or in the rest of the world, if they cannot openly and freely discuss and formulate strategies to strengthen their economies and improve their lives, then change will be slow with limited participation and with benefits for only a few. However, despite these fundamental roles of the media in Africa, Kenya included, a number of obstacles still stand in their way, seriously and negatively affecting their roles.

Most African governments, Kenya included, have been faced by critical diminishing financial resources, foreign debt burden as well as the deteriorating low standards of living since the oil crisis of the 1970s. These have affected the operations of the mass media as the hard

currency required for the acquisition of machinery; raw materials, technical inputs and newsprint have increasingly continued to diminish with serious consequences on the diversity and growth of the mass media. Also of significance is the problem of poor infrastructure as relates to the geographical patterns and linguistic diversity in Africa, which tends to limit the media's ability to disseminate information and stimulate people's levels of participation. Similarly, the apparent dearth of expertise and trained personnel still limits the media performance in Kenya and other parts of Africa. Rukwaro (1992) argues that as far as the Constitution of Kenya is concerned it does not guarantee freedom of the press. The law merely guarantees freedom of speech to all persons. In effect, the media in Kenya does not enjoy constitutional protection any more than any person in Kenya. According to Rukwaro, there is a major flaw in the constitution that is of critical concern as this freedom can be derogated on so many grounds that at the end of the day one is left in doubt as to what freedom one has. In other words, Kenya, unlike the U.S., has not embodied the concepts of press freedom in her fundamental laws.

The effect of this omission means that the role of the media under the current multiparty politics in Kenya is being seriously hampered through ambiguous laws relating to the freedom of the media and the freedom with which they may be able to deal with the various political, economic, cultural and social issues. Other limiting laws in the Kenyan context is the penal code, and the sedition and criminal libel, which have very broad limitations on the free functions of the media. Furthermore, there is also the question of direct political interference with the activities of the media. For example, according to a 1992 report of a New York based committee to protect journalists, a number of journalists and their publications have been frequently harassed, intimidated or interrogated by the government security personnel. The government took exceptions to these publications for publishing what

was seen as denunciations of the ruling party KANU, reports on sensitive issues like corruption and human rights violations and ethnic clashes in some parts of Kenya. It is therefore important that these kind of actions be understood as undermining both the press freedom and some of the basic 30 democratic principles of tolerance and acceptance of constructive descent. Furthermore, such actions run contrary to the basic human rights recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations as documented in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. For example, relevant articles in this context are articles 18 and 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom either alone or in a community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief into teaching, practice, worship and observance, {article 18) Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontier, (article 19) Other countries in Africa have equally been against press freedom. For example, in South Africa, journalists gained latitude after the lifting of the state of emergency in 1991. However, journalists find themselves endangered by factional violence while covering rallies or township violence often instigated by supporters of opposing political parties.

In West Africa, at least eight francophone newspapers were closed for allegedly failing to comply with press laws. In Liberia on the other hand, journalists are targeted by all sides in the civil war; while in Malawi, some journalists have either been detained or fired for writing critical editorials. Similar harassments have been seen in other countries such as Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, Togo, Zaire and Ivory Coast.

The various obstacles facing the media in Kenya are in many ways similar to those that face media institutions in the rest of Africa. It is therefore not paradoxical that many scholars tend to provide similar solutions to these problems. For example, Bofo argues that in order to deal with political problems facing the media in Africa, there is need for the African countries to have a provision of explicit clauses in their constitutions, which guarantee press freedom and the establishment of mass media free from political and governmental controls. Besides, there is need for the decentralization of media ownership in Africa in order to allow individuals, groups, trade unions and non-governmental organizations to own the media as one of the ways of easing levels of political controls. Furthermore, the political interference on the activities of the media may be addressed through the establishment of national media trusts and commissions whose purpose would be to protect the media against governmental pressure and ensure that media professionals go about their jobs without fear of reprisals from the government in power. There is need to decentralize the ownership as evidence now show that private media owners have deep interest in the "maintenance of status quo". In this regard therefore, the media owners need to be ideologically clear on the press freedom and the roles of the media beyond their desire to maintain status quo at the expense of press freedom. To this end therefore, non-governmental organizations should be encouraged to establish media systems that respond to the people's needs and their rights to communicate and to participate in information generation and dissemination. The media in Africa should be managed and operated by academically and professionally well-trained people. This calls for the strengthening of the media educational training institutions in Africa through increase of funding levels for their programmes and through maximum use of local relevant resources. The media professionals must themselves take the lead in opposing all forms of laws or implied governmental interventions that negate the press freedom. They

must therefore seek the repeal of the obstructive laws through the legal machinery available in Kenya. Kenyans must collectively take the lead in strengthening the civil society capable of standing against oppression of any kind and other obstacles to the press freedom. Kenyans must allow the media to play the watchdog role on the press freedom and democracy. To this end, the media must continue to impress on the government that in a democratic society the government is a trustee of the collective will of the people, and that the actions of the government are expected to be regulated by public opinion. The media are the most appropriate outlets in gauging public opinion. This can only take place when the press and the people are fully free from any forms of governmental interference.

According to an article done my Franklin Sunday, Kenya's media freedom standing dropped drastically since 2013. Global media watchdog, Reporters without Borders, claimed that Parliament has played a major role in gagging the Press in Kenya by passing laws that were retrogressive in a bid to curtail media freedom in the country. Apart from that, the watchdog also pointed a finger at the government's response to media's coverage of the Westgate Mall terror attack. Kenya had dropped 19 positions to position 90 in the 2014 ranking and continued to drop in the 2015 World Press Freedom Index to position 100, lower than Uganda, which was in position 97.

While the worst falls in press freedom in Africa were due to armed conflicts, Kenya stands out for having in place laws that raise the risk profile for local and foreign journalists in the country. "In Kenya, the Government's much criticized authoritarian response to the media coverage of the Westgate Mall attack was compounded by dangerous parliamentary initiatives, above all, a law adopted at the end of 2013 creating a special court to judge audio-visual content," reads the report in part. The new rankings come barely days after the tabling of the Parliamentary Powers and Privileges Bill, 2014, which aims to bar journalists and the

public from scrutinizing the work of Parliament. The Bill, which has been criticized by members of the Press, media owners, regulators and a section of MPs, is seen as an attempt by Parliament to shield itself from public scrutiny. One of the clauses singled out as retrogressive imposes a Sh500,000 fine and jail term on a journalist who publishes reports that, in the lawmakers' judgment, are deemed defamatory to Parliament. Witnesses summoned to testify before the House committees and failing to appear will also be required to pay a fine of up to Sh500,000. The Bill has been termed illegal and unconstitutional by several lawmakers, with the Media Council of Kenya, Media Owners Association, Kenya Union of Journalists and Editors Guild all threatening legal action against it. Journalists and media houses suffered another blow last year when President Uhuru Kenyatta assented to the Kenya Information and Communications (Amendment) Bill 2013.

2.4.2 Press Freedom in Uganda

Since time immemorial, the media in Uganda has been a dangerous business especially under Idi Amin Dada and Milton Obote's rule. However, since Yoweri Museveni came into power in 1986, there have been significant changes in press freedom. According to Melinda B Robins, media in Uganda is only 'free' in comparison to what it was in the past. Journalists in Uganda have often detained incommunicado in the past for defamation and sedition after which they are released. There is therefore still a lot of development that can be done in the area of press freedom promotion in the country. Even though there is no direct censorship from the government, there is subtle repression and self-censorship. Press freedom in Uganda is for sure under a real threat since there is no constitutional provision that protects journalists.

The press system in Uganda is one of the systems that need urgent development and modernization. By the mid 1980's, government suppression, economic adversity and civil war had almost killed the media industry in Uganda, however, by 1994, the country now had 20 newspapers in different languages, five dailies and one bi-weekly paper. On top of that, the country had two privately owned FM stations. Though the media landscape in Uganda has greatly improved, there is still a lot of mistrust between journalists and the government. Infarct, more than 30 journalists have been detained during Museveni's rule, some of them even multiple times. The main charges brought on to journalists are publishing false news or seditious materials and defamation. Thus, it goes without saying that the watchdog role in Uganda can only be pushed so far. The authority is also at liberty to prosecute anyone publishing information that is regarded to be hostile to the armed forces, or with treason with carries a death sentence. Regardless of Ugandan media being presumed as free, there has been a pattern over the years whereby the state threatens to imprison or even imprisons those criticizing government policies or performance. In 1993 for instance, the government tried to enforce an economic squeeze on *the Monitor*-an independent biweekly paper-by banning all state-owned companies and departments from advertising with them.

2.5 Theories Used in the Study

2.5.1 The Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting is a very important role of the media. Agenda setting is the ability to tell the audience what issues are important. This theory posits that the news media may not necessarily tell us what to think but they definitely tell us what to think about.

The agenda setting theory is based on two core assumptions; first, that the media do not reflect reality; rather, they filter and shape it and secondly, media concentration on a few

issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. (Bernard Cohen 1963) stated: “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.” He argued that the media had the power to present images to the public. McCombs and Shaw first brought this communication theory forward in 1972, after which they investigated the U.S presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976. They attempted to investigate the agenda setting function of the media by assessing the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues and the actual content of the media during the campaign. The conclusion was that mass media exerted a very significant influence when it came to what voters considered the major issues of the campaign. The theory further posits that users can get gratification from familiarity with a genre within a medium. For instance, many people in Kenya may watch the Churchill Live show since they feel they can relate to the issues promoted by the show. The theory also presents use of media in terms of satisfaction of social or psychological needs of an individual (Blumler & Katz 1974). Mass media compete with other sources of gratification, though gratification can be attained from a medium’s content.

2.5.1.1 Critiques of the Agenda setting theory

Some of the critiques of the agenda setting theory include the fact that the agenda setting theory acts as a springboard for further research. It can also be proven false; this is in the sense that if the audience is not exposed to the same media, they will not feel the same issues as important. On the other hand, it is parsimonious because it is not complex; it is very easy to understand. Its meta-theoretical assumptions are scientifically balanced. It helps in organizing the existing knowledge of media effects. It also has predictive power since it

predicts that if audiences are exposed to the same media content, they will feel the same issues are important.

In relation to this research paper, the media publicized the Standard Group raid so much that they set the agenda for the public. During that period after the Standard Group raid in March of 2006, majority of the population was talking about the Standard Group raid. This goes to show how powerful the agenda-setting role of the news media is.

2.6 Conclusion

The research done by Scannell and Cardiff(1991)only shows some of the instances of the British government's interference with the British Broadcasting Corporations in terms of the broadcaster's editorial policy. They however do not look into other forms of government interference, such as censorship, violent raids and destruction of property along with legislative interference where laws are passed in a bid to try to gag the media and reduce their freedoms. This goes to show that media is not completely free from the government even in developed countries and that interference from the government is not an Asian-African phenomenon.

According to the research done by Roumeen Islam (2008) the media in the Middle East have the least independent media in the world since the governments in this region constantly interfere with the media. Press freedom in Africa has really development since Colonial times and but there is room for more improvement. Though the media in Africa had gained a lot of freedom as compared to the past, African media is not free from government interference, as the literature has pointed out. Governments of today are still trying to come up with new ways of controlling the media, albeit subtly. Some countries like Uganda up to date have no

constitutional provisions to protect journalists, which is very worrying seeing we are in a new century.

Further research can be carried out in the area of government interference and the development of press freedom throughout the world. Is the media really free? This is a key area that should be delved into deeply by scholars. From the literature review, it is clear that press freedom issues are there the world over, even in first world countries however, more subtle when compared to the Middle East and other African countries. On top of that, more research can be done on whether the media can be completely free from government and political intervention, are the two intertwined? This can be done by looking at what the politics and media situation was like in the past and how it has changed to date. This comparison would show that the media in most countries are ideally free from government interference today as compared to the past, though the media is not completely free, just to a certain degree, which changes from country to country.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter provides all the relevant research methods and approaches that were used to carry out the study. It also looks into the philosophical paradigms that were applied for the study, population and sampling, data collection, data analysis and presentation, the validity and reliability of the collected data along with the ethical considerations that were looked at before the study is carried out.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

A paradigm as defined by (Gliner and Morgan, 2000) is a way of thinking about and conducting research. It is not strictly a methodology, but more of a philosophy that guides how research is to be conducted. Two main issues were considered when it came to philosophical paradigm that is, ontology and epistemology. In other words the nature of reality and the way reality is studied. Under ontology, what shaped the researcher's view during the research is the relativists' position. This takes a subjective view that there is no single viewpoint of the world and therefore reality is internal to and dependent on the individual's perceptions and experiences (Johnson, 2008). According to Denzin & Lincoln, Relativism is the belief that reality is a finite subjective experience and nothing exists outside our thoughts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Thinkers that use this philosophical paradigm believe that reality is relative to some other part of society, for instance cultures, beliefs, upbringing and so forth. This philosophical paradigm thus views reality as a subjective experience. Epistemologically, this study used the Interpretist philosophical paradigm. According to this philosophical paradigm, the research was guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and more

so feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. This paradigm accepts multiple meanings and ways of knowing and acknowledges that it is not possible to capture objective reality.

3.3 Research Approach

According to Gall, Borg and Gall (2003), research can be classified based on the type of data collected or method of data collection used. There are two types of research approaches namely quantitative and qualitative approach (Mugenda, 2008).

The qualitative approach was used in this study based on the type of data and method of data collection that were employed, in this case, reviewing of past records. The qualitative research approach is the most common approach that used when carrying out social science research. Qualitative research is the kind of research aimed at gaining a deep understanding of a specific organization or in this case a specific event. Qualitative research is based on texts and images, pictures etc. (Creswell, 2003). This kind of research aims at providing an explicit rendering of the structure, order and broad patterns found among a group of participants. This kind of research is also called field research. Qualitative research is more flexible in that it can adjust to the setting. Concepts, data collection tools, and data collection methods can be adjusted as the research progresses. When this study was carried out, the data collection methods and data collection tools were adjusted as the research progresses. Qualitative research aims to get a better understanding through first-hand experience, truthful reporting, and quotations of actual conversations. It aims to understand how the participants derive meaning from their surroundings, and how their meaning influences their behavior. This study used qualitative research due to the flexibility it offered. This flexibility allowed the methods and tools of data collection to be adjusted as the study progresses. On top of that,

the qualitative method of research was used in this study because it aims at getting an in-depth understanding of a specific event, in this case, the Standard Group raid of 2006. By using qualitative research for this study, a clear understanding of how the two leading media houses in Kenya reported on the after the Standard Group raid was clearly shown.

3.4 Research Method

The main research method that was used in this study was content analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research technique that is widely used in qualitative research studies. Content analysis is defined as a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding. (Berelson, 1952). Holsti, 1969 on the other hand defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. Content analysis uses 3 distinct approaches: the conventional approach, the directed approach and the summative approach. All these approaches are used in interpretation of meaning from the content of text data. Differences among these three approaches are brought about by the coding schemes used, the origin of codes along with any threats to trustworthiness. Conventional content analysis derives the codes used directly from text data while in the directed approach of content analysis, the analysis starts with relevant research findings or a theory. Summative content analysis on the other hand involves counting and comparisons, of either content or keywords along with interpretation of the context. This research study used Conventional content analysis as a research technique.

3.5 Population and Sampling

3.5.1 Target Population

According to Cooper and Schindler, a population is the group that research focuses on (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). Target population in statistics is the specific population from which information is desired. A research population is also defined as a well-defined collection of objects that have similar characteristics or traits. The objects within a given population usually have a common, characteristic or trait that binds them together. The targeted population for this particular study was 62 newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspaper stories on the Standard Group raid.

3.5.2 Sampling

3.5.2.1 Sampling frame

A sampling frame refers to the characteristics used in identifying the sample chosen for a research study. The characteristic was used to identify the sampling frame used in this study was the Standard Group raid. This is because this is how the sample for the study was identified.

3.5.2.2 Sample

A sample is a portion or rather a sub-set of a population which is chosen for observation, measurement or questioning in order to provide the required data and information about the population. This study was a census since it used all the stories that were done on the Standard Group raid.

3.6 Data Collection

This study used a coding sheet as its method of data collection. When collecting data, this study used stories from both the *Standard* newspaper and the *Daily Nation* newspaper for a period of one month, during which the Standard Group raid happened. This period was

chosen so that the study can assess the manner in which the Standard Group raid was reported by the two main daily newspapers in Kenya.

3.6.1 Data collection process

When collecting data for the study, the researcher went to the University of Nairobi Library. In the periodicals section, the researcher found newspapers for the month of March 2006 and went through the *Daily Nation* newspaper stories for the month of March 2006, focusing on those that covered the Standard Group raid. The researcher found 20 stories from the *Daily Nation* that covered the Standard Group raid. However, the researcher did not find a copy of the *Daily Nation* for 2 March 2006. The researcher photocopied these stories. The researcher was however unable to find the *Standard* newspapers for the month on 2006 March in the University of Nairobi library. The researcher then went to the Macmillan library but still did not find *Standard* newspapers for March 2006. The Kenya National Library also did not have *Standard* newspapers for March 2006. The researcher decided to go to the Standard Group library at their offices on Mombasa Road. Here the researcher paid a fee of shs. 200 in order to get access to the library. At the Standard Group library, the researcher found the *Standard* newspapers for the month of March 2006 and photocopied the stories that were related to the Standard Group raid. With all the available stories on the Standard Group raid, the researcher then separated the stories by further photocopying to ensure that each copy had only one story on the raid. This was done in order to allow for coding the stories. The researcher then coded the stories from the *Standard* and then those from the *Daily Nation*.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected during this study was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method of qualitative data analysis, which use words, codes or rather themes to serve as section titles. As Boyatzis (1998) writes in *Transforming Qualitative Information*, thematic

analysis is a process of "encoding qualitative information. According to Richards (2003, 2009) and Yin, 2003, 2009), data analysis in qualitative research involves looking at the data, assigning categories and putting together emerging issues into themes in an attempt to answer research questions. According to Aronson (1994), using thematic analysis is a process that starts by first reading and listing the categories of experiences from the collected data and field notes then identifying all the data that illustrate the categories. My analysis took an inductive approach where themes emerged from data. The presentation of collected data from the study was done in narrative form and tabulation. Narration is presentation of data collected in a conversational form. Tabulation on the other hand refers to the use of tables and charts to present data.

3.8 Dependability and credibility

According to Bassey, credibility is extent to which a research fact or finding is what it is claimed to be (Bassey, 1999, p.74). To ensure credibility of the study key concepts were reviewed, here clear operational definitions which have been identified were used consistently throughout the study.

Dependability is defined as demonstrating that the operations of a study –such as the data collection procedures-can be repeated, with the same results (Yin, 2003, p.34). This was ensured in this study by making a thick description of the entire research process. A proper interpretation on the coding sheet used was done in order to ensure dependability of the research done.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Some ethical considerations were taken into consideration before this study is carried out. The first issue that was taken into consideration was the presentation of the proposal to the

lecturers' panel for approval before going to the field to collect data. The researcher also had to get an approval letter to carry out fieldwork from the University's school of Journalism.

3.1.0 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and an acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining outside of one's subject matter while conducting research (Jwan et al, 2011).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter focused on data analysis, results presentation and discussion of the findings. The overall objective of this study was to find out how the two main media houses in Kenya reported on the Standard Group raid of 2006, to establish which themes dominated the newspaper stories done on the Standard Group raid of 2006. Another objective of this study was to find out who were the main sources of the stories done on the Standard Group raid by the two main media houses in Kenya. The research findings were presented in form of narratives, tables, pie charts and bar graphs.

4.1 Data analysis

Table 1.1: Total number of articles on the Standard Group raid

	Standard		Nation	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Analysis	7	7%	1	1%
News	57	61%	15	16%
Opinion and Commentary	3	3%	1	1%
Front-page stories	5	5%	3	3%
Editorials	1	1%	0	0
Total	73	78%	20	21%

Source: Researcher 2015

There were 93 stories done by both the dailies on the Standard Group raid over a period of 10 days. Both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* had most of the newspaper stories on the SG raid as news stories. The *Daily Nation* only had one analysis piece that covered the SG raid while the *Standard* had seven analysis pieces. One of the analysis pieces in the *Standard* was done by Cyrus Kinyungu and was titled: Standard staff recount attack on press, offices. The *Daily Nation* however did not run an editorial piece on the Standard Group raid while the *Standard* only had one editorial piece. The editorial in the *Standard* expressed outrage on the Standard Media Group attack on press freedom in Kenya. The editorial also showed the stand by the Standard Group on extra-judicial scoring of scores by politicians and promised to pull all available resources to keep their readers entertained and informed. A good number of the stories on the raid were front-page stories, with 3% of the stories in the *DN* being front-page stories and 7% in the *Standard*. Some of the headlines that the front-page stories in the *Daily Nation* carried were:

Ali: raid was carried out behind my back

Michuki must quit calls at ODM demo for free media.

Ali meets Kibaki for crisis talks over raid

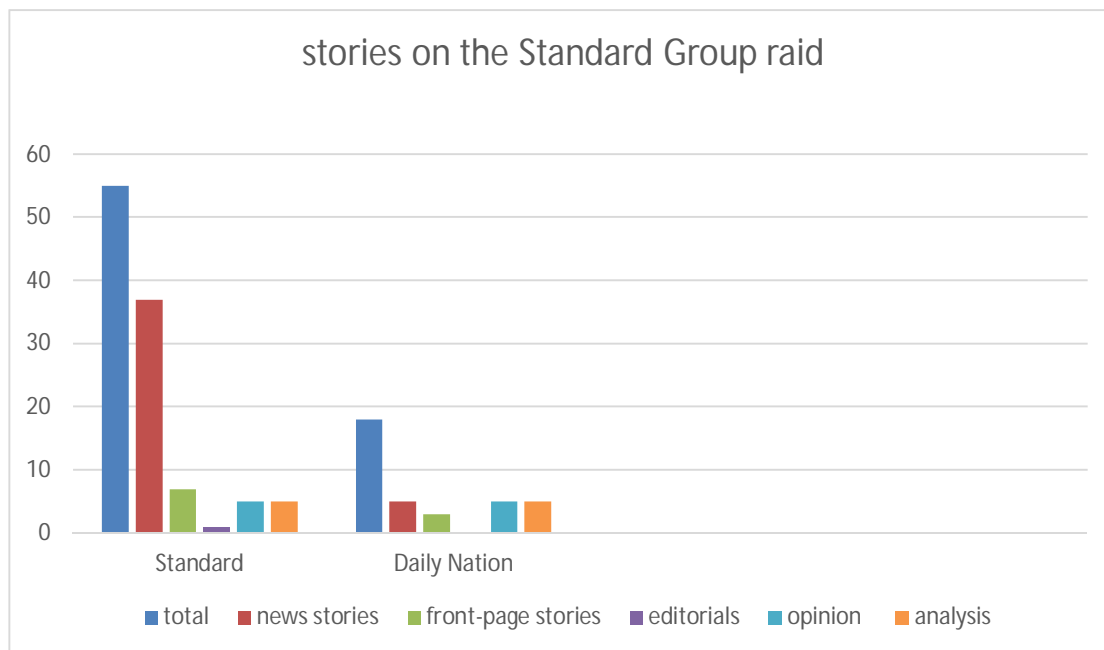
In the *Standard*, some of the headlines for front-page stories on the raid were:

Police boss says he was kept in the dark on raid.

UK's House of Lords debates Standard raid.

There were however only three Opinion and Commentary pieces on the raid in the *Standard* and only one in the *Daily Nation*.

Graph 1.1 Total Stories on the Standard Group raid



Source: Researcher 2015

This graph shows that the *Standard* newspaper had more stories on the SG raid than the *Daily Nation*. News stories in the *Standard* were more than 30 while in the *Daily Nation*; they were slightly more than 10. It is also important to note that front-page stories, editorials, analysis and Opinion and commentary pieces were less than 10 in both newspapers. The graph also shows that the *DN* did not run an editorial piece on the SG raid. According to this graph, the *Standard* newspaper did a lot more coverage on the SG raid than the *Daily Nation*; therefore, the members of the public were not effectively enlightened on the raid.

4.2 Themes

During the reporting on the SG raid, a number of themes were given prominence by the two leading dailies. The main themes that came out in the stories done on the SG raid were press freedom, journalists' security, politics, law and reforms and foreign response. The table below looks at how these themes spread out in the two Kenyan dailies.

Table 1.2: Themes in the Standard Group raid stories

	Standard		Nation	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Politics	20	30%	13	20%
Law and reforms	3	4%	1	1%
Foreign response	5	7%	2	3%
Journalists security	3	4%	0	0%
Press Freedom	14	21%	4	6%
Total	45	69%	20	31%

Source: Researcher 2015

From the table, the theme of politics came out quite strongly in the stories done on the SG raid of 2006 with 20 stories in the *Standard* and 13 in the *Daily Nation* covering politics. Out of the 93 stories done on the raid, 33 covered the theme of politics. Some of the story headlines that covered the theme of politics in the *Standard* were:

ODM leaders call for demo in solidarity with the press.

Michuki: Standard rattled the snake.

Ministers say attack extreme, barbaric

On the other hand, story headlines that brought out the theme of politics in the DN were:

Ali: Raid was carried out behind my back

Michuki-must quit calls at ODM demo for free media

Pressure mounts on Michuki to quit

Police chief caught in the cross fire

Another theme that was seen to come out very strongly in the stories done by both dailies was that of press freedom. Press freedom was seen in 14 stories in the *Standard* and four stories in the *Daily Nation*. Some of the story headings that covered the theme of press freedom in the *Standard* were:

KTN back on air 13 hours after shut down.

Wananchi express outrage at attack on Standard Group.

Kenyans say attack takes the country back to dark old days.

The story headlines for stories covering press freedom in the *Daily Nation* were:

How press nearly met raid bosses

KTN back on air after raid

Foreign response only got seven stories. The headlines for some of these stories that brought out foreign response in the *Standard* were:

ICJ president shocked by attack on media.

House of Lords debates raid.

Prosecute offenders diplomats tell state.

World Press calls for inquiry.

The stories that brought out foreign response in the *DN* had headlines such as:

27 foreign missions demand statement

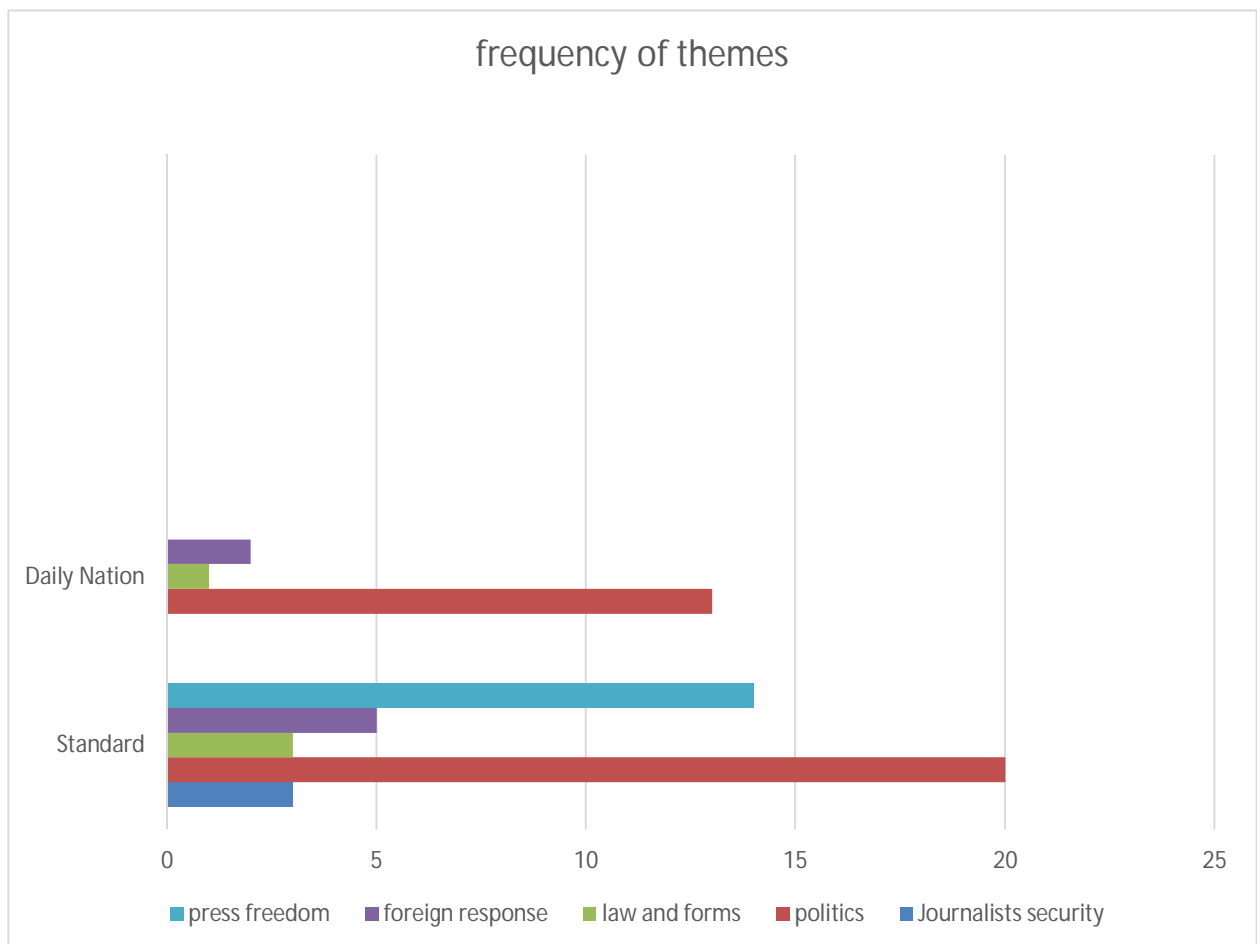
There were only four stories that covered law and reforms and they had headlines such as: Forum calls for vigilance on State terrorism in the *Standard* and President faces heat on media house raid in the *Daily Nation*.

Only three stories brought out the theme of journalists' security and they had headlines such as:

Raiders were looking for KTN anchor, Mwaura.

Senior officers led night attack

Graph 1.2 Frequency of themes



Source: Researcher 2015

The graph above shows the frequency of the themes brought out by the stories on the Standard Group raid. The most frequent theme in both the newspapers was politics, which recurred in 33 stories out of the 93 done on the SG raid. According to the graph, there were several stories that covered the theme of press freedom; however, this theme should have been covered on a wider scale considering it was the main issue that was brought out by the

Standard Group raid. Another theme that was covered by both dailies albeit inadequately by both dailies was journalists' security. This theme should have gotten more coverage considering the activities that happened during the SG raid. Both dailies were able to bring out the theme of foreign response quite well. Foreign response was covered more than the theme of law and reforms. Law and reforms came out in several stories from both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation*; however, it was downplayed since not enough stories covered this theme.

4.3 Sources of the stories on the Standard Group raid

This section of the study looked at the sources for the stories on the Standard Group raid for both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspaper. Some of the newsmakers in the Kenya media industry are politicians, media owners, religious leaders, journalists and foreign allies. The table below shows the sources of the newspaper stories covered by the two media houses on the Standard Group raid.

Table 1.5: Sources of Stories on Standard Group raid

	Standard		Nation	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Politicians	39	41%	10	10%
Religious leaders	4	4%	1	1%
Media Owners	4	4%	2	2%
Foreign allies	8	8%	3	3%

Journalists	19	20%	4	4%
Total	73	78%	20	21%

Source: Researcher 2015

The table shows that most of the stories done on the Standard Group raid by both dailies covered politicians the most. The stories on the SG raid that had politicians as the source had headlines such as:

Kalonzo says he's shocked by police operation.

How press nearly met raid bosses

KTN back on air after raid

Media Owners, though were the ones affected by the raid were somewhat downplayed when reporting on the raid was done. This is because, overall, there were only six stories that covered the media owners. Some of the story headlines for stories that had media owners as the source were:

Standard: assault an attack on media freedom.

Standard directors speak out.

Those in the *Daily Nation* had headlines such as:

Standard vows to sue the State for damages

Pay for loss, media owners demand.

However, there was good coverage on the journalists' end since they were the source of a good number of the stories done on the Standard Group raid. The stories that had journalists as the source in the *Standard* had headlines such as:

How attack on 'Standard', KTN was conducted.

I saw agents with seized computers in Mutua's office.

Stories on foreign allies were covered more during the Standard Group raid as opposed to religious leaders who have more influence in the Kenyan society. Some of the headings that the stories sourced from foreign allies in the *Daily Nation* had included;

Prosecute offenders, diplomats tell state.

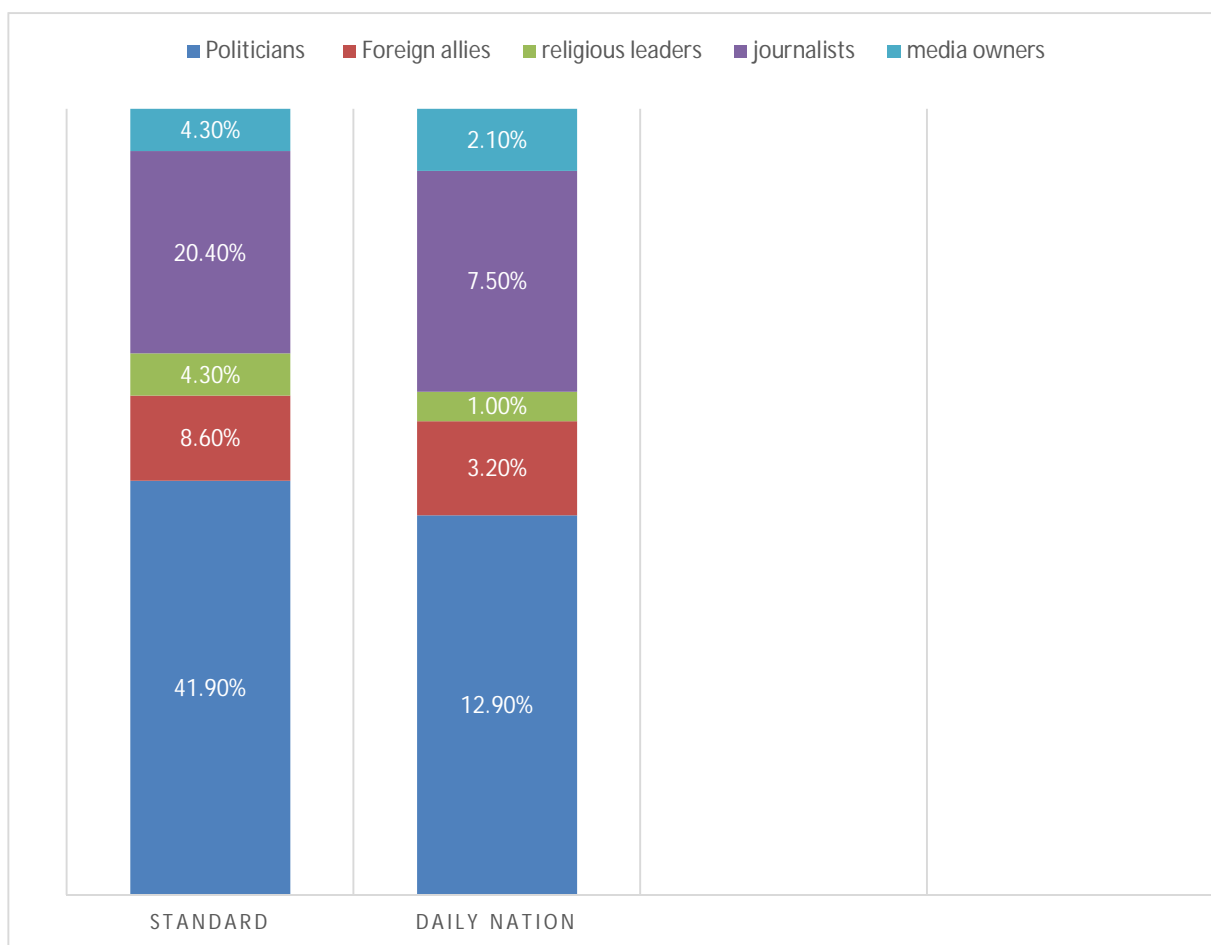
ICJ president shocked by attack on media.

Those stories that had religious leaders as the source had headlines such as:

President faces heat over media house raid.

Bishops criticize Kibaki’s remarks

Graph 1.3: Sources of stories on the Standard Group raid



Source: Researcher 2015

Stories on the Standard Group raid that covered politicians in the *Standard* were at 41.9% making them the most constant sources. In the *Daily Nation*, the politician related stories were at 12.9%. Media Owners however were not efficiently covered considered they were the victims in the raid. Media owners only got 4.3% coverage in the *Standard* newspaper and 2.1% in the *Daily Nation* on the raid. Religious leaders, regardless of their prominence in the Kenyan society, got just 4.3% coverage in the *Standard* newspaper and a mere 1.00% in the *Daily Nation*. Journalists were on the frontline of the Standard Group raid and their freedom was on the line, regardless of being a big part of this raid, they did not get as much coverage as politicians. They got just 20.40% coverage in the *Standard* and 7.50% in the *Daily Nation*. Foreign allies on the other hand got even more coverage than religious leaders. The *Standard* gave foreign allies 8.60% coverage while the *Daily Nation* gave them 3.20% coverage.

4.4 Conclusion

The two leading newspapers in the country had politicians as their main source for stories on the Standard Group raid. The two media houses did not use media owners and journalists who were the most affected by the Standard Group raid as their main sources of stories. The *Standard* newspaper did more coverage on the SG raid than the *Daily Nation* newspaper. This study further showed that the two leading media houses in Kenya tried to cover the Standard Group raid extensively. They were however not able to adequately cover the affected parties in the raid. The two dailies were able to enlighten the public however on the happening during and after the Standard Group raid through various themes. The themes brought out by the stories on the raid showed that politic was the most commonly covered theme along with journalists and foreign response. The *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspaper on the other hand delivered a good number of stories that covered press freedom. Thus, the two dailies adequately informed members of the public on the happenings before, during and

after the Standard Group raid. Moreover, the major newsmakers on the Standard Group raid were politicians. The other sources that were used for stories on the SG raid were media owners, religious leaders, foreign allies and journalists. However, these were not used as much as politicians were.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, discussion, conclusions and recommendations for practice and further research on the problem. This study aimed at establishing how the two main media houses in Kenya reported on the Standard Group raid of 2006. The specific objectives were to find out how the Standard Group raid of 2006 was covered by the two main media houses in Kenya. To establish what themes were brought out by the stories on the Standard Group raid and to find out who were the main sources of the stories on the Standard Group raid.

5.1 Summary of findings

Politicians were the most common source for stories on the Standard Group raid. The next most common source of stories for the SG raid was journalists, foreign allies, religious leaders and media owners. This goes to show that the coverage on the Standard Group raid of 2006 was highly skewed since all the involved parties lost sight of the issue at hand. Politicians' stories were covered widely by the two newspapers yet they allegedly had a role to play in the raid. By covering politics widely, the two newspapers ended up politicizing the raid. The public was therefore not well informed on the issues surrounding the Standard Group raid were and what this meant for the country, press freedom and the media fraternity at large.

Stories on the Standard Group raid that covered politicians in the *Standard* were at 41.9% making them the most prominent sources. In the *Daily Nation*, the politician related stories were at 12.9%. Media Owners however were not efficiently covered considered they were the victims in the raid. Media owners only got 4.3% coverage in the *Standard* newspaper and

2.1% in the *Daily Nation* on the raid. Religious leaders, regardless of their social standing in the Kenyan society, got just 4.3% coverage in the *Standard* newspaper and a mere 1.00% in the *Daily Nation*. Journalists were on the frontline of the Standard Group raid and their freedom was on the line, regardless of being a big part of this raid, they did not get as much coverage as politicians. They got just 20.40% coverage in the *Standard* and 7.50% in the *Daily Nation*. Foreign allies on the other hand got even more coverage than religious leaders. The *Standard* gave foreign allies 8.60% coverage while the *Daily Nation* gave them 3.20% coverage.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, the *DN* and the *Standard* Newspaper did not adequately cover the Standard Group raid in terms of covering the affected parties. This is because there was not enough information available to the readers on what was happening, mainly because majority of the stories done were covering the reactions from politicians, foreign allies and so forth. A majority of the stories done on the SG raid by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers were politicized seeing that most sources were politicians and the most covered theme was politics. The affected parties, in this case, the journalists and media owners were not covered properly. On top of that, the *D.N.*, which has a very wide readership, did not cover the Standard Group raid long and wide enough to cater to their large market. The study also found that the *Daily Nation* had no editorial while the *Standard* had only one editorial. The study also found that majority of the stories on the Standard Group raid were news stories. The study concluded that the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers had covered the Standard Group raid adequately but had downplayed the affected parties that are journalists and media owners. The political angle of coverage of the Standard Group raid had taken prominence during the reporting on the raid by the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. None of the two

dailies effectively covered the media owners yet they were among affected parties in that they would have to bear the financial implications that the raid brought on the media house. The coverage on foreign allies was quite good since they got 8% coverage in the *Standard* and 3% coverage in the *D.N.*

5.3 Recommendations

According to the findings from the study, politicians' related stories were the most covered stories in both the dailies. This should not have been the case since the dailies ended up politicizing the raid rather than informing the public on the cause, repercussions, fate of the affected parties, laws that were infringed and what this meant for press freedom in the country. Politicization of stories on press freedom infringement should be reduced when reporting in future. The media owners and journalists' angle should have been used more when reporting on press freedom infringement issues. The two leading newspapers should furthermore have taken a solid stand on press freedom infringement issues, by publishing more editorials. Journalists' rights and freedoms were not adequately covered, in the sense that the public were not enlightened on what these are and how the raid had infringed on them. Influential news makers in the Kenyan society such as religious leaders, should be given more coverage when such issues are being reported. The coverage on foreign allies was quite good since they got 8% coverage in the *Standard* and 3% coverage in the *D.N.*

5.4 Recommendations for further studies

From the findings, politicians' stories got 51% total coverage in both the dailies. This meant that more than ½ of all the stories on the Standard Group raid were related to politics. Further studies can be done on finding out the relation between politics and the media. There should be further research done on the ownership patterns of media in Kenya and if this affects press freedom and journalistic ethics. Moreover, it would be important in the future to look into

journalists and bribes or rather whether there is corruption in the media and how it may affect the news reporting done by journalists on press freedom infringement stories.

5.5 Conclusion

This study showed that the two leading media houses in Kenya tried to cover the Standard Group raid extensively but were not effectively able to do so. They were however not able to adequately cover the affected parties in the raid, in this case, journalists and media owners. The two dailies were however able to enlighten the public however on the happenings during and after the Standard group raid although not objectively as seen in the themes brought out by the stories and the story sources used by journalists. The themes brought out by the stories done on the raid show that politicians were the most covered along with journalists and foreign response. This goes to show that most of the stories that were done on the Standard Group raid had a political angle which should not have been the case. The *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspaper could have however covered the Standard Group raid in a different angle in order to include more stories on the affected parties. This means that the reporting that was done on the Standard Group raid by the two leading newspapers could have been improved in order to adequately cover the affected parties and bring out the seriousness of the issue of infringement on press freedom.

APPENDICES

CODING SHEET

Newspaper	Themes	Prominence	Types of stories
Standard	Press freedom S02E S03D S03M S03Q S06I S07A S08E S08F Politics S02A S02C S02D S03A S03E S03J S03H S03S S03Q S03U S04A S04B S04C S04D S05A S05B S05C S06A S06C S06D S06G S06I S08A S08C S08M S08N S08O S08H S08L	Politicians S02A S02C S02D S03A S03E S03J S03H S03S S03Q S03U S04A S04B S04C S04D S05A S05B S05C S06A S06C S06D S06G S06I S08A S08C S08M S08N S08O S08H S08L S08I S08J S09B S09C S09D S09E S10A S10B Religious leaders	News S02A S02B S02C S02D S02E S02F S03A S03M S03J S03H S03Q S03R S03S S04A S04B S04C S04D S04E S04F S05A S05B S05C S06C S06D S06F S06Q S07A S07B S07C S07D S07E S08A S08B S08C S08D S08E S08F S08G

<p> S09B S09C S09D S09E S10A S10B Journalists' security S03L S03M S03O S04C S04E Law and reforms S06H S09D Foreign response S03G S03I S06B S04F S08E S08G S08K </p>	<p> S03R S10C Media owners S02B S07C S07D Foreign allies S03G S03I S06B S04F S08E S08G S08K S09A Journalists S03L S03M S03O S04C S04E </p>	<p> S08H S08I S08L S08N S08O S09A S09C S10C Analysis S02F S03C S03U S04E S06E S08H S08M Opinion& Commentary S03F S03P Editorials S03T Front-page stories S03A S04A S05A S06A S09A </p>
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Daily Nation	Press freedom DN03B Politics DN03A DN03G DN05B DN05C DN05D DNO7A DN07B DN07C DN08A DN08B DN08C DN08D Journalists' security DN03D DN03E DN05A Law and reforms Foreign response DN03B DN03C	Politicians DN03A DN03G DN05B DN05C DN05D DNO7A DN07B DN07C DN08A DN08B DN08C DN08D Religious leaders DN05E Media owners DN03F DN03H Foreign allies DN03B DN03C Journalists DN03D DN03E DN05A	News DN03A DN03B DN03C DN03E DN03F DN03G DN03H DN05A DN05C DN05B DN05E DN07B Analysis DN05D Opinion& Commentary DN03D Editorials Front-page stories DN05B DN07A DN08D
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