

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CURBING CORRUPTION IN
KENYA: THE CASE OF THE NATION AND THE STANDARD
MEDIA GROUPS.**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD
OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES,
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on corruption in Kenya and the roles that the media play in curbing the problem. According to the Transparency International corruption Index 2011, Kenya lies towards the bottom as one of the most corrupt countries, at position 154 out of 183 with a perception Index of 2.2. Over the years, billions of shillings have been lost through numerous corruption deals, hence deepening the levels of poverty in the country. The problem of corruption in Kenya has existed since independence and seems to only have increased with every new government. Due to the magnitude of the problem, it has become necessary to use all means possible to curb the menace.

This study examined the roles that media play in the fight against corruption. Through the agenda setting function, the media have the potential to create awareness by keeping the corruption stories high on the public agenda. At the same time, the media through various gatekeepers, the reporters, the editors and the managers decide what information gets to the masses. The amount and type of information published in the dailies is influenced by various factors such as governance, media regulation and ownership.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were used to investigate the roles that media play, the effect of reporting corruption stories and some of the challenges the media experience in performing these roles. Among the findings of the study were that the war against corruption cannot be won without the involvement of media. That the media play a crucial role in creating awareness as well as in putting the government in check and pressuring it to prosecute cases that were reported. It was also found out that a lot of gatekeeping was done from the various levels of management, the editorial team and that many corruption stories went unreported. The media were experiencing numerous challenges such as political influence and the influence of the owners of the media firms. There was need to enhance the

freedom of the press (to protect journalists) both through the law and the in-house regulation, thus to ensure more effective and objective reporting of corruption stories and other stories of human interest.

Ruth Mutala

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CHAPTER ONE: THE MEDIA AND CORRUPTION IN KENYA: AN OVERVIEW.

1.0 Introduction

Media plays critical roles in the social, political and economic development of any country. (Annasi, P. 2004:330). It educates and creates public awareness in a number of issues in any society, including violations of human rights and abuses, poor governance, lack of accountability, and other issues such as corruption. It would be impossible for the public to know of the alarming nature and levels of corruption in any society if the media do not expose them.

Recent research shows that corruption lowers the general welfare of the populace. (Gould and Amoro-Reyes 1993:23). The cost of bribes is simply included in the price of goods produced. With corruption, demand tends to be reduced, the structure of production becomes biased and consumption falls below efficiency levels. Kickbacks and illegal commissions, have to be paid which increase government expenditure as well as undermine the ability of government, thereby hindering its ability to provide essential services.

John Githogo (Mullei A. et al 2000:5) establishes a link between corruption and poverty. He argues that corruption is an elite's activity and that many African elites have acquired wealth through connections to the state or through politics, civil service or military. They are the ones who win most government contracts, obtain loans from state owned financial institutions, obtain government allocations of public land and they do not pay taxes. In addition, in economies where such elites flourish, the governing institutions are weak and members of the elite and their associates are almost literally beyond the law. As a result, the well-connected people don't have to pay taxes like everyone else and at the end of the day it is the poor and the weak that have to bear the brunt of corruption. He argues that there is definitely a link between corruption and poverty, even though there are other causes of

poverty. The poor suffer not only from the lack of services, but also because they are powerless to resist the demands of corrupt officials.

According to (Mullei et al 2000:29), corruption causes poverty by affecting the primary factors that cause poverty. It contributes to poverty by: Lowering investment and retarding growth. Through bribes to obtain trade licences, a firm reduces expected profits, hence it becomes a disincentive. It increases the cost of doing business. Thus bribes reduce a firm's competitiveness, leading to disinvestment. Corruption may cause poverty by reducing an economy's ability to produce essential goods and services. Corruption may retard growth by preventing efficient use of invested capital. They further argue that corruption also causes poverty by promoting unfair distribution of income and inefficient use of resources. It intensifies poverty by denying the poor adequate access to social services, preventing both policy and institutional reforms, undercutting the ability of government to raise the much needed revenue for development.

(Kibwana et al 1996:1) argues that "corruption has over the years become a reality of monumental proportions in Kenya." Over time, it has grown bigger in terms of participating personalities and the amount of money involved. He further argues that corruption in Kenya has continued to deny the poor, the marginalised and the least educated members of the society the social, economic and political benefits due to them. Consequently, corruption has impeded sustainable development, thus the country has not been able to attain its economic goals.

According to Kenya National Commission for Human Rights (KNHCR) (2005) report, corruption has a human rights dimension. It is said to seriously inhibit the full realisation of economic, social, and cultural rights. Grand corruption in particular diverts resources from the intended public use in realisation of rights to decent livelihoods into private bank accounts. Besides

creating sudden and extreme income inequalities, the diversion of these kinds of resources causes massive human deprivations. It also causes distortion of government expenditure by diverting public resources away from pro-poor expenditure, such as health and education, towards large capital projects where bribes are higher. In addition, when public contracting is conducted corruptly, it results in sub-standard and overpriced goods and services.

They further argue that Corruption also introduces uncertainties into the economic environment, which discourage investments that are critical for economic growth and poverty alleviation. It is particularly harmful to the poor because the bribes they pay constitute a greater share of their income. The poor are also more dependent on public services.

Corruption therefore worsens poverty and inequality within societies.

Examples of corruption cases that have been reported in various media since the 1990's as listed in *Eyes On Kenya*, February 2010 include: The Goldenberg scandal, one of the biggest scandals to be exposed in Kenya where the Kenyan government subsidized exports of gold, paying exporters in Kenyan Shillings 35% over their foreign currency earnings. A total of Kenya shillings 60 billion (US\$850million) was looted from the central bank. The Goldenberg scandal cost Kenya the equivalent of more than 10% of the country's annual GDP. Another major scandal is the Anglo leasing which dates back to 2002 when Kenya sought to get new generation passports with advanced security. This particular scandal saw Kenya Shillings 72billion stashed in secret Swiss accounts. A further Sh360 million was lost to helicopter servicing contract in South Africa. Military officers had argued that the contract was too extravagant and servicing the helicopters could be done locally. Kenya Air Force (KAF) went ahead to spend Sh108 million as a down payment for servicing the Puma helicopters, whose tail number is logged as 418 at Denel Aviation, a South African firm.

A Navy project was given to Euromarine, a company associated with Anura Pereira, the tender awarded in a process that was criticized as irregular. The tender was worth Sh4.1 billion. Military analysts said a similar vessel could have been built for Sh1.8 billion. A further colossal amount was lost when Kamsons Motors tendered for the supply of Mahindra Jeeps to the Police Department in the mid-1990s for close to Sh1 million (US\$13,000) each, at a time when showrooms would have charged customers a sixth of the price. Moreover, the vehicles were being bought for a government department and were therefore imported duty free. Few of the more than 1,000 units that were imported over several years are in service today.

The Prisons department lost \$3 million after contracting Hallmark International, a company associated with Mr Deepak Kamani of Kamsons Motors, for the supply of 30 boilers. Only half of the boilers were delivered – from India and not the United States as had been agreed. Three years later, military personnel have not moved into the centre. A phantom company, Nedermar BV Technologies, which is said to have its headquarters in Holland, implemented the secret project. The tendering process for the Nexus project was circumvented. Between January 2003 and September 2004, the National Rainbow Coalition government spent about \$12-million on cars that were mostly for the personal use of senior government officials. The vehicles included 57 Mercedes-Benz, as well as Land Cruisers, Mitsubishi Pajeros, Range Rovers, Nissan Terranos and Nissan Patrols. In 2005, plans to buy a sophisticated £20 million passport equipment system from France were made. Here government wanted to replace its passport printing system. The transaction was originally quoted at 6 million euros from François Charles Oberthur of Paris – the world’s leading supplier of Visa and Master Cards, but was awarded to a British firm, the Anglo-Leasing and Finance Company Limited, at 30 million euros, who would have sub-contracted the same French firm to do the work. On 31

August 2007, The Guardian newspaper featured on its front page a story about more than GBP 1 billion transferred out of Kenya by the family and associates of former Kenyan leader Daniel Arap Moi. The Guardian sourced the information from the Wikileaks article. In June 2008, the Grand Regency Scandal broke, wherein the Central Bank of Kenya is alleged to have secretly sold a luxury hotel in Nairobi to an unidentified group of Libyan investors for more than 4 billion Kenyan Shillings (approx US \$60 million) below the appraised market value. Finance Minister Amos Kimunya negotiated the sale, and was censured in a near-unanimous motion by the Kenyan Parliament, though he vehemently denied the charges. More than 80,000 bags of maize valued at Sh150 million were allocated to briefcase millers and a defunct company in Nakuru at a time when the country is facing a serious shortage of maize. Some of the maize, which was meant to cushion Kenyans against rising maize flour prices and a looming famine, was sold in Southern Sudan for US\$80 (Sh6,000) for a 90 kg bag. The allocation operation was running parallel to government efforts to avert a looming famine facing some 10 million Kenyans, as reported by Daily Nation of 23rd August 2012 on the maize scandal. In Addition, more than \$1 million is missing from the country's free primary education program.

(Kibwana et al 1996:39) argue that media is one of the most potent means of exposing and fighting corruption. They argue that one of the functions of media is to shape and set public agenda, by keeping issues alive and in the public. That although the media cannot control the minds and actions of people, it can influence, sometimes to a large extent, the topics and issues that people discuss by giving them different levels of prominence. This view is also echoed by (Annasi, P. 2004:3330) who argues that it could be impossible for the public to be aware of the alarming nature and levels of corruption in any society if media had not exposed

them. He further argues that all apparatus and organizations fighting corruption cannot succeed without the power of the media.

According to KNHCR (2005), the media in Kenya have framed corruption as a key test for leadership and public service. They have enabled the public to appreciate the scale of the problem through continuous coverage of corruption stories, follow-ups, and the placement of graft on the public agenda. The KNHCR gave credit to the media saying that media played a crucial role in forcing the first three resignations from Cabinet over the Anglo-Leasing scandal, in which millions of dollars stood to be lost, and the Goldenberg scandal, in which millions of dollars were lost.

Similar views are expressed by (Kibwana et al 1996:43) who applauds the media for reporting corruption stories. He particularly mentions the events and activities of the Goldenberg scandal which was comprehensively documented in an interview series by Sarah Elderkin in the Daily Nation between July 30th and August 6th, 1993. In the follow up of the scam, media reports endeavoured to keep the story high on the public agenda by highlighting it and writing bold editorials. He argues that as a result of that exposure, there were attempts to hold the government responsible with some donors cutting or withholding aid as a way to force the government to prosecute those implicated in the scandal. An example he cites is the Danish government which reduced aid to Kenya by 30%.

There are as well challenges that media face in performing their duties. Governments treat media with suspicion and disquiet. Governments that are not transparent will not allow democratic institutions to thrive. (Anassi, P. 2004:331) argues that exposure by media of the political, economic and social ills makes the rulers and dictators uncomfortable. Thus they gag the media in most African countries. He emphasizes the need for the governments to see the media as partners in development and not enemies.

It is with the foregoing thoughts in our minds that we set out to explore the roles that media play in tackling this menace that is entrenched in our country.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

This study proceeds from the premise that both high level (grand) and low level corruption are prevalent in Kenya although in varying degrees in various sectors. Although there have been major scandals like that of Goldenberg foreign exchange scheme and Anglo-leasing security contracts where Kenya lost more than Kenya shillings 100 billion, a study conducted by Boniface Kamiti in 2004 shows that small scale corruption cases are prevalent in Kenya. He argues that the least educated and the poorest (who form the majority of the population) often give bribes, and that most of the bribes involved small sums of between Kenya shillings 200 and 1000 paid frequently.

According to the Transparency International corruption Index 2011, Kenya lies, as one of the most corrupt countries, towards the bottom at position 154 out of 183 with a perception Index of 2.2. The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries according to their perceived levels of public-sector corruption. The 2011 index draws on different assessments and business opinion surveys carried out by independent and reputable institutions. The surveys and assessments used to compile the index include questions relating to the bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, embezzlement of public funds, and questions that probe the strength and effectiveness of public-sector anti-corruption efforts.

This in essence means that Kenya is still one of the most corrupt countries in the world. It is therefore imperative that concerted efforts be done to fight the corruption menace.

The study proceeds from the vein that qualitative, independent media reporting on corruption can play an important role in pressuring the government to act in the public interest and that the media play a very crucial role in the economic, social and political development of any

country (Anassi, P. 2005:330). The study sought to answer a number of questions. These include: How the media perceive and interpret corruption, how the media create awareness and the techniques they use to move stories of corruption from mere awareness to effective reporting that has impact on governance, how the media tackle the sleaze of corruption and how they bring this as a governance question at their level, at the level of the private sector, as well as their link with the public sector.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were:

- a) To determine the role that media play in the fight against corruption in Kenya.
- b) To determine the impact of the media in the fight against corruption in Kenya.
- c) To determine if any, the limitations media face in the fight against corruption.

1.3 Research questions

- a) What roles do media play in the fight against corruption in Kenya?
- b) What effect do media have in the fight against corruption in Kenya?
- c) What setbacks have the media experienced in their effort to curb corruption in Kenya?

1.4 Justification of the study

The thrust of this study lay in the perceived negative social and economic impact of corruption and the need therefore for its eradication. Corruption is such a serious matter in Kenya such that some of the grand corruption cases in the country have been seen as having

the potential to bring down the economy of the country. For example the Goldenberg saga in which a colossal amount of money was lost. The media is endowed with a very crucial role of reporting cases on corruption and exerting pressure on the government to prosecute cases of corruption. The current study will endeavour to investigate what the media is doing to play this role and to enhance the efforts to eradicate or at least minimize corruption in the country. In addition, there seems to be a direct relation between corruption and poverty; hence any country that is serious with dealing with poverty must be willing to deal with corruption.

At the same time, paucity of literature based on concrete research in the area necessitated the current study. (Kibwana et al 1996:5) points out that there is need to provide literature based on concrete research on corruption as a means to deal with the corruption menace. He and co-editors committed a chapter from in his book on print media's documentation of corruption in Kenya from 1963 to 1994. This particular study becomes an addition to the existing literature on corruption and media, providing the much needed and more current empirical data on the media's involvement in Kenya addressing the problem of corruption. It will help highlight the roles that the media play in creating awareness and advocating for a nation free of corruption through awareness creation. It also provides data that may be utilized in policy formulation and implementation.

The study sought to establish the existing setbacks to media's performance with a view to suggesting alternative and additional means of assistance to the institution's for better performance. The problem of corruption affects many countries in Africa and indeed the whole world. Recommendations that this study makes will be applicable in Kenya and beyond.

1.5 Theoretical Framework.

This study was guided by two main theories; The Agenda Setting Theory, and The Gate-Keeping Theory.

According to (Tankard et al 2001:219), the agenda setting of the media refers to the media's capability, through repeated news coverage to raise the importance of an issue in the public's mind. The agenda-setting theory was first developed by Prof. Maxwell McCombs and Prof. Donald Shaw in their Chapel Hill Study 1968. According to (Griffin, E. 2009:359) the two professors argue that "Mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda. Studying the way political campaigns were covered in the media, Shaw and McCombs found that the main effect of news media was agenda-setting. i.e. telling people not what to think, but what to think about. McCombs and Shaw suggest that we look to news professionals for cues on where to focus our attention. Thus "we judge as important what the media judge as important," (Griffin, E. 2009:359). It is crucial therefore, for the media in Kenya in effort to curb corruption to set the public agenda. In essence, it is the media who decide the ultimate information reaches the consumers and in what form.

Before McCombs and Shaw first referred to the agenda setting function of the media in 1972, other analysts had thought about this function. Walter Lippman claimed that the media act as a mediator between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads". And in 1960 Political analyst Theodore White commenting on Kennedy-Nixon's contest observed that media shaped those election campaigns; (Griffin, E. 2009:360).

The theory explains the correlation between the rate at which media cover a story and the extent to which people think that this story is important. This correlation has been shown to occur repeatedly. This study assumed that through various means of creating salience such as

coverage, commentaries and editorials, the media in Kenya are able to put corruption on the public agenda.

The two basic assumptions that underlie most research on agenda-setting are that the press and the media do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it, and the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. Agenda setting is therefore a creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Salience means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. (Entman, R. 2004: 394). The theory of agenda setting operates under the general universal assumption that 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. The main question that this study sought to answer under the agenda setting theory was whether or not the print media in Kenya have successfully helped in setting the agenda as far as the fight against corruption is concerned, and whether the media has helped create awareness on the evils of corruption through the agenda setting function.

A second theory that was used in this study is the gate keeping theory. This theory considers how mass media whittle the large number of available messages into the select few offered to an audience. Gatekeeping is a series of checkpoints that the news has to go through before it gets to the public. Through this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard (Spring, S.M. 2002:22). Some gatekeepers might include reporters, writers, and editors. What started with German émigré Kurt Lewin's experiments to entice Iowa women to eat more beef (hearts, livers, kidneys, and other secondary cuts of meat) as a patriotic duty during World War II has evolved into numerous models and hundreds of studies of media gatekeepers and Gate keeping. Gate keeping models have become increasingly sophisticated as theorists consider wider ranges of the external pressures

on gatekeepers and the internal characteristics of the individual gatekeepers and the system that employs them. Media professionals determine what news or views will appear on the mass media. It is part of media's organizational activities therefore to select news that are published through the media channels. Different scholars posit different reasons why reporters will select certain news items and leave out others. For example, (D. M White 1950:17) posited that news selection was a result of intrapersonal forces (the journalist's personal orientation) and thus news presentation is likely to reflect the journalist's personal leanings. According to this view, news reported on corruption will depend on the personal associations of the reported and the affected corrupt official. A second opinion expressed on news selection is that of M.E McCombs and D.L Shaw in (Littlejohn, S.W. 2002:33) who argue that it is more of the amount of news available than anything else that determines news selection. According to this view, the newsworthiness of corruption will depend on the number of other news items deemed important, available and are competing for space. (Dimmick, J and Coit, P. 1982:52) showed through their analysis that more control was exercised over the freedom of the journalist's selection of news items than on the way stories are framed. Given the entrepreneurial and competitive nature of media organizations, it is not surprising that the news selection is guided by what sells and the hype the news is capable of stirring up will determine its rating of newsworthiness. The strong political winds also blow in a certain direction from time to time and they as well influence news selection. Thus if a corruption story implicates the mighty and the influential, then it is likely to sell if it is published. Corruption stories affecting ordinary citizen may not be considered as newsworthy.

Whereas Agenda-setting says media help decide the saliency of information based on what they choose to emphasize, through gate keeping the media decide what to emphasize and neglect and thus decide what is to be read about an event. This study sought to explore the

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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The government of Kenya acknowledged official corruption in the 1990s (Chweya et al 2005:126). Since then, there have been initiatives to fight corruption including the enactment of laws such as the Anti-Corruption and Crimes Act 2003, the establishment of commissions of inquiry to investigate some of the major corruption scandals such as that of the Goldenberg and that the grand Regency hotel, and the establishment of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC). The media have been very instrumental too in fighting corruption by creating public awareness and maintaining the major corruption on top of the public agenda. The following section reviews concepts on corruption and the role of the media in fighting corruption.

2.1 The Roles of Media in the Fight against Corruption.

According to (Stople 2008:42), United Nations Convention against corruption recognised corruption as a multi-faceted, dynamic and flexible phenomenon, and therefore does not define, but describe corrupt practices. Corruption may not be easy to define but, according to (Tanzi 1998:12), it is “generally not difficult to recognize when observed”. Several people have provided definitions of corruption.(Kibwana 1996:34) defines corruption as an act or omission perpetrated by an individual or group of individuals which goes against the legitimate expectations and hence the interest of society. John Githogo as cited in (Mullei et al 2000: 4) defines corruption as “the abuse of public office for private gain”

The Anti-corruption and Economic Crimes Act 2003 of Kenya defines corruption to include “bribery, fraud, embezzlement or misappropriation of public funds, abuse of office, breach of trust and any offence involving dishonesty” (Anassi, P. 2005: 16). The Act also makes provisions for a wide range of situations involving principals and agents, secret inducement for advice, conflicts of interest, improper benefits to trustees for appointments, abuse of office and fraudulent deals in regard to public property. That there is misuse of office/funds that it is for private gain and that it is against the interest of the public.

Corruption has been classified variously by different scholars: Petty corruption is described as the minor gifts given for services given mainly by minor officials, for example, bribes to the policemen for traffic offences. This sometimes is done to compensate for inadequate salaries.

Systemic (routine) corruption involves bribery on a large or small scale. For example when public officials routinely get accept gifts from public for generalised good will or they exercise nepotism in official appointment or contract awarding.

In grand corruption, significant amounts are involved and with senior rank government officials. Grand corruption results into poor delivery as percentage of the money allocated to projects goes to the corrupt officials. It includes privatization of state assets by officials which leads to hefty kickbacks in exchange for reduced prices. (Mullei et al 2005:4)

On the other hand looting is prevalent among politically influential persons who give directions. Public assets are stolen by officials charged with their stewardship. It involves embezzlement of public funds/taxes and misappropriation of public property, for example, where currency is printed to pay off fictitious projects. These funds are used to fund elections campaigns and pay for private militia in many African countries. In looting, there is a

deliberate creation of a government project but from the onset, there are no intentions to complete it. The results can affect the economy of a country immensely.

Political or bureaucratic corruption involves violation of election laws, campaign finance regulation and conflict of interest among parliamentarians. Thus the state institutions are infiltrated by corrupt elements and turned into instruments of individual enrichment.

Many observers see corruption as “a symptom of fundamental economic, political and institutional causes” (Gray and Kaufmann 1998:122). (Rose Ackerman 1998:56) argues that “widespread corruption is a symptom that the state is functioning poorly.” In such a context, corruption is associated with lack of transparency and accountability, which prevent the rational allocation of public resources for development objectives.

Corruption also intensifies poverty by denying the poor adequate access to social services, preventing both policy and institutional reforms, undercutting the ability of government to raise revenues and contributing to conditions of private affluence and public squalor.

Corruption causes poverty by affecting the primary factors that cause poverty. Corruption contributes to poverty by: Lowering investment and retarding growth. Through bribes to obtain trade licences, a firm reduces expected profits, hence it becomes a disincentive. It increases the cost of doing business. Thus bribes reduce a firm’s competitiveness, leading to disinvestment. Corruption may cause poverty by reducing an economy’s ability to produce essential goods and services. Corruption may retard growth by preventing efficient use of invested capital. Corruption also causes poverty by promoting unfair distribution of income and inefficient use of resources.

Corruption has been identified as one of the causes of poverty in Kenya. It leads to low productivity in private and public sectors and it is thus a potential source of poverty. The

beneficiaries of corruption do not merit the resources allocated to them. Corruption is not only unjust, but it is a disincentive for productive work. Mwabu in (Mullei et al 2000:29) argues that corruption impedes growth and investment and penalizes the poor.

The hallmarks of corruption in Kenya are its dwindling resources, growing external and domestic debt, declining economic performance reflecting very poor earnings, environmental degradation, insufficient food production alongside with poor policy formulation and implementation.

These factors together with other high costs of operating business on account of poor infrastructure and services provided by public enterprises, inefficient allocation of public resources, deteriorating security and constraining government regulation have reduced the level of investment. Consequently, economic growth has dwindled, unemployment and underemployment have risen and thus significant increase in poverty. (Cheserem and Okemo 2000:78)

John Githogo in (Mullei A. ed 2000) argues that the fight against corruption in many countries like Kenya is three dimensional. He says that it is economic because it deepens poverty, exacerbates inequalities and makes for economies whose very structure is skewed. It is also political because corruption breeds impunity and undermines vital governance. It is also social and cultural because where impunity with regard to corruption prevails, one finds the corrupt transformed into latter day heroes and the principles of honesty and hard work become unattractive. Corruption and corrupt leaders both deepen poverty and make it difficult for ordinary people to get ahead as a result of their own efforts.

In a paper *'Press Freedom and the role of the Media in Kenya'* presented at Free Press Commission/National Council of Council of churches in 1993, Polycarp Ochilo argues that there is a direct relationship between press freedom, the roles of the media and the nature of

the government in power (Ochilo, P.O 1993: 19). He argues that in countries with liberal systems of governments, the press is free from government control and is therefore able to play the watch dog role; putting checks and balances for the government. And since the press is able to generate income through its basic functions of informing, entertaining and advertising, they get measure of freedom. Thus undue hindrance from the government is minimised. Ochilo further raises the issue of media ownership. He argues that where media is privately owned, there is less interference from the government and the media is able to function more freely. He however also raises a pertinent issue of social responsibility, where media need to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for the general good of the society. Ochilo argues that unfortunately, most African countries fall under authoritarian regimes where the media become a tool of the ruling power. He points out that there are a few exceptions like Nigeria, Zambia, Egypt and Kenya where there is some semblance of private ownership and therefore some form of limited freedom. (Ochilo, P.O 1993: 23)

The desired change in social institutions such as law and its enforcement mechanisms, in customs and traditions, in ethnic loyalties and in weak democratic systems can be achieved by heightening people's awareness about corruption and its harmful effects. Civil societies and Non-Governmental Organizations use media to create public awareness on their activities. Sometimes journalists' stories can play a critical role in reinforcing the effectiveness of public anti-corruption such as KACA even when the stories in question are not, strictly speaking, investigative reports that reveal wrongdoing of some kind. By simply reporting in a regular, detailed way on the work and findings of these bodies can reinforce public scrutiny of them and, hence, the independence of such bodies from vested interests within the power structure that might otherwise be tempted to interfere in their work.

(Stapenhurst 2000:55) opined that a critical element of a country's anticorruption program is an effective media. The media has a dual role to play: it not only raises public awareness about corruption, its causes, consequences and possible remedies but also investigates and reports incidences of corruption aiding other oversight (and prosecutorial) bodies. According to him, the way in which media serves as an impediment to corruption can be divided into tangible and intangible effects. Tangible effects is made up of the readily identifiable way in which the news media perform these functions include those in which some sort of visible outcomes can be attributed to particular news story or series of stories on such subjects as: launching of investigation by authorities; scrapping of a law or policy that foster a climate ripe with opportunities for corruption; impeachment or forced resignation of a crooked politician and firing of an official; launching of judicial proceeding and issuing of public recommendation by a watchdog body like transparency international. He referred to intangible effects as those checks on corruption, which are inevitably the by product of hard hitting independent news and can be characterised by broadened sense of accountability amongst politicians, public bodies and institutions.

(Chweya et al 2005:128) applaud the constructive criticism offered by the media on the performance of the government, thus providing an effective forum for testing the effectiveness of the government's anti- corruption agenda. Chweya further argues that media find it a daunting task to extract information from the government, and thus informing the government and the citizenry of corruption issues is made difficult. They suggest that there is need to facilitate easy access to information.

Njue Jacinta, in 2009, did a study that investigated the challenges that media face in the fight against corruption. In her study, she established insecurity and lack of corruption reporting departments as major impediments to reporting of corruption stories. She argues that threats

of libel and assault often hinder journalists from reporting cases of corruption. She identified other challenges faced by media in their fight against corruption as the lack political good will, poor remuneration of journalists, poor technology and weak legal framework. Although she highlights whistle blowing, creating awareness and agenda setting as some of the roles that media play, she does not provide an in depth analysis as this was not the main focus of her study. Her focus mainly is on the need for training of investigative journalists who can help to uncover such stories. This study also differs from Njue's in that it seeks to establish the process that stories go through from the moment that they come to the attention of the reporters; they are sifted by the sub-editors and the editors and finally are published for public consumption. This study sought to explore the factors that determine the gate keeping process and hence the objectivity of reporting of corruption stories. It sought to establish the drive behind the reporting of such stories and how through the agenda setting function the media personnel create salience of corruption stories.

(Kibwana et al 1996) in their book *The anatomy of corruption in Kenya* have a chapter committed to Print media coverage of corruption in Kenya from 1963 to 1994, in which they do an analysis of the media (both local and foreign) coverage of corruption in Kenya and its impact. Over sixteen years since this study was done, some of the cases that were reported then have never been prosecuted, an example being that of the Goldenberg scandal that almost brought the economy of Kenya to its knees. Numerous other corruption cases have come up since. The current study sought to provide insights to the latest efforts made by media in the fight against corruption, and the impact that media have in the fight against corruption.

Kivoi Douglas, in 2008, did a study to establish the meaning and causes of corruption with a special reference to Kenya. His study explored the various ways in which corruption manifest itself. Although the study cites poor governance as one of the causes of corruption, it does not point to media and other institutions of governance as possible tools of fighting the menace. Instead, the study recommends morality as the long term measure in combating corruption.

(Anassi 2004:333) recommends that media houses be protected by proper legislation from state harassment of any kind used to muzzle legitimate reporting of social evils. He believes that freedom of expression of media is mandatory in giving the public a voice to counter corruption and raise awareness of complaints. Exposure of persons and institutions in the media is a useful deterrent and checks for further possibilities of corruption. He further points out that the goodwill of the government is critical in the fight against corruption. Corruption in Africa generally and in Kenya in particular has been deeply entrenched by the lack of government's commitment to fight it out. In the interest of good governance, transparency, accountability and integrity, freedom of expression is mandatory, otherwise social evils such as corruption continue to thrive unchecked. In his study, (Anassi 2004:338-340) recommends more freedom for the media to expose cases of corruption without intimidation from the government and other law enforcement agencies.

Since governance in many nations in Africa is done in the spirit of corruption, a lot of effort is spent by the few people in government to hide what they do from public view. Prof. Emmanuel Akpan cited in (Simon et al 1990:36) argues that "wrong governance is not an error, but a wilful execution of plan; there secrecy is used to mask the evil that is being done by the people in government." Thus conflict exists between handful of people running the government and the popular will of the citizenry to know what is happening around them. Prof. Akpan raises the issue of journalists who are too eager to help people of questionable

character and intentions by willingly and deliberately providing misleading and/or false information; hence inviting failure and leaving too much to chance. Media not only sets the agenda for public opinion but also decides what the public do, especially in their public affairs. According to Prof. Akpan, this potential for causal influence places a heavy burden on journalists who must be socially responsible and operate from the point of view of public interest.

(Atkins et al 1987:64) emphasizes on the need for truthfulness in reporting. They argue that journalists should be able to report the truth and comment on it without fear or favour.

However, due to the political standing of those involved in the news making events, they tend to gloss over news and information; thus compromising on objectivity. They do not report truth as they see it (for example grand corruption), but as the powerful (particularly those in government) see /want it. Politicians particularly tailor that truth to suit their purposes and then sell it to the journalists- if journalists are gullible (corruption). The journalists become willing partners in the politicians' misinformation machinery. For transparency and accountability, the press should be free to report on all public affairs without any hindrance. The public's right to know what public officials are doing is pertinent to them making rational decisions on matters of public affairs and therefore should override all other decisions.

(Ochilo, P.O 1993:24) outlines three categories of media in Kenya: the government owned such as the Kenya Broadcasting, the Kenya News Agency and the Kenya Times, the private owned such as the Nation group of Newspapers and The Standard and the magazines and weeklies such as the *Weekly review*, *The Nairobi* and *The Finance*. He argues that the first category by the virtue of being owned by the government it is fully controlled by the government. The second category, although autonomous in its operations due to its strong financial base, it's still not immune to government control. The last category is seen as the

most vulnerable, it depends a lot on government's good will due to its weak capital base. Several questions arise here: Is ownership a constraint to journalists reporting facts? Is there possibility to provide balance between the interests of the employer with that of the public? Would the ability to provide such a delicate balance be a mark of good journalism? And would that ensure that media do not become partisan to the disadvantage of the news' audience?

A study carried out by Djankov in 2000 in 98 countries researched the effects of media ownership on a variety of social and economic policy outcomes, including government accountability and corruption. The study found strong correlations between media ownership and a whole range of policy outcomes, with a greater negative correlation between state ownership of newspapers and "good" outcomes. The study concludes that government ownership of media restricts information flows to the public with negative effect on citizens' rights, government effectiveness, and corruption; alternatively, increased private ownership of the media-through privatization or encouragement of entry - can advance political and economic goals.

(Ochilo, P.O. 1993:28) argues that the media's ability in making a contribution to the process of establishing open, democratic and stable societies is by being able to expose and criticize bureaucratic incompetence, corruption, abuse of power and the violation of human rights. He brings out an important role of the mass media, that of scrutinizing government activities. He argues that the government is a trustee of the collective will and the power of the people and thus must be gauged and regulated by public opinion, and the media is seen as the appropriate medium for doing so. At the same time, he argues that the media plays a watchdog to check the excesses of the government. (Ochilo, P.O 1993:29) provides a general overview of some of the obstacles that impede both press freedom and

performance in African countries. Some of the obstacles he highlights include political problems, economic and financial, infrastructural problems, human resource and training problems.

How effectively media work and report on corruption depends on a number of critical factors such as freedom of media professionals to access, verify and publish accurate information, and independence of media houses and their ability to access independent sources of financing. Competition, outreach and credibility of media are other important factors affecting media performance (Nogara, 2009: 34).

Nogara further argues that governments use a broad range of laws and actions aside from coercion to censure journalists, close publications, hamstringing finances, or simply encourage a culture of self-censorship. Old colonial laws such as sedition and libel laws are frequently used to limit press freedom and discriminate against journalists in court cases. Under these laws, media often come under fire from government officials allegedly for giving a platform to “terrorists” and “enemies” of the state. Governments also exercise control over the media content through the licensing requirement, existing in many African countries, which imposes conditions on media conduct and can be easily revoked. The fear of being put in jail or the threat of expensive and damaging libel suits, the risk of the license being revoked or of losing advertising revenue and other financial resources all impose a burden on journalists and media houses, encouraging a culture of self-censorship.

This study sought to provide empirical data on some of these limitations that media face in Kenya and suggest practical solutions to the problems affecting media in reporting of corruption cases and other issues of human concern in the country.

2.2. Conclusions

From the foregoing discussion, it has been established that corruption remains a huge problem in the country, there are various initiatives that have been put in place to fight corruption and media is one of the key players in the fight against corruption. Based on these arguments, this study sought to collect and analyse empirical data on the roles that media play, the impact that media has and the setbacks experienced by media in undertaking these roles. The study further makes recommendations on how media can be facilitated to become more effective.

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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in the study. It presents the study location, the target population, sample size and selection method, data collection and data analysis.

3.1 Research Methodology

Survey Method of data collection was selected for this study due to its suitability in collection of quantitative data. According to (Mugenda et al 1999:164), a survey helps to collect data from members of a population in order to determine the current status of that population with respect to one or more variables. In this respect, media professionals (reporters and editors) from Nation and the Standard formed the preferred population; they were interviewed on their perceptions of corruption, the way they treat stories on corruption, what they felt was their roles and impact as media professionals in the fight against corruption and the challenges they faced in fulfilling this roles.

3.2 Sampling Procedures

Purposive sampling was used to come up with a suitable sample of study. According to (Mugenda et al 1999:50), purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use the cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his/her study. Purposive sampling was used in this study to identify the respondents who were considered competent and able to provide relevant information to the study as the study directly related to what they do on day to day basis. In this case, media professionals

(reporters, sub-editors and editors from The Nation and The Standard Media groups) - this group was able to give information on their perceptions of corruption and treatment of news and information on corruption.

3.3 Data Collection and Data Analysis

Data was collected through the use of questionnaires that had been prepared and tested by the researcher and administered by trained research assistants. These addressed the specific objectives related to the study and were therefore developed with the objectives in mind. The questionnaires had both open ended and close ended questions so as to give detailed information with regard to the objectives of the study. A total of a hundred questionnaires were administered to the individual respondents, they were filled in and returned to the researcher.

The questionnaires were coded and a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data and to generate descriptive statistics. This data was then presented in frequency tables, percentage distributions and bar charts. These analyses were then used to generate findings and interpretations presented in chapter four.

We also relied on secondary data available in the library such as books, journals and academic papers, as well as information available on the internet. A summary of the information collected was used to help conclusions and correlations in this study.

3.4 Scope and Limitations

This study sought to examine coverage of corruption stories by two mainstream media, that is, The Nation Media Group (publishers of the Daily Nation) and The Standard Group (publishers of The Standard). The two main dailies were selected for practical reasons

because they enjoy a high circulation, wide coverage in the nation, wide credibility among the society and are the longest established newspapers.(According to 2008 research by Synovate International, a reputable research firm, as cited in (Mbeke 2010:15) While it would have been desirable to cover all facets of broadcasting of these media groups (electronic, television, radio and print), time and financial constraints would not allow this. Therefore the study was limited to only professionals dealing with the print media.

The study sought to achieve the highest possible levels of accuracy. However, there were anticipated constraints that would hinder such an achievement. These included time constraints and the possibility of some respondents not returning questionnaires. To put to check the possibility of failed responses, extra questionnaires above the target 100 respondents were distributed. This would ensure that these limitations did not adversely affect the findings of this study, and hence its outcome.

One of the major challenges faced during the collection of data (which had been earlier anticipated) was reluctance by some of the respondents to fill in the questionnaires. This particular challenge was mitigated by approaching new respondents to replace the failed ones and thus to ensure that the data collected remained as significant as possible. A few questions may also have been left out in the questionnaire, for example the question of how media fights corruption. These provide a fertile ground for further research in this area.

3.5. Conclusions

This chapter outline the research methodology; the survey method was used. Purposive sampling was done with a sample size of a hundred. Data was collected using questionnaires and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). There were various limitations such as time constraints and non-response. These were mitigated to ensure thation was as accurate as possible.

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CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results obtained after the survey was conducted among employees working in two media Institutions to determine the role of media in curbing Corruption in Kenya. Questionnaires had been distributed to staff (reporters and editors) of both Nation and the Standard media groups. Over a hundred questionnaires had been distributed so as to put to check any chances of failed response. The analyses were done on a 100 filled in questionnaires, representing a 100% target population. After collecting the filled in questionnaires, they were coded; a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse data and to generate descriptive statistics presented in frequency tables, percentage distributions and bar charts.

4.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1.1: Gender distribution of respondents

In the study, 100 respondents were sampled from both Nation Media and Standard Media Groups in Nairobi. These two media groups had been selected on the basis that they are some of the longest and best established media houses in Kenya. The study exercised a gender balance in selection of the respondents. The reason behind this was to establish if these media have an equal opportunity policy on gender when it comes to hiring of staff.

Table 4.1.1 Gender distribution of respondents

Gender	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Female	40	40%
Male	60	60%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Results shown in table 4.1.1 above showed that 40 % of the respondents were females whereas the remaining 60 % were males. This indicated a fair distribution of gender as the disparity between both was not big. The fact that females were less could be attributed to the fact that for many years in Kenya, females did not have equal opportunities with male counterparts in terms of accessing education. Consequently, more males were able to obtain employment in various sectors.

4.1.2 Age distribution of the respondents

The study sought to find out the age distribution of the staff employed by the media firms. The age of the respondents was likely to determine the positions that the staff held in the media firms, their years of experience as well as output in terms of productivity.

Table 4.1.2 Age distribution of the respondents

Age	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Below 30 years	51	51%
30-40 years	16	16%
41-50years	8	8%
51-60 years	24	24%
Above 60 years	1	1%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4.1.2 above indicates a majority of the respondents were below 30 years accounting for 51%. This could be explained by the fact that many at this age are reporters which is an entry point at joining media. A further 48% were between the ages 30 and 60, who were mainly sub-editor and editors. These are professionals who have been with the media for longer and had risen to the levels of editors. Still quite a number in this age group were reporters. A mere

1% represented those above 60 years. This is information that the researchers collected during the interviews with the respondents.

4.1.3 Percentage representation of Media Institutions

Different media houses have different policies on the way they treat information that comes to their newsrooms. The data was collected from both the Nation media and the Standard Media. This was done to ensure that the data collected was representative of the perceptions of the media professionals from different organizations and therefore the information would be specific for each, as well as general for media.

Table 4.1.3: Percentage representation of Media Institutions

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Nation Media Group	46	46%
Standard group	54	54%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4.1.3 above shows that 46 % of respondents interviewed worked for Nation Media Group while 54 % worked for the Standard Group when study was being conducted. This provided a fair distribution of the responses received.

4.1.4 Percentage representation of the levels of education that the respondents had attained.

It was important for us to ascertain the levels of education that the respondents had attained as this would likely to influence their judgement on the subject of study, that is, the roles that media play in the fight against corruption. The levels of education would also be able to tell us if these were qualified journalists and thus they understood their duties. Good training is paramount to good reporting; the journalists are equipped with investigative skills and analytical skills.

Table 4.1.4 Formal Education background

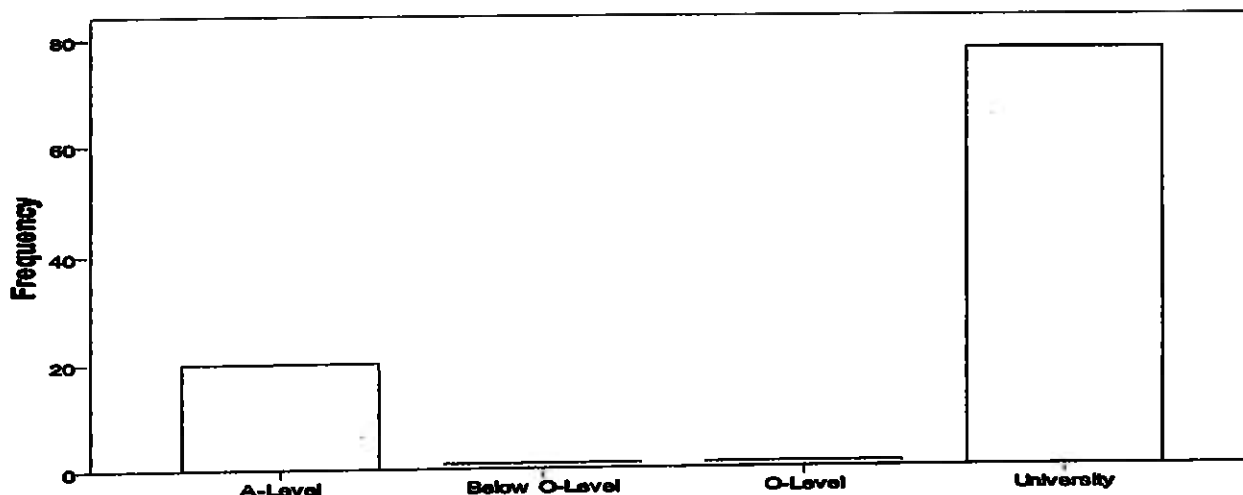
	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Below O-Level	1	1%
O- Level	1	1%
A-Level	20	20%
University	78	78%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4.1.4 above shows that majority of the persons working as either reporters or editors for both media houses were well qualified with a university education. This group represented 78% with a further 20% who had attained A-level education. Only mere 2% had O-Level education.

Diagram 4.1.4 below gives a visual presentation that shows that the media firms stress on good education for their staff with a majority having university education.

Diagram 4.1.4 Formal Education background



Source: Field Survey 2012

4.1.5 Percentage distribution of the designations of the respondents

In this study, we used purposive sampling and the two main groups of media professionals that were targeted were the reporters and the editors (sub-editors included). This selection was informed by the fact that the reporters usually are the ones responsible for investigating and collecting stories from the field; thus they receive the information first hand. They then pass this information to the editors. The editors then select the stories they deem suitable for publishing, and decide on the various aspects of prominence they treat them to such as placement, coverage, framing and stories that deserve editorials.

Table 4.1.5 Designations of the respondents

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Editors	32	32%
Reporters	68	68%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4.1.5 indicated that 68% of the respondents interviewed were reporters and 32% of the respondents interviewed were editors. Due to the vastness of the field where stories are collected, the reporters will usually outnumber the editors.

4.1.6 Perceptions of causes of corruption

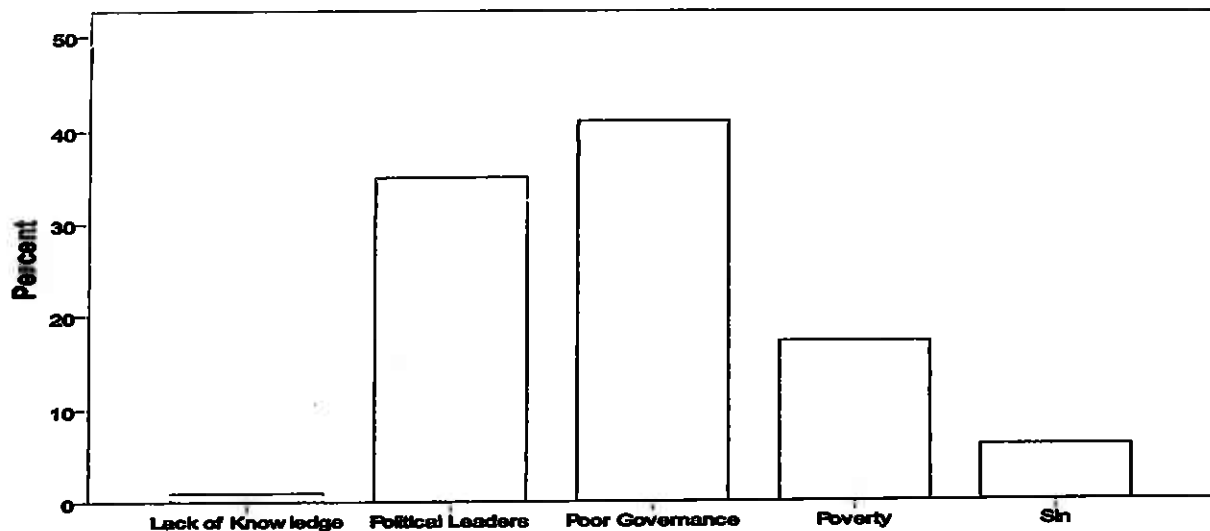
The hallmarks of corruption crises in Kenya are its dwindling resources, increasing levels of external and domestic debt and generally, growing levels of poverty. It is fundamental to identify the causes of corruption so as to deal with the problem decisively. Therefore this study sought to find out what the media professional felt were the causes of corruption.

Table 4.1.6 Perceptions of causes of corruption

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Lack of knowledge	1	1%
Political leaders	35	35%
Poor governance	41	41%
poverty	17	17%
Sin	6	6%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.6 Causes of corruption



Source: Field Survey 2012

The results shown in table 4.1.6 indicate a close relationship between poor governance and political influence with 41% and 35% respectively. These results are in line with what we had seen earlier in our literature review where (Rose Ackerman 1998:131) argues that widespread corruption is a symptom that the state is function poorly. She associates the phenomena with lack of accountability and transparency. The link established between corruption and poverty by (Boniface Kamiti 2004:46) was confirmed as poverty was seen as a cause of corruption. He argues that the poorest who are the majority of the citizens frequently gave bribes so as to gain favours or to get services. A significant 17% of respondents in this study found a close relation between corruption and poverty. Diagram 4.1.6 is a visual presentation of the facts under discussion.

4.1.7 Perceptions of what institutions corruption was practised most.

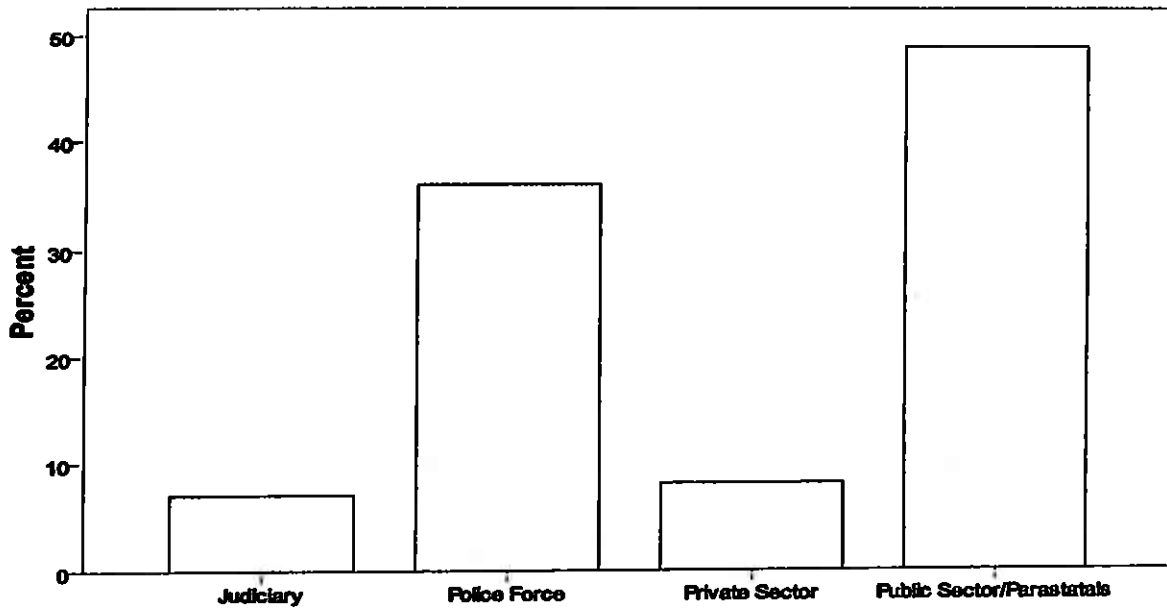
From the study, corruption was seen to be practised both in the private sector and the public sector. Table 4.1.7 represents the results:

Table 4.1.7 Perceptions of what institutions corruption was practised most.

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Judiciary	7	7%
Police force	36	36%
Private sector	8	8%
Public sector/parastatals	49	49%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.7 Perceptions of what institutions corruption was practised most.



Source: Field Survey 2012

The results in table 4.1.7 showed that the public sector as saturated with corruption with a high 49 % followed by the police force with 36%. The private sector and the judiciary represented 8% and 7% levels of corruption respectively. These results closely relate to the previous results on the causes of corruption where poor governance was rated highest. Here the institution that fall under the government stewardship, that is the parastatals and the police force were deemed most corrupt.

4.1.8 Opinions on whether the media had a role to play in the fight against corruption. We sought to find out if the media professionals felt that they played an important role in the fight against corruption and the results were as presented in the table 4.1.8 below:

Table 4.1.8 Perceptions on the roles of the media in fighting corruption.

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
No	5	5%
Yes	95	95%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

When asked if the media had a role to play in the fight against corruption, 95% felt strongly that media was very important in the fight against corruption. A mere 5% did not believe so and responded in the negative. This confirmed views expressed by scholars such as (Kibwana et 1996:10) who see media as a powerful means of fighting corruption and (Annasi:2004:330) who argues that it is through media's agenda setting that awareness is created and the evils of corruption exposed.

4.1.9 Perceptions on whether the fight against corruption can be won without involvement of Media

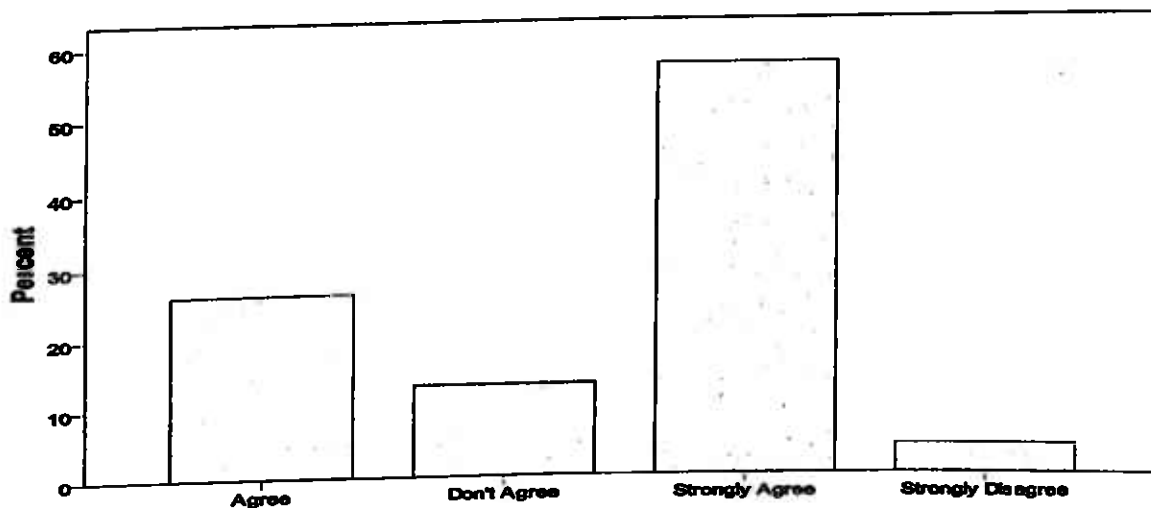
The study sought to answer the question on whether the fight against corruption can be won without involving the media. Media have the power to put issue on the public agenda and get people to think about such issues.

Table 4.1.9 Perceptions on whether the fight against corruption can be won without involvement of Media

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Strongly agree	57	57%
Agree	26	26%
Don't agree	13	13%
Strongly disagree	4	4%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.9 Perceptions on whether the fight against corruption can be won without involvement of Media



Source: Field Survey 2012

57% of the respondents felt strongly that the fight against corruption could not be won without the involvement of the media. A further 26% agreed that media were important players in this task. When asked why they supported media in its role in the fight against corruption, the respondents who had answered in the affirmative reported that media had a wide coverage and was therefore able to reach many people. Some of the respondents reported that the media had the ability to unearth corruption cases from both large sectors and small enterprises. In addition, media had the ability to investigate and report even those powerful elements in the society. It was also observed that media was able to educate the public on the bad effects of corruption. Since media is close to the people, people are able to know who is corrupt and who is not thereby making the public make the right choice in electing their leaders.

Those who disagreed believed that cases reported through, media are most often not dealt with due to lack of sufficient resources to do so, others felt that media in itself is a corrupt industry, whereas others felt that media regulation affected the way stories are reported with many stories disappearing before they were ever published. Other respondents felt that media houses were in the business of making money and therefore whoever comes with money wins. These findings confirmed views expressed by Professor Emmanuel Akpan in (Simon et al 1990:36) who argued that some journalists are too eager to help out people of questionable character and hence forget their social responsibility and become compromised. Diagram 4.1.9 shows these facts.

4.1.10 Reporting on corruption stories

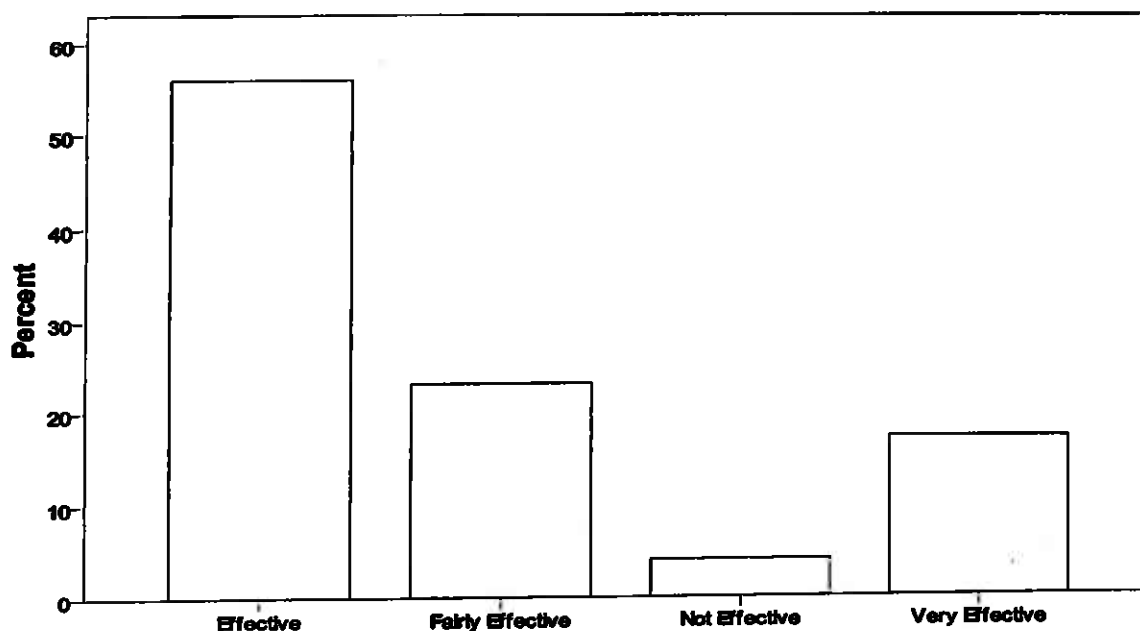
The study sought to know what the perceptions of the media professionals were on effectiveness of reporting corruption stories. The results were as recorded in the table below.

Table 4.1.10 Reporting on corruption stories

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Very effective	17	17%
Effective	56	56%
Fairly effective	23	23%
Not effective	4	4%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.10 Reporting on corruption stories



Source: Field Survey 2012

A majority of the media professional interviewed felt that media were doing a good job in reporting corruption stories. 17% of the respondents felt that media was very effective. A further 56% felt that media were effective and 23% felt media were fairly effectively. Only 4% of the respondents felt that media were not much. These percentages showed that media was rated highly on the performance table.

4.1.11 Rate of reporting corruption stories

The study sought to find out if all the corruption cases that come to the reporters or to the newsrooms were eventually published. It is clear that media organizations are in business and stories that are likely to sell are likely to be given priority. In addition, media have a social responsibility to report all cases of corruption. It becomes a delicate balance between making profits and being accountable. Moreover, personal interests of the journalists and those of the

media owners are likely to influence the selection of news items. Hence a lot of gate keeping goes on in the newsroom.

Table 4.1.11 Rates of reporting corruption stories

	Numbers	percentage
No	66	66 %
Yes	34	34%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Respondents were asked if they reported all cases of corruption, majority represented by 66% reported that that they did not while 34% responded in the affirmative. Those who said 'No' cited various reasons for not reporting.

Those who said "NO" argued that they did not report corruption incidences due to fear of victimization by those implicated. In the introduction to this study, we cited Githogo in (Mullei et al 2000:50) who argues that corruption is an elitist's activity, individuals who are wealthy and powerful and have connections with the government. These make reporting of corruption stories nearly impossible to report; an aspect that was confirmed by these findings.

Some of those sampled reported that some of those involved in corruption are either friends or relatives to the media owners and given that whatever is reported has to be regulated by media, some of these cases do not see the light of day. Some of those implicated happen to be in good books with the management to the extent that the investigator risks losing his/her job if the story has to go on air. Therefore one has to balance between job and airing such stories. Media ownership therefore becomes a hindrance in reporting of corruption stories.

Some of those sampled reported that they have no place to take stories related to corruption as there are more catchy stories that are preferred to those related to corruption

It was also observed that some stories related to corruption are not fully investigated there by lacking adequate evidence. Publishing such stories can either lead to libel cases to the media firms. Some reported that some cases go unreported because money exchange hands while some cases are too complex to be reported by the media.

Some people reported that it was difficult to report all cases of corruption because of those that have always be reported very few have been published.

When asked to explain why they reported all corruption cases, those who said “YES” indicated that they hated corruption and felt that it was their moral duty of the media to expose those who are corrupt to the public. Some of the respondents added through creating awareness to the public about those individuals and institutions where corruption take place is a way of Corporate Social Responsibility, some said that they could only report corruption once they had verified the truth in it and then expose the individuals. Some of the respondents indicated that they exposed the corrupt since the security of journalists is guaranteed in the constitution.

4.1.12 Perceptions on what motivates media to report corruption

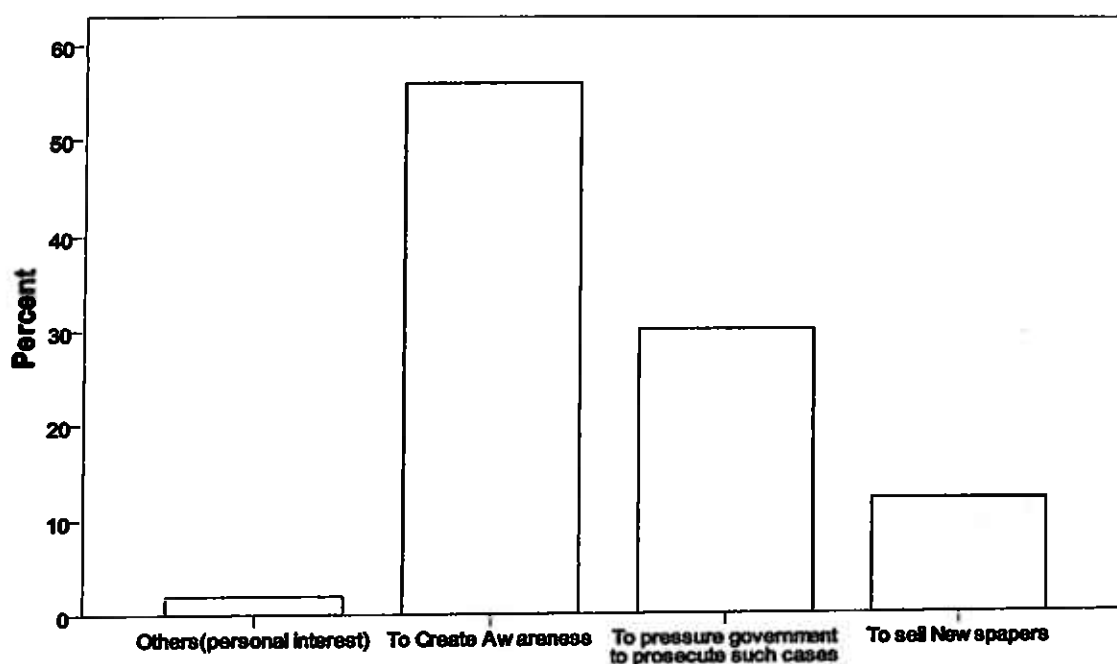
There are many reasons why media professionals will choose to report a corruption story or not to. Some do so to create awareness, others out of personal interest and others because they think that corruption is a real problem that needs to be dealt with. The study sought to find what motivates the media professionals to report corruption stories.

Table 4.1.12 Perceptions on what motivates media to report corruption

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
To create awareness	56	56%
To pressure government to prosecute cases	30	30%
To sell newspapers	12	12%
Others (personal interest etc)	2	2%
Total	100	100

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.12 Perceptions of what motivates media to report corruption



Source: Field survey 2012

From table 4.1.12, creating awareness emerged as one of the key roles of media in the fight against corruption. This was represented by 56% of the total population. A further 30% observed that they reported stories of corruption to pressure government to prosecute. This confirmed sentiments expressed by (Kibwana et al 1996:14) who notes that it due to the serialization of the Goldenberg scandal, the government was kept on toes and forced to take action. 12 % of the respondents gave selling of newspapers and 2% said that they simply took personal interest to report. Diagram 4.1.12 is a representation of the relationships between reporting of corruption stories and the drive behind it.

4.1.13 Ways in which media set agenda in reporting corruption

The study sought to know how the media professionals ensured that corruption related stories were effectively reported and how they moved these stories from mere awareness to reporting that has impact. The results were as recorded in the table 4.1.13 below:

Table 4.1.13 Saliency in reporting Corruption

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Commentaries	21	21%
coverage	20	20%
Editorials	22	22%
Features	12	12%
Language slant/News direction	4	4%
Letters to the editor	13	13%
Opinion	4	4%
Positioning	4	4%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Results in table 4.1.13 show that media use a wide range of methods to create prominence. 21% of the respondents reported that they used commentaries and 20 % said they used coverage. Another 22% said they used editorials, 13% used letters to the editor and 12 % used features. Those who used Language slant, opinion and positioning were represented by 4% each. It was clear that the respondents did not just use one method to create saliency of information, but a range of methods.

4.1.14 Rating on reporting on corruption stories

The study sought to find out how they felt the media fared in reporting corruption. The results were as shown in table 4.1.14 below:

Table 4.1.14 Rating on reporting on corruption stories

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	3	3%
Very good	24	24%
Good	55	55%
Fair	14	14%
Poor	3	3%
Very poor	1	1%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

From table 4.1.14, over 80% felt that the media had done a good job on reporting corruption. They had helped create awareness in the citizenry. They had played a key role in educating the masses on the evils of corruption and were putting the checks for the government. About 18% felt that the media still had a long way to go to play the roles they ought to in the fight against corruption.

4.1.15 Factors affecting reporting

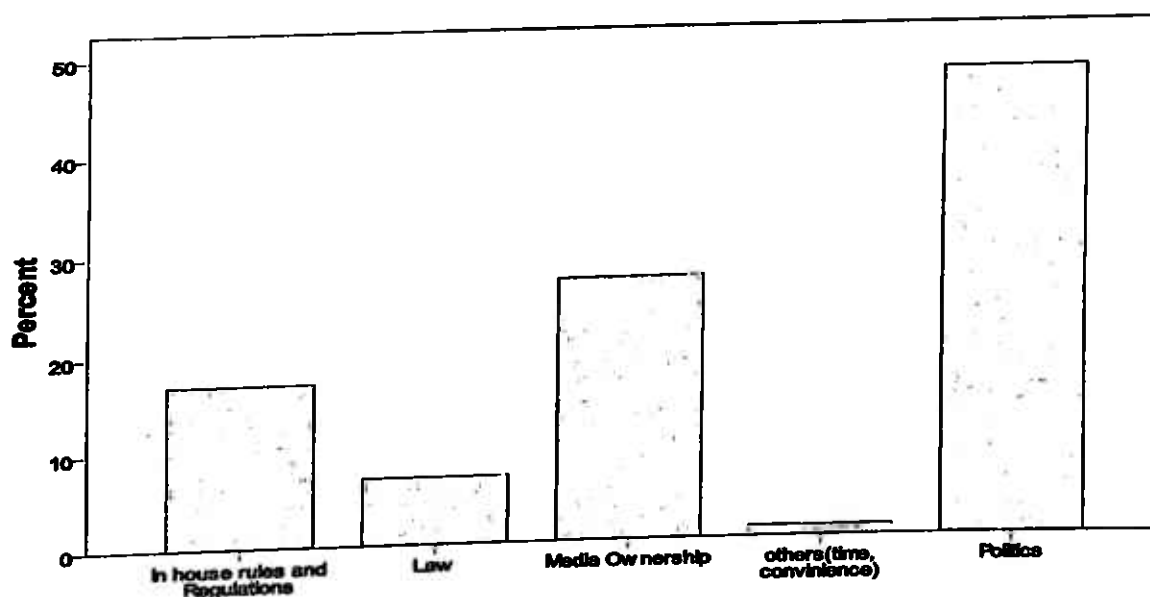
The study sought to know what affected the reporting of corruption related stories and the following responses were obtained;

Table 4.1.5 Aspects affecting reporting of corruption

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
In-house rules and regulations	17	17%
Law	7	7%
Media ownership	27	27%
politics	48	48%
Others(time, convenience etc)	1	1%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Diagram 4.1.15 Aspects affecting reporting of corruption



Source: Field Survey 2012

Results recorded in table 4.1.15 and diagram 4.1.15 indicated that political influence provided a huge bearing on how the reporting of corruption stories was done. This was represented by 48% of the total population interviewed. Media ownership was rated second as an obstacle to effective reporting with a rating of 27%, whereas In house regulation and law were represented by 17% and 7% respectively.

4.1.16 Levels of objectivity in reporting corruption

We sought to whether the media professionals felt that they were objective in their reporting of corruption stories. The results were a recorded in 4.1.16 below:

Table 4.1.16 Levels of Objectivity in reporting Corruption

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	13	13%
Very good	35	35%
Good	47	47%
Poor	5	5%
	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

When asked to rate the levels of objectivity in reporting corruption many observed that despite numerous setbacks, they tried to be as objective as possible. 13% said they were excellent, 35% rated their levels of objectivity at very good and a further 47% rated their levels at good. Only 5% rated at poor.

4.1.17: Perceptions on whether the media had made a difference in the fight against corruption.

The study sought to find out whether media had any effect in the fight against corruption. The results are shown in table 4.1.17 below

Table 4.1.17 Perceptions on whether the media had made a difference in the fight against corruption.

	Numbers	
NO	14	14%
YES	86	86%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

In table 4.1.17, a majority 86% of the respondents affirmed that media had made a difference, 14% felt that they needed to do more.

Those who reported that media had made a difference as far as the fight against corruption is concerned observed that media helped expose the corrupt that end up being ashamed. It was reported that media exposes corrupt individuals even if the information was hidden from public. Most of those of the reported cases had been prosecuted; media had exposed many corruption cases to the extent that the government was kept on track. Some said that justice had been achieved through reporting of corrupt activities in institutions.

For those who said that there was no difference media had made as far the fight against corruption was concerned observed that Corruption is a national issue which cannot be pegged on a media house or individual. Some said that many cases were never published owing to the influence of those implicated and thus some stories related to mega scandals were never reported. Some respondents reported that at times information availed is very little and there made it difficult to make follow ups. Some reported that the reporters were given very little authority to deal with corruption related stories. It was also observed that media only reports but does not solve.

4.1.18 The impact of your reporting corruption stories

We sought to find out how what levels of impact the media had by reporting corruption and the results were as shown in table 4.1.18 below:

4.1.18 The impact of your reporting corruption stories

	Numbers	Percentage (%)
Very good	5	5%
Good	60	60%
Fair	32	32%
Poor	1	1%
Very poor	2	2%
Total	100	100%

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 4.1.18 above shows that over 60% reported that media had influence positively the fight against corruption. 32 % reported the performance as fair whereas about 3 % did not feel that media had had any impact.

4.2 Conclusions

The results of this study showed that media is key player in the fight against corruption and that the war against corruption could not be won without the involvement of the media. We established that poor governance a political influence were major causes of corruption. Government institutions were seen as the most affected by corruption. The Media were doing a good job at creating awareness and remaining objective in their reporting of corruption. However, there were major challenges that they had to deal with such as politics and media ownership. Often there were cases of corruption that were not reported as the media professional were threatened with libel suits. They also expressed concern over the lack of good will on the part of the government in fighting corruption. There was satisfaction that some of cases that had been reported had been dealt with and justice delivered.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This section provides a summary of the objectives of this study and the outcome of the study, the conclusions and the recommendations.

5.1 Summary

In our study, we set out to achieve three objectives, that is: to establish the role of the media in the fight against corruption in Kenya, to determine its impact and finally to establish the challenges that media face in the fight against corruption. This study established that media do play a very important role in the fight against corruption. 95 % of those who were interviewed felt that media is a crucial player in the fight against corruption. Many respondents felt that they had a moral duty to expose cases of corruption and by doing so they were fulfilling their social responsibility. The respondents said that by putting cases of corruption high on the public agenda, they would not only be creating awareness and educating the masses, but to some extent, they would be exerting pressure on the government to prosecute such cases. Many appreciated their own ability to unearth stories even from large sectors and they expressed the opinion that due to the wide circulation of media, media is very effective tool for educating the masses and enabling them in decision making, for example, in their choice of leaders.

A majority respondents (more than 80%) felt that media was effective in reporting corruption in the country. They observed that the stories of corruption that came to them were given due diligence in reporting. Beyond just reporting to create awareness, the stories were given wide coverage, commentaries and editorials were done and the media houses encouraged letters to the editor. As a result, the government has been kept on the track and some cases have

achieved justice due. In addition, the officials implicated once exposed are ashamed and the public exert pressure on them to resign from public offices.

The respondents cited politics (48%), ownership (27%) and in-house media regulation (17%) in that order as their biggest obstacles in the media's objective reporting. They observed that many of the officials implicated especially in the major corruption scandals have strong political influence and often the journalists are threatened with libel suits should they report stories that implicate them. In addition, media ownership plays a key role as a hindrance to reporting of corruption stories. Many reporters/editors have to make a difficult choice between keeping their jobs or protecting the interests the owners. So stories where the owners (or friends of the owners) are implicated never see the light of the day. Media houses are also in the business of selling newspapers and therefore only stories that sell get to be published. A majority of the small scale corruption stories are never published. Moreover, stories that may implicate companies that support the media houses through advertisements are often not published. In essence, in-house regulation ensures thorough gate-keeping to protect their interests and those of the friends of the management. Some reporters reported that often they do not enjoy the freedom to report their own stories. Once they bring the stories to the newsroom, they are subjected to scrutiny by a chain of editors and often, these stories are never published. Some respondents observed that media itself is corrupt and often money changes hands to kill stories. These respondents observed that this kills their zeal.

5.2 Conclusions

Despite the various challenges media face, they have made good strides in the fight against corruption. The media has been effective as tool for advocacy for a nation free of corruption through editorials and commentaries. They also have kept the government in check by consistently reporting the corruption stories.

5.3 Recommendations

This study recommends that policy makers address the core issues that are seen as the genesis of corruption in the country. Poor governance was cited as top on the list of the causes of corruption followed by political influence. The respondents in this study pointed fingers at the public sector and the police force as the most corrupt institutions, both the institutions fall directly under the government. The study also recommends enhanced freedom and security for journalists so as to boost their performance in the fight against corruption. Freedom of press must be guaranteed and inappropriate use of libel laws to threaten or sue journalists be stopped. The government must be in the forefront in protecting journalists if at all it is serious in dealing with corruption. Training of investigative journalists and investment into media advocacy should be done to encourage investigative journalism.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction:

Corruption is a major problem affecting Kenya and other African countries. In fact, Kenya is rated as one of the most corrupt countries in Africa at position 154 out of 183 with a perception index of 2.2 (Transparency International Corruption Index 2011).

In this study, we seek to understand the roles that media play in the fight against corruption, the challenges they face in fulfilling this role and the impact that media have in the fight against corruption.

Section 1: Bio Data

1. Name of Respondent: _____
2. Sex: Male Female
3. Age (in years): Below 30 31-40 41-50 51-60 above 60
4. Formal Education Background:
5. Below O-Level O-Level A-Level College/University
6. Institution: _____
7. Designation: _____
8. What do you think are the causes of corruption?
 - Political leaders
 - Poverty
 - Sin
 - Poor governance
 - Lack of knowledge
 - Others (please specify) _____

9. In Kenya, where do you think corruption is practised most?

Public sector/ Parastatals

Private sector

Judiciary

Police force

Others (Please specify) _____

10. Do you think media have a role in the fight against corruption?

Yes No

11. If yes, please explain

12. If no, Please explain

13. State your opinion: In Kenya, the fight against corruption cannot be won without the involvement of media

Strongly agree

Agree

Don't agree

Strongly disagree

14. How would you rate your media house in terms of reporting stories of corruption?

Very effective

Effective

Fairly effective

Not effective

15. Do you report all corruption cases that come to your attention

Yes No

16. If yes, please explain

17. If no, Please explain

18. What is your drive in reporting cases of corruption?

To sell newspapers

To create awareness

To pressure government to prosecute such cases

Other (please specify)

19. How would you rate your reporting and follow up of corruption stories

Excellent Very good Good Fair Poor Very poor

20. How do you ensure that corruption is effectively reported?

Commentaries

- Editorials
 - Features
 - Opinion
 - Letters to the editor
 - Positioning
 - Coverage
 - Language slant/ News direction
 - Frequency
 - Others (please specify)
-

21. Which of the following do you think affects your reporting of corruption stories most

Media ownership Law politics

In-house Rules, policies and regulation

Other (Please specify)

22. Rate your levels of objectivity in reporting corruption stories.

Excellent

Very good

Good

Very poor

23. Do you think media has made any difference in the fight against corruption in kenya?

Yes No

24. If yes, please explain

25. If no, please explain

26. How would you rate the impact of your reporting of such cases?

Very good Good Fair