

**The Role of print media in the fight against corruption. A content analysis  
of the Nation Newspaper coverage of corruption related stories.**

**By**

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**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university for award of any degree.

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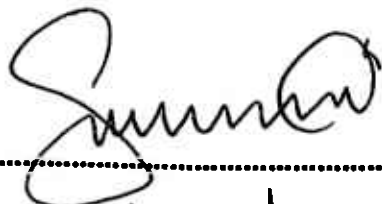
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## **ABSTRACT**

**This study seeks to investigate the role of print media in the fight against corruption in Kenya by focusing on coverage.**

**The objective of the study is to establish the prominence given to corruption related themes in the Nation Newspaper publications, together with the frequency of coverage of corruption related stories on the newspaper. It also seeks to explore how framing of such stories was done within the period of the study which covered four months from 1<sup>st</sup> april to 31<sup>st</sup> july 2013.**

**One of the findings of this study is that the Nation Newspaper plays a major role in sending corruption messages to the public who are the readers and this is generally done through publication of stories about corruption, giving them distinct prominence and a wide coverage. In the study, the Nation Newspaper makes an extra effort to expose corrupt incidences in government institutions and senior public officers are presented as the main culprits of corrupt practices. However, this portrayal by the research could be a result of bias on the part of the media practitioners who put more emphasis on corruption in government as opposed to also covering corrupt incidences**

in the private sector, which is also portrayed as being involved in the vice though at a much lesser level.

In spite of such efforts to expose corruption, it is intriguing to note that they have not had any significant deterrent effect. Thus corruption in the country has not declined as reports on corrupt incidences continue to feature prominently in the news media. The question is what can the media do to serve as an instrument of deterring corruption in the society? This question requires a more elaborate study to determine the full extent of both private and public involvement and corresponding disincentives.

As shown in this study it is critical that both the corrupted and the corruptor are exposed by the media in equal measure with a view to dissuading public officers and private sector workers and owners from using corruption for personal gain or profit at the expense of tax payers and national development

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the study**

Corruption is becoming a subject of great concern both in the developing and developed world. The phenomenon has impacted so negatively in our social, economic and political life that it would be difficult for people to keep quiet about the subject. It is a complex and global phenomenon that causes poverty, obstructs development and drives away investment. Whenever it is present, it generally involves public officials, business managers and private citizens (Alain Nkoyock 2009). The moral values of many Nations of the world have continuously been eroded by the vice and most of the citizens have been consigned to poverty as a result. Kenya as a nation has not been left behind on issues of corruption as it has been ranked among the most corrupt Nations in the world by transparency international in their annual publications of corruption perception index for the year 2012 (Transparency International- Kenya). This is a non- profit organization that aims to promote transparent and corruption free Kenya with good governance and social justice initiatives. The mass media all over the world has highlighted corruption incidences through their continued reporting, as no nation in the world can be said not to be affected by the vice. The only difference is the magnitude of the problem in any given country.

Because of the secret nature of corruption where the activities are generally concealed, it is not easy to measure the occurrence directly much as we know of its existence and therefore we are not able to get the actual reality of the problem. The media plays a very critical role of exposure to the public by continuously reporting and highlighting corruption incidences and through investigative journalism.

Corruption perception and incidences have been rampant in the Kenya ever since the country gained independence from Britain in 1963. Consecutive governments that have ruled the country, from that of Jomo Kenyatta through Presidents Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki and lately the current jubilee government of President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto have been accused of condoning corruption by the mass media. The jubilee government which is barely seven months old in office has not been spared either since the media has continued to point out corruption allegation incidences that have taken place within the short period that the government has been in place. This is despite the president stating that his government will not tolerate any form of corruption.

Over the last few months from April when the jubilee government was sworn in up to the month of July 2013, there has been continuous reporting of corruption incidences by both the print and electronic media. Corruption seems to be taking root in the Kenyan society despite the prominence given by the mass media on the vice. Recent studies done and released by the transparency international on corruption perception in the

country in comparison with other countries of the world have placed Kenya at position 147 out of 184 Countries of the world, which implies that the country is among the most corrupt in the world (Transparency International, Kenya 2012). In this and earlier reports by the same organization, the police department in particular has been consistently perceived to be the sector most affected by corruption (Transparency International-Kenya, 2010, 2011). This is despite it being one of the institutions charged with the responsibility of fighting corruption in the country.

All this is happening despite there being institutions, both government and private mandated with the responsibility of fighting corruption on behalf of the government like the Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission(EACC), The Anti corruption courts, Transparency International, Kenya(TI), Kenya National Commission on Human Rights(KNCHR), Efficiency Monitoring Unit (EMU), Auditor General and the police among others.

On the other hand, the government has not been fully supportive in the fight as it has demonstrated tendencies of gagging the media, which has continuously used its watch dog role in the fight against the vice. An example of curtailing of the media is demonstrated in the signing into law of the “Kenya Communications Amendment Bill 2009” by President Mwai Kibaki. This is as reported in a newspaper article appearing on the African post of Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> January 2009 titled “Kenyan Media Gag Law Approved”. The President signed into law a media bill that journalists felt would curtail press

freedom. The law gave Kenyan authorities the power to raid media offices, tap phones and control broadcast content on grounds of national security. In supporting the bill, the President said he had carefully considered the journalists' concern but added that press freedom must go hand in hand with responsibility. He felt the bill was crucial for the country's economic development. The critics of the bill were concerned that media freedom was being curtailed by the government. The same fears had been expressed in the year 2006 after the raids that were conducted by alleged government operatives on Kenya Television Network Broadcasting Station (KTN) and the standard newspaper offices. It is alleged that the raids followed exposes about official corruption in the government.

The role that the media plays in highlighting vices in society cannot be overemphasized, and it would therefore be prudent to give total support and freedom to the press if any positive gains in the fight against corruption are to be realized. In their watchdog role, journalists are expected to guard the public interest and to protect it from incompetence, corruption and misinformation. At its most effective, the watchdog press can make real policy and personnel changes possible. It can raise the awareness of citizens about wrongdoing and abuse so that they demand such changes. Important issues that would otherwise be ignored are pushed into the public sphere and democracy is kept alive by forcing institutions and individuals to be accountable for what they do.

A free and independent press is perhaps the most important accountability instrument in democracies. Article 19 of the 1948 universal declaration on human rights guarantees this freedom of the media. It states thus “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 frontiers “

There appears to be a very great relationship between corruption and political leadership with players in each supporting the other. In Kenya for example, some major corruption cases seem to have connection in both judiciary and political quarters. As we endeavor to understand corruption in any country, it is necessary for us to understand that an individual decision to follow a norm or to neglect it can be considered to be the result of an assessment of the costs and benefits to be expected. If the expected gains are likely to outweigh the risk, then one will be expected to take the risk and attempt to act.

In the case of corruption, if the cost of breaking the law is lower than the consequences of being arrested, then one is more likely to engage in corruption. The role of the media as a watchdog comes in handy if those who imagine they would benefit from corruption were to be deterred from performing the acts. This is because continuous reporting and exposure of those involved in corruption is more likely to stop them from repeating or engaging in the vice for fear of any punishment that may be in place, including being shamed in the public eye.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Corruption is a major problem in the Kenyan society and the world as a whole. The level of corruption in the country is high and widespread as demonstrated in the National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, (2012) which was undertaken by the research and planning department, directorate of Preventive Services of the Ethics and Anti-corruption commission (EACC), which found out that majority of service seekers in the country pay bribes to receive service from public officers. The media, making use of its watchdog role has continuously focused on the issue of corruption in the country through coverage of corruption stories that they come across and report on. Major corruption scandals regularly hit the headlines and hardly a day passes without the media highlighting corruption incidences especially in the government. The vice continues to immensely impact negatively on the various aspects of the Nations' life. For example health care continuously deteriorates as vital infrastructure fails; millions of children are denied education as millions of shillings are embezzled while the transport network becomes dilapidated as well connected contractors make quick kills at the expense of good road network, which in turn leads to deaths through accidents.

While most people agree that corruption is evil, it is disheartening and surprising to note that a fair number of people are engaging in the vice regardless of age, social status or ethnic background. This is despite the continuous reporting and highlighting of corruption incidences by the mass media (both electronic and print).



Public voice is ignored as government officials in collusion with players in the private sector spend public funds as they wish through corruption. The question one would ask is, why the prevalence even with the amount of publicity that the media grants through reporting and framing of corruption stories, and even exposing those involved in corruption? What has the media not done and what can it do to ensure that corruption is minimized if not eradicated from the Kenyan society?

The purpose of the study therefore was to investigate the role that the print media plays in highlighting corruption related issues in Kenya, how this is done and whether the process is capable of combating the corruption menace in the country.

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

The overall objective of this study was to examine/investigate the role played by the print media in the fight against corruption by focusing on coverage.

Specifically the study seeks

- 1. To examine the prominence given to corruption related themes in the Nation Newspaper.**
- 2. To determine frequency of coverage of corruption related issues in the Nation Newspaper.**
- 3. To explore the framing of corruption in the Nation Newspaper.**

#### **1.4 Justification of the study**

The study is important as it will help in establishing whether the mass media especially the print media, which has a relatively wide circulation, is an effective tool that can be used by the government in the fight against corruption. It is important to establish why even with the prominence given to corruption related stories, we still have high prevalence of corruption in the country and what litigation measures can be put in place by the media practitioners to make the fight against corruption through the media a success.

The results will inform the media owners and practitioners on their shortcomings in relation to the mode of reporting, and thereby improve on them with a view to corruption reduction and eventual eradication which will lead to economic growth in the long run.

#### **1.5 Theoretical framework**

Theoretical framework is the process of identifying a core set of connectors within a particular topic and showing how they fit together or are related in some way to the subject. It provides a perspective through which one can examine a topic, and it is usually a specific theory or theories about aspects of human existence. It guides the research, determines what things will be measured and shows the statistical relationship that one is expected to look for in a research. In other words it is the question that the study is expected to answer in a particular subject.

A theory is usually not a guess but based on empirical evidence found through scientific research which is usually rigorously controlled to avoid bias. It is known to describe specific behavior and at the same time make predictions about future behavior.

### **1.6 Agenda setting**

The study was guided by the agenda setting theory, which has made a tremendous contribution to mass communication. The theory describes a powerful influence of the media, which is the ability to tell us what issues are important. In agenda setting, the focus is on creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. The media is known to be selective in news reporting. The media outlets act as gate keepers of information whereby they make choices about what to report and what not to. What is in the public domain or what the public cares about at any given time is mostly a byproduct of media gate keeping.

The study set its focus on an assumption relating to agenda setting which relates to “mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others”.(Coleman, McCombs and Weaver). This implies that the more coverage a particular issue is given, the more important it is perceived to be by the people. Through agenda setting, the media has potential power to affect national agendas since the public always think of lead stories as being the big news for the day (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987).

According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), who are the developers of the agenda setting theory, the mass media sets the agenda for public opinion. To the two scholars, the main effect of news media was agenda setting, which was telling people not what to think but what to think about and this has led to the reference of agenda setting as a function of the mass media and not a theory.

The agenda setting function is known to be a three part process in which we have media agenda-which involves the issues discussed in the media; the Public agenda- which involves the issues that are discussed by the public and which are personally relevant to them and finally the Policy agenda- which refers to the issues that are considered important by policy makers.

In researches that have been undertaken by various scholars, high correlation between the media and public agendas have been established as to whether the media sets the public agenda or the public sets the media agenda (Coleman, McCombs and Shaw), the main question being generally on causality. "Does media agenda cause public agenda?"

In their experiment, Lyngar and Kinder (1987) observed that priming of news items, vividness of presentation and position were all determinants of the importance given to a news story. The public therefore highly depend on the media for information and on the other hand, the media plays a very important role in determining what the public would generally take as important piece of news.

This is supported by Shaw & McCombs (1977) in their conclusion that “here may lie most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.”

In relation to this study, depending on how the topic on corruption is presented to the public by the news media, that is the manner of priming and mode of presentation, would highly determine how the public takes and interprets the theme and eventually how they behave towards corruption in general in the wider society. In other words the media can determine whether corruption is fueled or eradicated in the society depending on their coverage and the values like fairness, accuracy of the information, truthfulness and objectivity that are given in the news items.

The media agenda and the public agenda can easily influence the policy agenda since policy makers represent the public in decision making while the media play their role as gate keepers. This is so since if a news item is covered frequently and prominently, the audience will definitely refer to the issue as more important due to the prominence it is accorded by the media.

In supporting the agenda setting theory, Cohen (1963) argues that “The world will look different to different people depending on the map that is drawn for them by writers,

editors and publishers of the paper they read". The premise of agenda setting for its part is based on the assumption that the media has the ability to shape the nature and focus of public discourse because of their control over the means of information dissemination(W. J. Tetey 2002). This stresses the very important role that the print media would play in determining what the public takes as important news. This is because of the assumption that there is creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media.

The effect of agenda setting in the fight against corruption in Kenya through print media would be that the public would be duty bound to react on the issues that are more accessible and therefore by highlighting the corruption incidences, the public memory would be drawn to issues that the news media focus on most. This would again force the policy makers to act on the issues appearing on the public agenda. This is because "watchdogging" agenda setting and democratic accountability are interrelated in that what the media choose to monitor and report on shape the public agenda and elicit answerability from relevant actors and the imposition of appropriate sanctions by citizens or state institutions (W J Tetey 2002). This would be a form of follow up as the issues at hand will not be forgotten by the public.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The chapter presents the literature review on corruption and the mass media. It summarizes the information from other researchers who have carried out their research in the same field of study. The chapter presents the theoretical background, causes, effects and benefits of fighting corruption.

#### **2.2 The Concept of corruption.**

Dishonesty and lack of integrity perhaps define corruption best, while moral decay and degeneration may also refer to corruption. In the Webster's New collegiate Dictionary, it is defined thus; "Corruption (is) inducement to wrong doing by bribery or other unlawful or improper means; a departure from what is pure or correct". On its part the World Bank (1997; 24) defines corruption as "the abuse of public power for private gain". In whatever way corruption is defined, it involves acts that are perceived to be against public interest or violate certain legal or moral laws and principles, and some of these are directly or indirectly harmful to the society. It is usually considered as an evil because it affects efficiency of the economic system and the success of policy implementation which is very crucial for progress.

Corruption manifests itself in different forms and different scholars have come up with different types of corruption. Otite(1986.12) identified five types which are, political corruption-which manifests in manipulation of elections, people and institutions in order to gain or retain power and office; economic corruption- which involves bidding for favor to any level for economic gains; bureaucratic corruption-involves buying favor from bureaucrats who formulate and administer government economic and political policies and who use their power to delay and force people to bribe them; judicial corruption-this is where people use their personal resources to secure police attention and bails and even pervert the administration of justice; moral corruption-this is where we have display conditions of moral depravity like desire for employment, flamboyant demonstration of materialism in the midst of poverty among others.

Oyebode (1999; 4) has classified corruption into four main types which include; petty corruption which is generally associated with low income earners who are compelled to resort to corruptive practices in a desperate attempt to make ends meet; grand corruption which is large scale corruption which is generally perpetrated by government officials, senior corporate executives and others in positions of power and authority. This type of corruption has a high potential for tremendous social consequences and it is seldom visited with public sanction; white collar corruption which is found among bureaucratic bourgeoisie and may involve insider dealings, rent seeking initiatives which perpetrators engage in due to their proximity to inside information in organizations;



ivory tower corruption, which generally involves abuse of office, favoritism, nepotism among others.

Finally, Moody-Stuart (1994; 43-53) categorized corruption into two major types as follows; Grand corruption, which is undertaken by state officials in collusion with large foreign companies to secure the sale of goods and services of high value, that would not have been chosen in a fair and competitive manner and Petty corruption, which involves small scale individual activities of officials such as police officers, customs officers, stores officials, accounts officers, dishonest magistrates and judges among others. Of these two types, the most detrimental is grand corruption because of its enormity although petty corruption is more noticeable among members of the public and if not checked may graduate to grand corruption.

Countries vary widely in the pervasiveness and level of corruption and within individual countries, some industries, government departments and lower level governments are very corrupt while others are not. In large diverse countries like the United States of America, China and India, there are no ways to measure the level of corruption. Reliable data on the magnitude across countries does not exist. Corruption can significantly affect the efficiency, fairness and legitimacy of the activities of any state. Allegations of corruption have toppled sitting rulers or led to the arrest of past incumbents. (Ayittey, 1992; Colazingari & Rose Ackerman, 1995).

Corruption occurs in both developed and developing countries and it is seen as counter-productive to the needed economic and political reforms, accountability, transparency and good governance. Since the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century, classical liberal theorists have argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection from the excesses of power (Sheila s. coronel. 1999). The two are provided for by the media with its role as a watchdog for society. The idea of vigilant media monitoring the government and exposing its excesses including corruption incidences has gained new traction in many parts of the world.

Globalization, the fall of authoritarian and socialist regimes and de-regularization of the media worldwide have fueled a renewed interest in, as well as a surge in the efforts of various groups to support watchdog reporting by the media, with the sole aim of fighting corruption among other evils in society (Sheila, 2000).

Corruption is a global phenomenon that causes poverty, obstructs development and drives away investment. The issue of corruption has gained a prominent place on the global agenda since the mid 1990s, with the creation of organizations that can promote models of stemming corruption, especially in developing countries where government corruption is widespread. International organizations have adopted conventions with the requirement that their members enact laws prohibiting bribery and extortion.

### **2.3 Media and fight against corruption**

As a social science, corruption has been mystified and even ignored in many countries, and not many people would like to talk about the subject openly and transparently. It has become a subject of great concern, not only in the developing Nations but also in the developed world. It has impacted negatively in all social, economic and political life such that the world can no longer afford to keep quiet about it. It has eroded the moral values of many Nations and many people have been consigned to perpetual poverty and deprivation. The media plays an increasing role in giving voice to competing political perspectives and exposing the misdeeds of government officials. In the fight against corruption, the media plays a prominent role in public awareness of evils posed by corruption.

The most effective weapon against graft and other vices of corruption is information, as corruption is known to thrive more in dark and secretive places, bringing need for investigative journalists to bring up the vice to light (Folu Olamiti, 2008, ICPC Capacity Building Series pg 2). News media are believed to contribute to the fight on corruption through Agenda setting which is known to be related to the watchdog role, by framing corruption related issues in such a way that the reporting triggers familiar interpretive frameworks that shape how the public thinks about social problems and their potential solutions. This functions well when journalists are investigating previously obscure problems whereby the issues are highlighted in the news headlines, and thereby raising awareness of social problems and calls for attention to vital issues (Sheila, 1999).

Without a relatively diverse and independent press, it is difficult to see how citizens can acquire sufficient information to make meaningful political choices or hold governments accountable for their decisions.

Corruption is known to undermine the legitimacy of any government and such democratic values like human rights, respect for the rule of law, trust and tolerance. It also undermines economic development by advancing narrow and selfish economic policies and incompetence in delivery of services to the people. Public investment is known to be diverted away from social and people friendly projects like poverty eradication, education, health and housing into capital projects for purposes of attracting bribes for individual benefits. The press as the 'Fourth Estate' is an institution that primarily exists as a check on those in public office. This is the reason why there is need for 'media opening', a process by which mass media becomes more representative of societal viewpoints and more independent of official control, which in itself is a product of democratization (Lawson chappel, 2002).

As a critical strategy in a country's anti corruption crusade, an effective media is timely in charting the path to follow in curbing corruption. Its major role is generally to raise public awareness about corruption, its causes, effects and possible remedies including investigating and reporting incidents of corruption. It also informs the citizens of the types of corruption within their social, political and economic systems to enable them to

fight it more effectively and to develop their own strategies (Uganda Media Review, issue II Nov 2011). It is argued that the governments cannot be held accountable if the citizens are ill informed about the actions of officials and institutions of governments.

In the modern society, the media is part of the solution to the problem of “How to fight corruption.” There will be no justice if people cannot see or be informed of what is happening in the wider world. The media fulfills the first act of justice in any society by helping people to see what is happening. It can provide awareness of the negative impact of corruption on society and it is one of the most fundamental parts of any anti corruption strategy in any given society. It is therefore very important for journalists, editors and publishers not to fall away from their role as a voice to inspire positive change, which they sometimes do by falling into the lowest level of journalism by merely trying to create emotional reaction to the readers.

#### **2.4 Watchdog role of the media in fight against corruption**

In new and old democracies, the idea of the media as the public eyes and ears and not merely a passive recorder of events is widely accepted in today’s world. The press working independently of the government, even as its freedoms are guaranteed is supposed to ensure that all wrongdoing in any given society is exposed. Targets for Watchdog journalism range from low level to high level corruption and cuts across various sectors, and while most exposes are about wrong doing in governments, they can also uncover malfeasance in the private sector such as corporations that cause damage to the public interest (Sheila.2000).

An effective watchdog press ensures that individuals and institutions that are supposed to serve the public remain transparent and are held accountable. A vigilant press is therefore fundamental to good governance. What motivates the journalist or the news organization that publishes a muckraking report is not the issue; what matters is that the reporting warns citizens about those who are doing them harm and empowers them with the information they need. This is the reason why watchdog journalism is also referred to as exposure journalism because the journalists expose wrongdoing in the public interest. As watchdogs, the media have a responsibility to help guard the public interest, ensuring the accountability of powerful decision makers by highlighting cases of malfeasance, misadministration and corruption, thereby strengthening the transparency and effectiveness of governments (Pippa Norris, 2010). Journalists are also expected to guard the public interest and to protect it from incompetence, corruption and misinformation. Their watchdog role requires that their news provide a check on powerful sectors of the society, including leaders within the private and public domains (Sina Odugbemi and Pippa Norris, 2000).

Exposes in watchdog media can either be “episodic”, which is a one off expose that may or may not have an impact, or “sustained” especially where a community of journalists devotes its energies to exposing malfeasance and produces a continuous stream of reports on wrongdoing. The continuous form would be the best to keep officials and institutions on check to ensure that corruption is minimized if not eradicated.

## **2.5 Global context of corruption and the media**

Corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that affects all countries in various degrees including developed countries. The 2007 Global Integrity Report affirmed that developed countries are still mired in corruption, contrary to the general perception that the wealthier countries are less corrupt because they have reached appreciable levels of development (Global Integrity 2007). Most countries, realizing the deleterious effects of corruption, are searching for measures - legal, social, economic and political which provide an environment that leads to the elimination of the corruption vice from society. The structure and ownership of the media industry, as well as professional practices, cultures and norms have a bearing on how well the press performs its watchdog role for purposes of fighting the corruption menace in the world, together with other vices affecting the society.

The institutional arrangements of democracy provide the most hospitable environment for watchdog reporting. The constitutional and legal protections for a free press, as well as access to government held information give journalists not only the right, but also the tools with which to monitor the government and its activities. The checks and balances inherent in the representative system also legitimize journalistic inquiry as part of a broader framework of government accountability to its citizens (Sheila. 1999).

Over the past 20 years, investigative journalism has thrived especially in areas where repressive regimes fell apart in the early 1990s. This period saw the revival of this

century's old notion and its application especially to transition societies which were at the time emerging from the ruins of socialist and authoritarian regimes. This had resonance among citizens facing pervasive corruption, weak rule of law and predatory or incompetent governments unable to deliver basic services. After years of propaganda and thought control, citizens were hungry for information and their appetite for news and commentaries was unleashed once the restraints were relaxed. The new democratic leaders who took over these governments not only dismantled information ministries and state censorship but also liberated the media from state ownership, paving the way for entrepreneurs who took advantage of the commercial opportunities to cater for a market hungry for news (Sheila.1999).

On being freed from state controls, the media took on the government and also made profits from their exposes. Emboldened by their freedom, prestige and profits the media in many new democracies is now able to poke their noses into areas of public life from which they had been barred previously, exposing corruption and malfeasance in both high and low places and even in areas like the military which previously have not been exposed to press scrutiny.

Countries like Sweden and the Netherlands have evolved social and cultural constraints that militate against corruption. Crucially, devotion to personal aggrandizement while in public life is scorned at. The slightest revelation of misuse of public office, which is normally done through the mass media, would almost permanently destroy the political



career of any individual in these countries. In Belgium, together with some Mediterranean countries, social and cultural norms are not strict but laws are in place that makes it almost impossible to engage in malpractices including corruption.

Proponents of watchdog journalism have high hopes for what it can do especially in the control of corruption. They argue that by exposing wrongdoing, the press prompts investigations of those involved in malfeasance and catalyses changes in laws and regulations. As a result, the public opinion is shaped against corrupt governments, which leads to hostility against those who abuse their office.

In his study of investigative reporting in Latin America, Waisbord (2000) has observed that factors unrelated to the quality of journalistic work affect the impact of the exposes. Scandals involving well known figures and sensational details get more public attention, as do investigations that appeal to the public's voyeuristic appetites. Scandals on issues that affect citizens directly are able to engage publics not usually interested in politics. The media can give whistle blowers a voice, spearhead the down fall of powerful politicians and expose widespread corporate corruption (Pippa Norris, 2010). This is well illustrated in the Estrada corruption scandal that took place in the Philippines. In this incident,

“A team of investigative reporters uncovered how then-President Joseph Estrada, a former movie star who publicly paraded his four mistresses, concealed the assets of his multiple families. The reporters revealed that he was building grand houses and buying Jaguars for his paramours, acquisitions that were not reflected

either in his asset disclosures or his income tax returns but that were purchased through front companies or nominees. The reporting implied that the reason for the nondisclosures was that Estrada had been accumulating wealth from illegal sources and could therefore not make a full disclosure without incriminating himself. These reports, together with the public revelation by one of the president's closest friends that he was making millions from payoffs made by illegal gamblers were so scandalous that they let loose all the forces that had previously been held in check by the president's popularity: opposition political parties, the Catholic Church, citizens groups with a reformist agenda, and even the business community, which from the beginning had serious doubts about the president's capacity to govern. Eventually, opposition congressmen initiated an impeachment charge against the president. The investigative reports and the revelations of the gambling whistleblower provided the initial evidence for the impeachment trial.

When it seemed the trial was going to be compromised, by the refusal of the Majority of senators to accept incriminating evidence against Estrada, hundreds of thousands of Filipinos massed in the center of Manila in a "peoplepower" uprising that ousted the president in January 2001." (Public Sentinel; News Media and governance Reform pg 125)

The debate on Estrada was framed in moral terms: his excesses were seen as Transgressions of the standards on how officials should behave. The Catholic Church, which played a key role in the anti-Estrada movement, ensured that the debate would be fought on moral grounds. The key actors in the uprising were mainly middle-class reformers, professionals, students, office workers, and key sections of the Manila business community, the same constituency that took part in the 1986 revolt against Ferdinand Marcos". This supports the fact that the impact of investigative reports is contingent upon the configuration of social and political forces at a particular point in time and the ability of interested publics to mobilize against the wrong doing that has been exposed.

Accountability hinges on the combined actions of a network of institutions, such as the judiciary, parliament and political parties. A great deal is also dependent on how the debates on the revelations and wrong doings are framed in the public discourse(Waisbord, 2000).This is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audience. Stories are best framed in a way that makes them easily understandable by the public (Dietram A Sheufele and David Tewksbury).

Since the end of the cold war, corruption has become an item of International agenda. New corrupt opportunities have emerged which have been created by the move towards privatization and deregulation. Over the last ten years, particularly with increased emphasis on economic Liberalization and Globalization of corruption, some governments throughout the world, international agencies and civil society organizations have come up with anti-corruption strategies with a view to minimize or eradicate the vice from the face of the earth.

The United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) was the first global agreement on corruption and it has elevated anticorruption action at the international stage. Others are the Convention against Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions (OECD); the work of the Council of Europe in formulating anti-corruption conventions; European Union Convention on the Protection

of the European Communities' Financial Interests ( E U Protection and Protocols); the World Bank; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (A U Convention) and Transparency International (TI), together with the mass media, are but a few examples of the international initiatives involved in the fight against corruption globally.

The media's role in the fight against corruption is recognized in the existing instruments provided for in the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), which appreciates that to be effective, the fight against corruption though a primary responsibility of any state, requires the support and involvement of individuals and groups outside the public sector, which undoubtedly includes the media. According to UNCAC it is the obligation of states parties to promote the active participation of these individuals and groups in the prevention and the fight against corruption and to raise public awareness regarding the existence, causes and gravity of and the threat posed by corruption. It further advocates for strengthening of the participation by such measures as ensuring that the public has effective access to information and "respecting, promoting and protecting the freedom to seek, receive, publish and disseminate information concerning corruption" (webb, 2005).

The convention further makes it the obligation of states to fulfill two interrelated undertakings which are ; To create an enabling environment that will enable civil society and media to hold governments to the highest levels of transparency and accountability

in management of public affairs and to ensure that the media is given access to information in cases of corruption and related offences, on condition that the dissemination of such information does not adversely affect the investigation process and the right to a fair trial.

## **2.6 Corruption in Africa**

Corruption is a major challenge to governance and development in Africa. According to Transparency International's corruption perceptions index for 2007, corruption and lack of transparency were perceived to be rampant in 36 countries (Transparency International 2007a). Over the years, African governments and their institutions lacked the courage and will to enforce the law, procedures and policies meant to fight corruption. As a result, corrupt practices have become common place, from education to health institutions; government ministries and public institutions, financial institutions to religious institutions such that no institution is sacred and protected from the corrosive effects of corruption (kassahun.2011).

It is said that in Africa, few people's lives are free of the effects of corruption; from corrupt politics at National level to everyday bribes at a personal level. As a result, economic growth is undermined; there is institutional mismanagement and the entire society is hurt through holding back of economic development at all levels. While commenting on corruption in Nigeria, Alain Nkoyock (2009) argues that corruption is a global phenomenon that causes poverty, obstructs development and drives away

development. According to him, the issue of corruption has gained a prominent place on Global agenda since the mid 1990s with the creation of organizations that can promote models of stemming corruption, especially in developing countries where government corruption is widespread.

While looking at the causes of corruption in Africa, Samson Kassahun (2011) notes that ethical leadership and public accountability (holding public officials accountable for their actions) are lacking in the majority of African states. He observes that the first contributing factor to corruption in Africa is that of total exercise by the ruling elite of all power attached to national sovereignty, which makes it easy for corruption to thrive since this is where all decision making occurs and patronage dispensed. In some of the African countries, there is no distinction between public and private interests and government officials simply appropriate state assets. The second factor is the centralization of economic decision making and proliferation of public enterprises. This brought about an expanded bureaucracy with increasing discretionary power, which was put to use as a conduit for graft. This meant that for any transaction to be completed, bribes had to be paid for. It is right to note therefore that corruption in Africa can be seen as an outgrowth of government involvement in the economy which has allowed for the systemic exploitation of illegal income earning opportunities by public officials and the enhancement of rent seeking opportunities. Incentives for corrupt behavior have therefore arisen in Africa because public officials have considerable control over the

**instruments regulating valuable social economic benefits and private parties are willing to make illegal payments to secure those benefits.**

**In Africa, bureaucrats attempt to increase their level of compensation by lobbying lawmakers and politicians and by engaging in other activities to influence the political system and maximize benefits accruing to them. Many public servants also illegally increase their compensation by providing services to interest groups that seek favors from the government. Political coalitions seeking ways to subvert the existing rules to redistribute national income and wealth in their favor can achieve their objectives by bribing public servants whose job is to enforce state regulations and implement national development plans. If bureaucrats discover they can earn more income from providing services to groups seeking state favors than from their regular (public) jobs, they may pay more attention to the demands of such interest groups than to the proper enforcement of state laws and regulations and the effective implementation of national development plans (Ayttey, 1992).**

**Another factor contributing to corruption in Africa is the centralization of economic decision making. This has resulted to a retarded economy and an elusive development. This has created a situation where most of the African states are among the poorest in the world. Public officials who are among those experiencing the effects of the hardships associated with these retrogressive economic conditions have tended to pursue corrupt**

activities to maintain their living standards or to simply make ends meet (Transparency International, 2006).

Lack of the rule of law and of administrative predictability also contributes to corruption in Africa (Mojtabal, 2006). In patrimonial states like the ones we have in Africa the formal bureaucratic organizations are captured by the ruling regime which in turn uses or interferes with the powers and functions of government for private gain. This capture includes control over the state instruments for law and order (McCarthy, 1994). Such a state of affairs affords considerable discretion in decision making and produces irrational decisions that may be illegal but which cannot be challenged in the courts. Under these circumstances, corruption not only thrives but is also more likely to go unpunished.

In societies where civil service compensation levels are relatively low, a significant part of the public employee's total compensation may be derived from engagement in outside activities, resulting in a significant increase in bureaucratic corruption (Mbaku 1991a).

Corruption has been an important subject of analysis by social scientists for many years. In the 1960s, however, two major events rekindled interest in the study of corruption, especially in developing countries. First, the development by Samuel Huntington (1968, 1990) and others of theories of modernization and political development renewed discussions on bureaucratic corruption and the role of laws and institutions in economic growth and development (Leff 1964, Huntington 1990, Myrdal 1990). Second, the



economies and markets of the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia were overwhelmed by corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency, and incompetence. Since the early 1960s, researchers have devoted significant effort to the examination of bureaucratic corruption in the developing economies, paying much attention to the effects of the behavior of public servants on economic growth and development. Despite this emphasis on the study of corruption in post-independence Africa, there has been insufficient attention paid to the problem of corruption cleanup in Africa which explains the persistence and prevalence of the vice in the African Nations.

The prevention of corruption and abuse of power by public officials requires transparency, so that the public can evaluate the outcome of government actions and hold elected representatives to account (Dahl.1971). By playing its watchdog role, the media helps bring about reforms and in the long term assist in creating a culture of civic discourse, transparency and government accountability. The watchdog role of the media entails exercising some oversight over the public realm in ways that ensure that various actors and agents are kept in check and held to the requirement of their roles in polity. According to Wisdom J Tettey (2002) the watchdog function is closely related to democratic accountability, which is based on the understanding that the only way that the various freedoms, civil liberties and other constitution provisions, and indeed democracy itself can be protected and sustained is when those who occupy positions of responsibility in the state are made to respect those provisions and freedoms. This is to say they must imbibe, protect and practice the tenets of the rule of law, thereby

eschewing any inclination toward arbitrariness and abuse. He further reckons that accountability flows from the notion of good governance, which is premised on the expectation that office holders will manifest behaviors, attitudes and actions that are in conformity with the principles of transparency, efficiency and integrity. It is expected that these players be open to monitoring by the citizens, civil society organizations and other institutions of the state.

Perhaps the value of the media in the anti corruption crusade is more explicitly pronounced within the African system, where the African union convention on corruption (A U Convention) expressly provides for "the right to any information that is required to assist in the fight against corruption and related offences." This was provided for by the Camden Principles (Article 19, April 2009), which calls for the promotion of pluralism and equitable access to the means of communication, with a view to ensuring a voice and participation for all, with its main aim being promoting diversity in the media. The main themes of these principles include freedom of expression which guarantees the freedom of the media and access to public information and defamation and broadcasting. The media is tasked with taking steps to "inter alia" address as far as possible issues of concern to all groups in society. This brings the media onto the anti corruption platform as a public watchdog.

The media plays a prominent role in public awareness of evils of corruption. The most effective weapon against graft and other vices of corruption is information since

corruption is known to thrive more in dark and secretive places. While contributing to a journalists 'workshop on reporting on anti corruption issues in Lagos, Nigeria, Folu Olamiti (ICPC,2008) observes that the media capacity to reach the mass of the people and to provide information that can empower the people to act intelligently in the pursuit of their common self interest make the media a powerful change agent. The media may not eradicate corruption but they certainly raise public awareness about its consequences.

## **2.7 Corruption in Kenya**

Corruption level in Kenya is still perceived to be high and the Kenyan government is perceived to have no genuine desire to fight corruption (Baseline survey on ethics and corruption, 2012). Failure of subsequent efforts to tackle corruption in Kenya attests to the ultimate unwillingness of the governing elite to compromise their hold over political power where the latter might be undermined by anti-corruption efforts. The first attempt to counter corruption in Kenya was in 1956 when the government enacted "*The Prevention of Corruption Act*". The Act did not define exactly what corruption was, but rules were given as to what could and could not be done, thereby criminalizing certain actions (Branz, H. A., cited in Heidenheimer, 1970, page 44). Amendments to this Act followed in 1965, 1991 and 1997, but little attempt was made to implement anti-corruption policy until December 1997 when the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) was established in fulfillment of World Bank conditionality.

For the first time in the Kenyan history, an institution outside the Executive was given wide-ranging powers that could only be revoked by a judicial tribunal. KACA was empowered to prosecute all cases involving corruption outside the civil court system (seen to be highly corruptible) and try them on an individual basis in KACA's supposed autonomous and incorruptible judicial system. Despite the structure, processes, and staffing of the KACA, its presence made the ruling class uncomfortable and it was suspended shortly after birth on account of alleged incompetence, citing that its existence was undermining the powers conferred upon the attorney general and the Commissioner of Police by the Constitution of the Republic of Kenya. In a controversial decision in the year 2000 (Republic vs. Gachiengo), the high court of Kenya ruled that the provisions establishing KACA under the prevention of corruption act and especially those giving it the powers to investigate and prosecute cases were unconstitutional and therefore it was disbanded and its director and advisory board dismissed.

In May 2003 after election of President Kibaki in December 2002, parliament repealed the prevention of corruption Act and enacted the anti corruption and economic crimes act (ACECA) which established the Kenya anti corruption commission (KACA). This act is credited for having defined the corruption offences and economic crimes which was not the case in the earlier act. Its mandate as granted in pursuant of section 4(1) of ACECA 2003, was among others to investigate any matter raising suspicion in regard to conduct constituting corruption or economic crime and conduct liable to allow, encourage or

cause conduct constituting corruption or economic crime,. It was also to advice on ways of eliminating corrupt practices.

In the period just after independence, (1963-1978), the President effectively deconstructed emergent civil society and kept a tight rein on the media. President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi on taking over the government in 1978 declared a war on corruption and smuggling, a stance that contributed significantly to his popularity then. This however did not stay for long since from 1981 to 1991 corruption systematically and pervasively was to entrench itself in the Kenyan society. During this period and following years, the media is known to have operated under various severe constraints, with the attitude of the government towards media especially the private sector and alternative media being openly hostile. This is because media coverage was viewed as being negative to the government and the ruling party (Kibwana, Wanjala and Owiti, 1996). This was to change slightly when president Kibaki came to power in December 2002 since some amount of freedom was accorded the media, who could then report freely.

This was to totally change through Kenya's constitution 2010 which protects the media rights and press freedom under Article 33 where freedom of expression is guaranteed. This shows the support that the Kenya government gives the press in regard to the fight against corruption. Kenya's media is currently increasingly diverse and almost entirely free of direct censorship, especially in the print sector.

There is need to appreciate that the freedom of expression and the right to information play a joint role in shaping accountable and transparent governance in any democratic country. Actors like the media ensure this objective is maintained or achieved. This gives the media a crucial significance in the anti corruption crusade. Kenyan laws are silent on the role of the media in the National Anti corruption crusade. This includes the role of all persons outside the public sector and the anti corruption crusade is apparently seen as a solely government affair.

Even though, the Kenyan media has generally registered remarkable achievements in the fight against corruption in the country. This is more visible in four major fronts namely; Whistle blowing; in pilling pressure on government officials to account for their corrupt acts and omissions; in public education through dissemination of information; in investigative journalism.

In its role as a whistle blower, the media in Kenya has proved pivotal in providing relevant information to members of the public and the international community alike. By supplementing other actors, the media has served well as an effective whistle blower by helping unravel numerous multimillion dollar financial scams that nearly brought the Kenyan economy to its knees. Some of these scandals include: The Goldenberg scandal which cost the government over sixty billion Kenya shillings (approximately USD 850 million) as a result of irregular foreign exchange claims and dubious export compensation awards to Goldenberg international based on fictitious gold and diamond jewelry exports

(Goldenberg report). This was just a precursor of other cases of corruption in the Kenyan government.

The media can be said to broadly reflect public opinion and the attitude and reaction of various sections of the public to specific issues. It serves the public interest and one of its functions is to shape and set public agenda, a function that can be said to have been exercised in the above quoted Goldenberg scandal, which was kept alive for six months upon expose and is constantly revived in the daily press.

In early 2004, information of an even more monstrous scandal “The Anglo leasing scam” was exposed through the media. It was described by the transparency international as “Albatros around the Kibaki government’s neck”. It involved an ally of contracts with nonexistent entities for various fictitious security related projects. It involved senior most officials in the then infant Kibaki regime. The media here played a crucial part in disseminating the damning revelations including the incontrovertible documentary evidence gathered by the estranged former permanent secretary in the office of the president (in charge of Ethics and governance) Mr. John Githongo.

The year 2009 was such a busy year as several scandals were exposed by the media. January saw the exposure of a scam relating to maize imports which is popularly referred to as the “maize scandal.” Thereafter, the Triton oil scandal was exposed which involved unauthorized release of oil by the Kenya pipeline company (KPC) without the knowledge

of its financiers. In November of the same year, Kenyan media widely publicized another scam “hidden scandal on high ranking ministry of education officials’ misappropriation of funds meant for the donor funded free primary education program (FPE)”. In December, the government’s proposal to exorbitantly compensate land grabbers in the Mau forest complex surfaced, again through the media. The scandal implicated former president, Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi who owns vast tea estates and a tea factory in the forest but had no valid title for the land.

In end of January 2010, news came up through the media that the city council of Nairobi together with the local government ministry had conspired to steal public funds by overpaying a parcel of land on the outskirts of Nairobi that was meant as a grave site. This led to the loss of 260 million Kenya shillings. Through the exposure, the involved officers are facing investigations or standing trial for corruption. Come December of the same year, another mega scam referred to as the “Tokyo Embassy Scandal” was exposed which involved the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Investigations have revealed a loss to the government amounting to Kenya shillings 1.1 billion and the minister in charge of Foreign Affairs together with his permanent secretary and other staff were involved and are facing investigations and prosecution.

The anti corruption body has also reported that it is investigating other allegations of corrupt deals at the Kenyan missions in Islamabad, Brussels, Lagos and Cairo.



Other recent scandals that have been exposed by the media include the national hospital insurance fund (NHIF), the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) through the tendering of the biometric voter registration kits which have been reported to be irregular, the issuing of mining licenses by the ministry of mining some of which are said to have been issued on the day of national elections to undeserving companies, the corruption at the police service among many others.

The mentioned cases illustrate Kenyan media's role as a public watchdog. The public and the international community alike would not have known of any of these cases of grand corruption if the media, the indispensable public watchdog had not uncovered them. The public got to know about them through newspapers, newscasts which include the radio and the television among other mass media.

## **2.8 Challenges facing the print media in the anti corruption fight**

The limitations on the freedom of expression and media granted by the constitution of Kenya(2010) provides that the exercises of the freedom does not extend to propaganda for war, incitement to violence, hate speech and advocacy of hatred and shall be subject to respect for the rights and reputation of others. The breadth of the exceptions and their interpretation could be open to misuse. This is because it provides the potential for greater government regulation as it introduces ill-defined strictures against medial malpractices that could be misused to restrict open reporting by the ruling elite and other entities that may be involved in corruption deals.

In its fight against corruption, the Kenyan media has encountered various challenges that hinder its success in the fight against corruption. One of them is defamation litigation. Defamation in Kenya has its foundation in the Defamation Act (1969), which was later amended in 1992 to introduce minimum damages for certain kinds of libel. This has firmly stood in the media's path to effective engagement in the anti corruption crusade. This is so because culprits especially politicians named and shamed for alleged involvement in corruption have claimed hefty damages from media owners for libel. An example is the cases of Biwott Vs Clays limited and Biwott Vs Mbuggus, where the accused were charged prohibitive awards amounting to Kenya shillings 30 million and 20 million respectively. This is one of the reasons why the public has suspected that there is collusion between the players in corruption and the judiciary. Criminal libel and defamation laws are sometimes used against journalist in courts that poses a mixed reputation for fairness. Some journalists and editors believe that fear of defamation suits and concern over losing business advertising inhibit reporting on corruption or other sensitive subjects (Kenya freedom house, 2012).

Going by the precedents set by these and other cases, the high defamation awards and fines chill the effectiveness of the media generally and its engagement in anti corruption crusades. However, the New Constitution (2010) guarantees the freedom of expression and the right to information under Article 33 but the success will only depend on the approach and attitude of the judiciary. Therefore the New Constitutional dispensation

will only bear meaning for the media if the judiciary manifests sustained readiness and willingness to discourage suppressive defamation litigation.

The other challenge faced by the media is that of lack of sustained political goodwill, without which it is not possible to fight corruption given that in most of the instances it is a political offence. It is a well known fact that the spoils of corruption have lined the pockets of many government leaders such that any authentic move to stop the rot and expose the culprits has always been a big task.

The media has also been faced by internal challenges in its fight against corruption. Some of these hurdles, which impact adversely in its engagement in the fight include; Overemphasis on the public sector; Most of the headlines grabbing news about corruption in Kenya is based on the public sector. Little attention is given to corruption in the private sector, which is equally marred by incidences of corruption. If any gains are to be realized in the fight, then there is need for the media to be well balanced by giving equal emphasis on both the public and private sector as the two supplement each other when it comes to corruption; Elitism and urban bias; Most of the media outlets are based in the urban areas. This leaves the rural areas uncovered as far as collection of corruption information is concerned. The ordinary Kenyans are thus not reached and therefore the reporting is generally skewed in favor of the elites and urban dwellers. By so doing, the journalists are not able to reach the rural settings where the bulk of unreported corruption cases occur, almost on daily basis.

**Corruption in the media; the media itself has not been spared from the corruption bug. Much as the perception is low compared to that found in the public and private sectors, some media houses have been cited as corrupt and this is generally known to take place during electioneering period though the same is reported in other incidences;**

**Lack of follow-up; the media is usually very fast in highlighting corruption incidences, but generally that is all it does. Once the occurrences are reported, there is no follow up and the matters at hand just die a natural death. For success to be achieved, it is important to have consistent follow up and the reported issues revisited in order to assess the progress made if any.**

**As the watchdog of society, the media is expected to be in the forefront of anti corruption campaign if it is to live up to the expectations of the public.**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Methodology refers to the process used to collect information and data for the purpose of making decisions. It aims at employing the correct procedures to find out solutions, and it paves the way for research methods to be conducted properly. Methodology may include publication research, interviews, survey and any other available techniques and could include both present and historical information.

This chapter discusses the methodological position that was adopted in the study. This is inclusive of the research design, description of the study area, the target population, data collection procedures and instruments, data collection and the data analysis.

The study was based on qualitative content analysis technique.

#### **3.2 Research design**

Research design encompasses the method and procedures employed to conduct scientific research. It is the total plan for an investigation or study. It details a blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. It defines the study type and sub type, research question, independent and dependent variables, data collection methods and the data analysis plan.

This research was conducted through content analysis, a research technique generally used in social science for studying the content of communication. It looks directly at

communication via texts or transcripts and hence gets at the central aspect of social interaction. Earl Babbie (1990) defines the technique as “the study of recorded human communications such as books, websites, paintings and laws”. It enables the researcher to include large amounts of textual information and systematically identify its properties such as the frequencies of most used key words by locating the most important structures of its communication content. To provide a meaningful reading of the content under scrutiny, information is categorized and coding is usually used to achieve this goal.

Content analysis was preferred for this study because the subject of corruption is regularly covered in the nation newspaper and therefore it is possible to deduce the meaning/effect of the coverage to the fight against corruption in the country.

The analysis was conducted by sampling all the nation newspapers for the period 1<sup>st</sup> April 2013 to 31<sup>st</sup> July 2013.

### **3.3 Description of the study area**

The study was conducted on all the articles touching on corruption that appeared on the 69 Nation Newspapers that were identified using purposive sampling. The Nation Newspaper was identified because it has a wider scope of circulation and readership in the country and beyond. Apart from the publication circulation, the paper is also widely read online all over the world. It has also been observed that the publication covers items on corruption on a regular basis, thus is more likely to send the corruption messages to a bigger audience.

### **3.4 Sampling frame**

This is the source material or device from which a sample is drawn, also referred to as the target population. It refers to the whole group of people or objects to be studied in a research, and generally will have at least one common observable characteristic.

The research targeted at conducting a content analysis on all the one hundred and twenty two (122) publications of the Nation Newspapers circulated for a period of four months, from 1st April to 31st July 2013.

### **3.5 Sampling procedures**

Out of the one hundred and twenty two (122) newspaper publications that fall within the specified study period, sixty nine (69) newspapers were purposively selected.

The study drew its sample from all 122 publications of the Nation Newspapers circulated for a period of four months commencing on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2013 to 31<sup>st</sup> July 2013. In the process, the researcher applied purposive random sampling approach in selecting 69 newspapers from the total population of 122 published during the study period. This translates into about seventeen newspapers selected for each of the months thus forming the units of the study. The newspapers were picked as demonstrated in the schedule.

### **3.6 Data collection procedures and instruments**

The data for the research was collected by identifying and reading all forms of stories and articles touching on any corruption issue appearing on the selected Nation Newspaper

publications identified in the sample. After identifying the stories, the researcher was guided by a well constituted code sheet and extracted the information required following the guide on the code sheet. Two research assistants were identified and trained on the coding procedure, to help in identification of the relevant stories and in the coding.

### **3.7 Data analysis procedures**

Data analysis is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modeling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making. The data for this study was analyzed using the statistical packages for social science (SPSS) method of data analysis.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

#### 4.1 Introduction

The findings of the analyzed data, together with their interpretations and discussions are presented in this chapter. The data presented was processed thematically. The study focused on stories touching on corruption in Kenya. A total of 170 code sheets were presented for the exercise. A total of 154 were properly coded, giving a response rate of 90.5% which is over 50 per cent regarded as desirable by Babbie (1990).

Table 1: Newspaper publication by month

Month Of Publication		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	April	47	30.5	30.5	30.5
	May	53	34.4	34.4	64.9
	June	25	16.2	16.2	81.2
	July	28	18.2	18.2	99.4
	Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Source: Content Analysis 2013

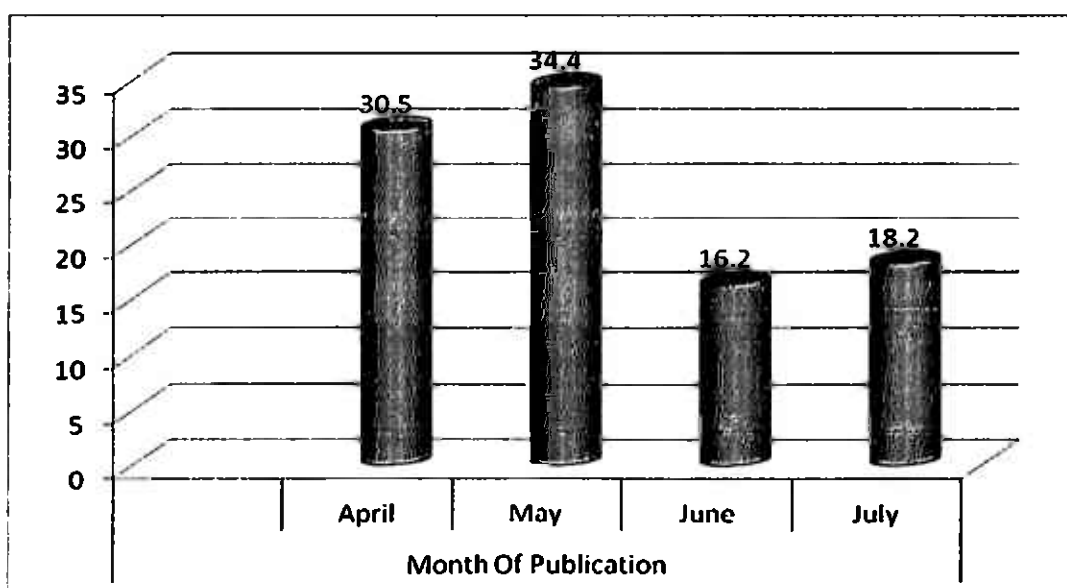


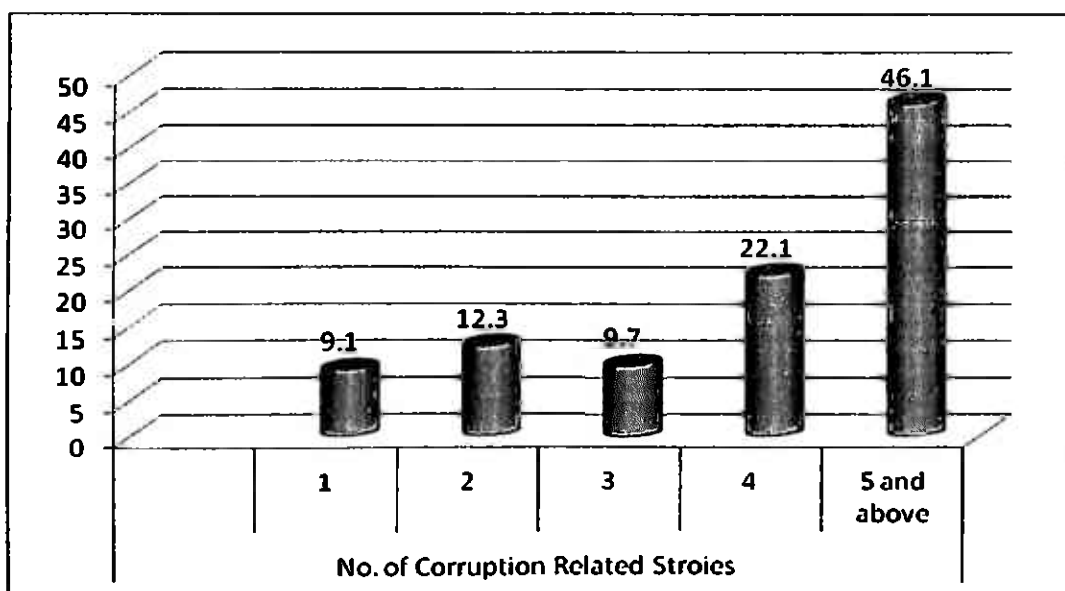
Figure 1: content analysis 2013

The findings indicate that the months of April and May had the highest number of corruption stories. The two months have 64.9% of all the stories in the publications that were sampled during the study period. This implies that there may have been more corruption incidents in the country during the two months especially because the period preceded a general election in the country. This also shows that the Nation Newspaper frequently covers corruption stories in its publications.

Table 2: Number of Corruption Related Stories in the Newspaper

No. of Corruption Related Stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	14	9.1	9.1	9.1
Valid 2	19	12.3	12.3	21.4
Valid 3	15	9.7	9.7	31.2
Valid 4	34	22.1	22.1	53.2
Valid 5 and above	71	46.1	46.1	99.4
Valid Total	154	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 2: source content analysis 2013**

The frequency of corruption stories has been found to be high in the nation newspaper. This has been supported by the finding that 68.2% or two thirds of the publications had more than four corruption stories. This shows that the nation newspaper gives prominence to corruption related themes through coverage and priming which is supported the numbers. This is an indication that the publication makes use of its watchdog role to highlight and give prominence to corruption stories in the country. The many corruption stories give emphasis to the corruption theme through the agenda setting role of the media house.

**Table 3: Type of Story in the Newspaper.**

Type of story	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative Perc
News	114	74.0	74.0	74.0
Analysis/Commentary	20	13.0	13.0	87.0
Editorial	5	3.2	3.2	90.3
Feature	7	4.5	4.5	94.8
Letters to the editor	5	3.2	3.2	98.1
Advert	1	.6	.6	98.7
Other	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Figure 3-Source: Content Analysis 2013

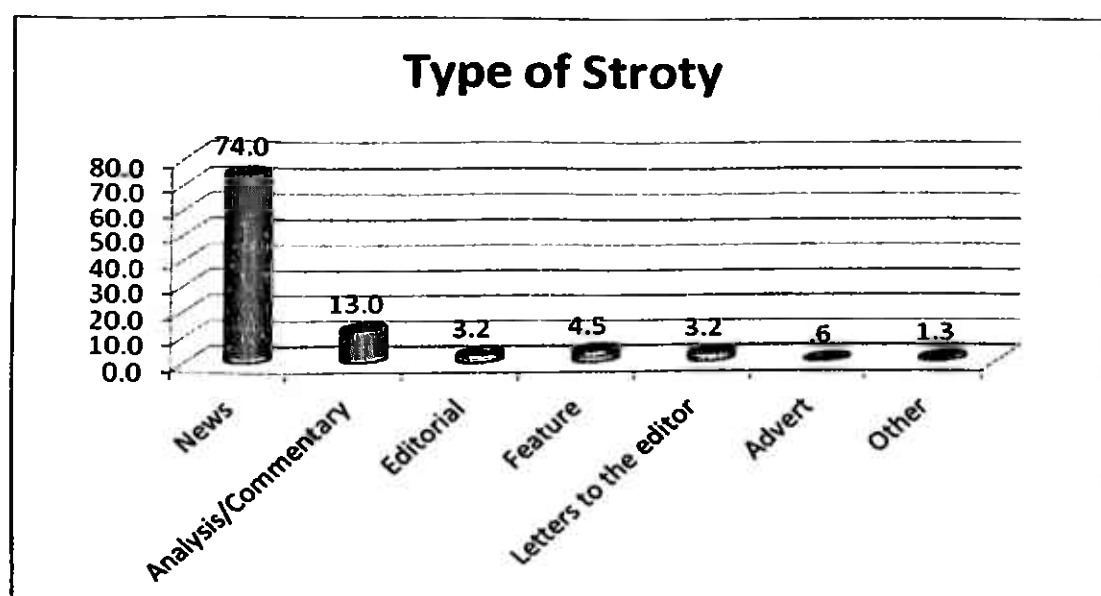


Figure 3-Source: Content Analysis 2013

The nation newspaper gives prominence to corruption stories through the news segments. This is implied in the study, where 74% of the total number of the stories appearing in the sampled publications of the newspapers appear as news items. Another

13% of the stories appeared as analysis or commentary by the editors. This is an indication that journalists and editorial staff at the nation newspaper give more prominence to corruption stories which they prime as news.

Table 4: placement of story on page

Placement of Story

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Splash	2	1.3	1.3	1.3
Front Page	13	8.4	8.5	9.8
Inside Pages	133	86.4	86.9	96.7
Back Page	5	3.2	3.3	100.0
Total	153	99.4	100.0	
Missing				
System	1	.6		
Total	154	100.0		

Source: Content Analysis 2013

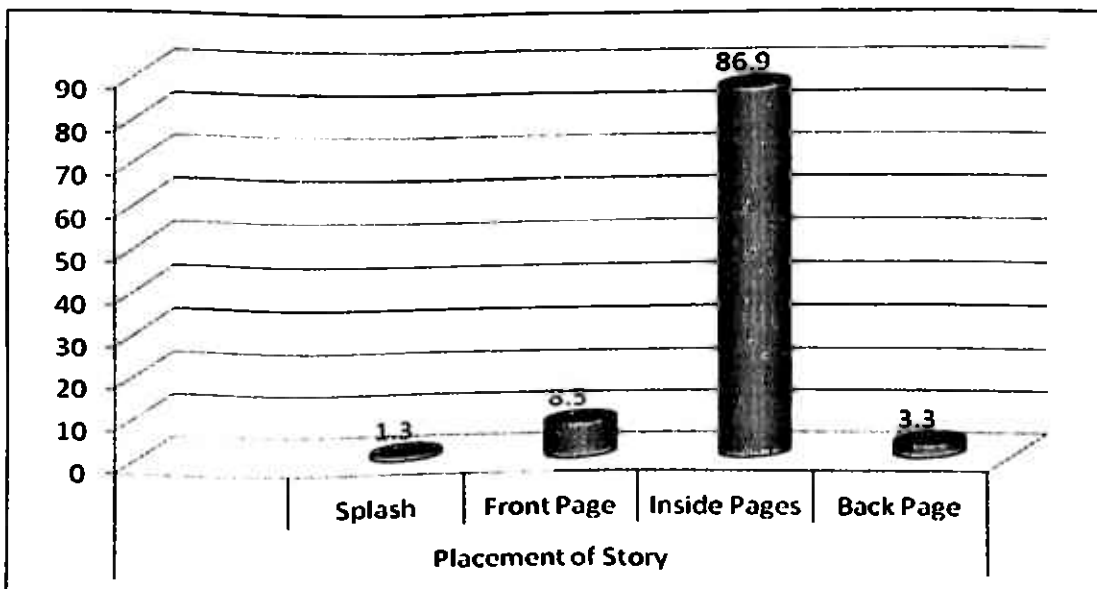


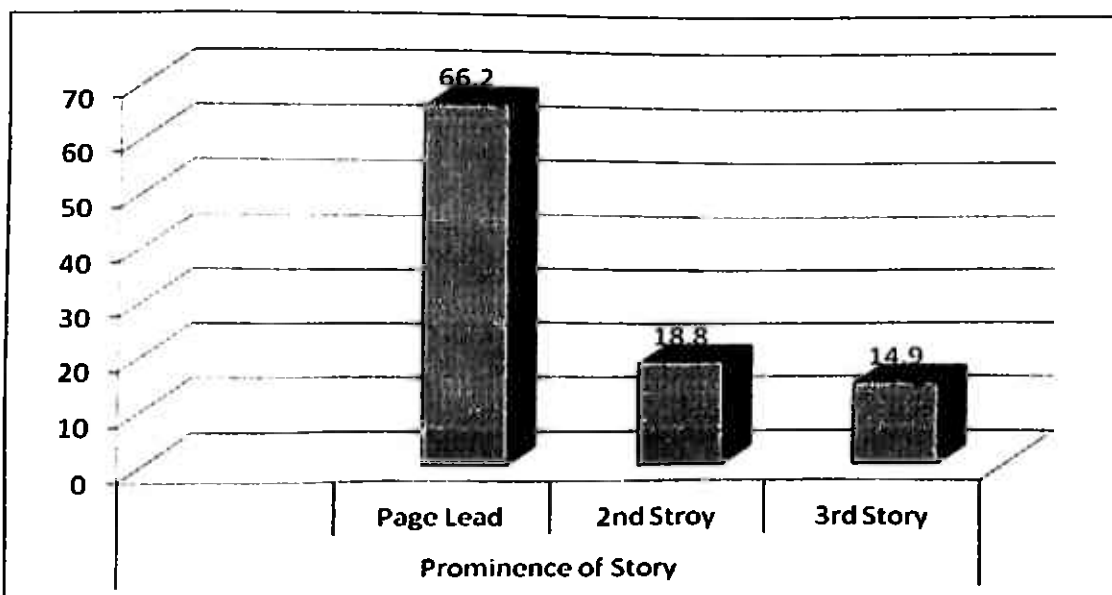
Figure 4: Source Content Analysis 2013

The nation newspaper places an overwhelming majority of the corruption stories, at 86.9% in the inside pages of the publications. This shows that though these stories are captured as news, priming is not prominent on the front pages of the nation newspaper. Almost 10% of the stories are placed as splash and on the front pages showing that prominence is probably given when there is breaking news on corruption and this is generally done through priming of the stories.

**TABLE 5: Prominence of the story on page**  
**Prominence of Story**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Page Lead	102	66.2	66.2	66.2
2nd Story	29	18.8	18.8	85.0
3rd Story	23	14.9	14.9	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Source: content analysis 2013



**Figure 5: source content analysis 2013**

66.2% of all the corruption stories have been placed as page lead while the rest 33.7% are placed as the second and third story on the page. This shows that corruption stories are given prominence in the pages where they occur and can therefore easily attract the readers. This again shows that corruption stories are well primed on the pages where they appear.

Table 6: Size of the article in cm

		Size of Article			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-150	37	24.0	24.5	24.5
	151-300	44	28.6	29.1	53.6
	301-450	40	26.0	26.5	80.1
	451-600	16	10.4	10.6	90.7
	Above 600	14	9.1	9.3	100.0
Total		151	98.1	100.0	
Missing	System	3	1.9		

Table 6: source content analysis 2013

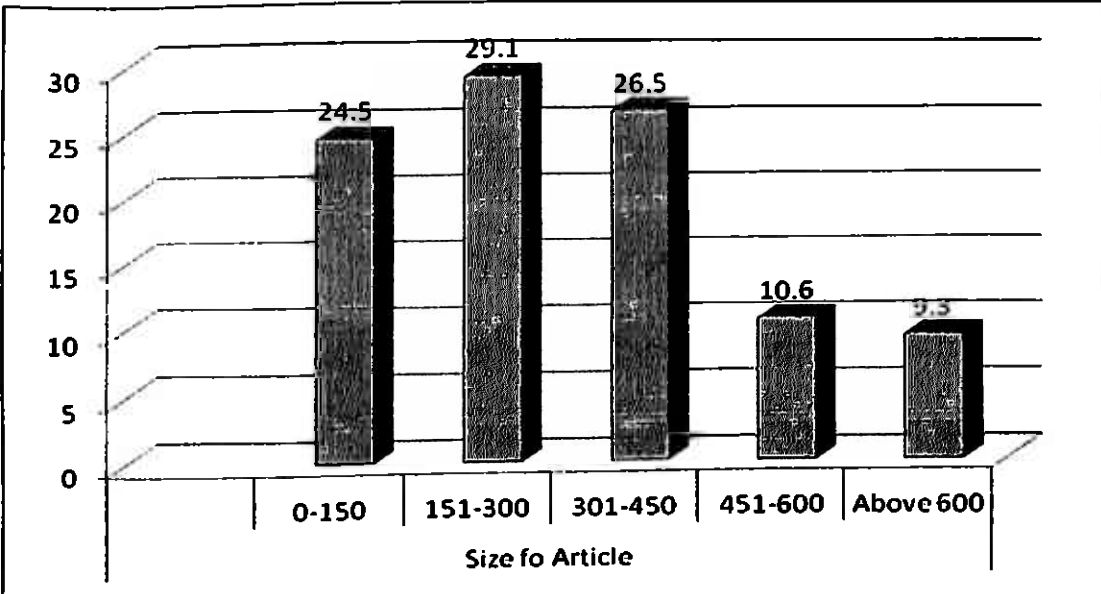


Figure 6-Source: Content Analysis 2013

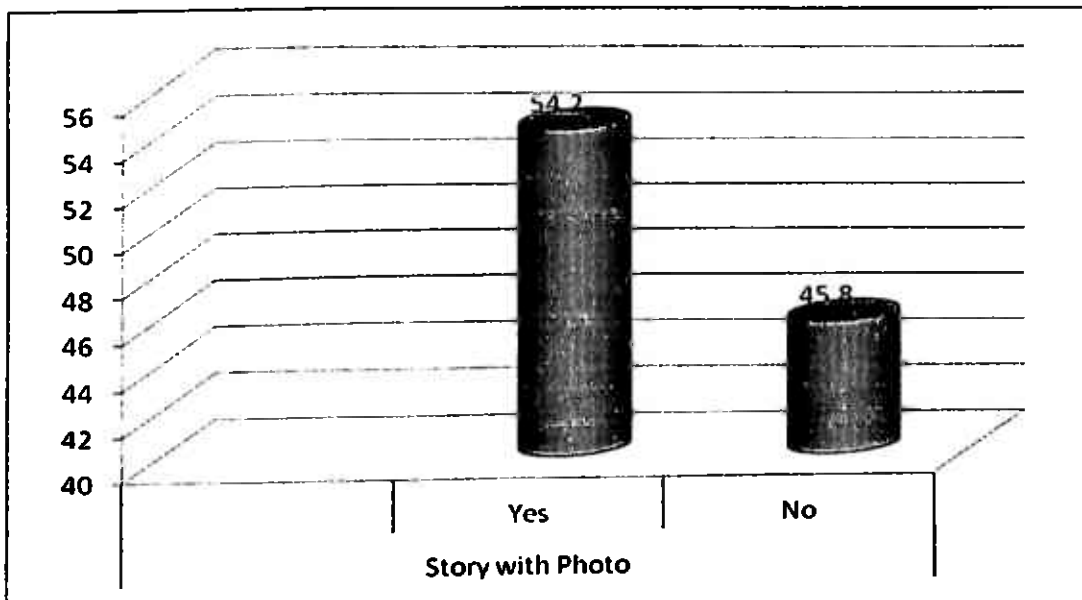
From the analysis, it can be observed that more than half of the articles at 54.6% range between 151 to 450 square cm, a size that is big enough to communicate the message to

the readers. It also shows that corruption stories are given adequate space in the Nation Newspaper and as a result prominence is given to corruption through coverage.

**Table 7: story accompanied by photo**  
**Story with Photo**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	83	53.9	54.2	54.2
	No	70	45.5	45.8	100.0
	Total	153	99.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.6		
Total		154	100.0		

Source: content analysis 2013



**Figure 7-Source content Analysis 2013**

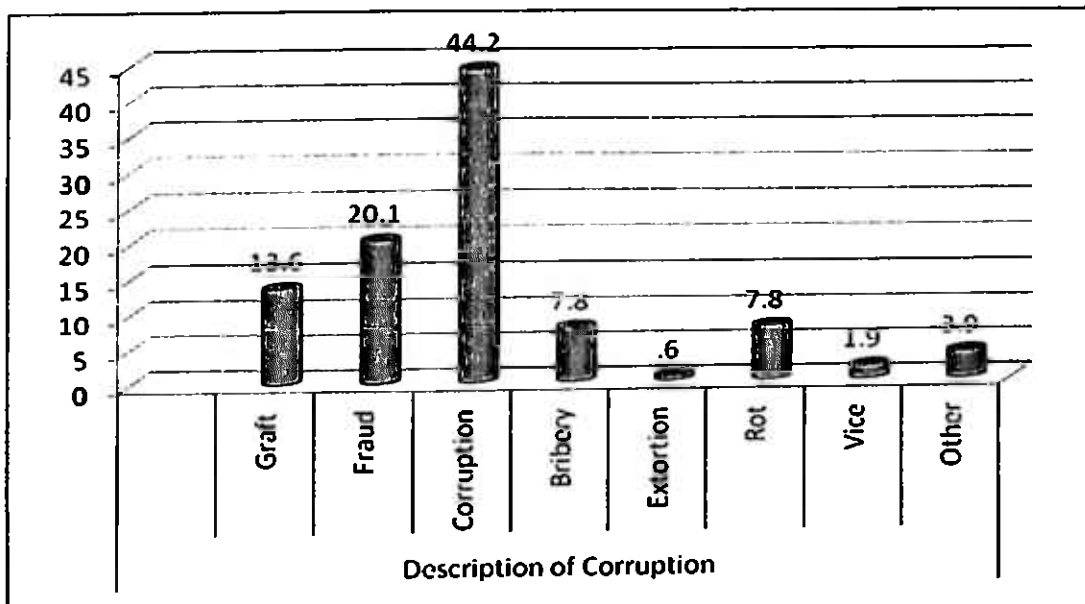
54.2% of the corruption stories, which is more than half appearing on the Nation Newspapers, are accompanied by photos. This shows that the nation newspaper gives prominence to corruption through photos as they are more likely to attract the attention of the readers, and at the same time put more emphasis on the corruption issues being reported. Stories with photos are more likely to attract the attention of the readers.



**Table 8: Language Used to Describe Corruption**

Description of Corruption				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Graft	21	13.6	13.6	13.6
Fraud	31	20.1	20.1	33.8
Corruption	68	44.2	44.2	77.9
Bribery	12	7.8	7.8	85.7
Valid Extortion	1	.6	.6	86.4
Rot	12	7.8	7.8	94.2
Vice	3	1.9	1.9	96.1
Other	6	3.9	3.9	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Source: content analysis 2013



**Figure 8: Source Content Analysis 2013**

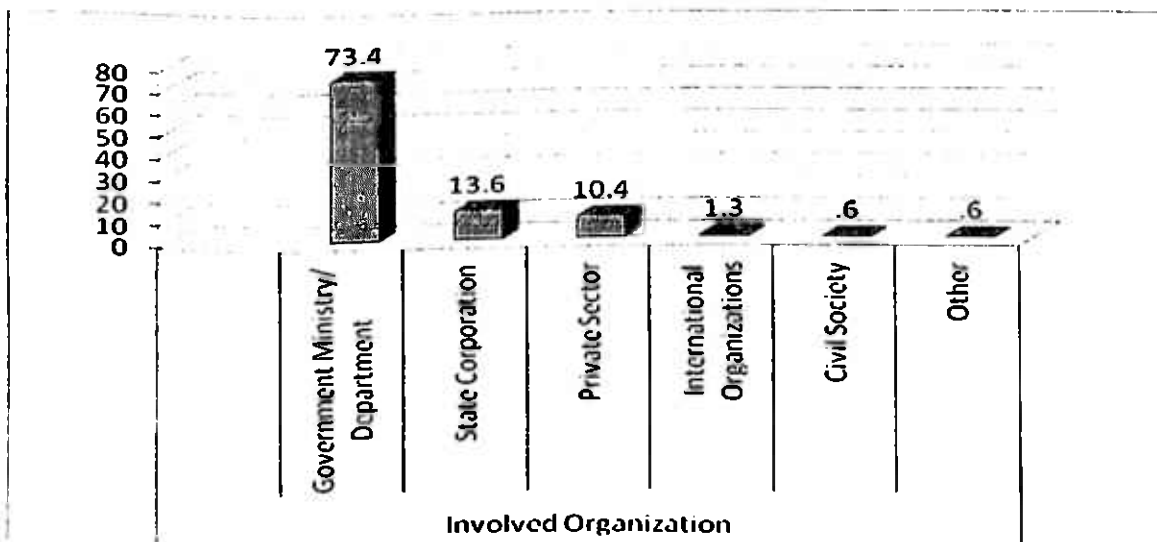
The Analysis on the commonly used words in describing corruption is as follows: corruption at 44.2%, fraud at 20.1% and graft at 13.6%. This could be explained by the fact that corruption manifests itself in various forms which could be petty and grand corruption or embezzlement of public funds among others. This multifaceted nature of

corruption makes it hard to define it in a succinct manner. During their framing of corruption stories the nation newspaper commonly uses the terms corruption, fraud, graft, bribery, rot among others to communicate the corruption messages to the readers.

**Table 9: Organizations Mostly Mentioned in the Corruption Stories Involved Organization**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Government Ministry/ Department</b>	113	73.4	73.4	73.4
<b>State Corporation</b>	21	13.6	13.6	87.0
<b>Private Sector</b>	16	10.4	10.4	97.4
<b>International Organizations</b>	2	1.3	1.3	98.7
<b>Civil Society</b>	1	.6	.6	99.4
<b>Other</b>	1	.6	.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	154	100.0	100.0	

Source: Content Analysis 2013



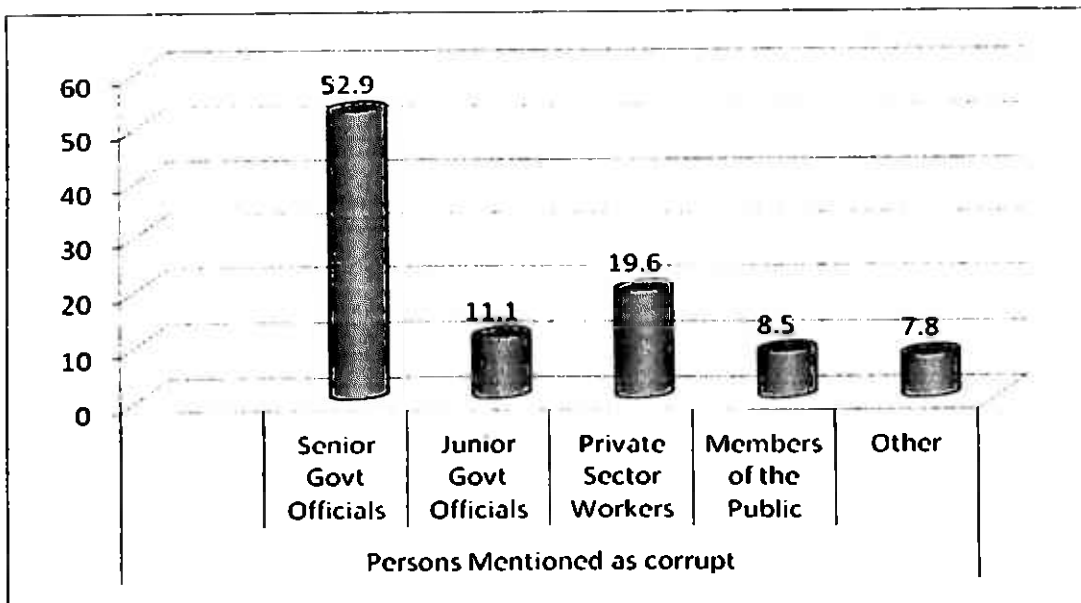
**Figure 9: source Content Analysis 2013**

Analysis of the organizations mentioned as corrupt places government ministries and departments at 73.4% which is almost three quarters of all the other institutions that were in the study. It is followed by state corporations at 13.6% and the private sector at 10.4%. The study portrays the government institutions as engaging more in corruption. It also shows that the private sector is also engaged in corruption, though at a much lower level. It may also imply that the nation newspaper highlights corruption taking place in government institutions.

**Table 10: persons perceived to be corrupt in the stories  
Persons Mentioned as corrupt**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Senior Govt Officials	81	52.6	52.9	52.9
Junior Govt Officials	17	11.0	11.1	64.1
Private Sector Workers	30	19.5	19.6	83.7
Members of the Public	13	8.4	8.5	92.2
Other	12	7.8	7.8	100.0
Total	153	99.4	100.0	
Missing System	1	.6		
Total	154	100.0		

Source: Content Analysis 2013



**Figure 10: source content analysis 2013**

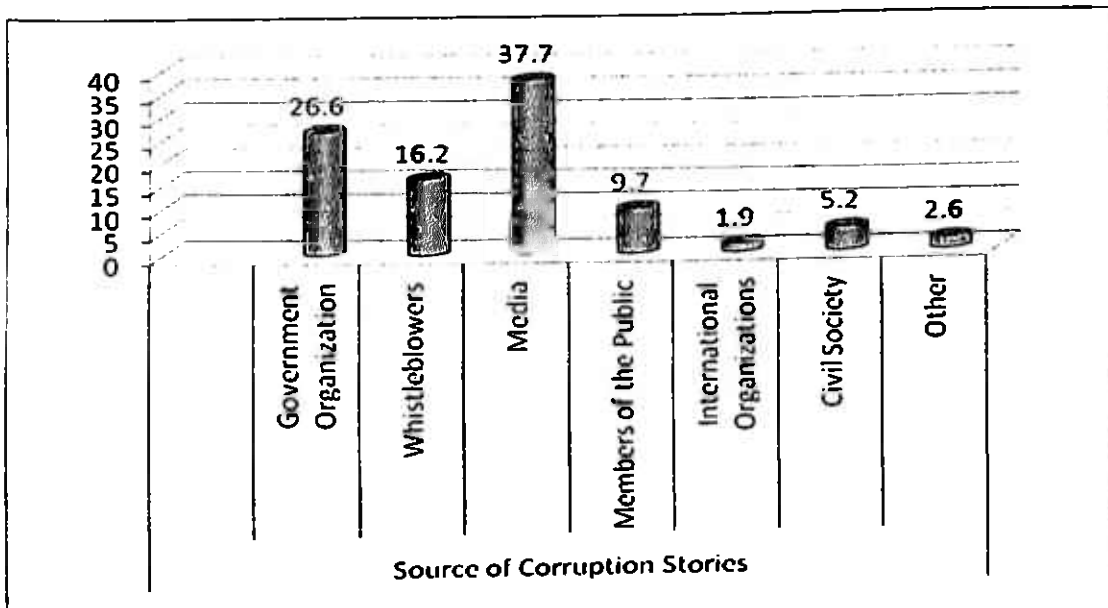
According to the analysis on perception of corruption, senior government officials are perceived/portrayed as more corrupt with 52.6% which is slightly more than half of the categories in the study. The private sector follows with about a fifth of the operators perceived as corrupt at 19.5%. This shows that most of the corruption is done by senior government officials in collusion with the private sector actors. However, this could also be a result of bias on the side of journalists who could tend to focus on grand corruption as opposed to small scale corruption. Half of all the corruption stories involve senior government officials. This could be attributed to the fact that the Newspaper tends to focus on grand corruption as opposed to small scale corruption. Members of the public are also involved in corruption according to the study which could most likely capture those people engaged in petty corruption like giving of bribes among other vices.

**Table 11: Source of Corruption Stories**

**Source of Corruption Stories**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Government Organization</b>	41	26.6	26.6	26.6
<b>Whistleblowers</b>	25	16.2	16.2	42.9
<b>Media</b>	58	37.7	37.7	80.5
<b>Members of the Public</b>	15	9.7	9.7	90.3
<b>International Organizations</b>	3	1.9	1.9	92.2
<b>Civil Society</b>	8	5.2	5.2	97.4
<b>Other</b>	4	2.6	2.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	154	100.0	100.0	

Source: content Analysis 2013



e 11:Source-

**Figure 11:Content Analysis 2013**

Analysis on the source of corruption stories shows that the media at 37.7% which is more than a third generates most of the stories. This shows that the Nation Newspaper journalists use their watchdog role and investigative journalism to expose the corruption incidences in the country. The government also plays a role in exposure of corruption. This could be through those organizations charged with fighting corruption like the Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission (EACC) and Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) among others who are the source of 26.6% of the stories. Whistle blowers also play a significant role in exposing corruption incidences in the country as the study has shown that 16.2% are exposed by them.

Table 12: Accuracy of story (Story is attributed to source)

Accuracy of the Story

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	112	72.7	76.2	76.2
	Disagree	15	9.7	10.2	86.4
	Neutral	19	12.3	12.9	99.3
	33	1	.6	.7	100.0
	Total	147	95.5	100.0	
Missing	System	7	4.5		
Total		154	100.0		

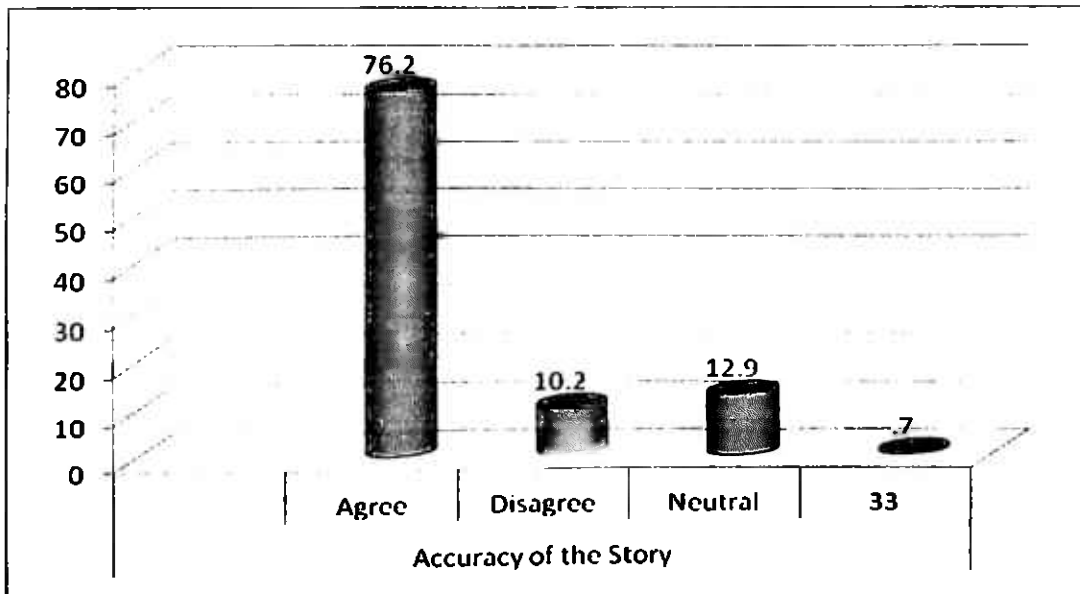


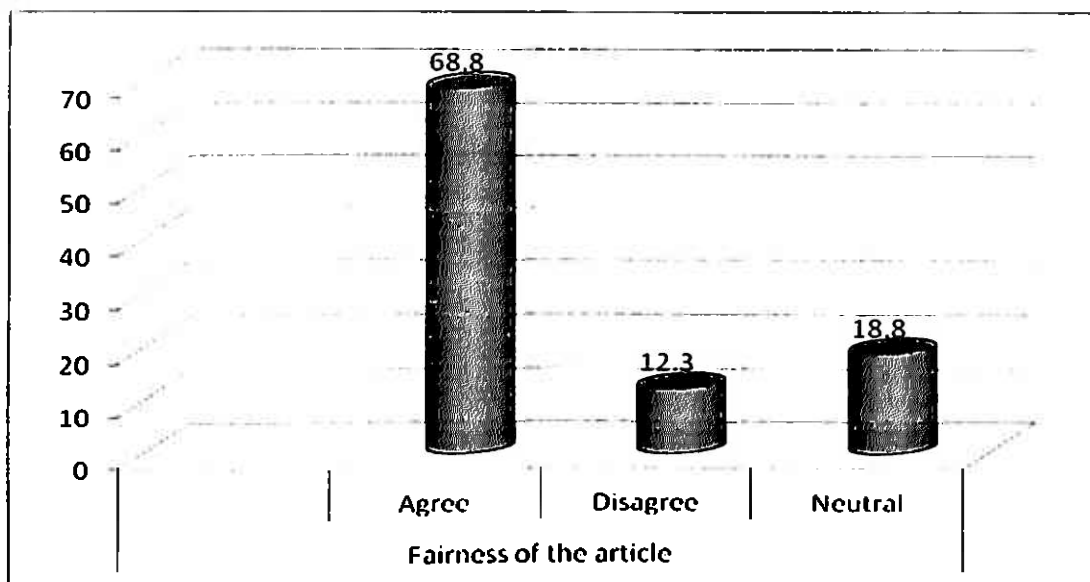
Figure 12: source- Content Analysis 2013

72.7% which is almost three quarters of the reported corruption stories are perceived to be accurate going by the time of reporting of these stories. This is because most stories are attributed to specific identifiable sources which also give credibility to the stories.

Table 13: Fairness of the Article  
Fairness of the article

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	106	68.8	68.8
	Disagree	19	12.3	81.2
	Neutral	29	18.8	100.0
	Total	154	100.0	100.0

Source- content analysis 2013



**Figure 13: Source content Analysis 2013**

At 68.8% or the equivalent of two thirds, there is agreement that the corruption articles appearing on the Nation Newspapers during the study period are fair. This shows that the journalists at Nation and the Editorial staff do not misreport their news and other corruption articles in their newspaper publications. It also shows that equal voice is given to all sides when presenting the stories.

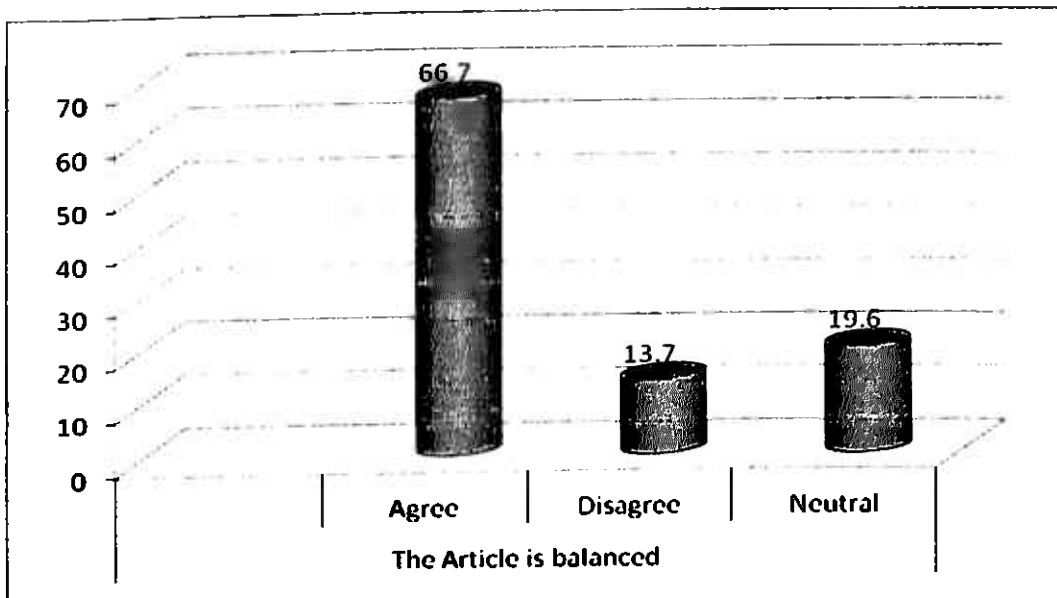


**Table 14: The Article is balanced (presents all sides of the story)**

**Article is balanced**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	102	66.2	66.7	66.7
	Disagree	21	13.6	13.7	80.4
	Neutral	30	19.5	19.6	100.0
	Total	153	99.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.6		
Total		154	100.0		

Source; content analysis 2013



**Figure 14: source- content analysis 2013**

The Corruption stories appearing on the nation newspapers are well balanced as demonstrated by 66.2% this shows that there is no bias in the reporting and again all sides of the stories are presented in the news items

## **4.2 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

Corruption is a major challenge to governance and development in any government and Kenya is not an exemption. On the other hand, the media plays a very crucial role in exposing any negative social vices, corruption included in any society. The media in Kenya has been credited with exposing corruption scandals when and as they occur. The Nation Newspaper especially has been on the forefront on this fight against corruption. It has continuously and effectively played its watchdog role in the expose through reporting of corruption through its stories and other articles. The press as an institution is highly strengthened once journalists are able to demonstrate that they serve the public interest by uncovering malfeasance and abuse in society, an act that they perform through highlighting of stories touching on these issues.

The study has established that the Nation Newspaper makes use of both the Agenda setting and watchdog roles by continuously and frequently exposing corruption incidences as they occur. This is well illustrated by the fact that during the study period, 68% of the sampled newspapers had more than four stories with corruption themes showing the prominence that the publication gives to corruption stories in the country. By giving prominence to corruption stories, the Nation media has effectively applied the agenda-setting role in its reporting by determining what the public would generally take as important piece of news. The continuous reporting of corruption makes the public aware of the social evils and can demand that the government takes action against the

institutions or individuals involved in the vice and thereby taking part in demanding for good governance, without which it would be difficult to eradicate corruption in the country. This is because the media is the public watchdog and it gives the public a voice by disseminating information.

It is also worth noting that over the same study period the corruption stories were highlighted as either news items, commentary/analysis or as editorial at an overwhelming majority of 90.3%. This shows that the editorial staff and journalists take the corruption stories with the seriousness it deserves, and contributes in taking part in its fight by reporting on occurrences of the same. Through its agenda setting role the nation newspaper is able to decide what stories to present to the public, which in this case are the stories touching on corruption.

The corruption stories were either placed as page lead or as second and third story on the pages that they appeared again as an overwhelming majority at 85.1%. All this is in support of the amount of priming and prominence that the Nation Newspaper accords corruption themes in the country. 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 will discuss by highlighting them and giving them different levels of prominence.

Having a closer look at the corruption stories covered during this period, it has been observed that though there may be no major exposes during the study period, there is

considerable follow up on major corruption stories generally involving earlier exposed corruption scandals. Cases that have prominently featured are those involving Kamlesh Pattni and the Goldenberg Scandal of 1993 and the Kenya Duty Free Shops at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, which have continued to feature in the news items. One of the functions of the media is to shape and set public agenda. The function can be said to have been exercised in the Goldenberg scandal since it was kept alive for six months after its exposure in the early 1990s and is constantly revived in the daily press including the period of the study.

It has also been noted that the media has been very specific in framing the corruption stories by use of common terminologies like corruption, graft, fraud etc. Proper framing of news messages is very important in news reporting because if an issue does not draw attention to the public, no matter how much it is repeated by the media it may not be of use in drawing attention to the public. This is because the media's selective use of certain frames can affect the way the audience thinks about the issue (OH and KIM, 2009). Good framing works very well in addressing the problem of corruption since corruption issues once covered in any news items sells or circulates very fast, as they draw public attention. Combined with Agenda setting, the two would be a very good tool in the fight against corruption.

The study also discovered that while reporting on corruption, the Nation Newspaper makes use of photographs as more than half of the stories were accompanied by a

photo. This is important in that photos are more striking to the readers and they draw attention of the readers to the corruption stories and also help in priming of the corruption stories.

Together with highlighting corruption stories, the paper also gave adequate coverage to corruption stories as demonstrated by the size of the articles that were found to be of a considerable size which is proof that the nation media gives adequate coverage to corruption in the country.

The study also demonstrated that most of the corruption stories were based on government institutions, implying that most government institutions are corrupt and again most government officials were also found to be corrupt. The study here may be interpreted in two ways. Either it is true most corruption takes place in government organizations or the media is biased and gives more emphasis on government institution while covering corruption stories, while not checking on the private sector, which is also known to play a major role in corruption. The private sector had a significant 10.4% involvement in corruption, which cannot be ignored.

Finally, it was discovered that most of the corruption stories were exposed by the media. This shows that the nation media generally plays its watchdog role in the exposure of corruption scandals in the country. Worth noting also is that the whistle blowers and the

members of the public also play a significant role in exposure of corruption scandals in the country. This is proof of the independence that the print media enjoys in the country

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This chapter provides a summary of the key findings arising out of the study and also provides a conclusion and key recommendations to the study.

One of the major roles of the media is to raise public awareness about any evils or vice taking place in society including corruption. This is usually the focus in the agenda-setting role of the media.

The study has found out that the Nation Newspaper has been giving prominence to corruption related stories through coverage. Most of the papers in the study were found to be carrying more than four corruption stories and again half of these stories were found to be accompanied by a photograph, giving the corruption theme more prominence in the newspapers.

The other key finding was that corruption stories are frequently reported in the Nation Newspaper. With its wide readership estimated at between three and four million readers, the publication is a good tool for use by anti corruption crusaders for purposes of passing anti corruption messages to the public and the publication also plays a very crucial role in exposing corruption in society.

The other observation was that corruption in the country was portrayed as frequently and predominantly taking place in government institutions and as being undertaken by its workers. This may be the position but the media may also be biased by concentrating on government institutions and not covering or reporting on the vice taking place in the private sector. This may also be as a result of the practitioners not balancing their news, and only getting the stories from just one source. The emphasis may also be on grand corruption which most of the times involves government institutions and officials.

The corruption messages were found to be well framed in the newspaper articles as words that described the vice were generally used. These included terms like corruption, graft, rot, fraud and vice among others. Anyone coming across these frames understands the meaning of the stories especially where they are given more prominence through continuous reporting. This is in support of one role of the media which is to inform citizens of the types of corruption within their social, economic and political systems so as to be able to fight it more effectively and also develop their own strategies of detecting and fighting it.

There was an observation that most of the corruption stories appeared in the inside pages of the newspapers while a significant number also appeared as splash stories and



on the front pages. For those stories that appeared in the inside pages, they appeared as page lead and therefore any reader would place these messages easily. This shows the importance given by the Nation media as they report on corruption stories. By placing corruption stories as lead stories, more attention is drawn to the viewers who think of lead stories as the big news for the day (Lyngar and Kinder, 1987).

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

Although the media plays a crucial role in the fight against corruption by continuously passing on the corruption messages, the prevalence of corruption is still high in the country. This is witnessed through the number of corruption stories that were reported appearing in each of the sampled newspapers in the sample of the study, which was 68.2%.

The media plays a very crucial role in passing on information to the members of the public who are the users of media. Through their reporting, the media contributes to good governance by ensuring that those in power and those working both in the government and private sector are made to account for their actions, especially where there is malfeasance, corruption included.

The Nation Newspaper can be effectively used by the government in fighting corruption which is becoming an eyesore in the Kenyan society.

Through investigative journalism and use of the watchdog role, the publication is capable of helping the government to fight the vice. It is important to note that the print media has in the past played a very important role in exposing the previous corruption scandals that have taken place in the country. This has been whether the originators of the messages were other people/sources other than journalists themselves. This is because most of the Kenyan public relies on the media for information.

The study has established that corruption is given prominence in the Nation Newspaper and corruption stories are frequently reported. However, there is prevalence of corruption in the country going by the number of corruption stories appearing on the sampled newspapers. This means that the media needs to do more exposures and follow up on the exposures to ensure that incidences of corruption are not repeated by those involved. Being the public voice, the print media should vigorously use its watchdog and agenda setting roles to inform its readers of evils in society with a view to helping in the fight and eventual eradication of the said vices.

If the media house could address the issue of prominence on corruption matters by ensuring that these stories are well balanced and given proper coverage, the country's ranking in the world on corruption would improve. By giving corruption stories more coverage, those involved in corrupt deals would shy away from engaging in corruption for fear of being shamed in public.

It is therefore the role of the government to ensure the freedom of the media, though the media practitioners are expected to practice responsibly by ensuring that the news items are well balanced and researched before they are brought to the public. By so doing, Corruption in the country will be minimized if not eradicated.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The research has discovered that though the nation newspaper gives prominence to corruption stories through coverage, most of the corruption stories are placed in the inside pages of the publication. To effectively win the war on corruption through exposure, it would be commendable if the stories were placed on the front pages. Since the paper has a wide circulation and readership, the stories once well placed would have a bigger impact if they were primed by being placed on the front pages.

In the research, the nation media seemed to be focusing more on exposes of corruption in government ministries and departments, and therefore these are portrayed as more corrupt than their counterparts in the private sector. It would be more commendable if there was more balance by the nation media practitioners by also reporting on corruption in the private sector and among the general members of the public.

In the findings it is clear that most of the government workers especially the senior officials are portrayed as more corrupt in comparison with their counterparts in the

private sector. Reporting of corruption by public officers and not the corrupt initiatives by private sector workers or owners reduces the effectiveness of the efforts made in the fight against corruption.

Private sector owners and workers probably abet corruption in the public sector and the vice might be difficult to fight unless their corrupt deeds are also exposed. Both the corrupted and corruptor must be exposed in equal measure if the vice is to be eradicated.

The other interpretation could be that the media in its reporting may be biased and probably puts more emphasis and focus on grand corruption as opposed to balancing and also putting their focus on petty corruption as well. This is because most senior government officials involved in corruption are usually engaged in big scandals while petty corruption is generally propagated by junior officers. Emphasis should therefore be on all types of corruption in the coverage and exposes since petty corruption if left unchecked may 'graduate' to grand corruption. By so doing all the sectors of society including those of the poor and lowly paid will be protected from the effects of corruption.

Finally it was observed that most of the reports in the newspaper articles were "episodic" and may not necessarily have an impact. It is recommended that the media house's reporting be "sustained" by producing a continuous stream of corruption stories which

would serve as a follow up, which as a result ensures that action is taken after exposure and this would help at least in minimizing corruption in the country.

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**APPENDIX 1**

<p><b>April 2013</b></p> <p><b>Week 1</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 2</b> Tue, wed, thur&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 3</b> Mon, tue, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 4</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 5</b> Mon</p>	<p><b>May 2013</b></p> <p><b>Week 1</b> Wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 2</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 3</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 4</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 5</b> Mon wed &amp;fri</p>
<p><b>June 2013</b></p> <p><b>Week 1</b> Sun</p> <p><b>Week 2</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 3</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 4</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 5</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p>	<p><b>July 2013</b></p> <p><b>Week 1</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 2</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 3</b> Tue, thur, sat &amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 4</b> Mon, wed, fri&amp; sun</p> <p><b>Week 5</b> Tue</p>

## APPENDIX 2

### CODE SHEET

**Content under study:** All corruption related material appearing on identified sample of the nation newspapers for the study period.

#### Section A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Date ..... of  
publication.....  
.....
2. No. of corruption related stories in the  
newspaper.....
3. Actual headline of the  
story.....  
.....  
.....
4. Type of story
  - i. News
  - ii. Analysis/commentary
  - iii. Editorials
  - iv. Feature
  - v. Letters to the editor
  - vi. Advertorial
  - vii. Other (specify).....
5. Placement of the story
  - i. Splash
  - ii. Front page (1-3)
  - iii. Inside pages
  - iv. Section front
  - v. Back page
6. Prominence of the story on page
  - i. Page lead
  - ii. 2<sup>nd</sup> story
  - iii. 3<sup>rd</sup> story
  - iv. Brief

7. Size of the article (cm<sup>2</sup>).....
8. Story accompanied by a photo
- i. Yes
  - ii. No
9. Standalone photo
- i. Yes
  - ii. No
10. How is corruption described in the story (language used to describe corruption?)
- i. Graft
  - ii. Fraud
  - iii. Corruption
  - iv. Bribery
  - v. Extortion
  - vi. Rot
  - vii. Vice
  - viii. Other (specify).....
11. Organizations mostly mentioned in the corruption stories
- i. Government ministry/departments
  - ii. State corporation
  - iii. Private sector
  - iv. International organizations
  - v. Civil society
  - vi. Other (specify).....
12. Persons perceived to be corrupt in the stories/
- i. Senior government officials
  - ii. Junior government officials
  - iii. Private sector workers
  - iv. Members of the public
  - v. Other (specify).....
13. Source of corruption stories
- i. Government organizations
  - ii. Whistle blowers
  - iii. Media
  - iv. Members of the public
  - v. International organizations
  - vi. Civil society
  - vii. Other (specify).....

**Section B: Pertinent issues regarding journalistic adherence to the code of conduct**

14. Accuracy of story (story is attributed to source)
  - i. Agree
  - ii. Disagree
  - iii. Neutral
15. Editorial comments in the story
  - i. A lot of editorial comments
  - ii. Few editorial comments
  - iii. No editorial comments
16. Is the article fair?
  - i. Agree
  - ii. Disagree
  - iii. Neutral
17. The article is balanced (presents all sides of the story)
  - i. Agree
  - ii. Disagree
  - iii. Neutral

**APPENDIX 3****ACTUAL HEADLINES OF THE STORIES BY DATE**

	<b>Date</b>	<b>Heading</b>
1.	21/04/2013	Students cry foul over varsity fees.
2.	23/04/2013	Stop. The crippling state of Kenya's killer roads.
3.	23/04/2013	Judge who cleared Pattni facing probe
4.	23/04/2013	LSK protests probe on Pattni case judge
5.	25/04/2013	Board's hands tied in Pattni case
6.	25/04/2013	Case against fake officer derails again
7.	25/04/2013	Moi to keep Kabarack farm pending ruling
8.	27/04/2013	We must be afraid, very afraid that the door is now open for vote.....
9.	27/04/2013	Top court ruling fell short of expectations
10.	27/04/2013	Woman joins director in forging case
11.	28/04/2013	Ngilu's biggest test yet as she faces parliament
12.	28/04/2013	Varsities should stop fleecing students
13.	28/04/2013	How Kamlesh Pattni has beaten Kenya's criminal justice system for 20 years
14.	29/04/2013	Why for Pattni, duty free shops are a matter of life and death
15.	29/04/2013	Is running a government beyond African's
16.	29/04/2013	Police swoop triggers demand for fake IDs

17.	01/04/2013	Wanjiku is dead but who will mourn her when everyone wants to move on
18.	01/04/2013	Residents say judges were unfair
19.	03/04/2013	Lobbying for jobs in high gear as experts warn of favourism
20.	03/04/2013	New public appointments should not perpetuate culture of our turn to eat
21.	03/04/2013	Launch of the national transport and safety authority
22.	05/04/2013	Fresh trial for officials in 4.5bn land fraud case
23.	05/04/2013	Aids campaign at risk
24.	05/04/2013	Banks new bid to tame ATM fraud
25.	07/04/2013	Transport body set up to enforce rules opposed
26.	07/04/2013	Why some people still doubt online banking
27.	07/04/2013	Rights agency calls for war against graft
28.	01/05/2013	Payment of matatu fare may soon go cashless
29.	01/05/2013	Lobby wants CDF, Devolved kitties harmonized
30.	01/05/2013	More public islands sold to foreigners
31.	03/05/2013	Vetting speed laudable



32.	03/05/2013	Dispute over voting system mars CDF elections party over for Mutunga judiciary
33.	05/05/2013	The acquittal of Pattni shines the spotlight on reforms in judiciary
34.	05/05/2013	Is party over for Mutunga judiciary
35.	05/05/2013	Kaimenyi must sort out the mess in our universities
36.	05/05/2013	Bitterness over presidential petition ruling could be a case of sour grapes
37.	07/05/2015	Brokers take on sisters in battle for family estate
38.	07/05/2013	It's time the president faced down MPs intent on robbing the public
39.	07/05/2013	Team told to hurry up probe on Pattni ruling
40.	09/05/2013	Law society ignores graft
41.	09/05/2013	Pattni wants appeal dismissed
42.	0/905/2013	Six die in night of road carnage

43.	11/05/2013	Judiciary will not censure Mutava for acquitting Pattni over Goldenberg
44.	11/05/2013	Ngilu defends tenure as minister
45.	11/05/2013	Vetting team puts Matiangi to task over 17 m land sale deal
46.	12/05/2013	90m spent on fake director
47.	12/05/2013	The intrigues behind Pattni's 4bn award in airport row
48.	12/05/2013	Not again. Pattni's new 4bn scandal
49.	13/05/2013	Sports facilitates a crying shame
50.	13/05/2013	Varsities on the spot over weak graduates
51.	13/05/2013	Mass action threat over bid on Pattni
52.	15/05/2013	Pattni firm's case against CBK put off

53.	15/05/2013	Candidate's integrity questioned
54.	15/05/2013	Probe links Thuita to embassy scam
55.	17/05/2013	Fraud claims malicious, says PS
56.	17/05/2013	Careful on procurement
57.	17/05/2013	To most of our political leaders, integrity and morality have become mere concepts
58.	19/05/2013	Top Total Kenya staff face 45m fraud case
59.	19/05/2013	Ethics team wants 15 principal secretary jobs nominees rejected
60.	19/05/2013	Only a society receptive of the holy spirit can bring change
61.	21/05/2013	Fraud by rogue workers cost banks 1.5bn
62.	21/05/2013	Tough eviction order on stolen public land
63.	21/05/2013	Violence feared over grabbing of ADC land
64.	23/05/2013	Ghost firm was part of census fraud scam
65.	23/05/2013	Findings expose bias in payout of polls chaos IDPs
66.	23/05/2013	State on the spot over execution of graft reports
67.	25/05/2013	The cases against suspended judge
68.	25/05/2013	Graft body wants Kimemia out
69.	25/05/2013	War on corruption loses steam as number of cases probed falls
70.	26/05/2013	Focus turns on-----land team as big names await decision
71.	26/05/2013	Demolition; State sued for 17 bn

72.	26/05/2013	No aid in sight for MPs salary row
73.	27/05/2013	Groups demand quick action on ---- dossier
74.	27/05/2013	Land reforms; The state must provide sufficient funding for implementation
75.	27/05/2013	House team set to receive EACC report on Kimemia
76.	29/05/2013	Tusky's brothers fail to resolve land row
77.	29/05/2013	Reprieve for Kimemia as graft claims rejected
78.	29/05/2013	Truth report; so what is new about it
79.	31/05/2013	More needed to boost the delivery of justice
80.	31/05/2013	State steps up transparency bid
81.	31/05/2013	Uhuru picks tribunal to probe Pattni case judge
82.	24/06/2013	Residents and lobbies query county funds allocation
83.	28/06/2013	Oparanya accused of voter bribery
84.	26/06/2013	Has gluttony been devolved to counties
85.	26/06/2013	Bishop found guilty of fraud
86.	30/06/2013	Governors' new grove(cartoon)
87.	10/04/2013	Security key to unlocking investments
88.	10/04/2013	Lofty campaign pledges require huge investments
89.	11/04/2013	Losers file 130 election cases

		challenging IEBC results
90.	14/04/2013	Land ownership controversy rages
91.	14/04/2013	Jobs con cases cost residents dearly
92.	14/04/2013	Truth team winds up hearings set to deliver report on may 2 <sup>nd</sup>
93.	15/04/2013	GSU officers moved after state house trophies go missing
94.	15/04/2013	Laiser hill disqualified from games
95.	15/04/2013	County leaders furious over plunder of assets
96.	16/04/2013	Court to issue reasons for rejecting petition
97.	16/04/2013	Arrest warrant for politician in fraud case
98.	16/04/2013	Rein in VIPs who have loosed traffic rules out the door to beat jams
99.	19/04/2013	Land issue still a hard nut to crack
100.	19/04/2013	Graft among first tests for new team
101.	19/04/2013	Stern warning for corrupt county staff
102.	17/04/2013	60 magistrates hired to handle graft cases
103.	17/04/2013	Charge IEBC officials over anomalies involving kits deal, says supreme court
104.	17/04/2013	60 magistrates hired in fresh anti graft drive
105.	21/04/2013	Impunity continues in Kenya despite reforms, U S says

106.	21/04/2013	Uproar over court's ruling clearing pattni
107.	30/06/2013	Extravagant governors alarm women leaders
108.	28/06/2013	Anti graft, land agencies pull down wall erected on beach access route
109.	28/06/2013	regional growth risks being sacrificed at the altar of greedy county officials
110.	09/06/2013	anti corruption team's hidden hand in Uhuru's choice of principle secretaries
111.	20/06/2013	NCPB- corruption will make Kenyans stage uprising
112.	24/06/2013	Chinedu deportation has exposed the rot in Kenya and west African state
113.	24/06/2013	Kimaiyo told to investigate traffic police
114.	24/06/2013	US raises alarm over illegal cash transfers
115.	24/06/2013	Pain and agony of patients at KNH
116.	23/06/2013	Uk not doing enough to recover stolen money kept in secret accounts
117.	23/06/2013	Stand off as governor alleges bribe demands
118.	23/06/2013	Uhuru dropped 6 PSs under graft probe from nominees list
119.	23/06/2013	The biggest threat to our democracy is corruption
120.	12/06/2013	Mps demand contracts in maize probe

121.	09/06/2013	Parastatal with record of favoring MDs tribesmen
122.	09/06/2013	Why senate must be involved in division of revenue bill
123.	06/06/2013	Investors want Moi included in land case
124.	06/06/2013	No graft reports in five months, say police
125.	08/06/2013	Othaya agent accused of poll offence
126.	06/06/2013	More police officers are turning to crime
127.	12/07/2013	Ugandan billionaire in fraud case of the hook
128.	02/07/2013	Ex staff want pan paper boss out

129.	04/07/2013	KAA fights Pattni 4bn award
130.	12/07/2013	This is unfair; I swear I cannot be the fourth most corrupt person on earth
131.	04/07/2013	Mp grilled by EACC
132.	06/07/2013	Ex bank directors to refund 550m
133.	07/07/2013	Scandal of missing fire engines
134.	10/07/2013	Port boss faces the sack if he fails to fight graft and boost efficiency
135.	10/07/2013	Kenya tops region corruption league
136.	18/07/2013	Erad used illegal bank papers
137.	18/07/2013	Manager exposes rot in hiring at state firm
138.	18/07/2013	Three officers in the dock over extortion
139.	18/07/2013	Magistrate pulls out of case amid claims of bribe taking
140.	18/07/2013	Top officials now linked to the 561m NCPB scandal
141.	18/07/2013	Atwoli denies role in 115m fraud at COTU
142.	16/07/2013	How i got my driving license in 24 hours
143.	16/07/2013	New law seeks to curb illegal campaign cash
144.	08/07/2013	Kidero in fresh bid to buy grave land
145.	30/07/2013	M P disowns firm in pyramid scheme case
146.	28/07/2013	Pyramid schemes; bank to pay MP 2bn



147.	28/07/2013	CBK governor at the centre of 1.2bn tender storm
148.	26/07/2013	Farmers agony as sale of cheap fertilizer delayed
149.	22/07/2013	Scandal of varsity students who hire experts to write their exam papers
150.	21/07/2013	How guards stole ivory from state house
151.	21/07/2013	Ghosts paid to work in Mombasa
152.	20/07/2013	Heads to roll in police graft war
153.	10/07/2013	Departing KNH boss exposes rot
154.	10/07/2013	Man accused of stealing 185m freed