

**PRESS COVERAGE OF UASU AND KMPDU INDUSTRIAL ACTIONS IN 2016/  
2017 IN KENYA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF *NATION* AND *STANDARD*  
NEWSPAPERS**

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## DECLARATION

This is to declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university for marking.

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

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Date

## **DEDICATION**

To my family, for all those days you had to endure while I toiled in pursuit of academic success.

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## ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore the print media's coverage of industrial disputes by medical practitioners and university academic teaching staff in Kenya. Specifically, it comparatively examined patterns of coverage before, during and after the 2016/2017 industrial actions by the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. It also explored key issues in the two industrial disputes that came out in the press during the coverage. Additionally, the study investigated the views held by stakeholders pertaining press coverage of the two disputes and what needs to be done to improve the coverage of industrial disputes by the print media in Kenya. The study relied on agenda building theory, which has attributes of priming and framing. It utilised mixed methods approach and non-probability sampling technique where purposive sampling guided the research. Interviewer-guided questionnaires were used for the quantitative data while interviews were used for qualitative data. The content analysis was used to examine the content of the two editions published between November 2016 and December 2017, while key informants were interviewed to triangulate the results. The findings of the study revealed that coverage was subtle before the two industrial actions, then peaked during the industrial actions and were low after the industrial actions. Findings reveal that medical practitioners' industrial action was given more prominence than the dons' industrial action. Results reveal that the dominant discourses were consequences of the industrial actions, dynamics of the industrial actions, prevention of industrial actions and negotiations at the time of coverage. Results also showed that the *Daily Nation* did a better coverage of the disputes than *The Standard*. Results show that most of the factors influencing editors and reporters in their coverage of labour disputes corresponded with newsroom pressure, news sources, news values and editorial policies. Lastly, findings reveal that stakeholders outside the media felt the media did not do enough in efforts to cover the two disputes. In conclusion, mass media rely on information outside the press in construction of the media agenda and the media follows up on available and reliable sources depending on set guidelines to produce the news. The study recommends a multi-sectoral approach to end of perennial strikes in the public service. There are critical areas of research as follow-up to this study.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>CBA:</b>	Collective Bargaining Agreement
<b>COTU-K:</b>	Central Organisation of Trade Unions in Kenya
<b>ELRC:</b>	Employment and Labour Relations Court
<b>GoK:</b>	Government of Kenya
<b>ILO:</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>KMPDU:</b>	Kenya Medical Practitioners, Dentist Union
<b>KUSU:</b>	Kenya University Staff Union
<b>KUDHEHIA:</b>	Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals and Allied Workers
<b>MoE:</b>	Ministry of Education
<b>MoH:</b>	Ministry of Health
<b>PUSETU:</b>	Public service Trade Union of Kenya
<b>SRC:</b>	Salaries and Remuneration Commission
<b>UASU:</b>	University Academic Staff Union

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Overview

This chapter covers the background of the study, the problem statement, study objectives, the research questions, justification of the study, rationale, scope and limitations of the study and the operational terms.

#### 1.1 Introduction

This study focused on how two print media houses in Kenya (*Daily Nation* and *The Standard*) covered the medics and university academic staff industrial disputes between November 2016 and December 2017. The aim of the study was to examine how the two publications presented messages on the two industrial disputes by the two sectors of health and higher education. The study focused particularly on the industrial disputes led by Kenya Medical Practitioners, Dentist Union (KMPDU) that represents the medical workers in public hospitals in Kenya and the University Academic Staff Union (UASU) that represents the teaching staff in public universities in Kenya.

International Labour Organization (2002) defines a labour dispute as a condition whereby an employee thinks that his employer wants to harm or treat him unfairly which prompts him to lodge a complaint against the employer to the management. The Kenya Employment Act Cap 226, (2007) further alludes that a labour dispute normally occurs between workers and employers; the dispute is associated with employment for non-employment or the terms and conditions of labour. “Jobs, higher wages and labour conditions” are the second most prevalent causes of economic justice related protests (Ortiz, Buke, Berrada, & Cortez, 2013). Industrial protests all over the world have focussed on better working conditions. Industrial disputes or actions are often manifested in various

ways; first through strikes- which are usually spontaneous and concerted withdrawal of labour from production. Second is lock- outs often used by managers or employers to discipline striking employees by keeping them out of work premises. Third is picketing whereby workers block roads or stage actions while demonstrating carrying placards and effigies or other symbols and functionaries with messages of their grievances.

Consequently, labour relations have a particularly close relationship with the right to work, employment choice and most importantly favourable working conditions which are recognised internationally in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR). Kenya is a member state of the United Nations hence signatory to the UNDHR laws. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights Article 23(3) states that everyone has the right to form and join trade unions in order for their work interests to be protected (UN, 1948). Many countries have adopted the labour relations law in their legal instruments and Kenya is no exception. International Labour Organisation (ILO) is the body mandated to observe labour relations internationally, and Kenya as a member has an obligation to observe its conventions. ILO *Collective Bargaining Convention*, 1949 (No. 98) guarantees all workers including public sector workers, the right to organize and bargain collectively.

This right is strengthened by adoption of the *Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work*. Sustainable development goals number three, four and eight touch on industrial dispute in a way or the other (UN, 2015). Goal number three strives to ensure healthy lives and promotion of wellbeing for all ages. Goal number four serves to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promotion of lifelong learning opportunities. Goal eight is about encouraging long term inclusion of economic growth and providing employment opportunities for all. Kenya's development plan is anchored on Vision 2030 which was developed from the Economic Recovery Strategy for wealth and employment

which expired in December, 2017 (Republic of Kenya, 2007). A competent, inspired and well-trained public is one of the most important foundations of the vision. The country aims 'to build a public service that is more citizen-focused and result oriented' (Republic of Kenya, 2007). The social strategy pillar strives on investing in the people of Kenya through education, health, employment and human relations among others. Currently President Uhuru Kenyatta in his '*Big Four Agenda*' unveiled on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2017 strives to enhance manufacturing, provide affordable housing, provision of universal health care, and enhance food security and nutrition ([www.kepsa.or.ke](http://www.kepsa.or.ke)). The government aims to achieve the 'big four' by ensuring low costs in doing business across the country, having competent skilled workforce, building on infrastructure already laid such as transport, electricity distribution, education and ICT.

Internet, television, newspapers and radio is all part of mass media used for mass communications, as well to the organisations which manage these technologies. But for the purposes of this study, focus is on mainstream mass media. This being a print media study, mainstream mass media should be understood to refer to the two newspapers that command the highest readership (or circulation rate) among the public in Kenya which are the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Press coverage of industrial disputes refers to the way in which both the *Nation* and the *Standard* handle information regarding industrial disputes, the importance with which this information is placed in the media as well as the frequency with which it appears in the media. The importance of a story refers to the nature of visibility given to a story in terms of length, the longer the story the more importance. On average, the longest story is 800 words and is often accompanied by a photograph(s). Prominence is also defined based on the placement of the story (a front-page story is the most prominent story). Front page stories are referred to as splash because of their ability to grab the

attention of potential readers (Winnet & Wallack, 1996). Front page stories are followed by back page stories in prominence. These, in turn, are stories that appear in the middle of the newspaper, which are referred to as the ‘centre spread ‘stories because they spread over two pages (Gerbner, 1980). The least prominent stories are referred to as briefs or page fillers, and fall under a category known as side bars. They are primarily used to fill gaps after an editor has placed the most important stories. They can be as brief as 100 words (Gerbner, 1980). Prominence can also be measured in terms of the type of the story. News stories are often front-page stories; they break news and provide the most significant facts to an event or incidence. They answer who, what, how, where and when questions that a reader would want to know; however, they lack analysis and are a mere snapshot of a situation.

Feature stories are usually in-depth, analytical, well researched and offer background and comprehensive information. In some instances, news stories lead to feature stories. Stories may also fall under commentaries or opinion pieces often written by contributors who may not necessarily be journalists; and are in most cases considered expert opinions or insights into an issue. Letters to the editors are also useful, and are often contributed by the public on an issue of public interest. Editorials constitute another category, and provide an editor’s insights into the main issue recurring in a newspaper (Winnet & Wallack, 1996). Photographs are also a significant aspect to a story as they improve a story’s prominence by attracting the reader. A story is considered comprehensive, if it is at least 800 words long, if it also provides the main facts of the story as well as background information derived from additional reports and research (Media Council, 2011). Weaver (1991) observes that, “The conviction ... that the media are important agencies of influence is broadly correct. However, the ways in which the media exert influence are complex and contingent.” The role of the media and the subsequent effect it

can have on de-escalating and preventing conflict have been acknowledged from the international to the local level.

## **1.2 Background of the study**

Provision of effective and efficient public service to Kenyans is a vital significance in the Kenya Vision 2030. The government of Kenya has made various efforts constitutionally and legally in transforming the public service sectors in order to enhance service delivery. This has been among others by, one, merging of some government departments seen to be performing same functions. Secondly, by moving services closer to the people through initiatives like the '*huduma* centres' where most services are under one roof, thirdly, by embracing ICT and offering services online. With all the aforementioned, the public service is still grappling with the challenge of strike actions by civil servants and the problem seems not to be going away. Vision 2030 specifically states "an efficient, motivated and well-trained public service," as one of its major foundations in achieving the development goals of the country (Republic of Kenya, 2007). Today the public service in Kenya is leading in number of industrial actions. The sectors where services are more often paralysed are the health and education sectors (Shauri, 2017). Whereas these two sectors concern basic human needs and are fundamental to a country's development, Kenyans are usually denied their basic rights to education at any level and even right to health when teachers/tutors/lecturers and medical practitioners down their tools.

Public sector strikes concern the economic and political interests of the public employees and most importantly the general public who bear the consequences for they lose on services to be provided by the state and its organs. Incessant strikes are unhealthy to any nation for they destroy the desire for growth and development of an economy. Strikes are



disastrous to foreign investments for investors usually are unwilling to invest in a country bedevilled by constant industrial disputes and strikes. The main justification for industrial action by employees is failure to adhere to terms of the collective bargaining agreement; unproductive negotiation or failure to stick to agreed terms which certainly leads to industrial action and disruption of industrial harmony (Aluchio, 1998; Shauri, 2017). Public service unions try to raise awareness on the effects of unions and collective bargaining on the government cost and services provided to the public. The unions have been perceived as powerful instruments in society for they have control on the public and influence politics of a state (Anza & Moe, 2013).

Employee and employer relationship is directly or indirectly linked to union/employer relationship and it is elucidated in the industrial relations which basically involves how employees, employers and the government institutions interact. All issues of employment relations and human resource management, employee relations, union management or labour relations used to be handled by industrial relations but today it only involves the study and practice of collective bargaining, trade unionism and labour management. This study examined how the print media in Kenya covered the UASU' and KMPDU' industrial dispute. The study focused on two major dailies in Kenya that is *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers between December 2016 and December 2017. This was the period when UASU and KMPDU went on strike with the common reason being demand for better wages. The focus of this study was coverage of KMPDU and lectures strike to determine pattern and frames of coverage between November 2016 and December 2017.

Industrial disputes are a key component of any modern society. Industrial progresses are unattainable without collaboration of labours and harmonious relationships between the employees and the employer (Eldridge, 1968). Industrial conflicts occur between two parties who are the employer and his agents and the workers who are providers of labour (ILO, 2013). Issues in industrial conflicts revolve around purchasing power between those who supply stored up labour in form of capital and those who furnish immediate labour by the sweat of their brows (Michaelowa, 2002; ILO, 2013). Conflict between employers and employees are normal in any work environment. Such disputes can be avoided and resolved by consensus-based actions of employers and employees themselves or alternatively through the actions of third parties through the process of conciliation and bargaining. Conflicts between labour providers and workers are of three types; the first one is conflict over production and distribution of wealth; the second is conflict over production and distribution of human dignity and respect and the third one is conflict over the production and distribution of power (Nyalali, 1975). Industrial disputes are economically disruptive forms of confrontation that often have far reaching impact to a country's economy. The conflicts usually have goals which mainly are to initiate discussions, negotiations or action to enforce a decision or agreement between parties to a dispute (Aluchio, 1998).

Industrial unrests are traced back to England during the industrial revolution in 1800 and it brought changes in the labour market and this became a cause of industrial disputes (Fukuyama, 2015). Industrial revolution led to increase in production, job specialization and reduction and technological innovations (ibid). It was during the industrial revolution that employers started using machinery to increase production and in effect reduce human labour. There were many groups of workers concerned with the labour rights and the free

market and most of these workers were textile artisans. They in effect resented the use of machinery to suppress wages and employ fewer workers. The workers hence organized collectively for their rights, and represented the big movement in the rise of a British labour market. When employees of an organisation are represented by a union, the policies that affect the employment relations formerly and solely decided by the management become subject to joint determination (Daver, 2005). Workers resort to strikes often to demand higher wages due to increase in inflation usually occasioned by high cost of living. Industrial relations in Africa came to a head in 1980's with fight for labour rights and most importantly fight for independence. Most labour organisations in Africa took part in struggle for independence and fought against racial discrimination at work place among other ills. In South Africa, for example, trade unions fought against apartheid (Visser, 2007; Kagarlitsky, 2000).

Kenya has one of the best institutionalised labour market governance system in Africa (Tubey, Kipkemboi, & Bundotich, 2015). The sources of labour laws in Kenya are founded in statutes, the Constitution of Kenya, the common law, International treaties, principles and conventions. The Constitution of Kenya, (2010) specifically, Article 41 of the Bill of Rights expounds on 'Labour Relations'. It states that every person has 'the right to (a) good pay, (b) good working environment, (c) being part of a trade union; (d) to go on strike. Additionally, Article 162 (2) (a) offers for formation of the Employment and Labour Relations Court (ELRC) with special power to regulate and settle all employment disagreements in Kenya. Article 40 of the Constitution provides for the right to associate; Article 37 provides for the right to assembly, picketing and demonstration (Kenya Law, 2013). The various Acts of Parliament underpinning labour relations include the Employment Act, 2007 (No. 11 of 2007) which is the primary law on employment in Kenya. It replaced the previous Employment Act (Cap. 226).

Secondly, the ELRC Act, 2011 (No. 20 of 2011) establishes the ELRC and sets out its objectives, composition, jurisdiction and procedure. Thirdly, the Labour Relations Act (No. 14 of 2007) requires one to register, regulate, control changing of unions, employers and institutions or federations. It replaced the Trade unions Act, (Cap 233) and the Trade Disputes Act (Cap. 234). Fourthly, is the Labour Institutions Act (No. 12 of 2007) which establishes institutions and organisations for the administration and management of labour relations including; the Industrial Court, the National labour board, committee of inquiry, wages council, directorate of labour administration and inspection etcetera. Lastly is the Occupational Safety and Health Act (No. 15 of 2007) which provides for protection and well-being of those who are legally employed. It also establishes the National occupational Safety and Health Board.

Kenya is not a stranger to industrial unrests especially in the public sector. The Industrial action that is very common in Kenya is the strike both in public and private sectors. Biggest concern with strikes especially in public sector is the operation scale, the costs involved and the length of time (Kamau, 2012). The public sector has been known for strikes long since independence and the patterns have increased with promulgation of the Constitution, 2010. In 2017 the country experienced long periods of strike occasioned by public servants. Medical practitioners under their trade union KMPDU went on strike for a 100 continuous days and to date it is the longest strike in Kenya by the medics having ran from 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2016 to 14<sup>th</sup> March 2017. Medics downed their tools in order to push the government to implement terms of their CBA signed in 2013 which among others demanded for higher wages and better working conditions, need for more doctors to be hired and need for rehabilitation of dilapidated public health facilities.

The lecturers in 2017 went on strike thrice in the year led by the University Academic Staff Union (UASU) and Kenya Universities Staff Union (KUSU) with a total of 109 working days lost. The strike occurred in separate months within the year between January 19 to March 13 (54 days), then July 3 to July 18 (16 days) and lastly November 1 to December 9 (39 days). The dons demanded for implementation of 2013/2017 CBA that advocated for higher wages and allowances. There were other strikes in the health sector by the nurses and the clinicians but the focus of this study is the two strikes by KMPDU and UASU. Medical strikes occur globally but the impact is usually dire for health care and is considered as one of the essential services in any nation (Osadeke & Ijimanikwa, 2014). When doctors strike, immediate suffering is felt by publics and in some cases even death (Garty, 1986). Usually, health care workers' strike poses difficult questions including the ethical codes and professional cadets (Garty, 1986; Park & Murray, 2013). The Hippocratic oath states that, "doctors undertake to act in the best interest of the safety, welfare, health and well being of all those entrusted to their care, and the citizens." Garty (1986) further states that KMPDU Industrial Action is considered "special" and "unnerving" unlike other health care workers because the harm on patients comes more immediately.

Otieno (2017) in his report states that increasing levels of strikes especially in the public sector is "proof of poor industrial and labour relations in the country". Otieno further adds that strikes prove that dispute resolution mechanisms are dysfunctional or ineffective. Studies have shown that the longer the strikes take to be called off is proof that parties are non-committal to resolving the dispute. Poor and substandard working conditions and poor remuneration are the cause of increasing industrial strikes in Kenya in the recent years. The industrial action that is very common in Kenya is the strike both in public and private sectors

(Kamau, 2012). Kenya's Vision 2030 sets the blue print for development in the country, and it is anchored on three pillars including social economic and political.

In carrying out its functions, the public service has an important influence not only on government's own programmes but also on those of the private sector. It therefore plays a very important role in determining the rate of economic growth. Civil servants are active members of worker organisations and exercise their rights through their various unions. In Kenya we have the Public Service Trade Union Association (PUSETU) which later rebranded to Trade Union Confederation of Kenya TUC-Ke in 2014 as the umbrella body of all trade unions in the public service. The report by Otieno (2017), indicates that 4 million workers in Kenya belong to trade unions. According to the report there are atleast 50 registered trade unions in Kenya. Most of the trade unions are affiliated to Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU-K) except for a number that are in the civil service which are affiliated to TUC-Ke while some are not affiliates to any umbrella body such as KMPDU. Strikes over time have been used to put pressure on governments to change their ways of governance. They have also been used to destabilize rule of certain party or leader. In such circumstances, strikes are usually part of wider public events arranged as form of a campaign of a wider societal initiative. Most strikes are undertaken by labour unions which have the mandate to call for strikes upon issuance of notice as stipulated by various state laws. It is expected that when a strike is called all other avenues of dispute resolution have been futile.

Ananamba (1979) argues that the primary objective of trade unions is to protect and improve economic social interests of its members. In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, strong presence of trade union movements confirmed their acceptability. In Africa, trade unions have fought for favourable working conditions and political liberation from colonisers.

Fukuyama (2014) agrees that all authors that have studied conflict have found that weak governments and poor institutions are fundamental causes of both conflict and poverty. Due to their fragile state, these weak institutions fail to control violence and this leads to poverty which further weakens the ability of the government to carry out its functions properly. In advanced economies, studies have proved that union memberships are declining, new workers are slow to joining unions reasons being among others: structural factors and changes in the labour market, increased flexibility of labour deregulation and shift from manufacturing to service oriented business. Moreover, change in work patterns reduced union membership as people preferred to work at home. There was also increase in part time workers and those who did simultaneous works for various employers (Kagarlitsky, 2000). This further broadened political and cultural changes in labour markets and the subsequent failure of unions to adapt to these changes (Fairbrother & Yates, 2003).

Employers in the western countries have managed to rid workers of unions or have undermined union influence. The various governments in the core have advanced neo-liberal policies which in part have restricted union political and economic influence. The failure of trade unions to survive in the core in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century had opposite effects to the countries in Africa which increased union membership with an aim of liberation from colonial rule. During collective bargaining in the public service, the state usually assumes two functions; that of the employer and the legislator and these two roles sometimes overlap (ILO, 2013).

## **1.2 Role of the Media in Industrial Disputes**

The media is undisputedly known for its role in informing the public. The media is also commonly known for its diverse roles including informing, educating, entertaining and correlating issues to its public (Riaz, 2011). The role of the media in industrial disputes is

not simply one of information giving but also acts as the selector, narrator and interpreter of information; thus it not only confirms views but also creates them. When civil servants down their tools it is a cause for worry for the services they provide are core and essential to a nation. Garty (1986) states that the pressure caused by public servants once they strike usually causes suffering or harm to the public or “innocent by-standers”. The media is usually used by all sides of an industrial dispute and this involvement of the media in turn affects the course of events (Jones, 1986).

Media attention proves a very important indicator of a protest success (Gitlin, 1980). Media usually gives us stories reflecting social reality and it not only has an objective role in the society, but also “a social purpose” (McQuail, 2010). The media is a powerful story teller that uses and reproduces cultural understandings, social institutions and social identities (Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 1997) such as industrial disputes (Walsh, 1988). Jones (1986) shows that attitudes and behaviours of journalists have often been blamed for exacerbating already tense situations. *Strikes and the Media* shows how industry battles have moved from factory floor to mass meetings and negotiating tables to the propaganda war in newspaper columns and TV news programmes. According to Baran (2004), when newspapers place stories, they inform readers of what is important and significant by placing the most important stories on the initial pages. Researchers in communication field contend that stories considered the most important are put in front pages with big headlines and pictures or major television or feature on the radio.

The media in Kenya in its day to day coverage covers various issues in the society including labour relations. This study sought to specifically look at how the media covers industrial disputes in Kenya with an aim of investigating how the two industrial disputes (UASU versus KMPDU Industrial Actions) were covered from November 2016 to



December 2017. This in effect looked at the agenda building role of the media by the two Kenyan print newspapers- *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. The study explored reasons behind the industrial unrest by medical workers and university academic staff in Kenya and how the issues surrounding the disputes were communicated to the public. The study further sought views of trade union stakeholders (mainly trade union leaders and members, and government representatives from labour office) to see whether views expressed by the media were the real issues surrounding the industrial disputes. The researcher also interviewed reporters and editors with a view of getting what informed their choice of reporting and hence the patterns of coverage. The study focused on articles that appeared in the two newspapers between November 2016 and December 2017. The study provides an updated picture of media broadcasting in Kenya's newspapers particularly looking at the past, and recent KMPDU and UASU industrial actions. The study is thus a content analysis of the two publications and uses a mixed method approach where both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through a designed code sheet for qualitative data and interview schedule for views on the reporting from the labour union stakeholders.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Despite industrial news being vital in any democratic society, they only feature in the media during an industrial action and are usually featured as a problem in the society. Thus, this study sought to find out if this is the case in Kenya through analysis of the press coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions before, during and after the 2016/2017 work stoppages.

Ideally, whether and how the media covers labour relations activities such as demonstrations manifested through strike actions plays a crucial role in structuring democratic outcomes (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996). It is not only conflict but also their management and transformation that are of concern to the media. News media generally reports on social group protests; however, the amount of reporting varies and relies upon different factors associated with the method of the protest in addition to how the events relate to political and information media sets (McCarthy, McPhail and Smith, 1996; Oliver and Maney, 2000). The media usually links social activities and the public through outlining how the public perceives these movements and their actions (Oliver and Meyer, 1999). Movement societies or groups such as trade unions rely on the media for intended information on which they derive their planned actions but also use them as a ‘discussion board’ for the valuation of policies; and their rivals and associates largely follow suit (Koopmans, 2004). Coverage impacts how workers, the trade unions and general public perceive union struggle and strength (Carreiro, 2005).

The media all over the world only covers industrial news when there is an industrial action such as strikes because it offers human interest, drama and conflict. It therefore follows that strikes are what ‘news’ is in any labour dispute (Philo, 2014). Strikes enable employees fight for their rights regarding social and economic issues affecting them whereby longer period of strikes can end up affecting economic status of a country widely than those felt by parties themselves (Erickson & Mitchell, 1996 ). During industrial peace there is little or no coverage of labour news. Aluchio (1998) established that in Kenya, most members of a union usually feel that the union is performing when there is a strike action because all salary increments have been achieved in Kenya when union leaders call a strike.

Asemama and Edegoh (2012) opine that media brings news and important issues that concern the public. The duty of the media is to intervene on behalf of the public during conflicts and also act on their behalf by creating an agenda to bring peace and solve the conflict. Ngige, Badekale and Hammajonda (2016) have urged the media to not only go beyond reporting conflict outbreak but also investigate and report the immediate causes of the crisis.

Positive and prominent coverage amplifies and legitimizes the protesters voices (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993), thereby enhancing chances for a protest to solicit public support and persuade government authorities. Agnone (2007) and King (2011) further contend that the ability of protestors to communicate their message and achieve desired outcomes depends on whether and how they are portrayed by the mass media. Previous studies in labour industry in Kenya confirm that the media in Kenya covers industrial disputes and more so during a strike action (Kibet, 2015; Aluchio, 1998). How the media covers these disputes over time and especially when two disputes occur almost simultaneously is worth studying. Thus this study aims at establishing how the print media covered issues surrounding the KMPDU and UASU in an effort to know how much space and prominence was given to the disputes in question and sources of the news story and factors leading to the publications of the stories. This will in effect establish the patterns of coverage the media took in reporting the two disputes.

## **1.4 Study Objectives**

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

The main objective of the study was to examine print media coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions in Kenya between November 2016 and December 2017 by analysing the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* Newspapers coverage.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To compare and contrast patterns of coverage of UASU and KMPDU Industrial Actions by *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers in Kenya before, during and after the strikes.
- ii. To investigate the dominant discourses emerging from the industrial actions as covered in the publications.
- iii. To establish views held by trade union stakeholders pertaining media's role in coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

- i. How did *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers cover UASU and KMPDU Industrial Actions in Kenya before, during and after the strikes?
- ii. What were the dominant discourses emerging from the strikes as covered in the publications?
- iii. What are the views held by trade union stakeholders pertaining the coverage of the KMPDU and UASU industrial actions?

### **1.6 Justification of the Study**

Accurate and unbiased media coverage of industrial disputes is vital in bringing the issues surrounding the disputes to fore. The increased industrial strikes by civil servants are a cause for worry and needs to be examined extensively. Role of the media in reporting these strikes need to be examined as the media is the platform where grievances and counter grievances are advanced. Whether and how the media cover demonstrations plays a good role in structuring democratic outcomes (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996). It is not only conflict but also their management and transformation that are of concern to the media. This study elaborates the imperative role the media plays in conflict situations. The print media

(newspapers) plays a key role in agenda setting thus ensuring the public is aware of salient issues in society, particularly in cases of public interest and social equality such as industrial dispute issues that have the public as the main losers to essential services. The loss of learning hours, and prolonged academic calendar leading to late entry into the job market are some of the effects of faculty strikes to learners. Loss of life and lack of medical attention are but some of the effects of medics' industrial action to a nation. Hence when these effects are unknown to masses or down played by the media the masses miss to know real effects of any industrial action or impact of the same.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Selective coverage and ineffective coverage of all issues surrounding labour disputes may be the contributing factor towards prolonged industrial stalemate and tensions in Kenya. Biased coverage of particular trade organisations to others could be a reason for the increased discord among workers in various fields. The casual and normalized reporting of industrial disputes could be the reason the opposing sides are never ready to negotiate and even propel tensions in other industries. If the print media is not adequate, comprehensive, analytical, balanced and factual in its reporting then masses will fail to be in a position to engage in informed debates or make informed choices regarding industrial disputes.

Studies on industrial disputes in Kenya have focused on the disputes per sector concentrating on either a particular union. For example, the study by Kibet (2015) focused on Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) strike, while other studies have looked at impact of trade union on employee performance. Miruka (2015) looked at how the media covers Labour Day celebrations and the rhetoric around it since independence to 2013. Some have looked at the role of trade unions in improving morale of its members but there is no comparative study of print media coverage of two industrial disputes that occur

concurrently. Thus, this study will enable media gain knowledge on the coverage of industrial disputes in Kenya by providing information on the nature of Kenyan newspaper coverage of industrial strikes in 2016 and 2017 when the country experienced multiple strikes in the public service.

Further examination on the published stories provide information on the quality of media messaging in as far as selection, balance, accuracy, depth of coverage, and in so doing this study examined the position the media took as they reported the two strikes. Thus, the study suggests likely areas of intervention towards improved coverage and solutions to labour disputes. The results of this study is beneficial to labour industry policy makers, trade unions and media stakeholders by providing a platform for effective communication of industrial disputes and other labour related issues to the public through the print media. This study also benefits the research community in labour relations by adding on content analysis of media coverage of industrial disputes in Kenya; for which comprehensive published information is currently wanting. This study is significant in that it raises awareness on the agenda-building role of the print media on the industrial issues. It helps redirect focus on the attainment of national educational goals and health goals and how strikes issues can be handled in future. The study provides basis for further research on media coverage of labour issues in Kenya.

### **1.8 Scope and Limitation**

The purpose of this study was to investigate how the print media reported the UASU and the KMPDU Industrial actions that took place in December 2016 to December 2017. The KMPDU Industrial Action occurred once and was continuous from 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2016 to 14<sup>th</sup> March 2017 for a hundred days while the UASU was in three phases in 2017 with a total of 109 days of strike. The strike occurred in separate months within the year between

19<sup>th</sup> January to 13<sup>th</sup> March (54 days), then 3<sup>rd</sup> July to 18<sup>th</sup> July (16 days) and 1<sup>st</sup> November to 9<sup>th</sup> December (39 days). The researcher therefore, studied daily and weekend editions of the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers for the period covering the two strikes between November 2016 and December 2017. This study was restricted to media coverage of industrial actions by UASU and KMPDU in Kenya in 2016 and 2017. The period chosen was a week before the strike, all days during the entire strike period and a week after the strike hence 28<sup>th</sup> November, 2016 to March 21<sup>st</sup> 2017 for the KMPDU Industrial Action and 12<sup>th</sup> January 2017 to 16<sup>th</sup> December 2017 for the UASU.

The study was restricted to the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* publications hence limit generalization of results to *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers only. The two newspapers were selected because they have the largest possible circulation network in the country with the *Daily Nation* leading approximately with 696,172 newspapers sold daily while the *Standard* follows with approximately 373, 467 copies in a day. Consequently, the *Sunday Nation* weekly sales a total of 337,096 copies, *Saturday Nation* sales approximately 240, 499 copies while the *Sunday Standard* sales approximately 101,331 copies while *Saturday Standard* sales approximately 90, 819 copies (KARF, 2018). The study employed mixed method in data collection and analysis. Both content analysis and interview methods were used. Data of all the articles published on UASU and KMPDU industrial disputes in the *Daily Nation*, and *Standard* newspapers for the period between November 2016 and December 2017 were collected and content of the articles analysed to assess what triggered the stories, the accuracy and the source of information for the industrial dispute.

Interviews were held with trade union stakeholders of the two unions (UASU & KMPDU), precisely three from UASU and two with KMPDU leaders, one official from the labour office, two reporters and two editors who report on labour disputes with the view to

assess their association with newspaper articles on industrial disputes, and their perception on the accuracy, authority and influence of print media in the country. The views of the trade union stakeholders were compared with those elicited in print publications. The units of analysis included published stories touching on industrial disputes within the research period. The researcher intended to scrutinise the way print media covers the stories and the context of the stories and analyse how the print media covers industrial disputes before, during and after the disputes.

The limitations of the study were in terms of the method used and scope. Public service is a wide area with many departments that offer unique services and hence having unique industrial issues. Covering only two sectors in the civil service meant that the study did not represent all industrial disputes in the public service and therefore not all plights of civil servants were covered. A second limitation is that the research utilised only two newspapers yet there are other publications that could have covered the industrial disputes in Kenya. In as much as the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers are the largest newspapers that cover a large area, people do read other newspapers such as *The Star* and *People Daily* Newspapers. The fact that many Kenyans nowadays rely on TV, radio and social media platforms for information has reduced the number of newspaper readers to a minimum.



## 1.9 Operational Definitions

**Focus:** this means the level of importance accorded to a story in a newspaper. High focus are stories at the front page, pages one to five and back page. Medium focus are stories placed in page six onwards but not back page, and low focus are stories on inside pages but are less than 20 lines.

**Industrial disputes:** a conflict or difference of opinion between management and workers on the terms of employment.

**Media coverage:** this is the way in which a particular piece of information is presented by media.

**Patterns of coverage:** this includes the way the media packages its stories in a given time.

**Print media:** in this context will be the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers.

**Source:** origin of a story; the person or institution giving it for publication

**Treatment:** this represents how the story is written it could be; general news, reflective or commentary.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This chapter is in two sections and provides for review of literature and theoretical framework. The literature reviewed in this section shows agenda building theory is a collective process to tell the audience what and how they can think about issues. It is through the agenda building process that the media portrays a strike as valid or not and masses get to know how the media as gatekeepers perceive the strike.

#### **2.1 History of Industrial Disputes in the World**

International Labour Organization (2002) defines a labour dispute as a condition of employment thought by an employee to hurt him or cause injustice to which the employee complains about formally by bringing to the attention of the management. The Kenya Employment Act Cap 226, (2007) further alludes that a labour dispute normally occurs between workers and employers; the dispute is connected with employment due to non-employment or the terms of employment and conditions of labour. Industrial disputes more often usually result into industrial action. Trade or labour unions qualify as movement society for they are social movements that represent claim of workers (Tarrow, 1998). A movement society is said to take place when three conditions are fulfilled; first “social protest,” second “protest behaviour is employed with greater frequency, by more diverse constituencies and used to represent wider range of claims” and third “professionalisation and institutionalization (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Fantasia and Stepan-Norris (2004) further classified labour movements as ‘simple case of social movements’, because they operate under laws and are institutionalized. They added that labour movements are social formations whose effects run deep because labour tensions affect social order of society. Fantasia and

Stepan-Norris thus stated that labour movements proscribe to social movement activities because they participate in the spirit of solidarity. Della Porta and Diani (1999) further observed that social movements focus on either individual organisations, or events in the best instances trying to capture the interdependence.

Various scholars have defined industrial action differently. Sherlekar (2001) states that it is all kinds of opposition or aggressive communications, or among individuals, groups and or organisations. Fajana (2010) defines industrial action as difference or struggle between two parties that is indicated by open expression of resentment and or deliberate intrusion in the goal; accomplishment of opposing party. Trade or labour unions have existed since 1930s to fight for equal bargaining power, employer dominion over employees and to represent workers' interest in the employment sector (Williams, 2015). The agreements negotiated by the union leaders bind both the employer and the employee, and in some instance, those who are not employed (Thomas & Daryl, 2012).

History of industrial disputes is traced back to Britain in 1927 from the days of the *General Strike* (Clegg, 1957). The official British strikes have been collected since then. Main features of data collected on strikes over time include the annual total number of strikes, number of workers who came out to strike and annual total number of working days lost through strikes and frequency of strikes. During the industrial revolution employers started using machinery to increase production and in effect reduce human labour. There were many groups of workers that were concerned with the labour rights and the free market. Most of the workers were textile artisans. They resented the use of machinery to suppress wages and employ fewer workers. The workers hence organized collectively for their rights, and represented the big movement in the rise of a British labour market.

Strike waves were common in Britain with emergence of industrial revolution since most firms were privately run. One of the notable strikes was the '*miners*' strike, rail road workers strike and the '*General Strike*' in 1984's -1985' (Kagarlitsky, 2000). In 1980 strike waves subsided in western countries and most analysts acknowledge this was due to neoliberal state policies and anti-union employer tactics combined to lower union density and disempower workers and render strikes less effective weapon (Brym 2008; Gordad 2011; Huxley 1979; Shalev 1993). According to Fairbrother & Yates (2003) union membership declined in the western countries due to structural factors and changes in the labour market involving flexibility of labour deregulation and shift from manufacturing to service-oriented businesses leading to public sector being majorly privatised. The political and cultural changes which unions failed to adapt to, was a cause to reduced unionisation. The introduction of neo-liberal policies in the west aimed to limit economic and political influence of unions. Many governments abandoned full time employment policies in favour of reducing inflation and deregulating labour markets.

Scholars in social movements have confirmed that while membership and numbers of unions kept declining in the western countries in the late 1980's and most part of 1990's, in contrast, the opposite happened in Africa (Kagarlitsky, 2000). It is in the 80's that most African Nations had attained independence and had started plans of developing their countries under new governments in post-colonial era (Fairbrother & Yates, 2003).

Studies of trade unions in Africa reveal that the unions were seen as a force to resist colonial power and fight for independence among other social ills like discrimination, racial warfare and segregation of workers. Africa has strong trade federations like the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) in South Africa, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), the Central Organisation of Trade Unions in Kenya (COTU).

Histories of labour unions in South Africa illustrate the role played by trade unions in ending apartheid and promotion of democracy (Byrne & Ulrich, 2016; Visser, 2007; Kagarlitsky, 2000). Studies on industrial relations in South Africa pertaining strikes reflect the country's "fight against apartheid and unskilled labour" associated with the black race (Visser, 2007). The unions were racially formed and the black unions took time to form under the Federation of South Africa Trade Unions Federation (FOSATU) in 1979. Later the federation joined COSATU in 1985 which was a confederation that was more established and had more muscle and power with its huge membership and principles of political democracy to fight for more than just labour rights. In 1985, (COSATU) had 34 affiliate unions with a total of 462,000 members (Kagarlitsky, 2000).

COSATU membership kept growing and to date it is the largest and most influential trade union federation in South Africa (Hurt, 2014). COSATU supported ANC's election bid in 1994 general election with a promise of ANC adopting the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as drafted by COSATU. ANC overwhelmingly won that election and a large number of COSATU unionists secured parliamentary seats and key positions in parliament. Later in 1997, the ANC due to globalisation changed its manifesto from RDP to Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. This led to formation of Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA) in 1997, a federation organisation representing civil servants. Visser (2007) states that FEDUSA unions are less likely to strike compared to COSATU affiliates.

## **2.2 Role of Trade Unions**

Grisworld (2010) defines trade unions or labour unions as organisations or individual employees united to express and attain some interests which include trade integrity protection, achievement of better employment wages, good working conditions and safety among others. Manning (1995) defines trade unions as ‘channels’ through which aspirations and interests of those located in the workplace can be presented in the public domain and directed towards the formal political system. Trade unions usually have set rules on leadership structure through which they use in order to negotiate with employers.

Pencavel (2009) argues that elected leaders of trade unions represent ordinary member interests and bargain on their behalf for better working conditions. Once the union is able to bargain for better working conditions, a written contract is signed and the same is considered as the collective bargaining agreement (CBA). Trade unions have always pressured governments to make worker-friendly laws (Grisworld, 2010). History of trade unions attest to the fact that trade unions have had their demands met through industrial actions and that strikes have been the most favorable tool for unions.

Jepkorir (2014) indicates benefits of trade unions to members in Kenya include better remuneration negotiation, protection from exploitation by employer, access to education facilities among others. Aluchio (1998) observed that trade unions represent workers during work related legal battles, educate and train workers.

## **2.3 Collective Bargaining Agreements and Challenges of Strikes**

Deakin and Morris (2012) define collective bargaining as a process of negotiations on behalf of employees with an employer or a group of employers. They further state that collective bargaining is designed to produce mutual agreement that includes functions like procedural or contractual which deals with regulating relationships between the collective

parties themselves; and the normal function of making rules that deal with establishment of terms and conditions that apply to contracts of individual workers. Collective bargaining takes place at the state, trade or business level. It is usually a means of resolving matters which relate to conditions and methods of employment and has little to do with labour management relations and policy formulation (Tubey, Kipkemboi, & Bundotich, 2015). Workers and their unions have used collective bargaining as the main tool in conducting industrial relations. It is through collective bargaining that social partners have been able to minimize conflicts and confrontations that often characterize relations between employers and workers (Khabu, 2008).

In collective bargaining, a gridlock occurs when parties are not able to move towards a settlement. This standoff occurs because one party demands more than the other is willing to offer. It is during such gridlocks that the grievance may be solved through a third party – normally a disinterested party such as a mediator or an arbitrator. If the issues are not resolved through third party then the union may call a work stoppage, or a strike to put pressure on management (Dessler, 2008). Jepkorir (2014) notes that principles of collective bargaining and the benefits that come with it are impossible without the role that trade unions perform.

#### **2.4 Trade Unions and Industrial Action in Kenya**

Industrial action in Kenya is traced back during colonial era where workers were ranked in racial and tribal lines (Ananamba, 1979; Clayton & Savage, 1974; Singh, 1969). In pre-colonial Kenya employment was structured in a four step manner where Europeans were at the top followed by the the Asians, Arabs and Africans at the bottom. Initially workers formed associations according to race and tribes and later unions came to be as they were legally recognised and represented workers effectively than associations.

The Europeans had their own unions, the Asians and Arabs had their own and Africans had their own unions that were classified in tribal lines. Later the Asians and Africans joined to form associations and thereafter unions. Kenya's trade union movement is connected to "struggle against British colonial rule and fight for independence and fairness at workplace" (Singh, 1969, p. 50). Therefore, African workers used all means to let their views be heard concerning poor working conditions and racial discriminations.

Before the coming up of unions, workers formed associations and the same associations transformed to unions. Labour unions had political affiliations and character (Amsden, 1971), the Kikuyu Central organisation was for the Kikuyu and the Kavirondo Associations affiliated with Luos and Luhyas. After World War II trade union formation became common and gained support from British Trade Union Confederation (TUC), American Federation of Labour (AFL), International Conferderation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade unions. There is a similarity between the fight against colonial rule and the fight for workers' rights hence this explains why the current labour movements is in a way politicized. Trade unionism was registered in Kenya officially in 1934, the government of Kenya passed an Ordinance to legalise trade unions in 1943 by then Kenya was still under the British colonial rule. One of the major trade unions in post colonial Kenya was the African Workers Federation in 1947 which marshalled its members to go on strike to protest government's indifference to payment by race, the disrespect shown to African workers and the indirect slavery bred by a low wage economy (ibid).

The trend of labour unions changed with the launch of global labour unionism and the British alternate union congress particularly played an essential role within the Kenyan trade unionism. The colonial authorities considered labour unions serious hence this made them set up an office to register trade unions to modify and manage unionism later in 1945.



In 1946, a protective labour code was introduced and better working conditions achieved. In 1952, after the state of emergency, some political leaders had been detained and alternate unions began gambling the position of agitation for independence. In reaction to this, the authorities took up the improvement of the group of workers membership and people committees (e.g. statutory salary deduction council). The committees founded, currently can be visible as the idea for the contemporary tripartite bodies, for example, the labor advisory board - currently known as the National Labour Board, the tripartite wages council, among others. Kenya countrywide Union of teachers (KNUT) is the oldest union in Kenya shaped in 1957. In 1965, there had been a split in the Kenya Federation of hard work, which gave start to two unions (Kenya Federation of exertions and Kenya African people Congress. Because of this split, the two unions were disbanded, and an umbrella body was formed in 1965 via Sessional Paper No 10 as the Central Organisation Trade Unions (COTU).

Labour movements in Kenya have made significant progress in the lives of workers. The transition from colonial rule to independence put to effect progressive labour laws. The presence of comprehensive minimum wage law mandates both wages and wage increases. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 Article 41 expressly talks of labour relations and makes strikes legal. The creation of industrial courts in essence has also ensured rights of workers and employees are protected. The strength of trade unions depends ultimately upon their numbers and capacity to organize effective industrial action (Aluchio, 1998; Thomson, 2011; Jepkorir, 2014; Kibet, 2015).

Over time, trade unions and politics have been 'inextricably intertwined' (Smith, 1981). Trade unions have the power to marshal numbers to support a particular party or candidate and in essence influence an election. There is evidence that national union leaders

easily transit to electoral positions with ease. In Kenya, prominent leaders such as George Muchai, Tom Mboya, Clement Lubembe, James Denis Akumu, Juma Boy and Wilson Sossion have vied and others have been nominated for electoral positions with success. The working-class public servants once unionized form “a constituency” that is usually of interest to the ruling and political class (Miruka, 2015). The civil servants are tasked with the role of nation building as agents of the state. The public servants’ unions in Kenya have high membership numbers compared to private sectors and when one union goes on strike the public suffers. Usually, a strike in a sector brings a wave to the other sectors and the effects are dire. Thomson (2011) established that most labour unions in Kenya prefer use of strike to make their issues known. Labour strikes according to Thomson (2011) result in great loss of returns and affects productivity which would be reduced to zero levels.

## **2.5 Higher Education in Kenya versus the Challenge of Faculty Strikes**

Education is the process that includes all round development of cognitive, psychomotor and affective skilled individuals in the society in order to promote their development in the society (Aremu, Lawrence, & Ayelotan, 2015). Higher education is an anchor of social economic development of a continent (Baley, Otete & Pillay, 2013). Universities have the responsibility to produce relevant human resources that will drive the country towards a knowledge based economy. University education should enable individuals develop high potential abilities to improve the economy, be a major player in democratization, civilization and an all round society (Okiogo et al., 2012). African governments have declared the 21<sup>st</sup> Century “as a knowledge era” (Damtew & Altbach, 2004). In addition, education is a fundamental tool which can be used to improve global conditions such as alleviate poverty, reduce food insecurity and improve health sector (Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), 2015).

The government of Kenya recognises university education as an important foundation in socio economic development through various documents and laws since independence. *'African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya'* is the blue print developed in 1963 just after independence and recognises education and training of skilled manpower as one of the pillars of development process (Republic of Kenya, 1965). In essence the paper recognised that quality human resources are considered essential for attainment of national development goals and industrial development. To date, various documents, policies, laws and instruments touching on training and development refer to this document and there have been many improvements supporting higher education, training and development. Sessional Paper No. 5 of 2005 on Education, Training and Research is the policy which currently guides operations of the Government of Kenya in the education sector.

The key focus has been to improve levels of access, retain, gain equality, get quality, relevant and effective overall education (Republic of Kenya , 2012). The Constitution of Kenya (2010) Articles 43. 1f, 53.1b and 55a provide every Kenyan with a right to education while the Kenya Vision 2030 highlights the importance of education to ensure every individual becomes relevant, and able to sustain social and economic development of the country. The Constitution of Kenya further provides for access to affordable tertiary education, training and skills development (Republic of Kenya, 2010). Vision 2030 stresses on reforms in education and training, shifting emphasis from knowledge-reproduction to knowledge-production. The objective of Kenya's Vision 2030 is to make Kenya "a newly industrialising, middle income country, providing high quality life for all its citizens, by the year 2030". To emphasise importance of education, Aremu et al. (2015) stated that any country which wants to advance in relation to industrialisation and technological

development must ensure that it has well qualified technologists and engineers hence the need for proper, effective and efficient higher education. They further stressed that jeopardising the success of the education system usually has a negative impact on the academic achievement of the students.

Currently, President Uhuru Kenyatta in his *Big Four* agenda unveiled on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2017 strives to enhance manufacturing, provide affordable housing, provision of universal health care, and enhance food security and nutrition ([www.kepsa.or.ke](http://www.kepsa.or.ke)). The government aims to achieve the ‘big four’ by ensuring low cost of doing business across the country, having competent skilled workforce, building on infrastructure already laid such as transport, electricity distribution, education and Information, Communication and technology (ICT).

There is evidence of tremendous growth in university education with the public and private sectors growing side by side and complementing each other in the drive to make higher education more accessible in the country. The rise in new courses offered by universities, the upgrading of public university constituent colleges to fully-fledged universities, the establishment of more constituent colleges and the expansion of private universities has boosted access to university education (Nganga, 2014; Munene, 2016; Soft Kenya, n.d). According to Commission of University Education (CUE), Kenya has a total of 31 public chartered universities, six public constituent colleges, 18 private chartered universities, five private constituent colleges and 14 institutions with letters of interim authority ([www.cue.or.ke](http://www.cue.or.ke)).

The growth in universities and the quest for higher education has brought about challenges to higher education system as a whole. Previous research findings indicate that public education in universities is not done according to the requirements of education sector

(Bennet et al.,1996; Boit and Kipkoech, 2012; Amutabi, 2012). University lecturers are always overworked, libraries and laboratories are less equipped and they have insufficient time to do research which in turn affects the performance of staff. As a result the need for higher education with government support and proliferation of institutions has been witnessed in the university sub-sector. A number of researchers have attributed challenges in higher education in Africa to poor or and lack of funding, corruption and mismanagement of funds in the institutions of higher learning, politics and political interference, poor governance, and indiscipline among students (Mutula, 2002; Yego, 2016).

This study focused on the challenges posed by strikes by faculty. This growth has also had its challenges especially attributed to student lecturer ratio; inadequate facilities; dwindling academic standards; overcrowding; moonlighting by faculty; lack of research experienced faculty, lack of resources like library facilities, ICT infrastructure and well equipped libraries (Bennet et al., 1996; Boit & Kipkoech, 2012; Amutabi, 2012 Ongek, 2016).Yego (2016) in his study found that strikes by faculty are alluded to poor remuneration evidenced by constant strikes and salaries that often come late which in effect demoralizes faculty staff. Many academic staff relocate to foreign universities and research institutions of higher learning in Kenya or abroad (Coleman & Court, 1993; Musisi & Muwanga, 2003). Findings by the World Bank show that an estimated 23,000 qualified academic staff in Africa are moving to other countries in search for better working conditions (Blair & Jordan, 1994; Carrington & Detragiache, 1998). The massive brain drain is attributed to better remuneration packages offered by foreign and regional universities. In addition, some staff members go for further studies outside the country and never come back upon completion of their studies (Moi University Strategic Plan, 2005-2015). This in effect has deprived universities of the much-needed academic capabilities.

Frequent strikes lead to prolonging of the minimum time required to complete degree programmes (Mutula, 2002; Mwiria et al., 2007). According to Mutula (2007) some students take up to six years to complete what should have been a four-year basic degree.

Industrial tensions between academic staff and the government can be explained in three phases since independence. The first phase is the one-party state where governments of the day were intolerant to activities of unions. Second is during the multi-party regime during President Daniel Arap Moi's regime and lastly during the democratic era of President Mwai Kibaki which was marked by political tolerance and presence of more democratic space evidenced by promulgation of the new constitution in 2010. During the one-party state, the ruling parties were intolerant to unions especially by academia since they posed a threat to the ruling party by challenging their actions.

When government employees (like teachers) go on strike, the greatest losers are the consumers of their services (families) as opposed to their employer (the government). Therefore, unions become aware of public perceptions and validate their demands since clients who suffer the cost can put much pressure on their employers (Murillo & Roncon, 2002). University strikes (or boycotts or work movements) are available in a number of ways which include refusal to teach, graduate guidance, internship supervision, taking part in senate meetings, and many more. Additionally, Otieno and Levy (2007) have found that students who join prestigious public institutions perform poorly and at the same time graduate late as compared to their counterparts who join private or non-so-prestigious-institutions who graduate in time and join the labour market faster. The reputation of the general public institutions won't in that instance help the students economically when you consider that they take longer to graduate.

The first union to represent university academic teaching staff was University Staff Union (USU) in 1972 when universities fought for political and economic causes just after independence and during President Jomo Kenyatta's regime. Then, USU was regarded as a quasi-union and more of a professional body (Munene, 1997). It was never registered as a union until 2003. The teaching and non-teaching staff of higher institutions of learning have however been staging industrial actions since independence for one reason or the other including pursuit for academic freedom, freedom from government interference in academic affairs and matters of wages and remuneration. To date, it is not clear how many times the lecturers have gone on strike since independence for lack of proper documented evidence.

## **2.6 The 2017 UASU Strike**

19<sup>th</sup> January 2017 marked the first day the public universities went on strike led by KUSU and UASU. The unions were claiming 400 per cent pay rise for its members who had been underpaid for far too long. The strike lasted for 54 days and was called off on 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2017. On Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> March, 2017 a return to work formula by IPUCCF awarded UASU 17.5 percent increment on basic salary and 39 percent on house allowances. IPUCCF and UASU had a mutual understanding and signed the 2013-2017 CBA. On 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017 UASU and KUSU issued a strike warning to the government in demand of implementation of 2013-2017 CBA in full as agreed. Hence, on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2017 their demands not being met led to the second strike as the government had also failed to honour earlier agreement stating the increments could be effected by 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. That strike was the shortest and was called off on 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2017 with a total of 16 days not worked.

The third strike commenced on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 2017 issues being failure to implement the new salary rates as agreed per the 2013/2017 CBA. Then, only three out of the 33 universities implemented the new rates including Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Machakos and

Chuka. UASU called off the third strike on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2017 with a total of 39 days not worked. Munene (2014) contends that the discontent over university salaries stems from a triumvirate of three inter-related factors: union-initiated cost-of-living salary adjustments, merit pay, and equity. The failure by national educational authorities and the university administrators to resolve the contradictions arising from these issues only serves to amplify the stakes in salary adjustments and ensures that unions and universities are locked on eternal combat. Ajadi (2001) in his study found that public universities systems are inefficient because of strikes. Further, Albert (2015) remarked that “what makes strikes a nightmare is its frequency,” while Rawford (2014) alluded that neglect and constant strikes interfered with students’ education creating a system of self-destruction mechanism.

## **2.7 History of Strikes by Medics in Kenya**

The health sector in Kenya is guided by *‘The Kenya health Policy 2014-2030’* that strives to ensure overall health status in line with the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The current Big Four Agenda by President Uhuru Kenyatta focuses on universal health care as one of the pillars in the agenda. Promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 gave the medical sector power and right to go on strike like other workers. Mwenda (2012 in Mwendwa & Obonyo, n.d) states that health sector was considered an “essential service sector” before the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya, (2010) and hence not allowed to strike. However, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) Bill of Rights accords every Kenyan worker the freedom to join a trade union thus compelling employers to grant recognition to employee trade unions. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, has brought changes in the health sector from the management and administration of health services from a previously centralized structure to a two-tier system comprising the National Government and 47 devolved County Governments with a comprehensive Bill of Rights. Currently,



Kenya's public sector health system is organized around six levels which are the community (level 1), the dispensary (level 2), the health centre (level 3), the sub-county and county hospitals (level 4), the regional hospitals (level 5), and the national referral and teaching hospitals (level 6). A large part of health service delivery is the responsibility of the 47 county Governments, while the national level Ministry of Health (MoH) focuses on policy, guidelines, and training (Ojaka, Olango, & Jarvis, 2014).

The strike by KMPDU in Kenya which commenced on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2016 to 14<sup>th</sup> March 2017 is famously known as 'the 100 days' strike by doctors and was the focus of this study. It is however, not the only strike in Kenya by medics since in 1994; doctors went on strike petitioning the government to address the constraints listed in the Kenya Health Policy Framework (KHPF) 1994 including the formation of a trade union. The KHPF 1994 has been the guiding blue print of the health sector in Kenya. Formation of the trade union (KMPDU) happened 17 years later in August, 2011 (Mwenda, 2012). In 2011, under the stewardship of the newly formed union, KMPDU went on strike petitioning the MoH to implement majority of the factors listed in the KHPF of 1994. The strike ended with the formation of a multi-disciplinary task force to streamline the various grievances and recommended an implementation matrix. The matrix included establishment of a Health Service Commission (HSC) for human resource management, allocation of at least 15 per cent of the annual budget to health annually assigned to health in accordance to the Abuja Declaration of April 2001, among other demands.

In 2012, doctors downed their tools demanding the implementation of the task force recommendations. This strike ended with a resolution to have the KMPDU and the government establishing a CBA that would entail a legal mechanism to address the KMPDU grievances. In 2013, KMPDU led the medics in another strike whose main demand was lack

of commitment by the MoH–GoK to implement the CBA. The dispute ended up in court and dragged on for two years with the industrial court declaring the CBA legally binding. The recent strike (2016/2017) has been the longest in recent times by the KMPDU. On November 21<sup>st</sup> 2016, KMPDU issued a 21-day strike notice demanding for recognition, registration and implementation of 2013 CBA which advocated for 75-180 per cent pay rise, facilitation of post-graduate studies, better working conditions and better relations with their employer. The 2016/2017 strike by KMPDU officially started on 5<sup>th</sup> December and ended on 14<sup>th</sup> March 2017. Medics returned to work after the KMPDU called off the strike following signing of return to work and recognition agreements by the National Government represented by the MoH and the County Governments represented by the Council of Governors (CoG). Kimathi (2017) attributes challenges facing health sector in devolved Kenya to capacity gaps, human resource, lack of critical legal and institutional infrastructure, rampant corruption and a conflicted relationship with the National government.

## **2.8 Challenges Posed by Doctors Strike**

Githingi (2017) writing in the *Standard* digital on 3<sup>rd</sup> January, stated that 80 percent of Kenyans depend on public sector for health services, hence when doctors downed their tools in effect it meant lack of diagnosis and treatment to majority of Kenyans. In as much as there are no published studies on the actual effects of the December 2016 to March 2017 strike by the doctors, the then Cabinet Secretary for Health Dr. Cleopa Mailu writing in the *Standard* digital on 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 2017 stated that many children went unimmunised, more mothers opted to deliver at home, and many patients missed their TB and ARV medications. The country was therefore exposed to risk of epidemics and resistance to

medications. The strike therefore posed a challenge to the health milestones the country had achieved before 2017.

## **2.9 Role of the Media in Industrial Disputes**

The media is usually considered as the public sphere for it is at the centre of civic life in a democracy (Batziou, 2015). Batziou considers media as the public sphere for it offers a platform or screen or lens while (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002) argue that public discussions take place through TV screens and newspaper platforms. News media have the power to attract the audience attention, giving out meaning and affects public opinion (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) and often affects three major activities of the protest (a) mobilization, (b) justification and (c) scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1933). All protests and social groups try to comprehend media practices, and in part adapt to them or make them suitable in a way to attract and withstand exposure (Cammaerts, 2012). Furthermore, Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) allude to protest coverage as an indicator of a vital democracy. The media usually provides the links between social activities and the public and frames how the public perceives these groups and their issues (Oliver & Mayers, 1999).

Philo (2014) alluded that strikes and wage claims are what the media considers as ‘the news’ in any labour industry. Hence, what the media presents are the problems and potential solutions. In the event of conflicts such as industrial disputes the media may influence a society by recognising and properly addressing the issues surrounding the conflict. In the aftermath the media can advocate for reconciliation and societal development (Ngige et al., 2016). In the event of an industrial conflict, the media usually tries to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanise all victims of the conflict. The media is the most important source of information since it

covers politics and conflicts for most people, which makes them have influence over citizens' perceptions, sentiments and actions. By choosing what to report and representing conflicts in particular ways, the media strongly impacts on the aspects and outcomes of conflicts such as industrial conflicts, and thus also shape the prospects of success of conflicting parties. Careiro (2005) noted that coverage of labour movement activities impacts how the employed and non-employed perceive the strengths and weaknesses of the labour unions. He further stated that media coverage of union movements also plays a vital role in mobilising existing and important participants. Careiro (2005) established that since there is no clear category by which to evaluate an events' newsworthiness, journalists and media scholars argue somewhat on what makes an event "news". Books in journalism have however confirmed presence of various themes of newsworthiness of an event: the amount of conflict involved, the effect or impact and the human-interest aspect, the timeliness and locality. Reisner (1998) cites these components as "news values" that guide journalists when deciding what is news. Based on the above generally accepted criteria of what qualifies an event as news, industrial disputes and actions such as strikes are considered newsworthy events for at least three important reasons. First, industrial strikes involve conflict between the parties involved in the dispute; and the dispute adjudication process which provides narratives for news stories of conflict as well as its resolution. As stated earlier, industrial disputes are conflicts between labour and management. Strikes are usually the beginning of the news story, the middle being the adjudication processes and the end the decision.

Second, strikes have human interest element. Often news coverage of strikes emphasises the plight or triumph of individual workers over what is portrayed as dehumanising, unjust or alienating working conditions. At the same time themes of injustice and humanity are common not only in some coverage but fairly common in portrayal of

labour movement in popular media. Finally, trade unions impact lives and concerns of countless individuals. Strikes are not isolated events as they occur almost daily and affect lives of numerous workers each year. Industrial actions involve a considerable degree of conflict, possess substantial human-interest dimensions and impact larger community than workers involved. News media tend to cover social movement protest events, but the amount of coverage depends on various factors related to the form and content of the protest as well as the relation of the event to the political and news media cycles (McCarthy, McPhail & Smith, 1996; Oliver & Maney, 2000).

In conflict situations such as industrial disputes, the media may diffuse tension, prevent or moderate conflict and bring industrial peace (Munir, 2013). The media can play a positive role and can also act as a force that can cause the situation to escalate (Gadi, 2004; Philips, 1984). There are other roles of the media including entertainment that are equally vital in society, but it is principally journalistic or news media that is considered to have the most powerful impact on how people perceive politics and conflict. The media coverage of a movement –such as a trade union; also grants its credibility as an important player, which is necessary to have any impact, and helps expand the range of players in conflict, which increases the movement’s influence. In turn, social movements offer drama, conflict, action and photo opportunities (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Movements including trade unions rely on the media for information about the position of authorities, other opponents and the general public on the issues that they consider important and also learn about their actions from this source. Therefore, movements depend on the media for strategic information on which they develop their action strategies, but also use them as a ‘sounding board’ for the assessment of strategies; their opponents and allies largely follow the same route (Koopmans, 2004).

The media as a source for information dissemination is an important tool in shaping public understanding for it has the power of persuasion. The media in modern democracies serve a vital function as a public forum (Talbot, 2007). Industrial disputes are usually aired by the media, hence the media plays a critical role in agenda building. It is also commonly known for its diverse roles including informing, educating, entertaining and correlating issues to its publics (Riaz, 2011). Studies have revealed that the media usually undermines protest movements (Boykeff, 2006; Gitlin, 1980; Smith et al., 2001). The protest paradigm captures how the media specifically covers protests including strikes in a manner depicting the protesters as the “problem”. The media are somewhat known for negative framing, for putting a negative spin on news because otherwise it would not be newsworthy: If it bleeds it reads. The media certainly plays a crucial role in protest news coverage. One example of negative versus positive framing is loss and gain frames (Arnold, 2009). Arnold further states that when an issue is presented while pointing out potential gain, the story emphasises good things that will happen when something specific is being done, for example, when parties to a strike are willing to sit down and negotiate.

Gain frames often result in good feelings and in hope on the side of the audience. People become motivated to act in a certain way in order to gain something good. A loss frame, on the other hand, is a more urgent call to action and points out what can happen if one doesn't do something to prevent a bad thing from happening like if the medics keep off work more deaths will occur. The message about KMPDU Industrial Action would in this case portray a nation where citizens cannot get the required essential services. Loss frames usually raises negative feelings, and also points out the urgency of an issue. Media attention proves a very important indicator of a protest's success (Gitlin, 1980).

According to Baran (2004), newspapers tell readers what is significant and meaningful through their placement of stories in and on their pages and place the stories they think are most important on the earliest pages.

## **2.10 Theoretical Framework**

This study relied on agenda building theory, agenda priming and framing and gate keeping theories. The reasons for studying media content stems from interest in “potential effects” of mass communication; whether intended or unintended, or from a wish to understand the appeal of content for the audience (McQuail, 2010). ABT is essential in this study for it shows how the media agenda is but a culmination of the public and policy agenda and essentially what the media airs or publishes is a combination of many factors.

### **2.10.1 Agenda Building Theory (ABT)**

According to Maxwell McCombs (1992), agenda building theory in communication was developed in 1992 and it illustrates the factors affecting strategies of company information selection and production both internally and externally. This theory refers to the procedure journalists use to select news organisation on certain events or sources to cover over others which is linked but different from agenda setting which examines connection between the issues depicted and considered by the media as important to the public (McCombs, 1992; 2004).

Definition of agenda is traced back to the field of political science and was first used by Cobb and Elder (1983) who defined it as “a general set of political controversies that will be viewed at any point in time as falling within the range of legitimate concerns meriting the attention of the polity” (p. 14) and “a conflict between two or more identifiable groups over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources” (p. 32). In communication field, Dearing and Rogers (1996) defined an agenda as “objects

accorded saliency in the media content or in people's consciousness" (Takeshita, 1997). McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) defined an 'agenda' as how objects are given saliency in media content and in people's minds. McCombs (2004) defined news agenda as a list of events or issues that are portrayed in coverage at one point in time across time. Agenda building focuses on how or by what processes the media is influenced. It thus focuses on where the media information comes from, whether outside the media organisation and from sources such as interest groups, advertisers, audiences, government organisations among others (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Agenda building includes object and attribute salience regarding what information goes to the news and how it is best presented.

Previous studies have brought forth three distinct identifiers to agenda building theory: 1) policy agenda building, 2) media agenda building, and 3) reciprocal agenda building. Lee (2012) observed that there are various types of agendas depending on what it is tied to. The frequently used type of agenda in mass communication research is the media and public agenda. The media agenda consists of issues included in news media content, whereas public agenda is the list of issues the public thinks are important and deserve attention at a given point in time; and are confirmed by social surveys (Behr & Iyenger, 1985; Shaw & McCombs, 1977). Additionally, labour union agenda can be defined as issues or activities trade unions undertake to gain media attention and this is more so through generated material such as press releases, websites, advertisements, social media activities. This study is interested in the media agenda building and reciprocal agenda building.

Media agenda building is concerned with how the media agenda is developed. Mass communication scholars recognise the imperative role the media does in informing the public agenda. The study of media agenda building arises from mass communication perspective. It can be historically traced to 1972, when McCombs and Shaw developed



agenda-setting theory and posited that the media agenda sets the public agenda. A number of researches have been done since then in the communication field with an effort to establish the relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda. In the 1980's Communication researchers focused on who sets the media agenda (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Gandy, 1982). By then the media was an independent variable. In 1984 Weaver and Elliott used the term *agenda building* to describe the process that the media agenda takes. With the strength of its history, agenda-building theory is considered to be an extension of agenda setting theory.

Reciprocal agenda building is concerned with the process of how an agenda is formed over time. From this perspective, Lang and Lang (1983) defined agenda building as “a collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another in at least some respects” (p. 58-59). Whereas policy and media agenda building perspectives assumed that an agenda is a product determined by the initiators or by media responses to different routines and sources, this third perspective emphasised that an agenda is not formed at once in a linear process but rather is formed in a reciprocal process among participants over time. This perspective particularly emphasised the role of the media in this process, and that the agenda building process can differ depending on the type of issues involved. For instance, a high-threshold issue needs more media attention to become part of the public agenda and takes longer than a low-threshold issue. In 1983, Lang and Lang introduced a model of the agenda building process that contained six stages, including the media's exposing and framing an issue to reach and appeal to the public.

Theoretically, an agenda consists of two levels: a cognitive agenda and an attribute agenda (McCombs, 1992). The *cognitive agenda* refers to *topic*, specifically, to *subjects* or *issues*, and is “what people think about” (McCombs, 2005, p.546). *Subjects* are

organisations, individuals, or activities; whereas an *issue* is more general and can be defined as a social problem or controversy often advocated by the subject. This study focuses on the industrial actions by KMPDU and UASU as the agenda. Due to its comprehensive nature, the cognitive agenda is also called the *first-level agenda*.

The attribute agenda, also called the *second-level agenda*, consists of characteristics and traits which one can associate with any subjects or issues. Hence in this study issues surrounding the stories on the KMPDU and UASU industrial actions and how they were relayed are the attributes. There are two types of attributes: *substantive attributes* and *affective attributes*. A *substantive attribute* deals with the way in which topics are framed hence agenda framing. This involves selecting and calling attention to particular aspects of the described subjects or issues or interpreting a particular situation (Zock & Molleda, 2006). Therefore, the way the two disputes were framed is the substantive attribute whereby the media framed the strikes as disruption to learning and health services in the country. An *affective attribute* is also degree of favourability toward a topic or a substantive attribute (Lee, 2012).

Cognitive and attribute agenda can be measured in various ways, but most often it is done by analysing the contents generated by groups or organisations of interest. For example, in order to measure the media agenda, one can count the number of news stories covering a specific topic, the substantive attributes of the topic, or the tone. Dearing and Rogers (1996) stated that the media agenda “is usually indexed by a content analysis of the news media to determine the number of news stories about an issue on the basis of the number” (p. 18). Similarly, to examine the labour union agenda, one can analyse the contents such as press releases or websites generated by target corporations regarding topic, substantive attributes, and affective attributes.

Practically, the first-level agenda building occurs when journalists are persuaded to cover issues and objects that might have been otherwise ignored (Parmelee, 2013). It is at this level that connections are made between object salience on the part of media coverage and those attempting to influence coverage. At this stage the media is given the story and determines what is newsworthy by giving those stories prominence (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). McCombs and Shaw then stated that masses look to news professionals for “cues” on where to focus their attention (Griffin, 2011). In essence, as much as it is the role of the media to inform the masses, this information comes from somewhere and the media is either given the stories or goes seeking for it and decides on what to cover. The substantive attributes at this stage are the news worthiness of the object in question in order to fit into the news cycle. These include conflict, human interest, prominence which provides structure for the news while affective attributes include tone and angle the media outlet uses in structuring the story (Kiousis et al., 2011).

News values are widely accepted journalistic norms and standards for assessing news value of events agreed to be important to be covered (Gamson & Meyer, 1993, Gamson, 1995, Gamson et al., 1992, Shoemaker & Reece, 1991). According to Oliver & Myers, (1999) the agreed standard news values taught to journalism students generally include; ‘prominence, human interest, human drama, conflict or controversy, the unusual, timeliness, and proximity to local events over distant ones’ (Shoemaker & Reece, 1991). On demonstrations and protests events that are “bigger” in terms of involving more people, lasting longer or creating more disruption are more likely to be covered than “small” events (Kriesi et al., 1995, McCarthy, McPhail & Smith, 1996).

Erickson and Mitchell (1996) state that labour unions provide information on strikes, negotiated wage settlement, internal union political battles, union activities such as “political endorsements.” They further state that not all union activities attract media attention or fit in the “news” cycle unless it is more dramatic and attracts more attention. In their study, Erickson and Mitchell (1996) found that prominent unions received more coverage than other unions and that media coverage varied by industry in that “ industries influencing wage patterns receive special attention from the media.” Oliver and Myers (1999) observed that there are usually standards of ‘newsworthiness’ that determines which events are “news’ and which ones are not. This means the media cannot cover everything. Three factors have been identified and considered to influence news coverage of events and issues: predispositions of news organisations or particular reporters towards certain kinds of events, journalistic norms and standards for assessing the news values of events and issues, and mundane routines of producing news reports to deadlines (ibid).

On news routines, the aspect of access to reporters and news sources plays a critical role to ensure material considered ‘new’ is able to be published on time. Events announced in advance by news sources alert the media reporters in advance who diarise the event and ensure there is coverage. This in essence gives ample time for preparation of the coverage ‘since reporters are notified in advance’ (Oliver & Myers, 1999). If the subsidised information is newsworthy, the media would use it and have its agenda set in that area. Further, Kiouisis, Popescu, & Mitrook (2007) opined that broader concept of agenda-building views the process of salience formation as one involving reciprocal influence among multiple groups in addition to media and public opinion, such as policymakers, interest groups, and corporations. Through the use of information subsidies, such as news conferences, news releases, and interviews, public relations programs and campaigns can

have a profound impact on shaping news content. The resulting news content is a by-product of the interactions between content given to the media and processes of gate keeping and production with each party impacting one another throughout the process (Tedesco, 2001).

Nisbet (2007) and Bryant (2010) observed that the source is an important component to determining whether a story is covered or not. Journalists not only rely on personally known and trusted sources but also routinely use information subsidies obtained from government offices, industry sources, medical and scientific communities (Bryant, 2010). In understanding the agenda building process, we have to appreciate the fact that news organisations conform to models of Herman and Chomsky (1988), propaganda model by suggesting that labour strikes reporting will vary according to the 'us versus them' dichotomy of the cold war. Herman and Chomsky thus introduced the filters to news content which include size and ownership of the media house, advertising and advertisers as source(s) of income, mass media news sources, flak and enforcers, ideology or anticommunism and fear. Lee and Craig (1992) allude that media owners have a special stake in the status quo by virtue of their wealth and power.

Advertisers support mainstream press, and, media have symbiotic relationship with the government and corporations and these institutions are thus major news sources. In that, when media refers to them it gives them credibility. Oliver and Myer (1999) state that understanding filters applied by newspapers and TV to realities of demonstrations is essential to understanding effects of protests and demonstrations in the polity. Scholars in communication agree that the media are not passive channels of communication or neutral and objective observers and recorders of events (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Shoemaker & Reece, 1991; McCarthy, McPhail & Smith, 1996).

Agenda building on the second level refers to journalists being influenced to use certain attributes to portray issues and other objects hence framing (Lancendorfer & Lee, 2010). At this level, agenda building process goes to further explain that not only does the media attention influence what people think about but how they think about objects based on what “attributes” are emphasized (Kiousis, Mitrook, Wu & Seltzer, 2006). McCombs argues that second-order agenda setting and framing theories share common concerns for attributes and their integration may help clarify concepts of framing theory (Baran & Davis, 2012). Attribute salience links coverage and influence within terms of substantive and affective dimensions.

### **2.10.2 Framing Theory**

Framing theory has taken over from agenda setting theory and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communications science (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Framing research stems from fields of psychology and anthropology. Gamson (1992) looks at framing as the relationship between ideas and symbols used in public discourse and the meaning perceived by people around political issues. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define frames as “a central organizing idea that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events”. The frame suggests what the controversy is about and the essence of the issue. Gitlin (1980) defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organise discourse.” Frames emerge in public discourse in part as an outcome of journalistic routines that allow them to quickly identify and classify information and package and efficiently let out to the public.

Capella and Jamieson (1997) argued that frames activate knowledge, stimulate stocks of cultural morals and values, and create contexts. In doing so, frames “define problems”, “diagnose causes”, make moral judgments and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993). Shoemaker and Reece (1996) posit that framing refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audiences. In this study the concept of framing refers to manner that reporters shape news stories relying on a few familiar frames of reference. As a result, news frames is set in accordance with hidden structure of meaning through which audiences and journalists are reduced to viewing the world in a similar way (McQuail, 2005; Tuchman, 1978).

Through framing, some information will be deliberately selected to be reported and some will be omitted. The selected information will be particularly highlighted and given more salience, while some will be intentionally downplayed. Studies in framing analysis have developed into independent research in the field of communications (Entman, 1993; Kosicki, 1993; Sheufele, 1999; Maher, 2001). Kendall (2011) alludes that framing is an important way that the media emphasises some ideological perspective and manipulates salience by directing people’s attention to certain ideas while ignoring others. By analysing how the media socially constructs meanings about industrial disputes, masses can see how ideology and everything that passes for knowledge in our society can affect our thinking about industrial disputes based on theoretical approach referred to as social construction of reality. This study argues that we use the information we gain from the media to construct a picture of class and inequality that we come to accept as reality.

### **2.10.3 Gatekeeping Theory**

Gate keeping theory refers to the control of information as it passes through a gate (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Gatekeepers guard the gate and decide on what kind of information to be let in and which one to be kept out (Lewin, 1947b). When making these decisions, gatekeepers exercise power over those on the other side of the gate. Kurt Lewin is the founder of gate keeping theory and he implemented the strategies of individual psychology to the social globe. He viewed gate keeping as one among many interconnected incidents that collectively make up a social field and which one had to be knowledgeable about in social field. David Manning White who was Lewin's student was the first person to apply the concept of gatekeeping in Mass communication. White (1950) analysed impacts of gatekeeping decisions of one newspaper editor by the name Mr. Gates. Gates focused on individual factors and stipulated that mass communication often viewed gatekeeping as the selection of news where a small number of news items is passed via a gate manned by journalists of which gatekeepers construct social media reality for the gated news (Shoemaker, 1991).

Vos and Shoemaker (2009) agreed that gatekeeping is the method of removing and crafting countless information into restricted number of messages that people get every day. Shoemaker and Vos agreed with White (1950) that decisions of gatekeeping make numerous kinds of the same information a reality (2009), and that the news transmitted by different media channels can be related (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006). White (1950) argued that communication involved reporters, rewriters, and wire editors.

Shoemaker and Vos (2009) observed that gate keeping method starts when a news employee is showing an incident and ends up selecting the most newsworthy information. However, another gate keeping procedure starts when target audience chooses what to



absorb. Gatekeeping involves information which is not randomly selected but a result of well thought selected information, advertised and broadcasted to the public (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). News items that make it through all gates draw the "cognitive maps" of news consumers (Ranney, 1983), and set the agenda for what it is important to think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1976).

According to Shoemaker and Vos (2009), the constructs of gates, gatekeepers, forces, and channels are as applicable now as they had been for Lewin. In their model, raw information moves through three gates: source, media, and target audience. News enters the source channel through professionals, observers, individuals, commentators, and parties involved. In this research news content comes from various players such as union leaders, the government and the general public but not all news gets published even when collected. The origin and media channels unite as news content. Target audience then take what they want from the news content. Information that is not needed, or is deemed harmful to the public most likely does not to make it through the audience channel to reach the public (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

Boundary gatekeeping within each news organisation decides on first-hand information that can be let through their channel. As soon as this information passes through boundary gatekeepers, decisions regarding journalistic routines and requirements are made by internal gatekeepers. The inner gatekeepers then pass information to boundary output gatekeepers, who make very last decisions about how to give out information based on the comments from the target audience (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

#### **2.10.4 Theoretical Triangulation**

Agenda building process is vital in guiding studies of industrial relations reporting. What makes the media agenda and how the media agenda is constructed (McCombbs, 1992, 2004) and who determines the media agenda is vital in any labour reportage. Media as the information source relies on sources outside the media (Nisbet, 2007) for the information in as much as they decide later through the internal structures guided by policies among other factors through gate keeping process which information gets to the public. The same information that gets to the public, the media decides on how to present it through the choice of words and where to place it in its platform. This study thus relied on three major theories; agenda building which has aspects of agenda setting, priming and framing and gate keeping theory.

Some studies have questioned some professions from striking like Park & Murray, (2013) who question the ethical and professional justification of doctors striking. Garty (1986) has written on reasons why doctors are justified to strike. Media coverage of industrial disputes have focused on particular professions. Previous studies by Erickson & Mitchell (1996) revealed that media reports often have selection bias, description bias and reliability and validity bias of content.

Researchers in media discourse have proved that journalists often choose words and images ‘sub-consciously’ that audiences interpret and evaluate issues (Bryant & Beth, 2009) and words that have the power to influence how we see life. Industrial relations in Kenya exists within the legal and constitutional framework. There also exists extensive regulatory affairs in the labour sector as well as constitutional provisions in the Bill of rights that outline conditions for harmonious industrial relation. Various institutions have been created in effort to stabilise the labour sector including the ELRC, Wages Council, National Labour

Board. Despite all these efforts there is still rise of industrial disputes especially in the public service which relate to working conditions. Through coverage and framing, news organisations shape social reality or meaning of particular events (Tuchman, 1978) and thus influence the public agenda (Weaver, 2007).

The media coverage of a group such as trade union; offers it integrity as a crucial participant making the union essential hence facilitates the extent of conflict management. These movements together with trade unions rely upon the media for information about the position of government, their opponents and the general public on matters that they perceive as important and also find out about what they undertake from this source. These groups therefore rely on the media for strategic news on which they derive their actions (Koopmans, 2004).

Previous studies on labour industry in Kenya have looked at benefits of trade unions perceptions of members on the use of industrial actions in resolving labour disputes (Onyango, 2012); impact of trade union legislation on collective bargaining in Kenya (Ombija, 1979), relationship between trade union membership and job commitment (Liwegado, 2012), challenges facing trade unions in Kenya (Kisaka, 2010; Mindo, 2002) and, history of trade unions like UASU- (Munene, 1997). Anyango et al. (2013) looked at factors affecting performance of trade unions in Kenya. Gudo et al. (2011) focused on university expansion in Kenya, opportunities and challenges. Other scholars have also looked at issues of private higher education and self-sponsored public private programmes (Otieno & Levy, 2007; Otieno, 2004). There are also studies that prove unions can harm the overall economy (Sherk, n.d). Others have looked at factors fuelling industrial unrest in the Kenya public service (Gichara, n.d).

With regard to faculty and medics, a lot of literature has been written regarding for example implications or effects of academic staff union strike on students' academic performance; (Aremu et al., 2015; Ejike, 2015; Ramani, 2004); opportunities and challenges of academic staff in higher education in Africa (Mushemeza, 2016); effects of strategic change management in public universities (Gathoni & Gachunga, 2016); effects of human resource management practices on performance of public universities in Kenya (Mutahi & Busienei, 2015). Thus, no study has looked at how the media covers two industrial actions that occur almost concurrently. This study focused comparatively on how the print media covered the UASU and KMPDU industrial actions in Kenya from November 2016 to December, 2017.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

This section presents the methodology used in this research, it includes the research design, research approach, research methods, population and sampling, research instruments and data analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The study is retrospective in nature for it focused on an event that happened in the past and there is available data on how the press covered the industrial actions by KMPDU and UASU in 2016 and 2017. The study depended on the respondents recalling of the events as they were covered by the media. Kumar (2014) states that many researchers often use mixed method for only one operational step “that of data collection.” Conducting in-depth interviews with some members of the study population ensured “to further understand issues” identified by them in the data collected through use of questionnaires.

#### **3.2 Research Approach**

The study is a mixed method approach and the rationale to using mixed methods was based on two beliefs; one, the ability of the method to provide accurate answers to all research questions in all situations. Two, the belief that the use of more than one methods in most situations does provide a better and more complete picture of a situation under study. Mixed methods approach combines strength of both paradigms to achieve the best objective of a research (Kumar, 2014). Mixed methods usually replace a weakness of a design that is to be expected when one method is used.

Cresswell and Plano Clark (2011) contend that mixed method approach enables for greater degree of understanding to be formulated than if a single approach were adopted to specific studies. Almaki (2016) states that researchers often use results of one method to inform another method which then covers all aspects of inquiry. Green et al. (1989) provided a number of distinct justifications for intergration of qualitative research data which includes triangulation that provides opportunities for convergence and corroboration of results that are derived from different research methods.

### **3.3 Research Method**

According to Della Porta & Keating (2008), research methodology refers to ‘instruments and techniques used to acquire knowledge. Positivistic researchers rely on ‘hard’ methods, in seeking unambiguous data, concrete evidence and rules and regularities. Interpretive researchers depend on ‘softer’ methods permitting ambiguity and contingency while recognising the interplay between researcher and object of research. The method used in this study was mainly content analysis of the newspaper articles. A code sheet was prepared in order to enable ease of data entry. Interviews were used in order to get views of the stakeholders of the two unions in order to triangulate the findings.

#### **3.3.1 Content Analysis**

Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as the method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for purposes of measuring variables. It is an evaluation of the symbols in a text(s) that helps to establish patterns and meanings of various elements in the communication. Dominick and Wimmer (2011) agree that content analysis has become popular research topic in the recent past within the academic and private sectors. The aim of content analysis in media research is to examine how news, drama, advertising and entertainment output reflect the social and

cultural issues, values and phenomena. Its purpose is to identify and count the occurrences of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts (Hansen et al, 1996; Maweu, 2006). This enables one to interpret and describe the messages, images and representations of the texts. The researcher formulated questions that would guide the code sheet marked **Appendix II**.

### **3.4 Data Types and Sources**

This study relied on both primary and secondary data. The secondary data in this study included articles by the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers in the period between November, 2016 and December, 2017 touching on the two industrial disputes (UASU and KMPDU). Document reviews of media statements by trade union officials were a total of nine press releases. Primary data was obtained from the respondents selected across the labour industry affecting the UASU and KMPDU industrial actions. The study relied on qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data was obtained from the interviews conducted and the quantitative data from reviews of the newspaper articles. A structured code sheet was made to enable data collection of the quantitative data while interview schedule was prepared for the respondents.

### **3.5 Population, Sampling Procedure and Data Collection**

The study population in this study is defined as all articles on industrial disputes by UASU and KMPDU published by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers during the period of the study, as the intent was to analyse coverage of industrial disputes by the mainstream print media for the period before, during and after the strikes in Kenya. The sample of the study is defined as that set of articles selected from the sampling frame, within the period of the study, for purposes of analysis. Purposive sampling was used by the researcher to get the exact number of articles published by *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers in line with the objective of the study and within the period of study.

### 3.5.1 Population

A population is a group of individuals, objects or items “from which samples are taken for measurement” (Kombo & Tromp, 2016). The target population in this study was all stories published in the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers from November 2016 to December 2017 touching on the medics and university academic staff industrial dispute for the quantitative data and all national executive union leaders of KPMDU and UASU, and all editors and journalists formed the required population for the qualitative data.

The study period for this study was in two sets; one for UASU and the other for KMPDU within a period of 114 days –from November 28, 2016 to March 21, 2017. All articles published in both *Nation* and *Standard* in the 114 days fit in the population of this study. This figure was arrived at considering a week before the strike and a week after the strike. The industrial action by the medics began on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2016 to 14<sup>th</sup> March 2017 for a hundred continuous days. Hence 100 days is factored in then a week before and a week after making extra 14 days.

The study population for the UASU industrial action are all the articles published in the 123 days (from the *Nation* and the *Standard*) a week before, during and after the strike that occurred in three phases with a total of 109 working days lost. The strike by UASU began on 19<sup>th</sup> January to 13<sup>th</sup> March (54 days), then 3<sup>rd</sup> July to 18<sup>th</sup> July (16 days) and 1<sup>st</sup> November to 9<sup>th</sup> December (39 days). Hence articles published from 12<sup>th</sup> January 2017 to 13<sup>th</sup> March 2017 (61 days); then from 3<sup>rd</sup> July to 18<sup>th</sup> July (16 days) and lastly from 1<sup>st</sup> November to 16<sup>th</sup> December 2007 (46 days) makes a total of 123 editions multiplied by 150 articles gives 18,450 articles per publication.



### 3.5.2 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Sampling is the procedure for selecting a representative from the whole population. Sampling is also the systematic process of selecting a number of individuals for a study to represent the larger group from which they were selected (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). There are a number of considerations done in selecting a sample in qualitative research including; ease in accessing the potential respondents, the researcher's judgment that the intended respondent has extensive knowledge about the research area or topic, how topical the case is of a category of individuals; or simply that the research is different from others. This research relied on non-probability sampling technique in collecting qualitative and quantitative data.

In qualitative the non-probability sampling technique used was purposive sampling. The researcher interviewed 10 key informants who have knowledge of the issues surrounding the two industrial disputes by virtue of being a union representative, government labour union official, labour union activist, a reporter on industrial related matters, editor of the publications for the purpose of triangulation of data. The researcher interviewed five officials from the two unions three from UASU and two from KMPDU), one labour official, two reporters (one from the *Nation* and one from the *Standard*), two editors (one from *Nation* and one from the *Standard*).

The two newspapers were purposively selected for they are the leading newspapers in terms of readership and coverage in Kenya according to Geo Poll (2015); Nyabuga & Booker (2013); KARF (2018). Stories on industrial disputes were purposively selected as they fit the area of study. The period of study was purposively selected as December 2016 to December 2017 as it was the period marked with increased industrial unrest in the public

service with the medics and university academic staff having the longest industrial actions in a year.

In quantitative data purposive sampling technique was used whereby all articles with stories on medics and university academic staff industrial action were chosen in accordance with the period of the study. Industrial actions are not an everyday event hence; all articles on the UASU and KMPDU were selected to fit in the sample in order to get conclusive results. The sample for this study was a total of 284 stories for KMPDU and 92 stories for UASU.

Key words were used to identify the articles that would fit the sample size from the digital data at the *Nation* and *Standard* libraries. 'Doctors' strike' as a key word was used to identify the articles that fit the sample of KMPDU industrial action while 'UASU strike' was the key word used to identify the articles that fit the sample of UASU industrial action. On KMPDU industrial action, a total of 833 stories were found from the *Nation* and later were perused in order to see if they related to the dispute in question and this yielded to 160 articles. While *Standard* yielded a total of 700 stories upon further perusal to identify the exact articles the researcher found a total of 124 stories for KMPDU. The key word for UASU industrial action yielded a total of 885 articles from the *Nation* and upon further perusal it gave a total of 54 stories. At the *Standard* digital library, the same key words were used for KMPDU and it gave a total of 630 stories and upon further perusal a total of 38 stories were found. A total of 376 articles made the sample for the study.

### **3.6 Data Collection**

The researcher reviewed data on articles that were directly related to the two industrial disputes in the two print Newspapers *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. Press releases and statements were obtained from UASU and KMPDU for the desk review. The

researcher collected the articles using one of the search terms on industrial disputes including 'strikes, unrest, UASU, KMPDU' as mentioned in the headline and or lead paragraph, or where one or more search terms appeared more than once in the entire article. The data collected focused on the unit of analysis that is- (i) type of story, (ii) placement, (iii) size of article; (iv) source of story; (v) frequency; (vi) focus; (vii) graphics and (viii) statistics.

The key variables of the coding unit included:

- a. Name of newspaper; *Nation* and *Standard*
- b. Story types; News, news analysis, editorial, features, commentaries, columns, letters to the editor, pictures and illustrations.
- c. Frequency; the number of story occurrence in the newspaper. The more frequent a story appears the greater its salience and the more people will talk about it and the more important the story is. Frequency will be tallied to establish the number of times a story appeared.
- d. Placement; Front page, back page story, page 3 to 5 and inside stories are high focus. Placement is a factor of priming and agenda setting. It reflects the importance that media attaches to a story. Stories are placed on the newspaper in order of their perceived importance from front page/lead story, front page/sub-story, back page, page 3 and inside stories.
- e. Size; column length. Measurement was taken to examine the amount of space allocated to a story in the newspaper. A newspaper was divided into four equal parts and a story was coded in accordance to space given. A third a page and beyond was considered the biggest allocation of a story in a newspaper page, followed by a half

a page, then a quarter a page then an eighth and least story was below an eighth or twenty lines and below.

- f. Tone; Positive, negative, neutral and ambiguous. Different words and phrases were used to analyse and determine their tone in terms of the following adjectives. Word or phrases such as agree, solve, resume, call off strike, find solution, best option etcetera, was deemed to be positive. Conversely, negative stories comprised words such as will strike, stay put, paralyse, unshaken, not moved, anguish, agony, threat, sack, no end in sight, stormy, walk out, charge etc. Words that indicated neutral directionality include likely, flexible, moderate, amicable, further discussion, compromise, give and take, promise etc. Ambiguous direction stories were used to refer to stories that did not state whether the story leans to any of the three (positive, negative or neutral) tone aspects; hence difficult to tell where it lies.
- g. Themes: These were the main issues raised in the stories such as CBA and its terms, negotiations, salary increment, legislation, rights issue, prevention of strike, consequences of strikes, strike dynamics, victims of the strikes, economic impact, end of strike and support for industrial actions.
- h. Sources: These were the people or institutions that originated the stories or to whom the stories concerning the strike are attributed to. They include: the union officials of KMPDU and UASU, the cabinet, and parliament -senate and national assembly, county governments, the judiciary, SRC, interest groups, religious leaders and ordinary citizens.

### **3.6.1 Research Instrument**

The research instrument used was a code sheet for the quantitative data and interview guide for the qualitative data. The code sheet gave the variables being investigated. These are; dispute in question, dates of publication, themes, placement of the articles in terms of the page in the newspaper, prominence, main message and source (**Appendix III**).

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Once the sources of information had been located the researcher aimed at engaging appropriate tools to store the relevant data. The raw data from the code sheet was entered into SPSS Version 21 after coding carefully as indicated on **Appendix IV** for objective analysis. The researcher transcribed the interviews and read through the results arranging them into themes.

### **3.8 Data Presentation**

The number, length and type of articles the two industrial disputes in Kenya appeared in the two newspapers during the period under study were entered in tables. Whereas patterns of coverage and articles placement in the Newspapers on the two industrial disputes were obtained for the variables of interest, the data was analysed by way of percentages and presented in graphs and pie charts. The qualitative data is categorised into themes and presented in narrative style.

### **3.9 Validity and Reliability of Research Instrument**

The study used validity and reliability tests to ensure meaningfulness and consistency of results.

### 3.9.1 Validity

Validity is ‘the ability of an instrument to measure that which is designed to measure’ (Rubin, Rubin, Aaridakis, & Pele, 2010). It is also defined as the degree to which the researcher has measured what he has set out to measure (Smith 1991). Kerlinger (1973) states that “commonest definition of validity is epitomized by the question: Are we measuring what we think we are measuring?” For the sake of this study the researcher ensured validity by seeking opinion of experts in the field of study especially the lecturers in the department of communication to establish the validity of research instrument. This facilitated for necessary revision and modification of research instrument thereby enhancing validity. A pilot study on two newspapers was done with a view to testing the code sheet. Further, the researcher distributed two interview guides to a union representative of UASU and KMPDU (**Appendix V**) and Media fraternity (**Appendix VI**) in order to test the tool. Necessary changes were made before heading to the field.

Kumar (2014) further explains that there are three types of validity (i) face and content validity, (ii) concurrent and predictive validity and (iii) construct validity. Face and content validity deal with each question of an item on the research instrument having logical link with an objective. The greater the link, the higher the face validity of the instrument hence, it is imperative for items and questions to cover all aspects of the issue or attitude being measured. Content validity is judged on the basis of the extent to which statements or questions represent issues they are supposed to measure, as judged by the researcher in regard to the researcher’s readership and experts in the field. On concurrent and predictive validity; Moser and Kalton (1989) stated that “in situations when a scale is developed as an indication of some observable criterion, the scale’s validity can be investigated by seeing how good an indicator is by comparing the findings with observable criterion”. In essence,

they suggested that the greater the comparability, the greater the validity. Predictive validity “judges the degree to which an instrument can forecast an outcome” (Kumar, 2014). Concurrent validity is judged by how well an instrument compares with a second assessment concurrently done. Construct validity is the indication of quality of a research instrument to measure what it is supposed to. It is based upon statistical procedures. It is thus determined by ascertaining the contribution of each construct to the total variance observed in a phenomenon. To validate the data collection instruments to this study, the researcher submitted the code sheets and interview guide to the supervisor for verification. A pilot study was conducted a month prior to the fieldwork.

### **3.9.2 Reliability**

Reliability is commonly used to refer to a research tool being consistent and stable, hence predictable and accurate. Rubin et al. (2010) defined reliability as “how dependable, stable, consistent and repeatable measure are in a study and across several studies.” Reliability in this study was assured by training of four research assistants and ensuring the work was monitored to ensure the data collected was relevant. Kumar (2014) confirms that when a research tool is consistent and stable, predictable and accurate, it is considered to be reliable. Hence, the greater the degree of consistency and stability in an instrument, the greater its reliability. Therefore, as a scale or test is reliable to the extent that repeat measurements made by it under constant conditions will give the same result (Moser & Kalton, 1989).

### **3.10 Ethics**

Various ethical issues were considered during the study. A certificate of field work (**Appendix VII**) was obtained from the university in order to seek permission from *Nation* and *Standard* libraries, and union officials in order to conduct the research. The researcher prepared an introductory letter (**Appendix I**) to explain to respondents what the research was about. The researcher assured the respondents the materials obtained and the interviews conducted were confidential and only for the purpose of this study which was only for academic purposes. It was made clear to respondents that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to decline or withdraw anytime during the research period. After data collection the results of the findings were presented for defence before a panel in the School of Journalism and the panel advised the researcher on points to be corrected. Later the corrections were done and a certificate of corrections was obtained marked **Appendix VIII**. The researcher obtained a certificate of originality marked **Appendix IX**.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.1 Overview**

This chapter discusses the findings of this study on how the two largest newspapers by readership in Kenya (The *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*) covered the industrial actions by medical staff and universities teaching staff in Kenya between November 2016 and December 2017. The findings are presented in different parts including; patterns of coverage (in terms of frequency before during and after the strike, priming, source of news, size of story), dominant topic and tone and the analysis of the views by stakeholders regarding the coverage is incorporated for triangulation purposes. A total of 10 key informants were interviewed (three reporters, three editors and five union officials). A total of 376 articles were analysed from the two publications (*Nation* 214 *Standard* 162).

#### **4.2 Patterns of Coverage in the Medic's Industrial Action**

This deals with how the medical staff and university academic staff industrial action related stories were covered by the two publications. It ranges from the key words used, to the coverage in terms of before, during and after the industrial actions. It features the frequency in terms of number of stories published in each industrial action, type of story, size, sources and priming of the stories in terms of page placement.

##### **4.2.1 Key Words**

Upon perusal of the newspapers the researcher found some terms and classified them into key words used in covering the two industrial actions. These key words were used mostly as headlines to the stories. In the KMPDU disputes the key words were doctors' strike, KMPDU Industrial Action or boycott, labour dispute, salary or salary pay rise, health

care crisis, doctor’s union or KMPDU. In both publications medics strike or boycott was the key word having a total of 170 articles in both *Nation* and *Standard*. *Standard* led with 95 articles followed with *Nation* having 76 articles which translate to a total of 62% as shown in Table 4.1. The key word that followed was health care crisis with a total of 35 articles in both publications and *Nation* led with 24 articles *Standard* followed with 11 constituting 13%. In the UASU Industrial Action the key words were; lecturers’/ dons strike, labour unrest/dispute, salary/pay rise and lecturers union/UASU. The key word that was mostly used was lecturers/ dons, strike having a total of 33 articles, *Nation* led with 25 followed by *Standard* with eight making a total of 36%. Strike as a keyword followed with 30 articles in both publications, both publications had an equal number of 15 articles constituting 33% as shown in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.1: Key Word Used in KMPDU Industrial Action**

Key Word	Daily Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strike	21	8	6	2	27	10
Doctors’	76	28	95	34	170	62
Industrial Action/Boycott						
Labour	8	3	0	0	8	3
unrest/Dispute						
Salary/Payrise	2	1	3	1	5	2
Health Care	24	9	11	4	35	13
Crisis						
KMPDU	22	8	8	2	30	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>100</b>

Findings of the industrial actions conform to studies by Van dijk (1988) who stated that headlines form summary of news reports. Most readers usually scan through the headlines first before deciding whether or not to read the whole articles. The study revealed

that industrial disputes are packaged in a way that the reader will be able to tell what industry the story originates from and what the dispute is about. It is the key words that grab the reader's attention to read the story hence editors have to ensure the key words are simple, catchy. The findings reveal that the editors ensured the stories depicted which dispute the article was about from its headlines. It was also easier for the researcher to establish and separate the stories for further analysis.

**Table 4.2: Key Word Used in UASU Industrial Action**

Key Word	Daily Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strike	15	6	5	7	30	33
Lecturers'/Dons'	25	8	8	8	33	36
Strike/Boycott						
Labour	7	8	2	2	9	10
unrest/Dispute						
Salary/Pay rise	4	4	6	17	10	11
UASU	3	3	7	7	10	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

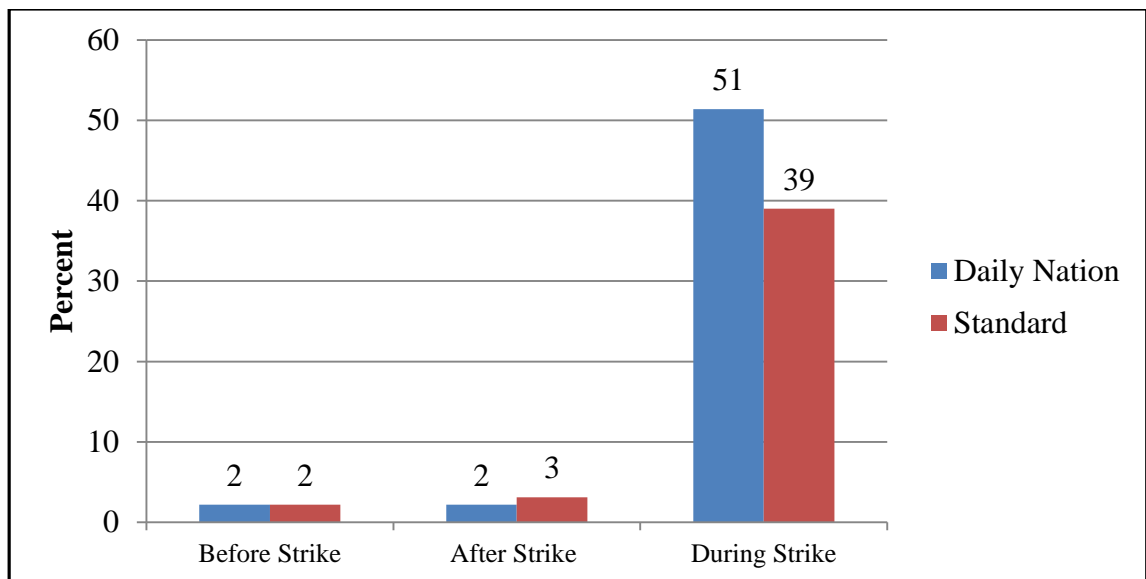
#### 4.2.2 Coverage Before, During and After Industrial Actions

The publications covered the UASU and KMPDU industrial action related stories before, during and after the strikes. However, the coverage was low before the industrial actions, peaking during the industrial actions and going down after. The study conforms to research by Erickson & Mitchell (1996) who observed that labour unions provide information for the media. In the KMPDU industrial action the data as illustrated in Figure 4.1 reveals that before the strike the stories were 14, seven in each publication translating to 4%. During the strike the stories were more with *Nation* having 166 articles while

*Standard* had 126 articles and this translated to 90 %. After the strike the articles published had a total of 17 stories constituting 5% with *Standard* leading with 10 stories while *Nation* had seven stories. In essence the data revealed that the publications had few articles before and after the strikes while the bulk of articles were published during the strike period.

On the UASU Industrial Action, the study as illustrated by Figure 4.2 below reveals that before the strike the stories were four in *Nation* and three in *Standard* giving a total of 7% in all publications, during the strike the stories were 76 with *Nation* having 44 articles while *Standard* had 32 articles this translated to 83%. After the strike the articles published were six in *Nation* and three in *Standard* this translated to 10%.

**Figure 4.1: Patterns of Coverage Before, During & After KMPDU Industrial Action**



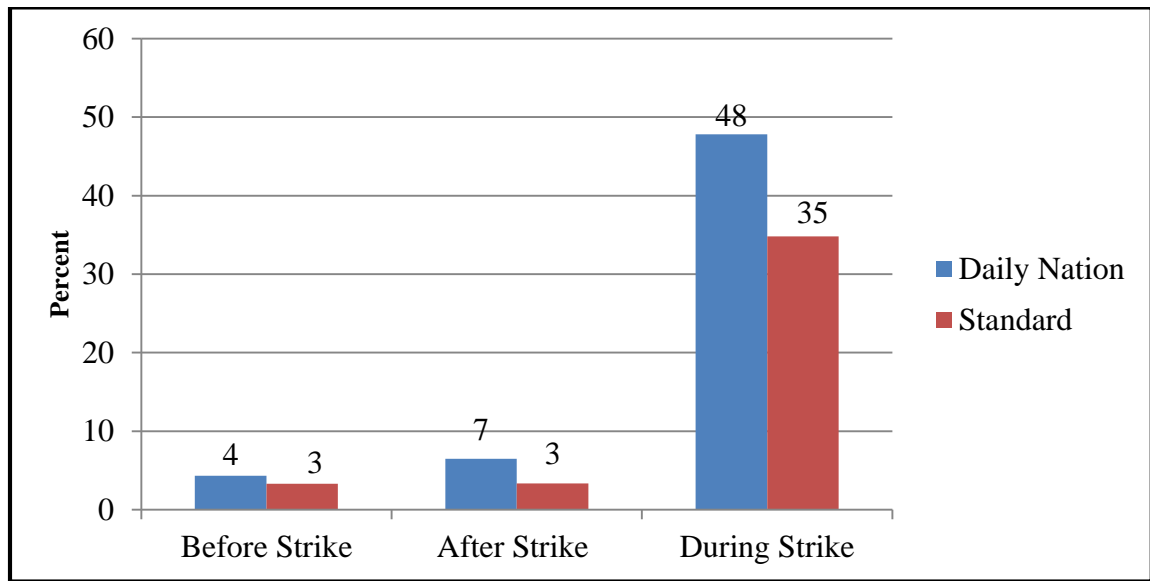
Analysis of patterns of coverage before, during and after the industrial action revealed that *Nation* had most articles on KMPDU industrial action before, during and after the strike which made a total of 55% while *Standard* had 44%. On UASU dispute *Nation*

had most articles before, during and after the strike which made a total of 59% while *Standard* had 41%.

Results thus show that *Nation* did more in informing the masses about the industrial disputes than *Standard*. The research conforms to findings by Walsh (1988) who opined that the media usually reports more of labour related issues during a strike action. Before and after the strike there is little to report apart from the end or the beginning of the strike action and the outcomes of the same. Journalists interviewed agreed that strikes qualify as news stories and that during an industrial action, there is usually more to report on because then the story develops and the media is able to piece together matters surrounding the dispute, parties involved, what is being done about the dispute and the media then chooses whether to follow up the dispute to the end or otherwise. Findings from the journalists interviewed collaborate to those by Philo (2014) who stated that strikes are what are considered as 'news' in any labour reportage.

All respondents agreed that the media is an important aspect to a protests success for it is a platform where information is shared. These sentiments in effect show that the media is an important factor in any industrial news for it becomes the public sphere during an industrial dispute (Philo, 2014). Hence all the parties to the conflict air their grievances and counter grievances through the media and in the event that there is mediation to the conflict the same is published by the media and the masses follow up as the events unfold.

**Figure 4.2: Patterns of Coverage Before, During and After UASU Industrial Action**



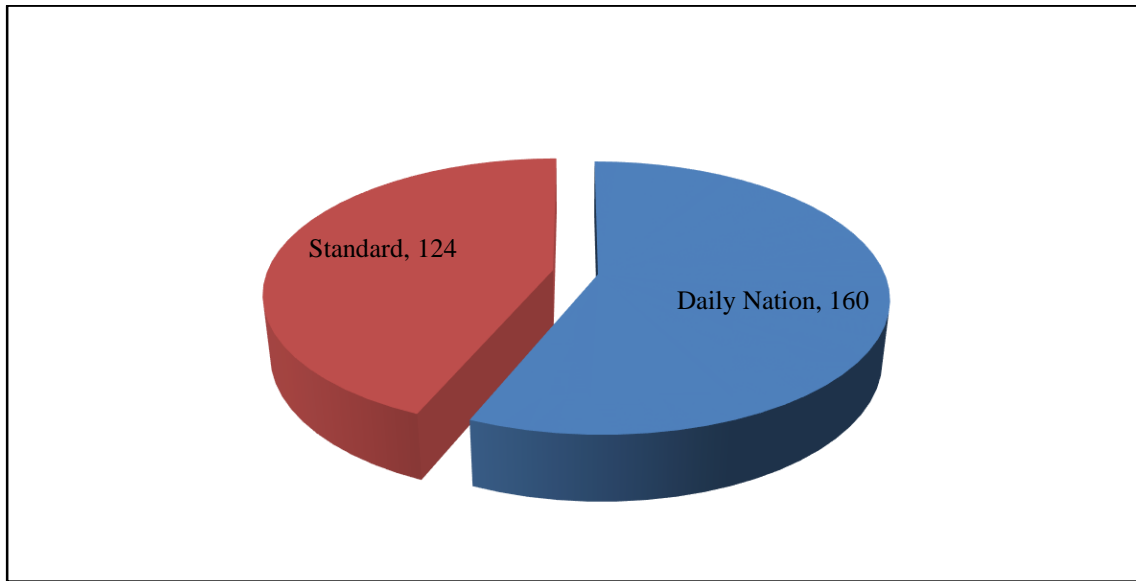
#### 4.2.3 Frequency of Coverage

On KMPDU industrial action, *Nation* had a higher frequency of 160 stories (56%) compared to the *Standard*'s 124 stories that translate to 44%. This means that there was considerable difference in frequency of stories about the KMPDU Industrial Action by the two media houses. The two newspapers gave the KMPDU industrial action a combined coverage of 284 stories during the study period as detailed in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Number of Articles on KMPDU Industrial Action**

	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Number of stories</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>100</b>

**Figure 4.3: Number of Stories on KMPDU Industrial Action**

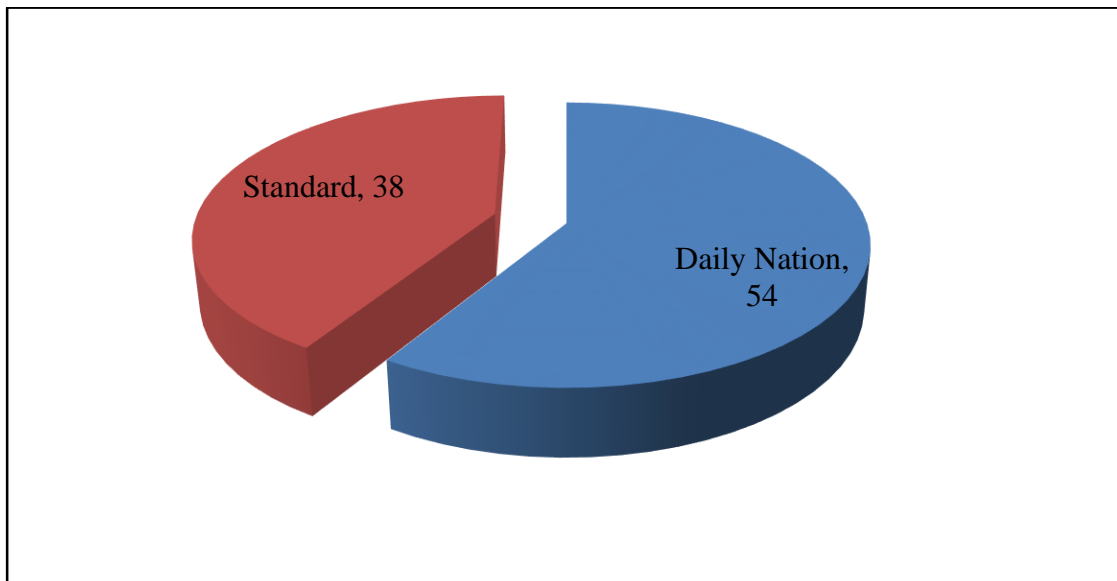


The study reveals that the UASU Industrial Action was not covered as much during the study period for the articles combined were only 92 as detailed in Figure 4.4 and Table 4.4. In as much as the coverage was low the *Nation* had a higher frequency of 54 stories (59%) compared to the *Standard's* 38 stories that translate to 41%. This means that there was considerable difference in frequency of stories about the UASU industrial action by the two media houses.

**Table 4.4: Number of Articles on UASU Industrial Action**

	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Number of stories</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

**Figure 4.4: Number of Stories on UASU Industrial Action**



Analysis of the results reveals that coverage of the two industrial actions was skewed in favour of KMPDU since upon combination the articles published were more, 284 than the UASU's 92 in both publications yet the two disputes ran for over a hundred days each. Upon analysis of individual publication, the *Daily Nation* outdid the *Standard* because it had more stories in both industrial actions. It therefore can be inferred that *Nation* is better at coverage of labour related stories. The results justify research by KARF (2018) whereby *Nation* is the widest read newspaper in terms of circulation and readership followed by the *Standard* and therefore proves that the *Nation* does better in terms of news coverage. The two media houses are private entities and are in constant competition for the market share so they will always strive to outdo the other in their daily activities in order to win advertisers.

It terms of balance in coverage, the union leaders were in agreement that the press covered their separate disputes fairly well in as much as the KMPDU dispute was covered more. One of the journalists interviewed stated;



*J/N1: “The press gave more coverage to KMPDU for it was the first to begin the strike and by the time UASU was starting their strike, most of the masses were already in suffering and tired of the strike cycle. Indeed it cannot be ignored; the KMPDU overshadowed the UASU dispute so to speak.” (J/N01 interviewed on August 8, 2018).*

In effect the comment revealed that any news story has a life cycle in the press and when a story runs continuously in the same angle it loses its news worthiness and journalistic credibility (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Journalists usually publish a story that is newsworthy and for a union to be covered more it has to invent ways to make their story newsworthy and credible every time.

#### **4.2.4 Story Type**

A newspaper usually has many types of stories and this study only focused on general news, commentary and reflective stories. General news concerns news of the day that is timely and are more so in the prime pages of a newspaper, commentary stories are those by editorial and letters to the editors while reflective stories are mostly by columnists and reporters. News stories about the KMPDU Industrial Action got the highest frequency in the two publications contributing 155 stories (57%) of the total stories. In this category, *Nation* had more news stories than the *Standard*. *Nation* published 84 news stories which accounts for 31% compared to the *Standard's* 71 news stories (26%). *Nation* had 18 reflective stories which is 7% while *Standard* had 15 stories which are 6%. *Nation* had 46 commentary stories which account to 17% while *Standard* had 36 stories which are 13% as illustrated in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Type of Story on KMPDU Industrial Action**

Story type	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No	%
General News	84	31	71	26	155	57
Reflective	18	7	15	6	33	13
Commentary	46	17	36	13	82	30
Total	148	55	122	45	270	100

Data on type of news stories on UASU industrial dispute reveals that general news stories got the highest frequency in the published articles, and contributed to 57 stories (62%) of the total stories as shown in Table 4.6. *Nation* had 29 news stories while *Standard* had 28 hence a difference of one. The two publications had each two reflective stories which totals to 4%. *Nation* had the highest commentary stories on UASU Industrial Action 23 which accounts to 25% compared to *Standard* which had eight (9%) the two combined had a total of 34% of commentary stories.

One of the union officials emphasized the unique nature of KMPDU dispute being that the union officials were jailed for fighting for workers’ rights. He stated;

*U/O1: “It is only in Kenya that union officials have been jailed for advocating for workers’ rights.” (UO/K2 interviewed on August 10, 2018).*

Analysis of findings on the story type reveals that much of the coverage of the two industrial actions was in form of general news stories. Both publications merely reported the industrial actions as they happened and what the sources said. It appears that the press covered the UASU and KMPDU industrial actions under study like horse races, concentrating mainly on “who is in front, who is running well...” just as depicted by Baran (2004). This trend is worrying because the media is only interested in what is newsworthy.

There was little independent and in-depth analysis of the industrial actions that could set the agenda and thus eliciting huge public response and guide the country’s discourse into the underlying causes and factors of the ongoing strikes in the public sector and this is evidenced by the two publications having only 33 reflective stories constituting 12% on KMPDU industrial action and four reflective stories constituting 4% on UASU industrial action.

**Table 4.6: Type of Story on UASU Industrial Dispute**

Story type	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No	%
General News	29	2	28	30	57	62
Reflective	2	2	2	2	4	4
Commentary	23	25	8	9	31	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

One of the union officials stated that the press did little to involve them in the in-depth coverage of the events as they unfolded. The official further stated;

*U/O4: “We as the disputants were better placed in giving in depth analysis of the events as they unfolded. There is no article where we as a union are the source of the story entirely. We expected the press to give us space in the editorial pages and again there in no by-line attributed to us but the reporters kept quoting us as their source. Most of the stories in my view are but constructions of the reporters.” (UO/U2 interviewed on August 10, 2018).*

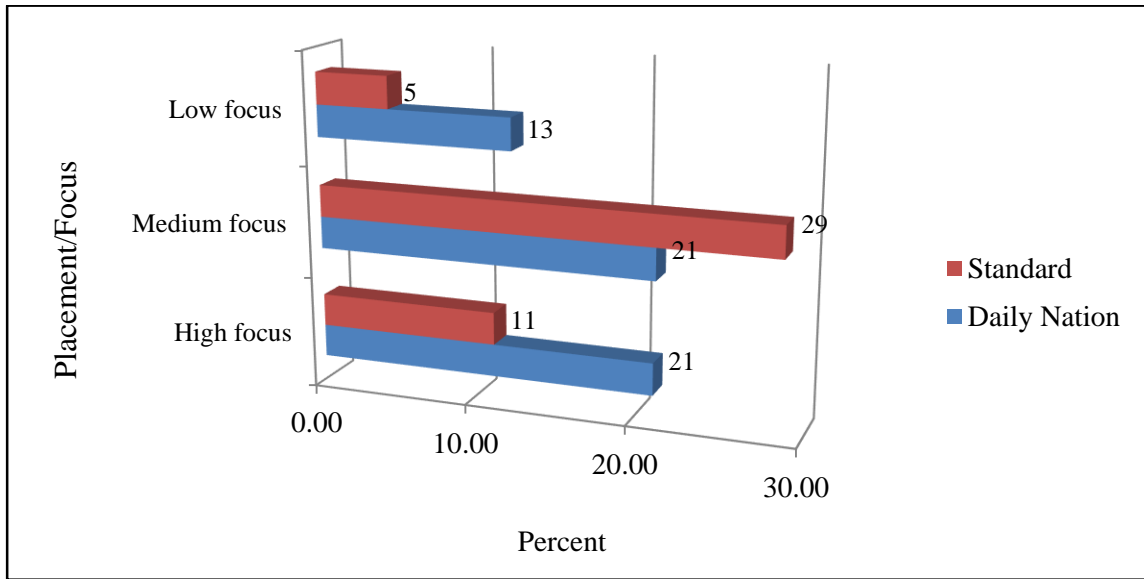
The comments by the union official above show that disputants felt they were not involved in the news coverage. This in effect shows a bias in protest coverage as depicted by Lee (2014) in the notions of the protest paradigm where the protestors as depicted as the problem to the extent that they are alienated by the press. Disputants when given a chance to air their views in the press give their side of the story and help clear the air and even reduce the tension hence a step towards resolving the conflict (Ngige et al., 2016).

Publications of commentaries, features, opinions and editorials engage the audience directly thereby strengthening the agenda building function. Publications, according to Harrower (2007) need editorials and columns to provide the personality and passion that news reporting doesn't allow. Through this forum consumers of media content are able to give feedback that helps the audience understand issues surrounding the labour dispute better. Harrower (2007) states that feature stories often focus on issues that are less timely and more personal. They include topics, treatment styles and structures that miss in *Standard* news stories.

#### **4.2.5 Priming of Stories**

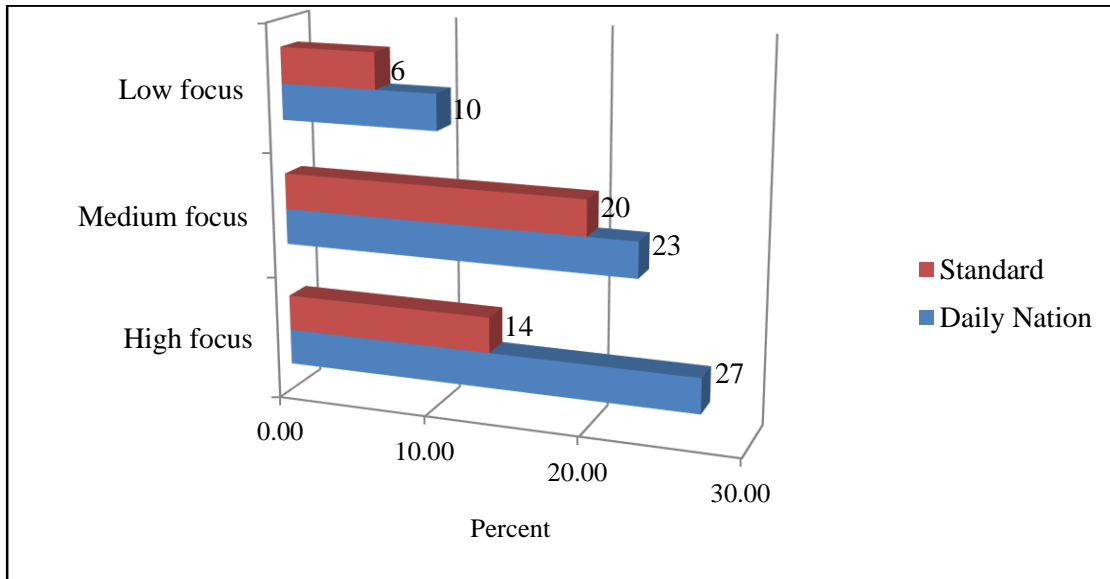
The study analysed placement of stories in terms of level of importance accorded to a story or the focus. Prominence goes together with newsworthiness of the story and importance attached to it and the salience given. The researcher categorised the stories into three focus levels (High, medium and low focus). High focus stories were into four categories: HF1 (high focus story with graphics on front page), HF2 (high focus story on back page with graphic), HF3 (high focus without graphic), HF4 (editorial story). Medium focuses were stories in pages six onwards but not back page or editorial. The medium focus stories were analysed in three categories: MF1 (story in page six onwards with graphic), MF2 (story in page six onwards without graphic), MF3 (story integrates industrial strike with another issue). Low focus stories were stories below 20 lines. They were analysed in three categories LF1 (integrates specific story devoting 20 lines and below) LF2 (section of integrated specific stories with other stories). LF 3 (section of integrated specific story with other stories and graphics).

**Figure 4.5: Placement/ Focus of Stories on KMPDU Industrial Action**



*Nation* had more of the high focus stories on the KMPDU industrial action which made a total of 21% (58 articles) compared to the *Standard* which had a total 11% (31 articles) high focus stories as illustrated in Figure 4.5 above. The *Standard* however had more of medium focus stories with a total of 29% (78 stories) while *Nation* had 21% (58 articles). *Standard* had few low focus stories translating to 5% (13 articles) while *Nation* had 34 stories which is a total of 13%. In summary, by comparison of the two publications medium focus stories were more than high focus stories (135 articles) which translated to 50% of the stories followed by high focus stories which were 32% and lastly low focus stories which came to 18%.

**Figure 4.6: Placement/ Focus on UASU Industrial Action**



On the UASU industrial action the study revealed that *Nation* had more of its stories on the high focus category which contributed to stories that made a total of 27% (26 articles), followed by medium focus stories which were 23% (22 stories) and low focus stories which were 10% (10 stories) as illustrated in Figure 4.6 above. *Standard* on the other hand had more of medium focus stories which totalled to 20% (19 articles), followed by High focus stories which added to 14% (13 articles) and lastly low focus stories which constituted 6% (6 articles). On comparison of placement on both papers the study found that cumulatively medium focus stories led with a total of 43% followed by high focus stories with 41% and lastly low focus stories with 16%. Hence, most stories were placed in the inside pages than the front pages or back page where it is considered prime pages. A few stories were put as fillers hence considered low focus.

Analysis of results reveal that *Nation* had more of its stories in the prominent pages as High Focus stories leading in both disputes constituting 27% in UASU and 21% in KMPDU followed by Medium Focus then Low Focus. On the contrary, *Standard* had more

of its stories in the inside pages as Medium Focus stories with 29% in KMPDU and 20% in UASU, followed by high focus stories then Low Focus stories. Upon further comparison, the findings revealed that in both industrial actions, the Medium Focus stories were high with 50% in the KMPDU Industrial Action and 43% in the UASU Industrial Action. Many articles were placed in the inside pages of the two publications while 32% in KMPDU and 41% in the UASU made it to the prime pages. This is a clear indication that many articles on industrial disputes were published in the inside pages of both publications in combination. This impacts negatively on accessibility of information on labour news since most of the information is taken up by other stories causing industrial stories not to come to the attention of the reader.

#### **4.2.6 Sources**

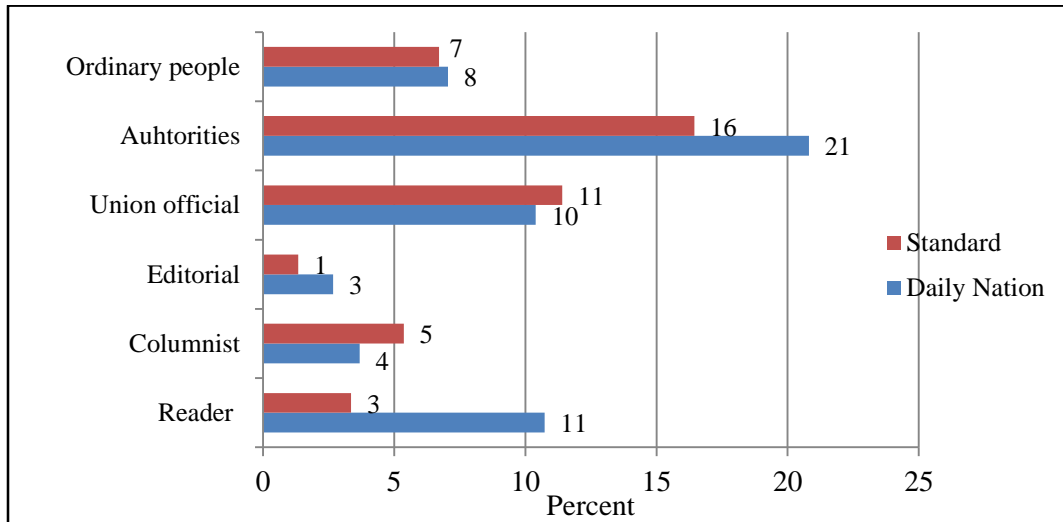
Sources of stories are the informants used in compiling the story and as discussed earlier, sources determine whether a story is published or not (Nisbet, 2007). Journalists depend on news sources that are personally known to them and trusted and also use information subsidies (Bryant, 2010). The study categorized the sources into six groups; authorities included government officials, law enforcement, religious leaders among other opinion leaders, judges of the court, union officials are the KMPDU leaders in the KMPDU Industrial Action and UASU, KUSU or KUDHEHIA officials in the lecturer dispute. Ordinary people as sources means people interviewed. Editorial as sources is the position of the newspapers usually in the mid pages of every newspaper after the news stories, readers as sources are persons who send letters to the editors and lastly columnists who included writers specialised in a certain field, or reporters who have been allocated space for in-depth coverage of issues in a newspaper.

Figure 4.7 below shows that on comparison of the 298 articles by the *Nation* and *Standard* stories on KMPDU Industrial Action, 111 relied on authorities which amount to 37 %. These authorities included the president who offered the medics 40% increase on the onset of the strike but they declined. Later the same increment was withdrawn by the government in consultation with the Council of Governors; other authorities included the cabinet secretary of health and the principal secretary, the interreligious persons chosen to mediate the talks, other mediators including the law society of Kenya and the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), senate, parliament and various county directors of health. Union official stories followed by 65 stories which translate to 21%. Third were articles by readers which were 42 and added to 14%, ordinary people as sources followed with a total of 41 stories constituting 15%. Fourth, were articles by columnists which were 27, translating to 9% and lastly editorial with 12 stories which translates to 4%.

Figure 4.8 below shows that on comparison of the two publications, of the 92 articles by the *Nation* and *Standard* stories that relied on union officials led with 30 articles which amount to 30%. Government authorities as sources followed with 25 stories which translate to 25%. Third were articles by readers which were a total of 16 constituting 16%. Fourth, were articles by editorial which were 15, translating to 15%, they were followed by articles by columnists which were 12 and came to 12% and lastly ordinary people with 2 stories which translate to 2%.

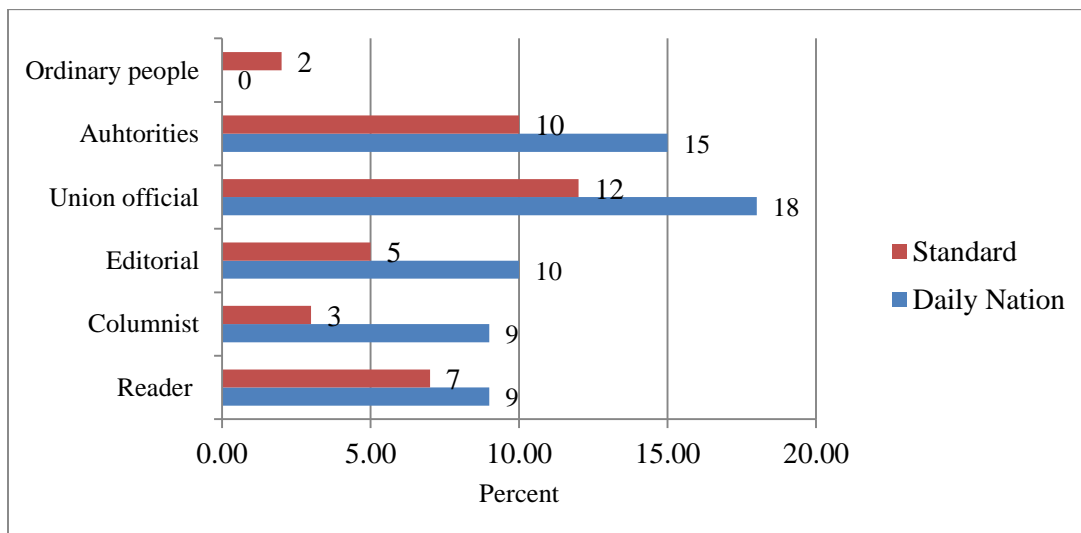


**Figure 4.7: Sources of News Stories of KMPDU Industrial Action**



Analysis of the findings conform to study by Talbot ( 2007) who opined that the media is a public forum andan arena for public debate where various voices are aired. The study revealed that media houses depend greatly on sources outside the media house for stories and that people in authority form the bulk of the news sources. On combination, union officials, authorities and the readers made a total of 72% of stories on KMPDU dispute leaving stories from the media house through editorial, columnists and ordinary people to share the 28%.

**Figure 4.8: Story Source on UASU Industrial Action**



On the other hand, a combination of union officials, authorities and the readers made a total of 71% of stories on UASU dispute leaving stories from the media house through editorial, columnists and ordinary people to share the 29%. The findings therefore vividly collaborate with findings by Bryant (2010) stating that the media greatly relies on sources outside the newsroom for their stories. Sentiments by union officials confirmed that in as much as there were contributions by the public to the stories, the percentages were lower than expected in matters concerning basic human rights. Another official said the only day the masses got to know the true reasons behind the work stoppage was when the union paid for an advertising space and all their issues got covered.

Analysis on letters to the editor indicates that they were low in both disputes with KMPDU contributing to 14% while UASU had 16%. This goes to show that the press either did not publish most of the letters they got from the public or the stories they published did not attract the public's attention to warrant reactions.

In as much as results from the interviews conducted revealed that most of the news stories came from the union officials, majority of the officials felt that the press covered the strikes in favour of the government and did not give a fair coverage when it came to reporting the two disputes. These findings collaborate to those by Bryant (2010) and Nisbet (2007) who opined that the government is usually the biggest source of news to any news organisation. The editors however felt that they did a fair coverage and that at times the unionists were unavailable for questioning or the government leading to one side feeling that the other was being favored by the press even when it was not the case. One of the reporters stated;

*J/S3: " During mediation it was difficult to get the disputants to comment on a story as the dispute developed and to make the situation worse, most of the discussions were held in camera so all we could do is wait until the*

*discussions were over and use our informers to get some views from a source who would be willing to divulge the information off camera. Most of our stories quoted the source even if we were not present as the events unfolded and we could only wait to see if the other side confirmed or rejected the details in the next publication.” (J/S 3 interviewed on 12 August, 2018).*

Findings by the respondents confirm that sources of news are vital for any information to be considered credible. The press usually strives to ensure it gets views of all sides to a story for the purposes of balanced and faircoverage as principles of media reporting as stipulated by the social responsibility theory of the press and many journalistic codes of conduct.

### **4.3 Dominant Themes**

This dealt with how the press categorised the KMPDU industrial actions. A theme is the centre of the article and lets the reader know what what the focus of the story is about. For the purpose of this study, the researcher grouped the two disputes into 12 topics that majorly stood out from the articles; CBA and its terms, negotiations, salary terms and increment, legislation or law enforcement, rights issue, prevention of strikes, consequences of strikes, strike dynamics, victims of strike, economic impact, call to end of strike and strike support.

#### **4.3.1 Dominant Topics**

The study analysed the findings according to the dominant topics that came out from the articles. Upon comparison of the KMPDU’ industrial dispute Figure 4.7 below shows that from the articles published in both the *Nation* and *Standard*, the dominant topic that came out were two which are the consequences of the strike and strikes dynamics had 22%. This was followed by negotiations with 16%, call to end of strike 11%, prevention of strike 6%, CBA and its terms 5%, legislation and law enforcement 6%, salary terms or increment

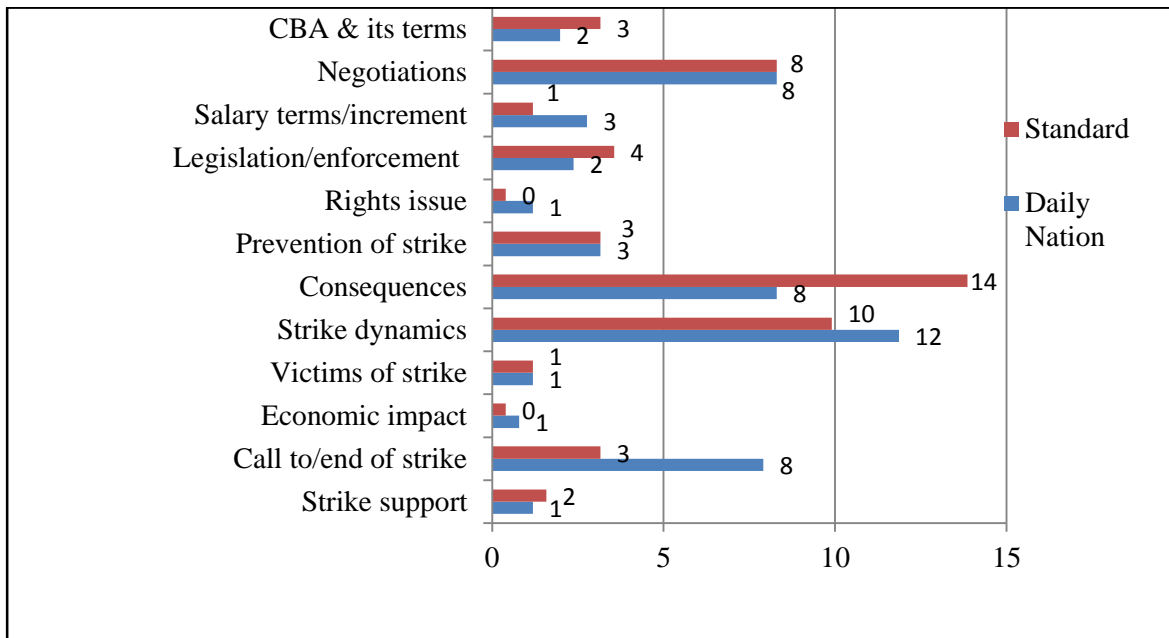
4%, victims of strike 2%, strike support 3%, last were rights issue and economic impact tying at 1%.

Analysis of the dominant topic on KMPDU industrial action revealed that consequences of the strike and strike dynamics led with 22% each. This shows that magnitude of the strike impact made it to be reported more and the developments that occurred as the strike progressed on hence affirming to findings by Careilo (2005) who opined that an industrial action that affects numerous people will be widely reported. Majority of the articles by the press focused on the dire consequences of the KMPDU dispute ranging from lack of medical care, deaths attributed to the strike, set backs on different milestones the country had gained on health issues.

Strike dynamics were stories on development of the industrial action as it progressed on. This included the various actors that joined to support the strike like the medical students, the private doctors who downed their tools in solidarity of their colleagues when jailed for contempt of court. It also included other sectors that had to be brought on board to avert the consequences of the strike. This included the armed forces, the faith based organisations and private hospitals. Coincidentally, victims of the strike made only 1% since as discussed earlier the letters to the editors were few.

CBA and its terms are fundamental in fighting incessant strikes however, to the contrary, issues on CBA and its terms constituted only 5% yet it was the reason medics downed their tools. The masses need to be enlightened on what a CBA is and what it means for both workers, employers and the public who benefit from services of public servants who operate under a CBA. Collective Bargaining Agreement involves more than salaries and their terms of service but the press chose to focus on the 300 % pay rise in its stories more than the other facets of the CBA.

**Figure 4.9: Dominant Topic on KMPDU Industrial Action**



Analysis further revealed that the press did dismally in reporting on economic impact of the industrial action which is a major consequence of any industrial action (Thomson, 2011). The economic impact ranges from loss of revenue in terms of man hours that was later paid yet not worked; loss of revenue to the public hospitals as clients sought services in alternative places, loss of revenue to suppliers of the various government hospitals. Loss in terms of hours not trained by medical interns and loss in terms of supplies that expired or were unused for lack of care at the facilities during the industrial actions.

On the contrary, upon analysis of the dominant topic on the UASU industrial dispute; the dominant topic that came out from the articles published in both the *Nation* and *Standard*, was salary and its terms leading with 22 stories (*Standard* 12, *Nation* 10) contributing to 22%. It was followed by CBA and its terms with 18 stories (*Nation* six, *Standard* two) totalling 18%, call to end the strike followed with 17 stories (*Standard* 10, *Nation* seven) 17%, prevention of strike followed with 11 stories (*Nation* nine, *Standard* two) 11%, strike dynamics was fifth with 10 stories (*Nation* seven, *Standard* three) 10%,

consequences of the strike followed with nine stories (*Nation* five, *Standard* four) 9%, negotiations followed with eight stories(*Nation* six, *Standard* two) totalling 8%, legislation and law enforcement with 3 stories (*Standard* two, *Nation* one) 3%, economic impact had two stories each publication having a story each totalling to 2%, and lastly strike support had one story by *Nation*, constituting 1%. There was no story on rights issue in both publications as detailed in Figure 4.8 below.

Analysis of UASU industrial dispute revealed that salary increment led with 22% which is part of the CBA, while CBA and its terms followed closely with 18%. Hence, the press did better in coverage of UASU dispute in as far as the CBA and its terms which was the reason the dons downed their tools. There was increase in percentage of stories calling to end the UASU dispute with 17% unlike the KMPDU which was at 11%. This proves that the press was more tolerant and even supported reasons behind KMPDU downing their tools than they were with the UASU. This could be seen through headlines like “dons are at it again,” meaning the press was tired with dons striking and it was not their first strike. On the contrary there were articles illustrating how a member of county assembly who is presumably uneducated earns more than a medic. The press in its articles talked more of the deplorable state of affairs in public hospitals unlike in public universities.

The press thus justified to a point the medics downing their tools but demonised the dons. The implication of such reporting is that the masses are inclined to think the way the press frames and presents their issues. The results therefore show that there were more letters to the editors concerning KMPDU that urged the government to end the stalemate compared to letters to editors on UASU. The findings as stated by Walsh (1988), reveal that the press contribute to public perception of union activities.

The two publications focused on consequences of the medics' strike showing much of human suffering for lack of medical care. The articles went further to give details of dangers of the prolonged strike as it progressed. On the contrary, the focus was on the salaries in the dons' dispute. Issues on salaries and its terms formed major parts of the articles on UASU' industrial dispute constituting 22% followed by dynamics of the strike as it went on. The articles had little to cover on economic impact and no story at all on rights issue of the strike or the students missing out on higher education. This in effect made the masses miss out in knowing the cumulative extent of the strike actions in terms of self-distraction as students missed classes (Rawford, 2014). The masses also missed out in knowing the extent of the strike on the economy to a nation that is considered lower middle income.

Labour unionists interviewed were in agreement that the press focused on human suffering which is an aspect of any labour reportage as opined by McCarthy et al. (1996); Oliver and Maney (2000). This was shown by the way the press displayed pictures of unattended patients in the public health facilities and the language used by reporters in reporting. One of the unionists stated: "It was wrong for the press to have headlines such as 'Patients die as doctors seek for more perks'" (UO/U1 interviewed on August 8, 2018).

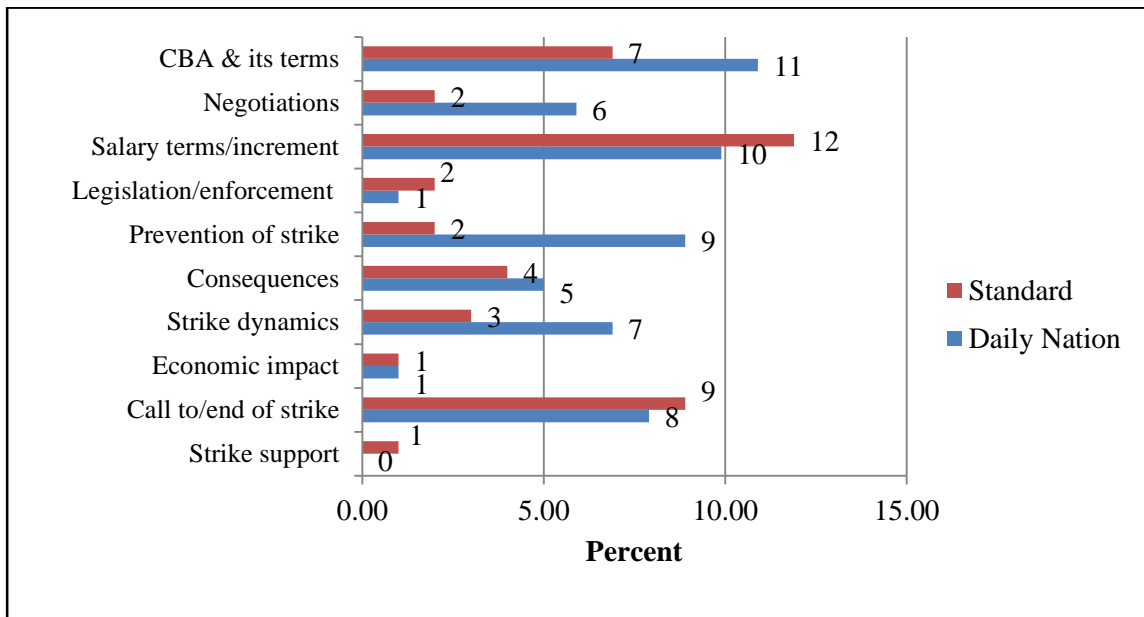
This in effect meant the medics did not care about the well-being of the patients and what only mattered was their pay increase. In effect such publication moves to sway the public against disputants as observed by Agnone (2007) and King (2011) who contend that the way the press covers disputants affects the way the public views them. In a way the press was able to persuade the masses to view their suffering as the fault of the medics and only the medics were to blame.

One of the reporters stated that pain and suffering was what sells a publication in any conflict situation. The reporter further stated that the press used pictures of abandoned patients and overcrowded private facilities that were overstretched beyond their capacity to show the extent of the KMPDU strike. The reporter further stated that the press went further to compare salaries and remuneration of doctors in private hospitals and other nations to the high rates KMPDU was asking so as to move masses to see how the government doctors were being unfair to the nation. These views conform to findings by Arnold (2009) who wrote that when it bleeds it sells. The press contextualised the extent of the strike as destructive not only to the economy but the nation as a whole. Hence the readers were moved to see the effects of the strike from the lenses and the pens of the journalists. This in effect sold the media agenda and the public agenda which sought to portray the strikes as damaging if a solution to the predicament was not found in time.

An editor pointed to the profit margins as what guides what is published for news organisations since they are commercial enterprises. In essence the press would rather cover stories that will bring profit margins to it as depicted by Herman and Chomsky (1989). When a labour relations story is normalised then it is no longer interesting. A story showing depths of destruction tension and desperation will tend to sell and masses would want to know more about it.



**Figure 4.10: Dominant Topic on UASU Industrial Dispute**



### 4.3.2 Tone

The researcher analysed the stories about the doctor’s industrial action into four tones “optimistic”, “neutral,” “pessimistic,” “advocating for change” and “ambiguous.” The study revealed that both publications had majority of articles that advocated for change of the KMPDU’ industrial action as illustrated below in Figure 4.9. Out of the 143 articles by the *Nation*, 78 advocated for change which translates to 29%, 34 were optimistic (13%), 20 were pessimistic (7%), whereas 13 were neutral (5%) and lastly 3 were ambiguous (1%). On the other hand, out of the 122 stories published by the *Standard*; 48 were advocating for change (18%), 29 were optimistic (11%), 22 were neutral (8%) and 22 were pessimistic (8%) and none was ambiguous (0%). The study revealed that both publications advocated for change with a tally of 47% and were more optimistic in their articles with 24%.

**Figure 4.11: Tone of Articles on KMPDU Industrial Dispute**

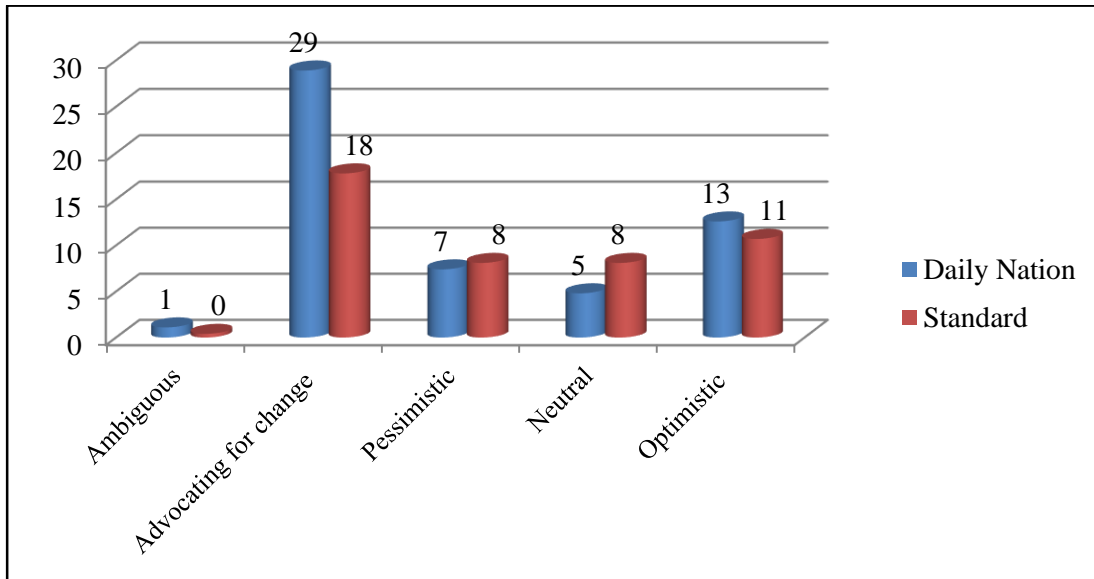
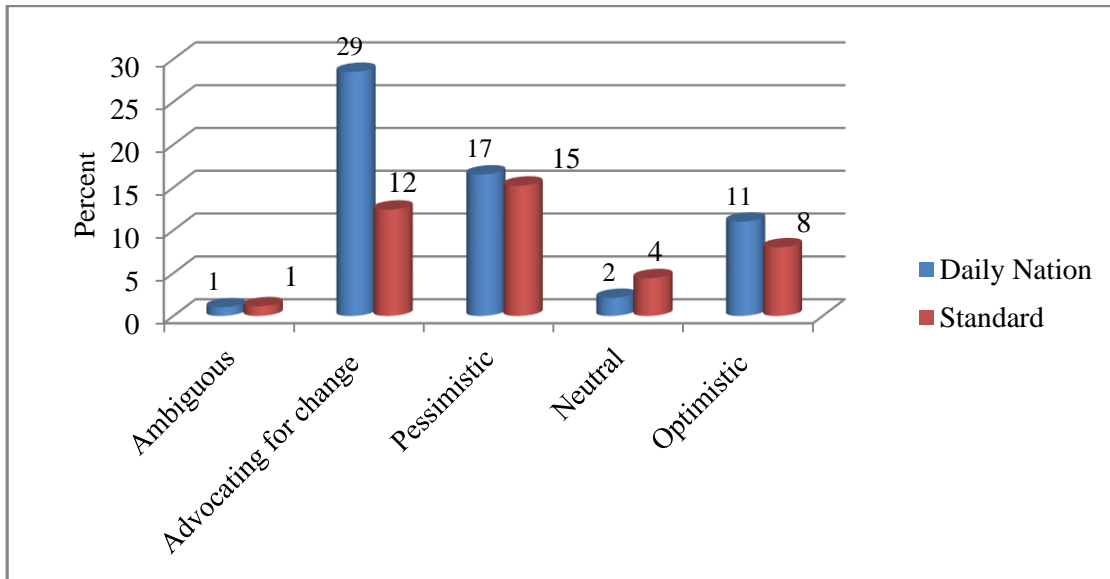


Figure 4.11 below shows that both publications had majority of articles that advocated for change of the UASU Industrial Action. Out of the 53 articles by the *Nation*, 26 advocated for change which translates to 29%, 10 were optimistic (11%), 15 were pessimistic (17%), whereas two were neutral (2%) and one was ambiguous (1%). On the other hand, out of the 38 stories published by the *Standard*; 11 were advocating for change (12%), eight were optimistic (8%), 4 were neutral (4%), 14 were pessimistic (15%) and one was ambiguous (1%). The study revealed that *Nation* greatly advocated for change while *Standard* was pessimistic in its tone. Pessimistic tone came second on publications by *Nation* and first by *Standard*. Collectively the study revealed that both publications advocated for change in the two industrial actions with the KMPDU leading with 47% followed by UASU with 41%.

**Figure 4.12: Tone of Articles on UASU Industrial Dispute**



Kiouis et al. (2011) agreed that tone which is the angle the media takes in publishing its stories is part of the affective attribute of the agenda setting role of the media. Hence, analysis of findings revealed that the press advocated for change of state of affairs and beckoned for the strike to end in the two disputes with KMPDU constituting 47% while UASU constituted 41%. Majority of the respondents felt the press did its best in calling for the two disputes to end in as much as more of the efforts went into the KMPDU strike than the UASU. Analysis show that the press was optimistic that a solution would be found and the two disputes would be brought to an end. This is depicted as the optimistic tone came second with KMPDU leading with 24% while UASU followed at 19%.

### **4.3.3 Graphics**

Graphics assist in the story being easily understood and also gives more details to the story. The study categorised the articles into pictures, quotes, illustrations, cartoons, sidebar list, and pie chart. A total of 206 info graphics were used in the KMPDU Industrial Action. The study revealed that the graphics that were mostly used in the articles were

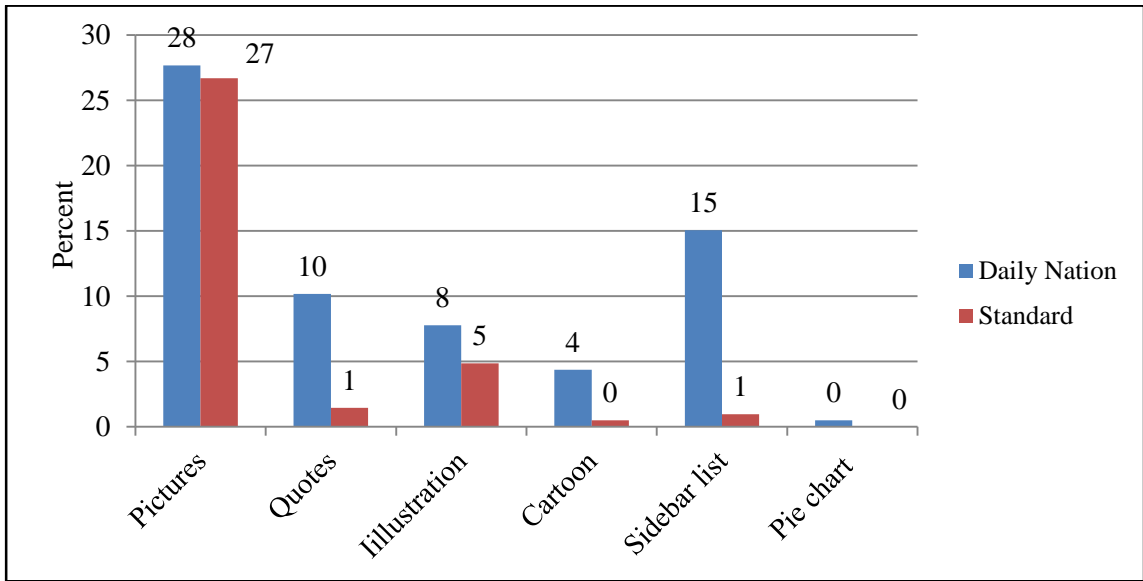
pictures as shown in Table 4.7. *Nation* led in terms of info graphics with 57 pictures, 21 quotes, 16 illustrations 9 cartoons, 31 sidebar list and one pie chart. *Standard* had few info graphics with pictures leading with a total of 55 were mostly used, followed by 10 illustrations, three quotes, two side bar lists and one cartoon. The study thus reveals that *Nation* did well in use of info-graphics as illustrated in Figure 4.13.

**Table 4.7: Graphics Used in KMPDU Industrial Action**

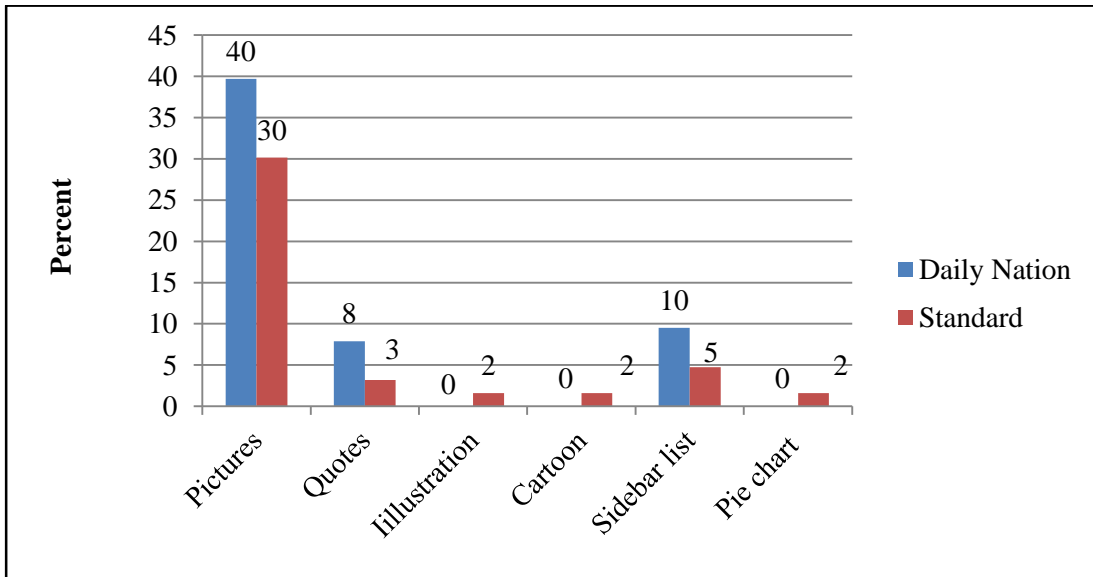
Graphic	Daily Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pictures	57	28	55	27	112	54
Quotes	21	10	3	1	24	12
Illustration	16	8	10	5	26	13
Cartoon	9	4	1	0	10	5
Side bar list	31	15	2	1	3	16
Pie chart	1	0	0	0	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

A total of 63 info graphics were used in the UASU industrial action as illustrated in Table 4.10 below. The study revealed that the graphics that were mostly used in the articles were the pictures. *Nation* led in terms of info graphics with 25 pictures, 5 quotes, and six side bar lists *Standard* had fewer info graphics and each category was represented with pictures leading with 18, followed by three side bar lists, two quotes, one illustration, one cartoon and a pie chart. The study thus reveals that *Nation* did well in use of info-graphics as illustrated in Figure 4.13.

**Figure 4.13: Graphics used in KMPDU Industrial Action**



**Figure 4.14: Graphics used in UASU Industrial Dispute**



**Table 4.8: Graphics used in UASU Industrial Action**

Graphic	Daily Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pictures	25	40	19	30	44	70
Quotes	5	8	2	3	7	10
Illustration	0	0	1	2	1	2
Cartoon	0	0	1	2	1	2
Side bar list	6	10	3	5	9	14
Pie chart	0	0	1	2	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100</b>

The journalists confirmed that the two disputes used graphics to send the message of the strike home. They were in agreement that labour reporting was easily understood when graphics were used and that it was easy to obtain such as the unions organized for marches, offered photo sessions and it was interesting to cover the warring sides. All respondents agreed that KMPDU offered more photo opportunities as the dispute took different turns from refusal of the 40% pay rise by the president, withdrawal of the same pay rise and threats by the president to the imprisonment and release of the union officials to the arbitration and mediation by the legal teams, civil society and religious leaders.

Findings reveal that the press used info graphics in the two disputes hence agreeing with findings by Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) that social movements offer photo opportunities. Pictures were the most used graphics in the two industrial actions making a total of 69.84% in UASU and 54.37% in KMPDU. Side bar list followed in each category and third were quotes. These findings have certain implications that any news story has the greatest impact if it is able to incorporate info graphics which aid the reader to easily

understand the topic and that info graphics are eye catchers and attract the reader to the story.

In one of the pictures in the *Nation*, a striking doctor is portrayed displaying with one hand a placard written ‘#Lipakama Tender.’ This depicts the medics demanded to be paid just as the government had paid for tenders that had ended up in grand scams instead of practical outcomes. In another picture a medic carried a placard written “I offer services I cannot afford.’ This in essence shows medics are paid meagre salaries resulting to them being unable afford for the same services they offer their patients. There was a placard on UASU dispute written “workers are only 10 Billion strong”. This signified the amount the dons had been offered. This was also satirical for at the time the Jubilee government was busy campaigning for a second term and boasting of the numbers they needed to win the elections. There was a cartoon in the *Standard* with a caption ‘get back to work or you will be fired and imprisoned.’ This showed the extent the government was ready to go in order to end the strike. Another cartoon in *Nation* by @IGah had caricature of medics holding placards written “No CBA no work” while on the other hand treasury responded “no money for everything has been looted heading for campaigns.”

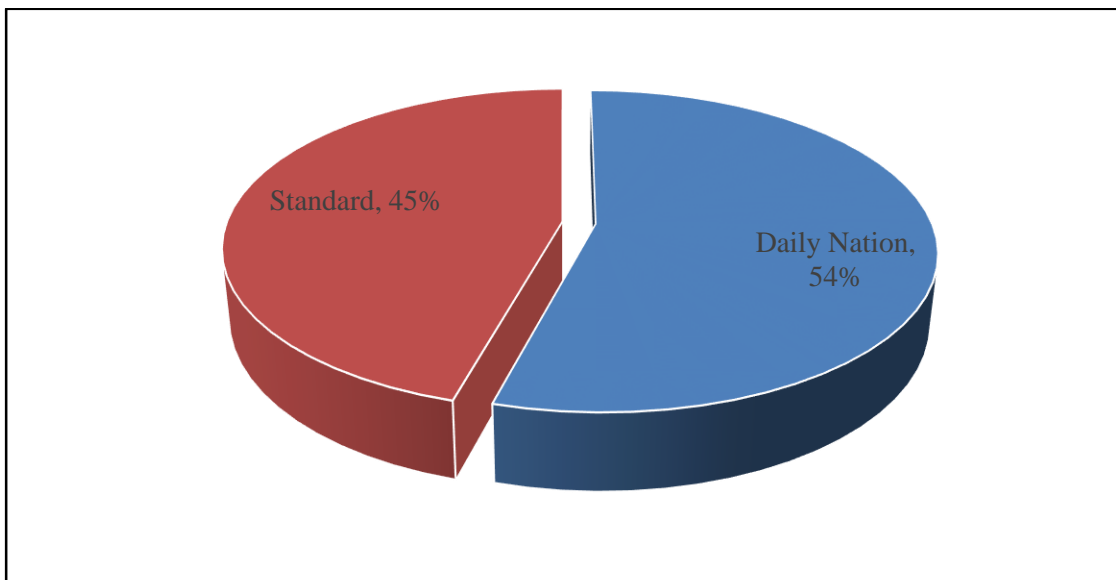
#### **4.3.4 Statistics**

Labour issues are about rights and privileges of workers which surround issues on numbers involving the days not worked, salaries in monetary value and number of workers involved or even the people involved in the dispute or negotiations. The study on KMPDU Industrial action revealed that out of total of 271 articles 158 used statistics. *Nation* led with 86 stories having statistics which translates to 54% while *Standard* had 72 stories with statistics which translates to 45% as illustrated in Figure 4.13. The findings on UASU Industrial action revealed that out of the 92 stories 50 used statistics. *Nation* slightly led

with 24 stories having statistics which translates to 52% while *Standard* had 24 stories with statistics which translates to 48% as illustrated in Figure 4.14.

Analysis of findings demonstrate a good number of the stories had statistics, this ranged from the number of days not worked, to the number of workers involved in each dispute to parties involved in the negotiations. Articles on KMPDU informed readers the total number of public health facilities in their country and the levels of the facilities. The recommended doctor-patient ratio versus the current state in Kenya, the number of medical professionals in the nation and every county. The salaries and remuneration proposed in the controversial CBA, the salaries and remuneration medics in Kenya got before the industrial action compared to medics in other regions in Africa and developed nations. The budgetary allocation to health sector in general as compared to the recommended sums by the Abuja Declaration (2001).

**Figure 4.15: Statistics used in KMPDU Industrial Action**

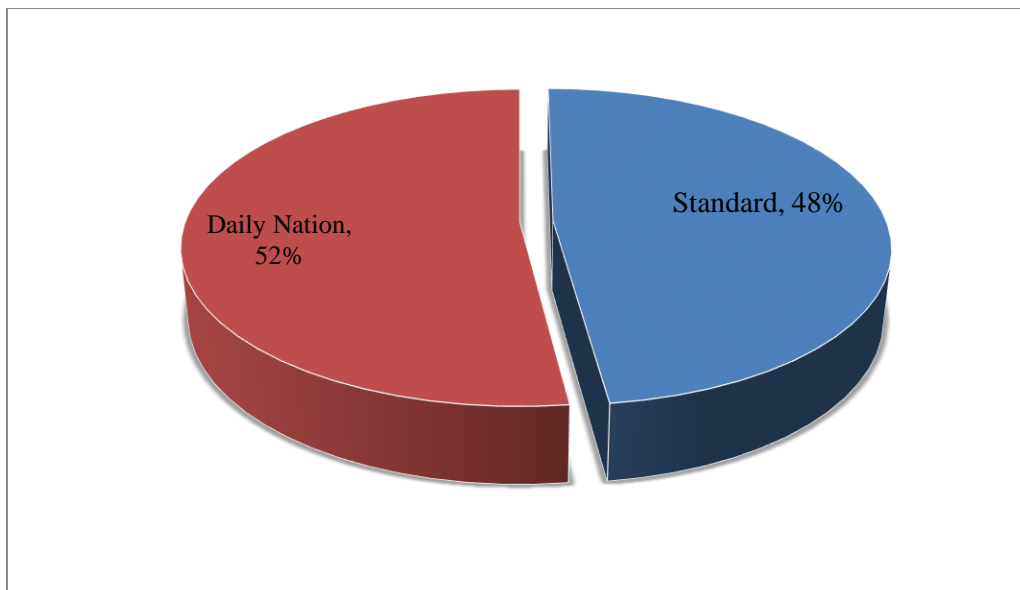




Statistics surrounding UASU industrial action concerned the number of public universities in the country, number of students enrolment in public universities every year, number of students expected to graduate every year, the salaries and remuneration the university academic staff were getting before the industrial action and what had been proposed in the 2013/2017 CBA yet not implemented, the salaries and remuneration public university teaching staff were getting compared to their counter-parts in the private sector.

All the union officials felt the press failed in letting the masses know on issues surrounding the dispute for the press focussed on the 300 per cent pay rise which the unionists said was not anywhere in the contested CBAs. The unionists felt the press used the 300 per cent pay rise to push the masses to view the dons and the medics as a greedy lot and that the press did not explain in details what the grievance was all about in the two disputes other than the demand for increased salaries. Majority of the reporters however said they used the press statements issued by the unions and the government which stipulated the 300 per cent pay rise.

**Figure 4.16: Statistics Used in UASU Industrial Action**



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Overview

The chapter is a synthesis of what has been discussed in the study. The chapter presents a comprehensive summary of the study, major findings, and conclusions on press coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions in Kenya in 2016/2017. It also presents pertinent recommendations as well as areas for further research regarding press coverage of KMPDU and UASU in Kenya.

#### 5.2 Summary of the Study

Media coverage of protests and demonstrations such as industrial actions continue to elicit debate (Lee, 2014). Social movement scholars recognise that healthy labour relations, including labour reportage are a sign of democracy and contribute to industrial peace (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This study therefore sought to determine the extent to which the two major print media in Kenya covered the KMPDU and UASU disputes in 2016/2017. The study focused on the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers to investigate how the two publications covered the two industrial actions.

The key objectives of the study were: (i) to compare and contrast patterns of coverage of UASU' and KMPDU Industrial Actions by *Nation* and *Standard* in Kenya; (ii) to investigate the dominant discourses emerging from the industrial actions as covered in the publications; (iii) to establish views held by trade union stakeholders pertaining media's role in coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions.

A majority of the literature reviewed indicates that most studies conducted on media coverage of industrial actions in Kenya focused on a particular trade union at a time or a particular event related to the labour industry. This study however moved away from a particular dispute and compared two disputes that occurred almost simultaneously. The study went ahead and did a comparative analysis of two leading newspapers in Kenya that is *Nation* and *Standard*. Literature reviewed reveals that most studies adopted a single method in their data collection as a framework of analysis. It is with this in mind that the present study adopted a mixed methods approach to investigating the press coverage of KMPDU and UASU strike in Kenya.

The study population featured were articles published a week before, during and a week after the industrial actions. Stakeholders in the labour industry were also used in order to get views regarding media portrayal of the disputes. Non-Probability sampling was used to select 284 articles for the KMPDU Industrial Action and 92 for the UASU. A purposeful sample of 10 key informants was done as follows; two editors; (one from *Nation* and one from *Standard*), two reporters (one from *Nation* one from *Standard*), five union officials (two from KMPDU, two from UASU) and one official from the labour office. Quantitative data was collected using a content analysis tool while qualitative data was obtained using interview guides. Quantitative data obtained was analysed using SPSS version 21 while qualitative data obtained was transcribed and analysed thematically. Largely, the interpretation of results points to coverage of the KMPDU and the UASU by the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers.

## **5.3 Major Findings**

The analysed data revealed the following:

### **5.3.1 Patterns of Coverage**

The study revealed that press coverage of industrial disputes is subtle before an industrial action with 4% on KMPDU dispute and 7% on UASU dispute, then peaks during industrial actions with 90% KMPDU and 83% UASU and later drops after the dispute with 5% KMPDU and 10% UASU. Hence most coverage that occurs during an industrial action for strikes is considered 'news' in any labour reporting (Philo, 2014). Frequency of coverage of stories was high with regard to KMPDU industrial action which had a total of 284 stories while it was generally low on UASU dispute with a combination of 92 stories in both publications yet the two disputes occurred for more than a hundred days each. In effect the study conforms to findings by Erickson & Mitchell (1996) who opined that an industrial action that affects a majority of the population like the medics will be covered with great intensity and that a union that uses adverse militant tactics just like KMPDU will often be covered more.

The study found that most of the stories on industrial dispute were covered as general news stories and little attention was given on interpretive and reflective stories. In the KMPDU industrial action general news stories constituted 57% while in the UASU industrial action general news stories were 62%. Both publications only reported the strikes as they happened and what the sources said. The publications did not conform to findings by Harrower (2007) who observed that features stories, commentaries and editorials are a more detailed way of making audiences to understand the news. There was a slight difference though in the commentary stories on KMPDU industrial action whereby the

public were given more space to comment contributing to 29% while in UASU dispute, the public comment only contributed to 14%.

With regard to focus, majority of the stories in the two disputes combined were not given the prominence they deserved since the press allocated them spaces mostly in the inside pages of the publications with KMPDU stories having 50% while UASU had 43% in the medium focus category. Consequently, the publications allocated majority of the stories portion of a quarter a page and below – KMPDU 59%, UASU 66% meaning most of the stories were but page fillers. This shows that the press did not consider the industrial related stories as important or that there were other stories at the time that greatly featured on high focus pages.

The study found that the media relies heavily on sources outside the press for information on labour related stories. This conformed to findings by Baran (2004) who noted that most of the sources of the stories were government officials or government official appointed sources to head the mediation talks and the union officials. In total the stories that came from sources outside the press including union officials, government and its agents and the readers who sent letters to the editors constituted to 73% of KMPDU stories and 71% of UASU stories. It is worth concluding that the media is but a public sphere where divergent views are expressed (Tablot, 2007).

Hansen et al. (1996) observed that content analysis count on incidences of specified characteristics or dimensions of information. Thus, the researcher guided by Hansel et al. (1996) concludes that the *Daily Nation* overly did a better in terms of coverage of the KMPDU and UASU disputes in terms of number of stories covered, priming of stories, use of info graphics and incorporating views of readers.

### **5.3.2 Dominant Discourses**

The major themes that came out from the UASU and KMPDU disputes ranged from consequences of the strikes, negotiations, CBA and its terms, prevention of strike, salary terms and increment and prevention of strikes. The study concludes that the press did little in educating masses about contents of the CBAs in question whether disputed or agreed to and the implications to workers, employers and general public who are end users of the services. The media followed on the negotiations that are part of the solutions to the dispute from the beginning to the end hence negotiations made a good percentage of the stories.

Strikes dynamics as a theme came second in KMPDU industrial dispute and fourth in UASU meaning the two disputes were different with different players in as much as all demanded for better wages which is usually the cause of any industrial tension (Aluchio, 1998). Under strike dynamics the study found that as the strikes progressed different actors came out in support of or against the disputants, various steps outside negotiations were taken by various parties like when Kenyans resorted to traditional healers, other workers who were not involved in the dispute could join in support.

The media did little in informing the masses of the economic impact of the two disputes. Labour disputes are usually concerned about monetary issues and therefore affect any economy (Thomson, 2011). The media however down played its role in this aspect and to date the amount of losses the country accrued financially is unknown.

The study revealed that majority of info graphics used were pictures contributing to 54% on KMPDU dispute and 70% on UASU dispute hence confirming findings by Gamson & Wolfsfeld, (1993) who stated opportunities like drama, conflict, action and photos are offered by social movements. The media advocated for change and called relevant parties to end the strike through tone used in the way the articles were written. It can then be inferred

that the media was part of the solution towards end of the KMPDU and UASU strikes but to paraphrase Ngige, et al. (2016), the media can advocate for reconciliation and societal development.

Findings revealed that the press did well in coverage of the two disputes in as much as more prominence was given to the KMPDU dispute. The study further found that industrial related news fit in a news cycle as they conform to the news values (Reisner, 1998). However, not all stories made it to the press for pressure of newsroom deadlines or due to lack of newsworthiness as the industrial actions progressed into months. Findings also revealed that most journalists were not well trained in issues of labour disputes or the legalese among other technical terms surrounding the labour industry. On accuracy in coverage, findings reveal that the press did not do enough in aspects of investigating facts and having a balanced coverage since there was more than one party to the dispute. The press however in its defence argued that it preferred to use information given verbatim hence presence of quotes in the publications.

Findings revealed that it was not easy for the press to cover details of the negotiations in full as most discussions were held 'in camera'. Again, the parties did not freely divulge the information of the negotiations to the press as the talks were considered classified.

#### **5.4 Conclusions**

The study sought to establish press coverage of KMPDU and UASU industrial actions in Kenya. Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were made:

That press coverage of industrial disputes is more during an industrial action. Before and after the industrial actions, the coverage is little. The study concludes that most labour related stories are in form of general news and that the press did little informative and interpretive coverage of the two labour disputes due to the few numbers of commentary and

reflective stories. When the press does not do in-depth coverage of issues the issues are not well understood by the masses. The study further concluded that sources of news in labour relations stories in the public service are majorly union officials who represent workers and the government authorities who are agents of the government or the government as the employer. Majority of the stories were in the inside pages which are not considered prime and also the space allocations for the stories comprised of a quarter a page and below hence it is concluded that labour related stories are not given the prominence they deserve by the press.

The study concludes that the *Nation* did far much better in covering the UASU and KMPDU disputes than the *Standard* for it had a greater number of stories in each dispute and the salience of the stories were higher compared to the *Standard*.

It is concluded that the main issues that featured in the press were consequences of the industrial actions which were dire especially with regard to KMPDU dispute. The press therefore advocated for change of affairs in its coverage on the KMPDU and UASU disputes in order to alleviate human suffering. The press however needs to do more in terms of highlighting the economic impact of labour actions in order to push decision makers to have a change of heart and resolve the disputes before they get out of hand. The researcher thus concludes that there needs to be retraining of journalists and introduction of labour reporting as a discipline in media schools so that the market place can be serviced with qualified personnel.



## 5.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

- i. The press should cover other industrial related stories and not only focus on industrial actions. The press should be involved in all aspects of industrial relations from CBA drafting, to negotiations and registration and do a follow-up on implementation of terms of CBA. This will be in line with roles of the press in any democratic society (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).
- ii. For industrial harmony to be in place and in order to reduce industrial actions, all labour stakeholders should be involved in negotiations and parties should stick by the agreed terms of CBA. The employers need to plan well for funds that contribute a big percentage of the CBA in terms of salaries and conditions of work. Hence financing of CBAs need a multi-sectoral approach where the burden is not only left to the government in the case of public service. The government needs to be creative in coming up with other measures to raise funds to meet terms of CBA.
- iii. The press should allocate more space for interpretive stories as opposed to mere reportage of industrial action events. This is in line with Dominick (2005) who argues that the mass media not only provides facts and data but also information on the eventual meaning and significance of events. Similarly, Baran (2004) argues that readers use the newspaper to get information about and interpretation of public affairs.
- iv. The media should give balanced coverage to the sources of stories pertaining to industrial disputes, but ensure that such coverage does not give publicity seeking sources undeserved means to frame the news and set their own

agenda. Dominick (2005) warns that as media coverage confers status, many individuals and groups go to extreme measures to get coverage for themselves and their causes to achieve such a status. According to Dominick (2005), some of the tactics employed by sources to capture airtime or column inches include parades, demonstrations, publicity stunts and generally outlandish behaviour.

- v. There needs to be a multi-sectoral approach whereby researchers, experts in the labour relations industry, the government and the private sector are involved in finding best solutions to end perennial disruptions of services in the public sectors especially since the CBA is recognised under the Constitution of Kenya, (2010) and seems to be the elephant in the room. Thus, before a CBA is negotiated, there is a strike threat, when terms of a said CBA's are violated it is tantamount to industrial actions and when a CBA is not registered or properly implemented, then there are incidences of industrial wars.

## **5.6 Suggestions for Further Study**

The study findings suggest a need for further research and investigation in the following areas:

- i. The outcome of this study is derived from the empirical analysis that only focused on two print media that is *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers to generalize press coverage of industrial strikes by the media in Kenya, is one of the limitations of this study. Hence there is need for research of coverage by other print media and also electronic and social media use.

- ii. The study focused on KMPDU and UASU in 2016 and 2017 coverage by the press. In 2017 other strikes occurred in other sectors both private and public sector and the same need to be studied to form a comprehensive body of knowledge in industrial disputes in Kenya.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Introduction Letter

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

P.O. BOX 30197

NAIROBI.

DATE.....

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### **RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

I am a student at The University of Nairobi taking a Master of Arts in Communication; I intend to carry out a study on “Press coverage of industrial disputes in Kenya: A Study of *the Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers’ coverage of the UASU and KMPDU industrial actions in 2016/ 2017.” Kindly let me know when it is appropriate for me to interview you on the said topic, attached is the list of questions. Your assistance in this study is greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Murunga Adline

## Appendix II: Guiding Schedule

1. How many times were the UASU and the KMPDU industrial action reported over the period of the strike?
  - i. Daily Nation
  - ii. Standard
2. What percentage of the total number of articles on UASU&KPMDU dispute was placed at the prime pages?
  - i. Daily Nation
  - ii. Standard
3. What was the percentage of articles of the UASU&KPMDU dispute placed at the back of the page?
  - i. Daily Nation
  - ii. Standard
4. What was the percentage of articles of the UASU&KPMDU dispute placed in the inside pages and what was the space allocation?
  - i. Daily Nation
  - ii. Standard
5. What were the dominant themes presented by the publications on percentage of the UASU&KPMDU dispute?
  - i. Daily Nation
  - ii. Standard
6. What were the info graphics used by the publications?
7. What was the angle and tone of the stories?
8. Did the stories use statistics?

### Appendix III: Analysis Criteria

Criteria	Details	Codes
Source of story	Shows the edition the story is published	Daily Nation – DN – 1 The <i>Standard</i> – ST 2
Dates	Is the month when the article was published	Date format DD. MM. Year Code 1-12 starting with November as 1 and October as 12 (that is the study calendar year, year is not important in the coding)
Number	Number of industrial related stories in the newspaper –ordinary number	1,2,3,4,5, etc.
Day of the week	This is the day of the week that the story was published	Monday = 1 Tuesday = 2 Wednesday = 3 Thursday =4 Friday = 5 Saturday = 6 Sunday = 7
Key- word	Signifies the key word which was used in the analysis	Strike=SS1 Doctors' /Medics/ Health worker Strike/boycott=DS2 Lecturers'/Dons Strike/boycott= LS 3 Labour Dispute=LD4 Pay Rise=GS5 Health/ health care Crisis=HC6 Doctors union=DU 7 UASU union= UU8
Focus	Shows the level of importance accorded to the story in the newspaper; three focus levels: high, medium and low was used; <i>High focus stories</i> - are those stories (1) on the front page, pages 1-5and back page with graphic and with key words (2) on the front page, pages 1-5(3) was an editorial story.  <i>Medium focus stories</i> – had a (1) stories on the inside pages(6-onwards) but not editorial or back page with graphics (2)stories on the inside pages(6-onwards)	High focus stories with graphic on front page, pages 1-5 =HF1 Back page with graphic = HF2 High focus without graphic =HF3 Editorial story= HF4

	<p>but not editorial or back page without graphics (2) graphic that include an industrial related issue (3) a story that integrates industrial related story with another issue</p> <p><i>Low focus stories</i>; has (1) a single mention of five to twenty lines devoted to industrial stories related specific story, (2) a section of an integrated story that devotes 10-20 of the stories to industrial strike related issue and (3) has graphic</p>	<p>Medium Focus stories on the inside pages(6-onwards) but not editorial or back page with graphics =MF1 Medium Focus stories on the inside pages(6-onwards) but not editorial or back page without graphics= =MF 2 Story that combines industrial related story with another story=MF3</p> <p>Section devoted to specific story and has 5-10 lines= LF1 Section of specific story with other stories LF2 has graphics= LF 3</p>
Dominant topic	Shows the dominant topic within the story: Salary increment, legislation, CBA, prevention, causes, consequences, strike frequency/density/propensity data, victims, economic impact, loss of lives, public services stoppage/crippled	<p>CBA&amp; its terms =T1 Negotiations=T2 Salary Increment-T3 Legislation/law enforcement = T4 Rights issue=T5 Prevention of strike = T6 Consequences = T7 Strike dynamics = T8 Victims of strike= T9 Economic impact=T10 End of strike=11 Strike support=T12</p>
Treatment	<p>Details the way the story is written, but is not the subject of the story. General news is any story that emphasizes facts of a recent event and often uses a invited pyramid styles of writing</p> <p>Reflective- longer, more insightful tone, covers industrial strikes issue in move depth: tells a story rather than just regulating a series of facts</p>	<p>General news = NG Reflective = NR Commentary/criticism = NC</p>

	Commentary/criticism any story that offers a first-person option or is a stated opinion of the newspaper	
Story source	Shows whether the story was drawn from (1)a reporter 2) a editorial 3) Reader 4) unknown	Reporter = SR Reader = SD Unknown = SU Editorial=QE
Source	Indicate if any source were used in writing the story (1) victims interviewed (2) ordinary people (3) authorises (police government official 4) Union officials	Victims interview = QV Ordinary people = QO Authorities = QA Union Official = QU Editorial=QE Reporter=QS Reader=QD
Tone	Details if the tone of the news is optimistic, neutral ambiguous, pessimistic, advocating for change	Optimistic Tone = E1 Neutral 1 = E2 Pessimistic = E3 Advocating for change = E4 Ambiguous=E5
Graphics	Details the type of graphic used	Pictures = G1 Quotes = G2 Illustration = G3 Cartoon = G4 Side bar list = G5 Pie chart = G6 No graphic=G7
Picture	Define the picture, sensation and symbolic	Sensational state picture = P1 Symbolic picture = P2 Normal picture=P3 Picture out of place/unsure=P4

### Appendix IV: Coding Sheet

Item	Detail	Analysis key	Code
Story source	Daily Nation	1	1
	The Standard	2	2
	November		1
	December		2
	January		3
	February		4
	March		5
	April		6
	May		7
	June		8
	July		9
	August		10
	September		11
	October		12
Number of industrial dispute/strike related stories in the newspaper.....			1
			2
			3
			4
			5
Day of the week indicates the day of the week when the story was published	Monday	1	1
	Tuesday	2	2
	Wednesday	3	3
	Thursday	4	4
	Friday	5	5
	Saturday	6	6
	Sunday	7	7
Key word Indicate the key word which was used in the analysis	KMPDU strike		1
	UASU strike		2
	Labour dispute		3
	Go-slow		4
			5



<p>Indicates level of importance accorded to the story in the newspaper</p> <p>High focus = F1  Medium Focus = F2  Low focus = F3</p>	<p>High focus = 1  Front page = FS  Back page = BS  Inside pages=IS  Headline keyword = HS  Graphic devoted to industrial dispute related issue = G1  Editorial story = ES  Medium focus = 2  Graphics integrated industrial strike with another issue = G2  Graphic include industrial strike related issue = G3  Section of integrated specific story devotes 10-20 lines = L1  Section integrated related story devotes 20 + lines = L2  Low focus = 3  Section of integrated industrial strike specific story devotes 5 – 10 lines = L3  Section of integrated industrial strike related story devotes 10-20 lines = L2</p>	<p>1 2 3</p>
<p>Indicates what is the dominant topic within the story</p>	<p>Salary increment=T1  CBA=T2  Public service = T3  Legislation/law enforcement = T4  Rights issues=T5  Court orders/decisions=T6  Prevention = T8  Causes = T9  Consequences = T10  Strike dynamics = T11  Victims = T12  Strike end</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12</p>
<p>Treatment  Details the way that the story is written, not to be confused with the subject of the story</p>	<p>General news = GT  Reflective = GR  Commentary/criticism = GC</p>	<p>1 2 3</p>
<p>Story source  Shows whether the story is</p>	<p>Reporter = SR  Reader =SD  Other SV</p>	<p>1 2 3 4</p>

Indicates if any source were used in writing the story (1) victims interviewed (2) ordinary people (3) authorities (police government officials) (4) union officials (5) others	Victims alone interviewed QV Ordinary people = QO Authorities = QA Union Officials = QU Others =QT	1 2 3 4 5
Statistics Indicate whether the story, uses statistics	Yes=1 No=2	1 2
Tone Define, if the tone of the news is optimistic, neutral ambiguity, pessimistic, advocating for change	Optimistic tone = E1 Neutral = E2 Pessimistic = E4 Advocating for change = E4	1 2 3 4
Graphics Define the type of graphic used:	None = 0 Picture = G1 Graphic = G2 Illustration = G3 Cartoon = G4 Side bar list = G5 Pie chart = G6	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Picture Define the picture: sensationalistic, symbolic	None Sensationalistic picture P1 Symbolic picture 2	0 1 2 3

## Appendix V: Interview Guide Union Officials

Stakeholder views on print media coverage on KMPDU and UASU strike in Kenya

### General information (Section A)

1. Position Occupied

Union leader  Government official Other

(Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Length of Service in the organisation

Less than 1 year  1-3  4-9 Years  10 Years and above

### General Questions (Section B)

3. How do you usually consume your news?
4. Do you seek out information on industrial disputes in your field?
5. Did you supply the media with press releases, briefs or avail yourself for interviews with the news media during the strike period?
6. Did you read articles pertaining to the industrial disputes before and after the disputes?
7. If so, do you find the news to be accurate?
8. If not, what information was not factual?
9. If accurate, what was highlighted by the articles?
10. In your opinion how do the media report on issues of industrial dispute in your sector?
11. In your opinion do the media give more coverage and prominence to particular fields in the event of industrial disputes than other fields? If yes, state the fields and your reasons.
12. How do you think the articles you came across affected public debate?
13. Do you think that the influence on the public was positive or negative?
14. What would the influence of the articles be on legislation if any?
15. What measures do you think the media should factor in reporting industrial disputes?

Thank you for your participation.

## Appendix VI: Interview Guide Journalists

For editors, subeditors and journalist's views on print media coverage on KMPDU and UASU strike in Kenya

### General information (Section A)

1. Position Occupied

Chief Editor/ sub-editor  reporter

2. Length of Service in the organisation

Less than 1 year 1-3  4-9 Years  10 Years and above

### General Questions (Section B)

3. What informed your news during the industrial strikes by UASU and KMPDU?
4. Do you have any regulations guarding industrial news reporting?
5. What/ who were the sources of news for the industrial messages?
6. In the event of industrial news what fits in a news cycle for a story to be published?
7. Did all stories get published? If No, give reasons.
8. In your opinion which union was covered more and why?
9. What were the challenges on coverage of labour disputes in question?

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix VII: Certificate to Field Work



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

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REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 5/06/2018 in respect of M.A./Ph.D. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/08163/2016

Name: Adline Shitwa Mwangi

Title: Press Coverage of Lecturers' and Doctors' Strike in Kenya:  
A case of Nation and Standard Newspapers in 2016/2017

Dr. George Gathigi  
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

25/07/2018  
DATE

Dr. Samuel Siringi  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

25/07/2018  
DATE

Dr. Nalini Nalini  
DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE/STAMP

25.7.18  
DATE



**Appendix VIII: Certificate of Corrections**



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

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**REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS**

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 21/09/2018 in respect of M.A/PhD Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: K50/BS/163/2016

Name: Adline Shitani Muvunga

Title: Press Coverage of UASU and KNPSU Industrial Actions

in 2016/2017 in Kenya: A Comparative Analysis of Nation and Standard Newspaper

Dr. George Katusi  
SUPERVISOR

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25/10/2018  
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi  
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13/11/2018  
DATE

Dr. Neeth Ndeki  
DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
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13-11-18  
DATE



## Appendix IX: Certificate of Originality

Document Viewer

### Turnitin Originality Report

- Processed on: 12-Nov-2018 07:17 EAT
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**PRESS COVERAGE OF UASU AND KMPDU INDUSTRIAL A... By Adline Murunga**

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