

# **CNN FRAMING OF KENYA'S 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

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**K50/ 87977/ 2016**

A Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism and Mass  
Communication (SOJMC) in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Masters of Arts in Communication Studies

**2018**

## DECLARATION

### Declaration by the Candidate

This research thesis is my original work; and, to the best of my knowledge, has never been presented for a degree award in any other university.

Signature.....

Date:.....

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

Signature.....

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This is to sincerely thank all individuals whose support has contributed immensely towards the success of this study. Special thanks to my supervisor, Dr James Oranga, for his guidance, feedback and encouragement throughout this journey. I wish to acknowledge the contribution of the entire faculty at the University of Nairobi School of Journalism and Mass Communication for the availability and willingness to guide and advice. Many thanks to my family, and particularly my parents, who have keenly followed up on the progress with this task. Finally, I also wish to recognise my colleagues from the MA (Communication Studies) class with whom we have walked this journey.

## **DEDICATION**

For Scovia, Siphon and Nana.

## ABSTRACT

The study sought to investigate the framing of Kenya's 2017 election by Cable News Network. Its objectives were: to investigate prominent issues and themes in the stories; to investigate dominant frames in the stories; to identify dominant words, phrases and images; and to identify common news sources in the coverage. The study was based on the Framing Theory. The sample was drawn from 65 video and text stories on Kenya's 2017 elections that were published by Cable News Network on its website between March 2017 and March 2018. A total of 33 stories – 17 text stories and 16 video stories -- were purposively sampled and analysed. The stories were analysed to identify prominent themes, dominant frames, common keywords and phrases, contents of images and sources of the news. The study found that the dominant frames of Kenya from coverage of the 2017 elections by Cable News Network were those of a poor and violent society. Kibera Slums was the most common setting, accounting for 55 per cent of video stories. Violent protests and confrontations with anti-riot police were recorded in 22 per cent of the images, emphasising the violent frame. The most common keywords and phrases appearing in the stories used in an unfavourable context were: 'violence/ protests', 'absence of democracy and rule of law', 'election irregularities', 'credible/ free and fair elections', 'peace/ calm', and 'East Africa's biggest economy/ regional hub'. The main news sources for the stories were local individuals, mostly elite and included politicians, analysts, and observers, contrary to early research that has found that foreign sources are most often quoted by foreign correspondents. This study recommends that CNN enhances its reporters in Kenya in order to be able to cover different aspects of the Kenyan story. It also makes a case for diversification of sources quoted in stories in order to address the over-reliance on a few elite sources for stories. It also recommends use of a variety of settings for stories to show different aspects of Kenyan life. This study forms a basis for further research to identify commonalities and differences in frames taken by other major foreign press outlets in their coverage of the elections; and contrasting this against frames taken by local media. This will contribute towards interrogating foreign press' representation of Africa because it contributes significantly towards its image and reputation on the global stage, which has economic importance, particularly in attracting foreign direct investment and tourists.

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Overview**

This chapter provides a background to this study. It tackles the practice of foreign press in Africa, operations of Cable News Network (CNN) in Kenya and the rest of the continent, and why it matters. It then sets out the research problem and makes a justification for the study, before outlining research objectives and questions as well as the scope and limitations.

### **1.1 Background**

During elections, journalists are relied upon for unbiased and objective information, acting as public watchdogs on incumbents' performance; and interrogating the process of conducting elections (Gustafsson, 2016). However, they sometimes become active political players, persuading citizens to support given positions and influencing power relations in the contest (Santos and Ndlovu, 2016). As it plays its role of informing, educating and entertaining society, media significantly influences attitudes and perceptions of its audiences. The influence is, by far, greater for audiences who have not directly interacted with the subject of the news coverage. This includes a significant proportion of foreign press' audiences across the world that consume news from Kenya and the rest of Africa.

Sambrook (2010) traces the emergence of foreign press corps to the era of industrialisation in news production when reporting international events brought prestige and influence to a media house; in addition to the geopolitical situation of the time where ideological battles of the twentieth century, the rise of communism and fascism and two world wars cemented the necessity for international reporting by Western organisations, leading to establishment of international bureaus across the world to gather reliable news.

In Kenya, foreign press makes up a significant proportion of the mass media ecosystem. Out of the 3,814 officially accredited journalists, 515 are attached to international media organisations (Media Council of Kenya, n.d.). Nairobi has emerged as a major hub for foreign press corps covering Africa (Segal 1976), attributable to the city's strategic location and infrastructural connection to many parts of the continent. From their bureaus in Nairobi, correspondents attached to international media organisations coordinate coverage of the larger Eastern Africa region, mostly catering for an international audience. Foreign media mainly reports on news that is of interest to their home countries, provide distinct points of view in analyses and comment as the principal source of information from far-flung areas (Sambrook, 2010).

The growing importance of foreign press as a source of news on the continent over time has been attributed to weakness and vulnerability of African media (Palmer, 1987) that hampers its ability to deliver credible and objective coverage. This leads many, even within Africa, to turn to foreign press for credible and objective coverage of the goings on within their countries. Some newspapers, for instance, often use wire stories on happenings within their borders, sometimes in the capitals where they are based. In addition to this, the weakness and vulnerability of African media are drawn from too much focus on spectacle at the expense of the real issues, and the influence of the political class who, in many cases, often double up as economic elites owning controlling stakes in the firms. Thus, international news coverage becomes the better alternative, impacting and mobilising conscience of national elites and public institutions; besides, thanks to the global nature of their operations and influence, wielding the power to compel Western governments to take humanitarian action in response to conflict, if need be (Kalyango, 2011).

Foreign press' interest in Africa dates back to the colonial era, when African countries were colonies, administered as outposts of global powers. However, save for the period

during World War II, Segal (1976) posits, there were no Africa-based foreign correspondents before 1955 when the continent became considered newsworthy enough by foreign media, as to warrant locally stationed journalists. This was as the wave of independence swept across Africa, intensifying interest in the continent from the rest of the world.

So significant was Africa as a source of news then that journalists interested in the continent regularly gathered in Fleet Street in London to compare notes in a forum known as ‘African Circle’; a tradition that later died out with reduced budgets dedicated to foreign news, claiming quality of coverage as the first casualty (Palmer, 1987). With the limited manpower and wide jurisdictions for international correspondents, foreign press has only been able to focus on the spectacular, bizarre or truly horrific, further reinforcing the world’s stereotypes of Africa and Africans; exacerbated by absence of regular coverage of day-to-day African life, thus denying audiences context within which to place stories whenever they break (ibid). These images, sounds and information used by foreign press, Paterson (1994) contends, significantly affects the way the audience perceives the story and the continent.

Western media has constantly been criticised for the manner in which its reporting portrays African countries. According to Zaffiro (1992), coverage of Africa by Western media, which is ‘largely erratic, unbalanced or incomplete’, focuses on ‘stereotypes, myths, half-truths, with emphasis on the bizarre and catastrophic’. Sambrook (2010) posits that Africa receives little attention from Western media, concentrated on a narrow agenda, which is attributed to audience interest in less of top-down international agenda, and more of crises, drama or human-interest stories. Describing the coverage as ‘slanted, distorted, negligible or non-existent’, Segal (1976) contends that a combination of ignorance and stereotypes has led to mischievous reporting, where ‘mind-numbed’ editors alter copy into language likely to be more familiar to their audiences. However, Wahutu (2017) argues that African media too,

mimic the foreign press in the manner in which it frames conflict in other countries within the continent, which is attributable to converging media practices globally.

Nonetheless, through this deliberate and systematic process resulting from biases in gate-keeping, international media organisations distort the African narrative through untruths, inaccuracies or slanted interpretation woven into news (Mutunga, 2003). Political coverage, in particular, does not present events within an African context; instead emphasising personalities rather than issues and constantly using simple explanations for complex problems such as tribalism (Segal, 1976).

Sy (2016) argues that this negative coverage distorts the rest of the world's perception of the continent by the choice of keywords used in headlines and news stories. This not only reinforces 'dangerously ahistorical, inaccurate, negative cultural stereotypes' amongst the public who mainly rely on these outlets for information on Africa's social, political and economic life; but also poisons subsequent coverage by these media (Chavis 1998).

Western media has been accused of exhibiting imperialist and racist attitudes in coverage, deliberately through angling and framing of stories, but also, disadvantaged by limited understanding of cultural nuances and root causes of issues, perpetuates misinformation (Biney, 1997). With the advantage of global reach and scale, international media's narrative usually outshines Africa's own in efforts to counter this.

In their defense, Western press cites financial constraints limiting investment in growing their footprint in Africa, limited interest by their audiences to justify more effort, and challenges arising from government censorship in host countries, as factors that contribute to the distorted image of Africa on their platforms (Zaffiro, 1992). This view is supported by Sambrook (2010), who argues that economic pressure of maintaining overseas news gathering operations+ has seen major Western organisations reduce the number of bureaus

and correspondents, leading to a drop in the quantity of news being reported, particularly in the US. This has made the news outlets selective in the kind of stories that they pursue. Segal (1976) argues that the story of Africans killing one another, for instance, attracts little interest unless the scale is huge, or other parties are involved. This narrow focus has been blamed on the underdeveloped local media in African countries, since typically they would be a critical source of information and hints on what is going on for the international correspondents to pursue for their outlets (Sambrook, 2010).

Nonetheless, foreign journalists' coverage is said not to lack an agenda -- of their respective media houses or their home countries; with Paterson (1994) arguing that news content is largely shaped by economic interests of the newsgathering organisation. On the other hand, Biney (1997) traces the perpetuation and dissemination of Africa's negative image to precolonial days using colonialists, explorers, missionaries and traders; with the current narrative of a dependent and crisis-laden continent being sustained through mass media. According to Kieh (2002), mass media is an agent by which Western governments have maintained cultural hegemony and supremacy in Africa. This view is supported by Chavis (1998), who argues that Western media's coverage of Africa portrays it as a 'bastion of disease, savagery, animism, pestilence, war, famine, despotism, primitivism and poverty', while ignoring the positive story of its strategic importance and abundant resources, in order to pursue capitalistic greed.

Mass media has been found to be an agent of geopolitics, and just like the images and representation of places and communities in art and music, helps to inform people's understanding of the world, and could rally policy makers and public (Dodds, 2007).

Electioneering in Africa is amongst the most closely followed for news by journalists – local and foreign, alike – from campaigns to the voting day, announcement of results and

the reactions that follow. Through media, citizens can monitor and scrutinise government actions for use in making decisions (Besley et.al, 2002). In the coverage of elections in Africa, foreign press is often assumed to be more objective than local media since they do not have as much vested interests in the contest, neither are they at risk of being compromised, as their local counterparts. In actual fact, they are not, particularly demonstrated in their choice of stories to report, the angles they take and the language and imagery used (Biney, 1997). The foreign press' coverage, is influenced by commercial interests, socio-cultural bias and political concerns of the media houses and their governments back home to maintain existing domestic and international power structures (Ibid).

## **1.2 Election Situations in Kenya**

In Kenya, elections always generate excitement and tension in equal measure to the whole country, including the media fraternity both local and foreign. This, particularly after the violence that followed the disputed 2007 elections that led to loss of lives, injuries and destruction of property, thus drawing global attention.

Typically, ethnicity has been identified as an important factor influencing voters' choices during elections in Kenya. Omolo (2002) attributes this to the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1991, birthing a rise in 'ethnic brinkmanship and conflict'. However, Bratton and Kimenyi (2008) argue that ethnicity is only one of several determinants to explain voting patterns, with voters also keen on policy interests such as personal economic wellbeing, performance of the economy and government record, similar to what happens in advanced economies where elections are more of a 'referendum on the economy' where parties are punished or rewarded or punished, depending on the past performance.



In Kenya's 2017 general elections, voters were choosing the President (and the Deputy President), County Governors (and their deputies), Senators, Women Representatives, Members of the National Assembly and Members of the County Assemblies. For the presidential elections, incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta contested for a second term against his main rival, Raila Odinga and six other candidates. In the run-up to the August 8 general elections, campaigns, voting and announcement of results, their eventual nullification by the Supreme Court and ultimately the October 26 presidential elections and outcome, foreign press took a keen interest in the elections. They aired news stories on the elections, in addition to hosting live interviews of the main presidential candidates and analysts.

### **1.3 History of CNN**

Cable News Network (CNN) is a 24-hour international multimedia company owned by Time Warner, a media conglomerate headquartered in Atlanta, in the US. Launched in 1980 as a cable television station, it is credited with shifting the nature of news globally, from a daily evening news cycle to a 24-hour one (Kalyango, 2011). Today, the CNN content is consumed across platforms, including television, online and on devices, such as mobile phones, tablets, and wearable gadgets.

On television, CNN currently broadcasts daily to over 457 million households and hotel rooms worldwide and a further 250 million passengers in 48 airports across the world (CNN, 2018). This is on its two editions— CNN-US for the American audience and CNN-International for the rest of the world. The perspective of CNN-International is credited for shaping knowledge of the world by many Africans who rely on television for international news. On its digital media platforms, which include the website ([www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com)), CNN enjoys 2.6 billion pageviews monthly and more than 750 million fans on its social media

platforms including Facebook, Twitter and Instagram (CNN, 2018). As a channel, CNN wields huge influence in its coverage of Kenya and the African continent as a whole.

### **1.3.1 Presence of CNN in Africa**

CNN has four fully-fledged bureaus in Africa – Nairobi, Lagos, Johannesburg and Cairo -- and a mobile studio, from which it coordinates newsgathering and coverage of the continent (Kalyango, 2011). CNN is also credited for setting up the first ever bureau by an American television station in Nairobi (Paterson, 1994).

In addition to the news bulletins that also air stories and interviews from Africa, CNN has developed shows that are dedicated to the continent. This includes: *Marketplace Africa* that focuses on macro trends that impact the continent, as well as key industries and corporations; *Inside Africa* that celebrates diversity through cultures and religions, art, travel, music and literature; and *African Voices* that profiles trendsetters in travel, fashion, art, music, technology and architecture. It is estimated that these weekly Africa feature shows on CNN-International reach more than 355 million TV households and hotel rooms, whereas on the website, it has a dedicated Africa section attracting more than 76,000 monthly visitors with the CNN Africa social media handles engages more than one million followers (CNN, 2018).

In a study of the audience perception of CNN-International that was conducted in Uganda, where, like most of Africa, it is sought after for quality and timely foreign news from the rest of the world, majority of the respondents indicated that it does not show positive news from Africa; and that the continent is ‘a magnet for negative news coverage’ from the channel (Kalyango, 2011).

### **1.3.2 CNN Operations in Kenya**

In Kenya, CNN was among the first foreign media houses to set up a bureau in Nairobi, until then relying on news crews flown in from its Johannesburg bureau – its oldest on the continent (Palmer, 1987). Having been one of the oldest bureaus in Nairobi makes it ideal for this study, since this is an indication that it has been covering the country for one of the longest periods by a foreign media house. The CNN bureaus, like many of those run by international media in Nairobi and other African cities, are staffed by a mix of foreign correspondents and local media professionals.

CNN is arguably the most prominent foreign press outlet with a significant presence in Kenya today. Even within the country, it is closely watched. CNN's coverage of Kenya came into focus in August 2015 during the visit by US President Barack Obama, with its description of the country as 'a hotbed of terror', drawing the ire of Kenyans online through the #SomeoneTellCNN hashtag that trended on Twitter, and necessitated a public apology and a personal one delivered to Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta by one of CNN's senior global executives (Mutiga, 2015).

During Kenya's 2017 elections, CNN frequently shone the spotlight on the country through a constant stream of news stories and live interviews on television. The global media house also published several stories – both text and video -- on the country's elections on its website during this period, which it shared on its different social media platforms.

Due to its stature globally and track record as an authoritative news platform, CNN is highly regarded in Kenya as an avenue for reaching audiences across the world. This is further backed by its wide reach directly as well as indirectly through partnerships with broadcasters across the world who air the broadcasts in different countries. Demonstration of this is in the paid advertisement that the Kenyan government put out on CNN in an attempt to

attract tourists and resuscitate the flailing tourism industry (Business Daily, 2015). This is an indication of the prestige that the country's leadership holds CNN as well as the recognition of its footprint and ability to reach the world with a message.

The international news channel has been linked to movements in key industries. Koske (2016) argues that CNN's negative coverage of Kenya between 2011 and 2015, particularly on the terror attacks, impacted on its reputation and diminished its stature globally, discouraging tourists, thus leading to a slump in the tourism industry – a key contributor to the GDP, on the back of reduced tourist traffic.

Its global reach, 24-hour news cycle and foreign affairs agenda, has earned CNN credit for spearheading a media-driven foreign policy known as 'the CNN Effect' based on the channel's campaign of promoting 'world peace and journalistic excellence to the world community' (Robinson, 2005). The 'CNN Effect' owes its influence over policy to advancing technology that is facilitating real-time communication, enabling media to provoke response from audiences and policy makers (Robinson, 1999).

Due to this significance as a news channel, globally, makes CNN a perfect channel for this study. Its coverage, including that of Kenya's 2017 elections, has wide reach across the world and the manner in which it frames the stories influences audiences' perception of the country.

#### **1.4 Framing in the Media**

Framing is defined as the mode of presenting information in a manner that resonates with underlying frameworks amongst the audience (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). This implies that in framing, the existing perceptions about the subject of coverage are consistently reinforced, sometimes deliberately or not, by media. This is demonstrated in the media's choice of angles to tackle on an issue, words and phrases as well as images to construct a

frame in which reality is observed and understood (Ogenga, 2013). This is done for all stories pursued by the media, whether local or foreign. The study concentrates on deliberately constructed frames by foreign media, such as CNN, to create a certain reality or to reinforce one that is already existing in the audiences' minds, usually one of hegemony over Africa.

### **1.5 Statement of the Problem**

In discharging its mandate, the media, local or foreign, is expected to act as an objective gatekeeper, agenda-setter and issue filter (Nyange, 2014). In addition to this, Koske (2016) argues that international media, by virtue of its better endowment in resources – in terms of manpower, infrastructure and finances – is better placed to play the role of creating images and beliefs amongst audiences. However, faced with their editors' expectation of filing tight, newsworthy copy on deadline with comprehensive stories taking all sides' perspectives despite language and cultural barriers, foreign journalists are often accused of turning to shortcuts and sensationalisation to enhance newsworthiness (Kothari, 2010)

Wahutu (2018) contends that Western journalists are believed to exaggerate and rely on stereotypes when covering atrocities and other happenings in Africa. According to Kothari (2010), war, disease and famine symbolise Africa in reports by US media, with coverage following a pattern – preliminary report on a looming crisis, followed by graphic or violent images – that portrays it as 'a dark continent where violent and irrational people live' or 'the continent is a lost cause because of its constant struggles with violence, famine and disease'. Based on foreign press' muscle, this is the predominant image globally, particularly for the section of the audience that has not directly interacted with the country, and the continent, perpetuating the misrepresentation of Africa amongst Americans through exposure to only news on crises with a very brief period of coverage (Kothari, 2010).

Nonetheless, Nothias (2017) argues that Western press' portrayal of Africa to systematically reproduce stereotypical, racist and colonial representations as influenced by colonial ideas, exoticism, feelings of white supremacy and racism, could just be a myth since the 'bad news' is not only specific to Africa and even so, it may be over-estimated.

This study seeks to investigate CNN's representation of Kenya's 2017 general elections, based on how it framed the stories and interviews that it published on its website around the polls.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The objectives of the study are:

1. To investigate prominent issues and themes that CNN highlighted in its coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections
2. To investigate dominant frames in CNN's online coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections
3. To identify the most dominant words, phrases and images used in CNN's stories on Kenya's 2017 elections
4. To identify common news sources in CNN's stories on Kenya's 2017 elections

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research questions for this study are:

1. What issues and themes were prominent in CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections?
2. What are the dominant frames in CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections?
3. What are the most dominant words, phrases and images that CNN used in its stories on Kenya's 2017 elections?
4. What were CNN's new sources for stories on Kenya's 2017 elections?

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Foreign press, as a whole, has generally been accused of negatively portraying Africa countries to global audiences. This study seeks to interrogate this claim by analysing coverage by a single media house – CNN – on a specific country – Kenya – around a specific event – the 2017 elections – to determine the framing of the stories.

The study expands the body of knowledge on foreign press' framing of Africa by focusing on a specific event of great international importance, namely elections. Unlike other studies that usually tackle coverage in general by international media, this study narrows down to a specific international media house.

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

By analysing how CNN covered Kenya's elections, it is possible to identify and flag any trends that arise from the country's portrayal – both positive ones that need to be celebrated and negative ones that need to be addressed. The study is also intended to provide a rationale that will inspire conversations around the need for guidelines for international media houses that cover Africa. The findings of this study could serve as a basis for Kenya, and by extension other African countries to challenge the image propagated by foreign media outlets, such as CNN, while framing its own counter narrative. This is critical as Africa positions itself as the next frontier for development in the world; since it will tackle concerns that the election cycles disrupt economic activity.

## **1.7 Scope and Limitations**

This study will focus on the coverage of Kenya's elections by CNN, between 2017 and 2018, covering the runup to the elections, nullification of results by the Supreme Court, the re-run, and the period after the extended electioneering period. The sample will be drawn from CNN's website, focusing on stories and interviews on Kenya's 2017 elections.

Specifically, the study will focus on the content and structure of the stories, as well as the issues that they raise -- voting patterns, election-related unrest, contestation of poll outcomes, and the ethnicity link in electoral contests in Kenya. It will also study attempts to extrapolate the situation in Kenya to others from the rest of Africa. The study will cover all stories irrespective of the format – text or video -- on the elections that published on CNN's website. The sample will be drawn from the reportage by all CNN journalists, provided that the stories are focused on the 2017 elections.

In terms of limitations, this study only focuses on the stories that were posted online, though there are others that aired on television. The sample drawn from the stories posted online give a picture of the framing by the global media house. In addition to this, it analyses coverage of one international media outlet to give a picture of the frames. Whereas this cannot be wholly generalised to all foreign press outlets, since each has its own editorial policy and style, CNN is a major global media player. This gives it influence in forming the African narrative internationally.



## **1.8 Operational Definition of Terms**

The following terms, used in the study, are used to denote these specific meanings:

**Foreign Press** – Media houses operating in Kenya but are run from outside the country

**Framing** – Manner in which news stories are organised to create a particular meaning

**Kenya's 2017 elections** – The entire election cycle that includes the general election and the presidential rerun after results were nullified by the Supreme Court

**Multimedia Story** – A combination of text, videos and photos on one story link

**Social media fans** – Users of social media users who follow a given account

**Sources** – Individuals and organisations quoted in a news story

**Hashtag** – Word or phrase used in social media to classify tweets on a particular subject

**Trending** – Denotes popularity of a subject on social media, based on the number of people talking about it

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This chapter reviews existing literature on media framing, and the ways in which this is done – namely, through storytelling, selection of issues to focus on and sources that are quoted in a news item. It then sets out the theoretical and conceptual framework.

#### **2.1 Media Framing**

The concept of media framing is defined as the process by which journalists highlight specific issues at the expense of others as they organise, package and present news stories, with the goal of delivering a particular meaning (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). Framing is the way, the format and style in which a story is presented by the media; it is in the placement, aesthetics, repetition and varying salience, and can be located anywhere within the news story – the headline, language, introduction, or even the typography (Oranga, 2014).

Framing, according to Koske (2016), is an exercise of control and power by the journalists. This is because journalists do not simply transcribe events, but deliver news, which is ‘an organisational product that is packaged and constructed’ (Wahutu, 2018). Githua (2013) argues that framing influences public opinion, and that even when journalists intend to be objective in their coverage, they unintentionally give audiences cues on how to understand issues -- the ones to focus on and the ones to ignore. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) point out that framing does not necessarily aim to spin a story or deceive audiences but is a necessary tool to not only reduce complexity of an issue but also fit it in the available space. In this way, framing emphasises and promotes specific understanding of an event or issue (Litvyak, 2016). It is critical in the construction of social reality by shaping perspectives through which people view the world (Hallahan, 1999).

Media framing of issues of global importance such as gender, disability, and genetically modified organisms, among others; and events such as disasters (for instance, the 9/11 terror attack) and elections across the world, continues to attract scholarly attention. Wahutu (2017) argues that news framing is at the intersection of various gestures -- geopolitics, the need to signal a sense of unity and shared identity and reliance on sources to verify facts; and in the case of foreign conflict, can affect policymakers' decisions on whether or not to intervene and what type of intervention may be required – humanitarian, military, diplomatic or legal; as well as audiences' understanding of victimhood and suffering.

In the case of Africa, media framing is considered to be of particular relevance, because of the world's attention that is focused on violence and disorder in the continent, whose representation is said to be grounded in colonial nostalgia (ibid). At the centre of all this is a struggle between African struggle and renaissance on one side, and the Western world's dominance and influence on the other (Kalyango, 2011).

According to Kothari (2010) media framing strategies include: overuse of officials as sources in stories, trivialising actions of opposition groups to emphasise the official view, focusing on events instead of issues and emphasising only one side of the argument. A study of *New York Times*' coverage of African countries between 1955 and 1995 found that 73 per cent of the articles were negative, reinforcing Afro-pessimism amongst the US public and policymakers (Schraeder and Endless, 1998). African problems, argues Kalyango (2011), treat the developing world's problems in a manner that consistently reinforces American ideals and policies; with the media placing itself as a power with significant authority to change lives in Africa through its messages.

### **2.1.1 Framing through story-telling (Words and phrases, images and tone)**

Hallahan (1999) argues that framing is through semantic framing that involves phrasing of terms; and story framing through selection of themes or ideas, and incorporation of storytelling or narrative techniques. Frames are also created from, and exemplified in, keywords chosen by the journalist (Koske, 2016); as well as metaphors, concepts, symbols, graphics and visual images that influence a news narrative (Oranga, 2014). This view is supported by Shah et. al (2002), who argues that journalistic choice of language through which a story is presented contributes towards media's emphasis and framing of certain issues over others. Western press has been said to rely on a specific set of vocabulary, metaphors and explanatory framework when reporting on Africa, which contributes in creating a particular image that is 'grounded in a colonial repertoire' (Nothias, 2017). This reproduces the view whose characteristics are of 'Africa as a country' and 'a homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human rights abuses and lack of democracy (ibid).

Nothias (2017) has identified linguistic strategies that can be used to provide a conflated view of the continent by Active Generalisations (where a specific case in Africa is taken to be representative of the entire continent), Comparisons (correlating more than one country to ultimately make a case for a generalised view of Africa), and Overlexicalisation (using particular words like Africa, and their synonyms to locate the country within a continental framework). The choice of photographs and repetition is a way in which media representation works to construct a frame in which reality must be constructed and observed (Ogenga, 2013).

Ultimately, the journalists and their editors exercise power by controlling messages and images that circulate in society, thus constructing representation of an African identity that may not necessarily reflect the reality (Kalyango, 2011).

### 2.1.2 Issues selection in framing

In defining framing, Vossen et.al (2017) single out the process by which stories are shaped through specific choice of topic, approach, storyline and aspects that are emphasised; and it is from this that audiences digest it and contribute toward shaping public opinion. This is by focusing public attention on particular topics, and in so doing, alters the mix of cognitions that are mostly accessible within the information environment when forming judgements and attitudes (Shah et. al, 2002). Framing involves inclusion, exclusion and emphasis of issues by selecting some and making them more salient than others (Hallahan, 1999). It all starts with news value – attributes that journalists assign to issues or events and make them news.

For instance, in coverage of Africa, the frame of ethnic conflict is often used which, Wahutu (2017) argues, is an attempt at depoliticising conflicts in Africa. Nothias (2017) cites this reliance on ‘tribalism’ as an explanatory framework used for African conflicts and not European ones in media coverage, thus contributing to a sense that they are so different that explaining them ‘escapes bounds of Western rationality’.

Schraeder and Endless (1998) found that existence of civil conflict dominated *New York Times*’ coverage of the continent between 1955 and 1995, with most stories from Southern Africa marked by racial conflict, thus emphasising race as a defining characteristic of African politics and society. This is how the continent is understood by the US public, with the perspective of religion and ethnicity increasingly shaping perceptions (ibid).

Selection of issues to focus on by international channels such as CNN International has been found to be slanted on a Western perspective, depth and continuity pegged on access to compelling visuals and the perceived impact on the American audience; with little

attention paid to world matters that do not directly involve their home countries or have similar economic conditions (Kalyango, 2011).

### **2.1.3 Sourcing as a way of framing**

Sources have power in framing stories, can communicate outright lies or biased perceptions, and reportage is influenced by access to credible sources, motives of the sources, their credibility and relationship with journalists and the editing process (Kothari, 2010). Sources affect choice of frames, whether written in the form of press releases and statements or spoken through interviews and press conferences and briefings; leading journalists to adopt the frames of those they consult (Vossen et.al., 2017). Despite their significance in the journalistic process, Kothari (2010) points out that sources are not neutral beings, since they have biases and agendas when sharing information with journalists. In the case of international media's coverage of Africa, the choice is between officials from their home countries (envoys or observer missions), local officials (election body or other government agencies), or non-elite sources (ordinary voters). Nothias (2017) argues that coverage by foreign media is often criticised for relying on Western sources and foreign interviewees over local ones, giving them a voice to tell a significant part of the African story and as if to reinforce the view that authority to speak about and for Africa is located externally. Each of the news sources has a point of view that if adopted by media, could frame the stories differently. The challenge is in providing both sides of the story to make it complete.

Kothari (2010) argues that in addition to journalists' understanding of a subject being shaped by the news sources; they not only report the source's view but also directly endorse it, depending on their status. Citing the case of Rwanda, Wahutu (2017) says commentators with superficial knowledge retreat into 'the comfortable stereotype that these were two tribes with ancient tribal hatred that always fought wars against each other'.

However, together with the journalist and the source, editors also influence how the final story is presented (Kothari, 2010).

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This study is based on the Framing Theory, first put forth by Erving Goffman in a sociological context, though it had earlier application in psychology (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2011).

### **2.2.1 The Framing Theory**

The Framing Theory is related to the Agenda-setting Theory. Griffin (2006) defines framing as ‘selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular issue is discussed’; and citing James Tankard, defines a media frame as ‘the central organising idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration’.

Oranga (2015) argues that framing, through packaging and presentation of the message, gives facts meaning by injecting context and emphasising significant aspects in order to convey a meaning to an audience. The manner in which an issue is framed in news reports has an influence in how it is eventually perceived by the audiences (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2011). In framing a story, journalists selectively push the frames of their sources and may only add context to them (D’Angelo et al., 2013).

However, framing is not necessarily about spinning or doctoring information but an essential tool employed to make the story more accessible to audiences by reducing the complexity in it and presenting it in a manner that resonates with the audiences (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2011).

There are two ways of framing – frame-building that refer to the structural issues and how journalists select stories, as well as themes and angles to focus on; and frame-setting that

is concerned with what is positioned as more important within the story (Scheufele, 1999). This study is concerned with a combination of both framing strategies.

The framing theory is concerned with how the audience interprets and is influenced by what is presented to them; as well as ability of media to convince them to accept a given position over the other.

### 2.3 Conceptual Framework

The study is based on three variables –the image and representation of Kenya; the coverage by foreign press; and Kenya’s 2017 elections. It operates from the premise that media plays a significant role in influencing the image of audiences towards a subject in the news, particularly when there is no direct connection due to geographical distance. The country’s image internationally is dependent on coverage by foreign press. This makes the elections the independent variable, the coverage (comprising the dominant frame; story-telling through words phrases and images; issues and themes; and sources) the intervening variable, and the country’s (and continent’s) image the dependent variable. The elections provide a platform for the two sides to interact. Figure 2.1 maps out the relationship between the different variables in the study.

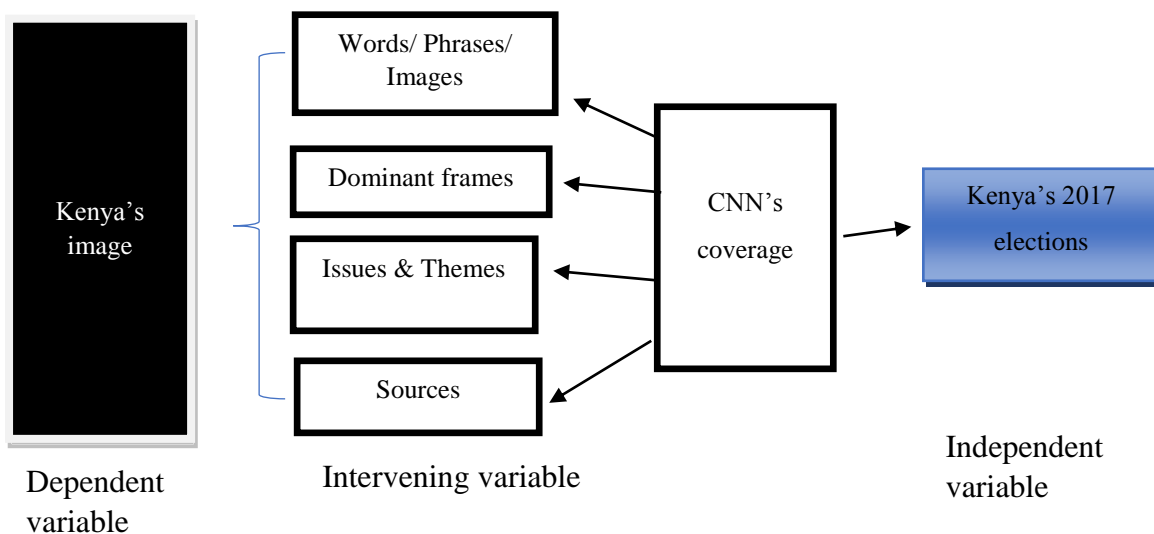


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework generated



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

This section outlines the design of the study, and the research approach that it used. The data that was used and its sources and the sampling procedures, as well as methods of collecting, analysing and presenting data are also be discussed.

#### **3.1 Philosophical Paradigm**

This study is underpinned by the Constructivist Paradigm, which argues that there is no single reality; and that reality has to be interpreted. Its applicability in the study of the framing of Kenya's 2017 elections by CNN, lies in interpretation of the coverage as exemplified in the storytelling (through words, phrases, images and frame); issues selection; and the sources quoted in the stories.

#### **3.2 Study Design**

The study design is the arrangement of conditions for collecting and analysing data in a manner that is relevant to the research aims and is determined by needs of the research and the costs involved (Kothari, 2004). This study used an exploratory case study design, which Yin (1994) defines as an 'empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context'. The case study design is suited for analysing how foreign press frames Africa based on CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections. Coverage clippings of the elections could give an indication that could be extrapolated to the general framing of the continent by foreign press.

### **3.2.1 Research Approach**

The study utilised a qualitative approach to collect data on CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections. A qualitative approach facilitated development of a reality through observation and interpretation. It is from this that it can be determined how the elections were covered by CNN, through the dominant themes and issues tackled, the sources used and the choice of words, phrases and images in the stories. Analysis of the narrative also provided an indication of how the country, and by extension the continent, is framed by the foreign press.

The research method was content analysis of the text and video stories published by CNN between March 2017 and March 2018.

### **3.2.2 Population**

A total of 65 multimedia stories were published online by CNN on its website during the study period (Appendix 1). The month of August was the busiest, with CNN publishing 22 stories, 10 of which were video and the rest were text stories. The month of October when a rerun of the presidential elections was held had the second highest number of stories at 15 – 8 being video stories and 7 text stories. September recorded the third highest amount of coverage by CNN, focusing on reactions from the polls and nullification of presidential results by the Supreme Court. The months of July and December, representing the period around campaigns and final outcome of the polls, only had four stories. The month of February recorded increased interest in Kenya by CNN, drawn by the mock swearing in staged by Raila Odinga and the resultant shutdown of television stations that aired the ceremony.

Out of the published stories, 34, representing 52 per cent of all stories were text stories while the remaining 31, representing 48 per cent of all stories, were video stories. In terms of the presentation of the stories online, it was multimedia in nature. Each link had a text story, accompanied by images, with some of them also having a video story on the same

link. Each of the text stories had at least an image accompanying them, with some having multiple images; and three of the text stories sharing a link with more than one video story.

Of the video stories, 14 were packaged as news stories, with 5 being live interviews with the reporter and another seven live interviews with news source (politicians, observers or journalists) and another four being footage or multimedia slideshow without voice-over. The packaged video stories were all reported by one reporter, Farai Sevenzo. For the print stories, most were shared by at least two reporters, reporting from different locations – usually Nairobi and another from the US.

### **3.2.3 Sampling Procedure**

Data was collected from secondary sources, namely CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections, and particularly those focusing on the presidential polls. The stories – both text and video – were sourced from the CNN website.

The sample was drawn from stories on Kenya's 2017 elections published by CNN on its website between March 2017 and March 2018. The study period was selected to cover the period before elections, as campaigns hot up and preparations are put in place for the vote, up until the voting day and the period after the elections, including reactions to the outcome. For the 2017 elections particularly, the electioneering period was extended, following the nullification of the results of the presidential polls by the Supreme Court, necessitating a rerun.

The study used random sampling approach to pick the stories to analyse from all those published online by CNN between March 2017 and March 2018. In order to generate the sample, all stories published during the study period were listed in order of publication, from the most recent to the oldest. They were then numbered – separately for text stories and video stories. All text stories corresponding to an odd number and all video stories corresponding to

an even number were selected for analysis. Thus, the sample was made up of a total of 33 stories -- 17 text stories and 16 video stories. This represented 50 per cent of all the stories published during the study period.

### **3.2.4 Methods of Data Collection**

The data was obtained from a total of 33 stories -- 17 text stories and 16 video stories -- on Kenya's 2017 presidential elections that were published online on the CNN website, representing 50 per cent of all published stories. This data was analysed to identify dominant frames, common words in the stories, prominent issues highlighted in the coverage and the sources quoted in the stories, and to describe the images in the stories. The data collection tools used were Coding Sheet (Appendix 2) and Scoring Sheet (Appendix 3).

The text stories in the sample averaged 809 words, with the word count ranging between 480 and 1287 words. The video stories were 2 minutes, 7 seconds long on average, with the longest being 3 minutes, 25 seconds long and the shortest being 38 seconds.

Except for three text stories, all text stories had shared by-lines -- meaning that they were penned by more than one journalist. A total of 15 journalists wrote the text stories, four out of whom co-wrote more than one -- namely Dominique van Heerden (2), Farai Sevenzo (4), Briana Duggan (6) and Lauren Said-Moorhouse (7).

The video stories were in the format of either packaged news stories, live link with a reporter, interview with a news source without a voice-over or a multimedia slideshow. All video stories that were packaged as news stories and had one reporter signing off -- Farai Sevenzo -- who was reporting from Nairobi.

### 3.2.5 Data Analysis

Content analysis was used to analyse each of the stories that were sampled for this study, guided by a Coding Sheet (Appendix 2) and findings recorded in the Scoring Sheet (Appendix 3 and 4). The analysis was fourfold:

i) Dominant frames

Contents of each of the stories were deconstructed to identify dominant frames, following textual analysis in research by Kothari (2010) that looked at: the focus of the story, salient words within texts, background information in the story, discussion of underlying problems and solutions offered (Kothari, 2010).

For this study, analysis of the focus of the story paid attention to socio-economic challenges relating to Kenya that were raised in the story (such as poverty, corruption, democracy, human rights, among others), ethnicity and tribalism, as well as issues relating to the election (such as campaigns, conduct of the polls and the process itself). The background information included in the story was also identified, particularly reference to past elections, the socio-economic conditions of the country and extrapolation to electioneering in other countries in the continent. The underlying problems highlighted and the proposed solutions presented were grouped under those relating to the conduct of the elections and those that touched on the general socio-economic development of the country. The setting of the story was also analysed – whether urban or rural, and whether the subjects of the story told hailed from a slum or an affluent urban part of the country. In some cases, the stories had no setting –such as live interviews.

ii) Language (keywords and phrases) and images

For text stories, keywords that regularly appeared in CNN's online stories were identified (Kothari, 2010). The accompanying image was also coded depending on its contents. For the video stories, the images in the footage were also be analysed.

In this study, the keywords sought were ethnicity/ tribalism, violence/ protests/ death/ skirmishes, poverty, disease, corruption/ rigging/ manipulation, democracy and human rights, boycott. The images accompanying the text stories and those in the video stories were analysed and scored whether they portrayed protests, politicians (the protagonists in the election), ordinary Kenyans (the voters), elite (election officials, observers or analysts) or inanimate objects such as buildings, aircraft and signboards.

iii) Issues and themes

Each story was categorised under broad categories (whether politics, economic, socio-cultural or general news). For each story, the overarching theme that is dominant in each story was also identified.

iv) Sources

The individuals and/ or organisations quoted in each of the stories were identified – whether official sources or non-elite and local or foreign – to check if there are any group that are dominant across the samples. This was guided by the fact that the source’s quote sometimes had an effect on the overall story frame salience (Kothari, 2010).

### **3.2.5 Data Presentation**

The data in this study has been presented in the form of tables, graphs, charts, lists and narrative format.

### **3.2.6 Ethical Guidelines**

This study adhered to the principles of ethical research by maintaining independence throughout data collection, analysis and presentation, steering away from any conflict of interest whatsoever. Integrity in analysis and presentation of data was also be maintained.

The requisite approvals were sought and received from the relevant university authorities and duly signed as required. These were: Certificate of Fieldwork (Appendix 5), Turnitin Originality Report (Appendix 6) and Certificate of Corrections (Appendix 7).

In collecting the data, the sample was randomised to eliminate any bias of the researcher and assure its integrity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the data analysed in the study in charts and tables, followed by an interpretation of the research findings.

#### 4.1 Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

The data generated from the study was analysed, guided by the research objectives, paying attention to the study's objectives -- dominant frames, language, main issues/ themes and sources. This section also summarises the findings generated from this analysis to address the study's research questions. Alongside the overall findings, the analysis compared the coverage in text and video stories. Generally, there is significant differences in the frames taken by text stories compared to those in video stories, which is unexpected considering that while the different crews and genres approach reporting differently, all the stories are published by one media house, presumably working off a common style book.

##### 4.1.1 Main Issues and Themes

The sampled stories were categorised according to the main issues and themes that they tackled. For this study, three broad categories were identified, namely politics, economic and socio-cultural. Figure 4.1 shows themes in the text and video stories.

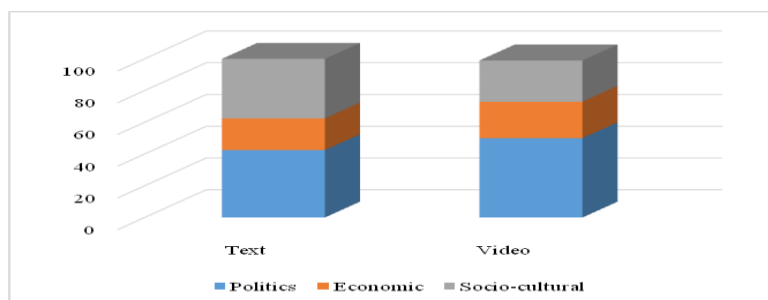


Figure 4.1: Main Issues and Themes in Stories

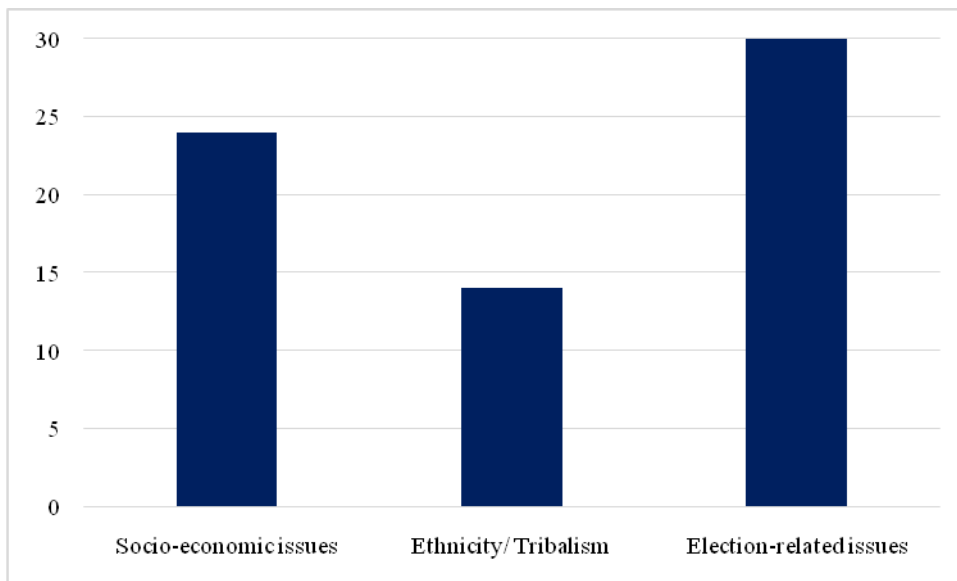


Being a politically charged season and elections being a political process, the bulk of the stories justifiably fell into this category (45.7 per cent), followed by socio-cultural (32.8%) and economic (21.4 per cent). The latter two categories were more common in analytical pieces that brought out the context of the Kenyan nation. There were similar trends in categories to which the stories fell for both video and text stories, though politics was more common in video stories (at 50 per cent), compared to text stories (at 42.5 per cent) and text stories had more stories in the socio-cultural category (37.5 per cent) compared to video stories (26 per cent). Since electioneering is a political process, politics emerged as the most common theme in the sampled stories. However, economic and socio-cultural issues were also significant as main themes in the coverage. The elections thus provided an opportunity for CNN to tell Kenya's story beyond the main issue of the day – which was politics.

#### **4.1.2 Dominant Frames**

The dominant frames were derived from the focus of the story, its setting background information, as well as underlying problems that were identified in the story and relevant solutions that were proposed.

The focus of the story is the angle taken by the journalist in reporting the news. The focus of the story contributes to the frame of the story by highlighting the most important issues in the story that the journalist wants the audience to focus on. For purposes of this study, three focus areas were identified, based on which the sampled stories were analysed: socio-economic issues (such as poverty, corruption, human rights); ethnicity/ tribalism; and election related issues (campaigns, the electioneering process, voting, announcement of results and reactions). Some of the sampled stories had more than one of these focus areas. Figure 4.2 summarises the focus areas for the sampled stories.



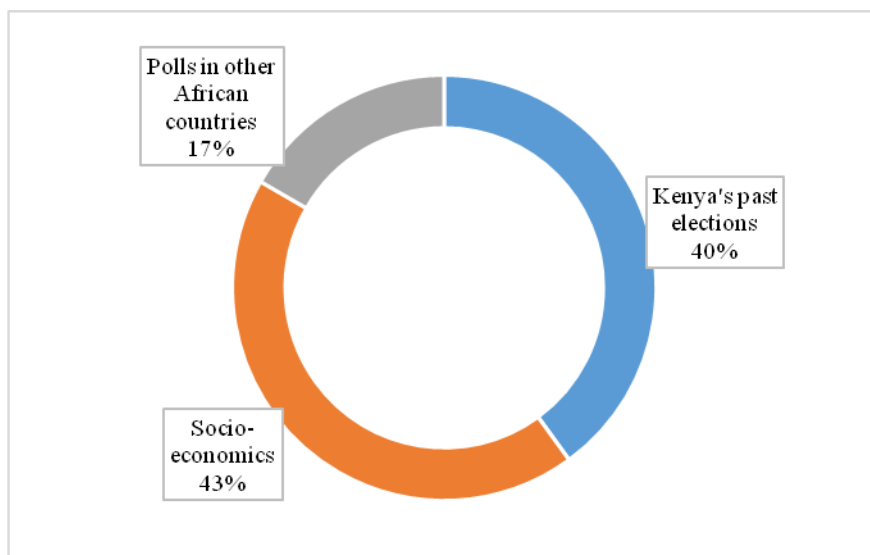
**Figure 4.2: Focus of Text and Video Stories**

Issues relating to the election were most commonly focused on in the sampled stories, accounting for 44 per cent of all the stories, followed by socio-economic issues at 35 per cent and ethnicity at 20 per cent. Whereas election-related issues dominated the focus areas, there was, however, some difference in the focus areas between text and video stories. Amongst the two other focus areas, Ethnicity and tribalism was more commonly focused on in text stories, accounting for 33 per cent, compared to only 14 per cent in video stories. The more common focus area for video stories was issues related to socio-economic development of the country, featuring in 38 per cent of them.

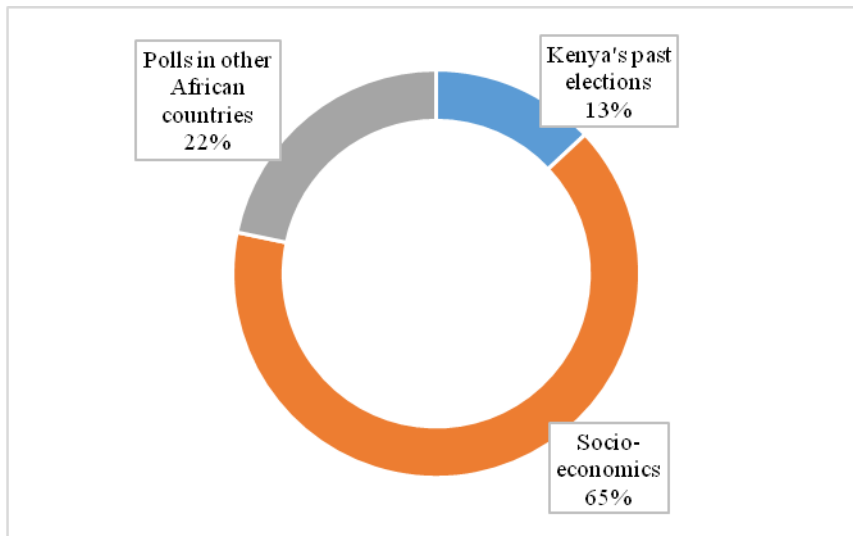
Background information are additional facts in a news story, not necessarily the main focus area(s) that is meant to offer context for the audience to understand it better. The background information helps in framing the story by drawing the audience's attention to certain facts about electioneering in Kenya, the country and the continent as a whole. For this study, three possible pieces of background information were identified that would be relevant to coverage of Kenya's general elections. The first was past general elections in Kenya and particularly, the 2007 elections whose presidential results were disputed, plunging the

country into chaos; and the 2013 elections whose relevance is that it was the first election that the main candidates – Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga first faced off. This having happened, such an eventuality always exists as a possibility, hence the attempts to draw parallels. The second possible background information was the socio-economic conditions in the country – poverty levels, corruption and good governance, freedom of the press, and the challenge of ethnicity. The third possible piece of background information is reference to polls conducted in other African countries, with a view of generating a trend in how they are handled, voting patterns, the instability that accompanies electioneering and the aftermath, usually a violent one. The sampled stories were analysed to determine which of these backgrounds were weaved in more frequently by CNN journalists in their stories on Kenya’s elections.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show frequency of the pieces of background information in text and video stories.



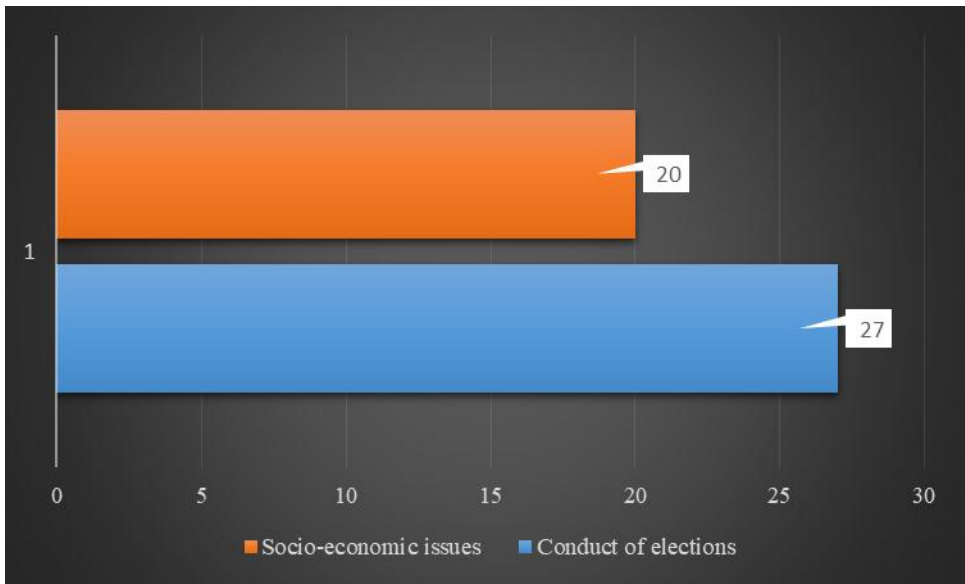
**Figure 4.3: Background information in text stories**



**Figure 4.4: Background information in video stories**

On average, poverty and socio-economic conditions of the country were most commonly brought up in CNN stories as background information, being reported in 52.8 per cent of the stories. The second most mentioned background information related to past elections in Kenya, at 28 per cent, whereas electioneering in other African countries only came up in 18.8 per cent of the cases. Text stories used past elections more frequently in stories at 40 per cent, but only appeared 13 per cent of the time in video stories. For video stories, poverty and other socio-economic issues featured more as background information, at 65 per cent. The other difference between video and text stories also lay in the other pieces of background information – poverty and other socio-economic issues were second most common in text stories, followed by polls in other African countries; while for video stories the reverse was reported, polls in other African countries were more prevalent than socio-economic issues.

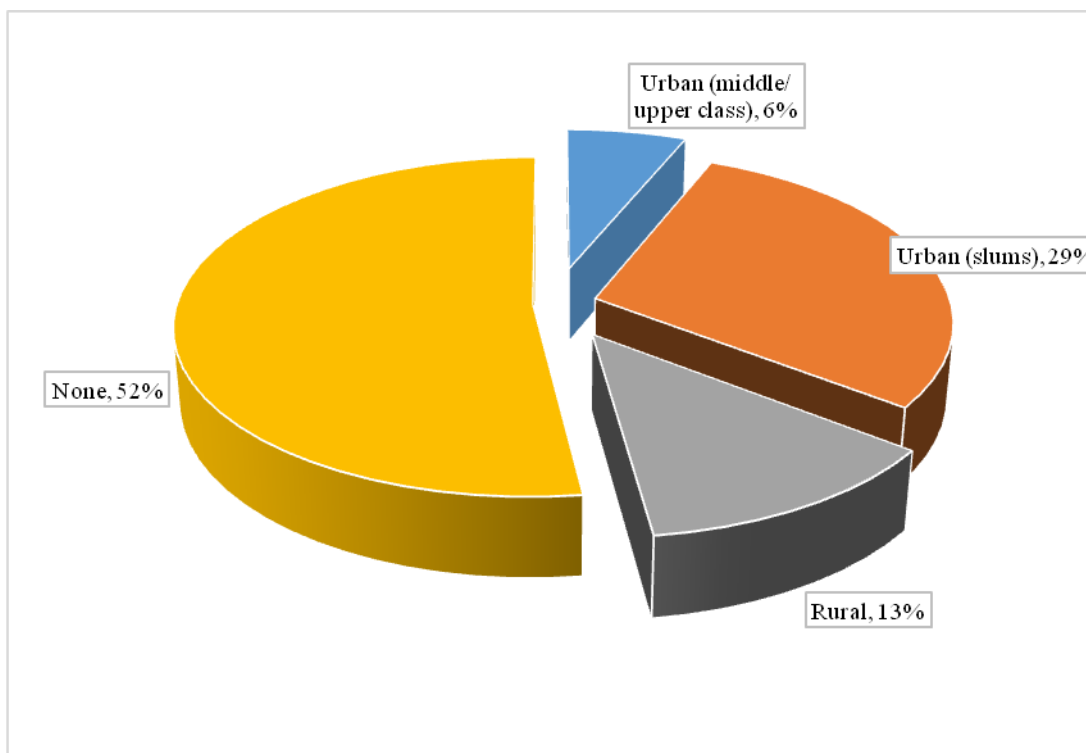
The sampled stories were analysed for underlying problems presented and any solutions that were proposed. The study focused on two relevant problems – that related to conduct of elections and socio-economic issues. Figure 4.5 compares frequency of underlying problems and solutions.



**Figure 4.5: Underlying Problems and Solutions in Stories**

On average, the challenge of conducting elections and shortcomings of the process came up more frequently (at 57.4 per cent), compared to the socio-economic challenges (at 42.5 per cent). The trend in distribution of underlying problems and solutions was consistent in text and video stories. For text stories, this was distributed at 51.8 per cent for election-related challenges and 48.1 per cent for socio-economic issues; whereas video stories had 65 per cent and 35 per cent respectively.

In analysing the stories for the setting, the study identified places used as a hook for telling the story. It is where the main voice in the story is located. The setting comes alive in descriptions and accompanying images, for text stories; or the images that tell the story for video stories. The setting contributes to the framing of the story by creating a reference point, in terms of the place from where the story is told. Figure 4.6 shows the distribution of the settings in the stories.



**Figure 4.6: Setting of the Stories**

From the sampled stories, it was found that some of the text stories published on the CNN website were hard news items, thus did not have a setting. They were based on announcements and analysis pieces. Video stories in the sample, on the other hand, all had a softer approach, often told as features. On average, more than half the stories (at 52 per cent) had no setting, with those set within slums accounting for 29 per cent of the stories, with a rural and middle to upper class setting only featuring in 12.5 per cent and 6.3 per cent of the stories. Comparing text and video stories, the trends in setting were generally similar. Text stories contributed more of the stories without a setting at 55 per cent, compared to 22 per cent in video stories. Urban slums were a more frequent setting in video stories at 55 per cent, but only 20 per cent in text stories. Story setting in rural areas and urban middle to upper class was only in 15 per cent and 10 per cent respectively in text stories and 16 per cent and 5 per cent respectively in video stories.

Overall, CNN's online coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections justifiably focused on election-related issues, which were the most frequently recorded focus area. Besides this, issues relating to poverty and other socio-economic conditions in the country, as well as ethnicity and tribalism also received significant focus. By highlighting and focusing on these issues, CNN contributes towards reinforcing the perceptions that global audiences have of African countries such as Kenya, namely poor nations, plagued by poverty and where ethnicity reigns supreme as criteria for electing leaders. The video stories, particularly, frequently sought voices from Kibera Slums, with the occasional story set in rural areas (interviewing voters waiting on queue on voting day). Generally, stories set in middle to upper class urban areas were in the slim minority, at only 6 per cent. The spotlighting of socio-economic challenges was also noted in the background information presented in the stories. It was the most dominant issue put forward as background information and this repetition makes it more noticeable amongst consumers of the news.

#### **4.1.3 Language**

In analysing the stories for language, the study looked out for identified keywords and phrases featuring in the story and analysis of images accompanying the story (for text stories) and what was portrayed in the footage used for video stories.

The choice of words and phrases in a story illustrates the kind of frame that the journalist aims at portraying, particularly based on the context with which they are used, and when the keywords and phrases keep recurring.

The study had two sets of keywords identified based on which the sampled stories were analysed – a set of favourable words and a set of unfavourable words. The first set had eight unfavourable words, namely: Ethnicity/ Tribalism, Violence/ Protests, Poverty, Disease, Corruption, Democracy, Boycott, and Election irregularities. These keywords and phrases

were identified in the stories, based on the context that they were used to deliver an unfavourable frame. Table 4.1 summarises the number of times the unfavourable words appeared in the stories.

	Ethnicity/ Tribalism	Violence/ Protests	Poverty	Disease	Corruption	(Absence of Democracy	Boycott	Election irregularity
Overall	16	28	13	0	14	27	9	19
Text	8	14	6	0	10	13	6	9
Video	8	14	7	0	4	14	3	10

**Table 4.1: Use of Unfavourable Keywords in Stories**

From the above table, some stories had more than one key word or phrase. There are also similarities in the trends of keywords appearing in text and video stories. Violence/ protests was the more frequently appearing keyword in both text and video stories, at 14 times in either case. (Absence of) Democracy was a common key phrase too – featuring 13 times in text stories and 14 times in video stories. Election irregularity was third highest in 10 of the video stories and 9 of the text stories. Ethnicity/ Tribalism was found in similar number of cases for text and video stories, appearing eight times in either case.

The second set of keywords that the sampled stories were analysed for had words that favourably portray Kenya. They are: Nationalism/ National identity, Peace/ Calm, Health, Cohesion/ Coexistence, Good governance/ Rule of law, Credible/ Free and fair elections. These keywords and phrases were identified in the stories, based on the context that they were used to deliver a favourable frame. Table 4.2 shows the number of times that each of these words were used in sample.

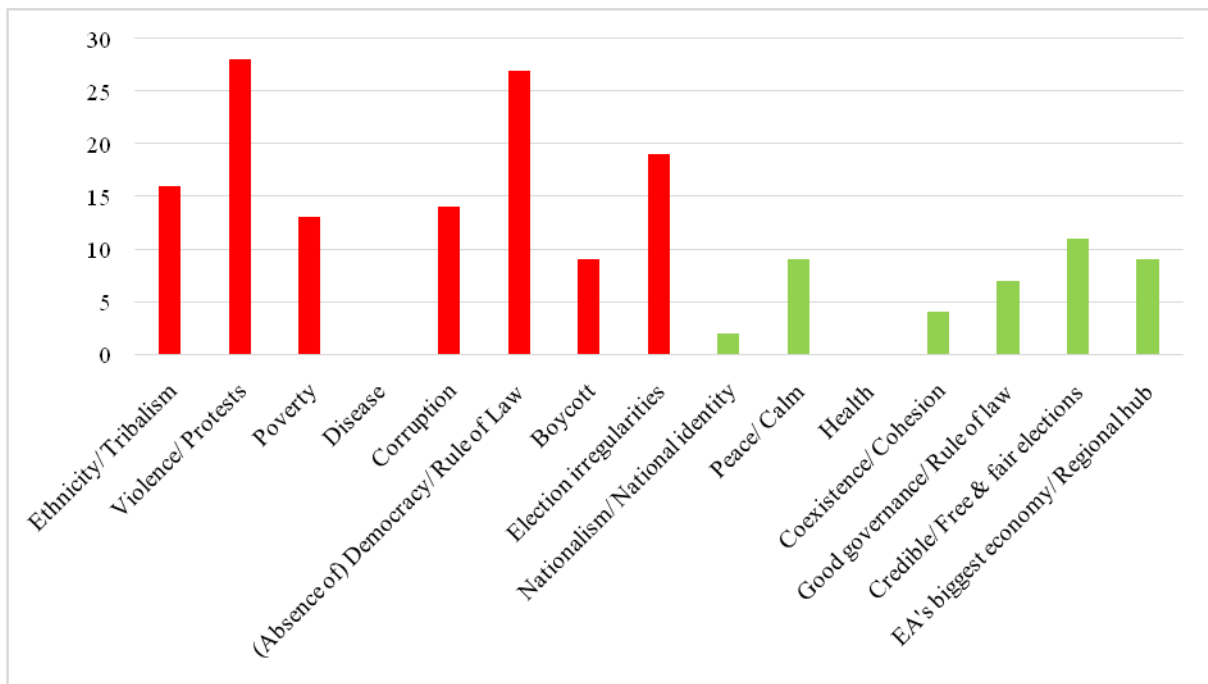
	Nationalism/ National identity	Peace/ Calm	Health	Cohesion/ Coexistence	Good governance/ Rule of law	Credible/ Free & fair elections	EA's biggest economy/ Regional hub
Overall	2	9	0	4	7	11	9
Text	2	7	0	3	2	3	5
Video	0	5	0	1	5	8	4

**Table 4.2: Favourable words in the sample**



Of all the keywords and phrases that favourably portray Kenyan elections and the country, Credible/ Free and fair elections appeared most frequently, appearing 11 times. The other common keywords and phrases were: Peace/ Calm and East Africa’s biggest economy/ regional hub, featuring nine times. Of all the keywords, Health did not appear in the story even once – though enhancing health coverage was a major issue in the elections. For text stories, Peace/ Calm appeared most frequently; whereas for video stories, Credible/ Free and fair elections were most common. Governance/ Rule of law featured more frequently in video stories (5 times) compared to text stories (twice).

Figure 4.7 compares the frequency of the favourable and unfavourable keywords and phrases. The red bars represent unfavourable keywords and phrases, whereas the green ones represent favourable keywords and phrases.



**Figure 4.7: Frequency of favourable and unfavourable keywords and phrases**

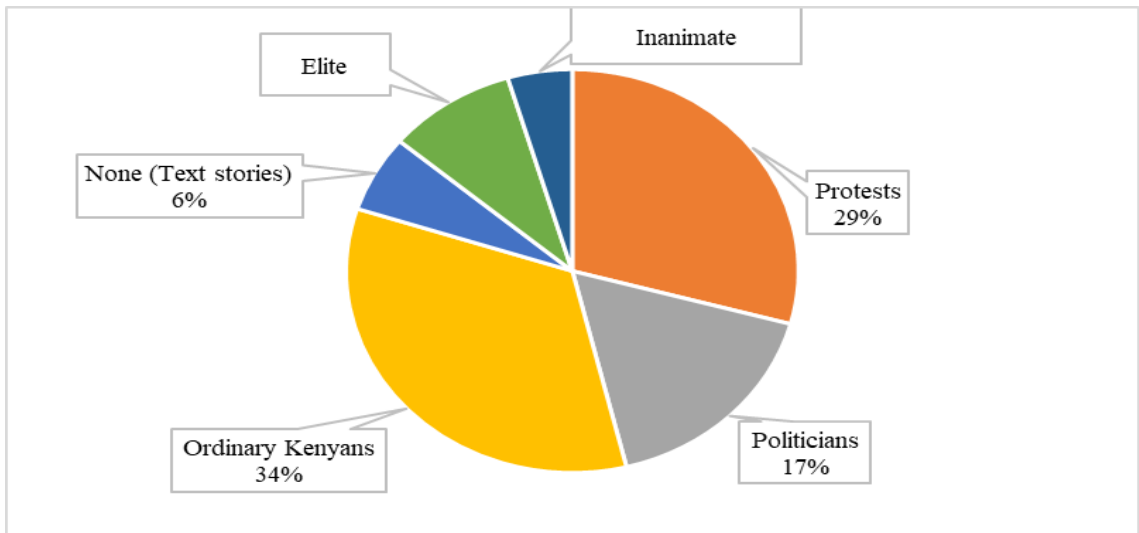
Images, in this study, refer to pictures that accompany text stories on the CNN website, as well as the contents of the video stories. Table 4.3 shows the number of images used in the text stories and the frequency with which they appeared.

<b>Number of images</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
0	3
1	5
2	2
3	3
4	2
5	1
6	1
11	1

**Table 4.3: Number of images used in stories**

From Table 4.3, only three of the 17 analysed text stories had no accompanying images. Of the analysed stories five had only one image. The highest number of images accompanying a single story was 11.

The contents of the images accompanying the text stories and the footage in the video stories were also analysed. Figure 4.8 summarises contents of the text and video stories of CNN stories on Kenya's elections.

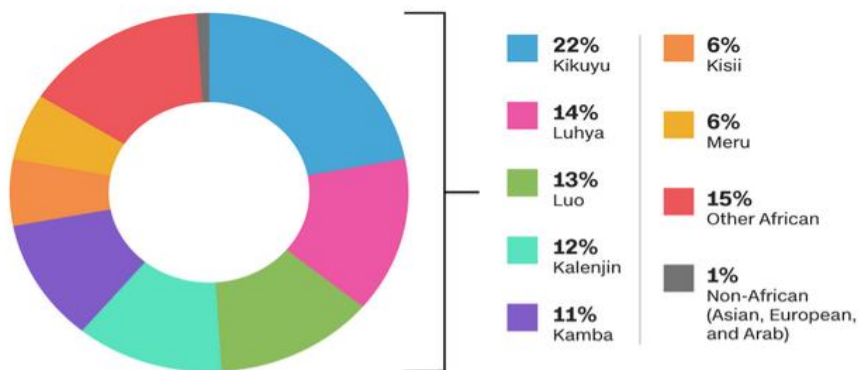


**Figure 4.8: Contents of Images in CNN's Coverage of Kenya's Elections**

From Figure 4.8, the highest proportion of the images had ordinary Kenyans (34 per cent), followed by protests (29 per cent). Politicians involved in the contest were third-highest, taking up 17 per cent of the images.

The other images accompanying text stories, besides photos, were infographics, illustrations and screenshots from Twitter. These appeared in six of the text stories. Figure 4.9 shows an infographic that was used three times in the text stories, showing distribution of ethnicities.

### Kenya's ethnic groups



CNN Source: CIA World Factbook, 2017

**Figure 4.9: CNN's Infographic Used in Text Stories to depict Kenya's Ethnicities**

In analysing the images further, the frequency with which they depicted the keywords and phrases that the texts were analysed for (in section 4.2.2) was determined. This was done for both favourable and unfavourable set of keywords and phrases. In assigning a photo to depict a keyword or phrase, the analysis considered its content as well as the accompanying caption that usually explains what it is about. In some cases, one photo depicted more than one keyword – for instance, a photo of a politician addressing an orderly campaign rally illustrates Peace/ Calm and at the same time represents Rule of law. Table 4.4 outlines the criteria and guidelines used for assigning the photos to a keyword or phrase.

	<b>Keyword/ Phrase</b>	<b>Criteria/ Guidelines</b>
Unfavourable Keywords and Phrases	Ethnicity/ Tribalism	Protesters carrying placards attacking other communities
	Violence/ Protests/ Tension	Barricaded roads with bonfires lit; Confrontation between protesters and anti-riot police; Bullet-ridden buildings
	Poverty	Shacks and informal settlement;
	Disease	Frail-looking/ malnourished people
	Corruption	Placards condemning graft
	(Absence of) Democracy/ Rule of law	Protest photos; deserted streets
	Boycott	Press conferences, whose subject is boycott of the elections (according to the caption)
	Irregularities	Press conferences, whose subject is boycott of the elections (according to the caption)
Favourable Keywords & Phrases	Nationalism	People draped in the national flag
	Peace/ Calm	Political rally
	Health	Hospitals
	Coexistence/ Cohesion	Cohesion messages on placards
	Good governance/ Rule of law	Court in session; Voters waiting in queue or casting their vote
	Credible/ Free and fair elections	Graffiti; IEBC/ Observers' press conference
	East Africa's biggest economy/ Regional hub	Different economic activities such as agriculture;

**Table 4.4: Criteria for classifying images depicting favourable and unfavourable keywords and phrases**

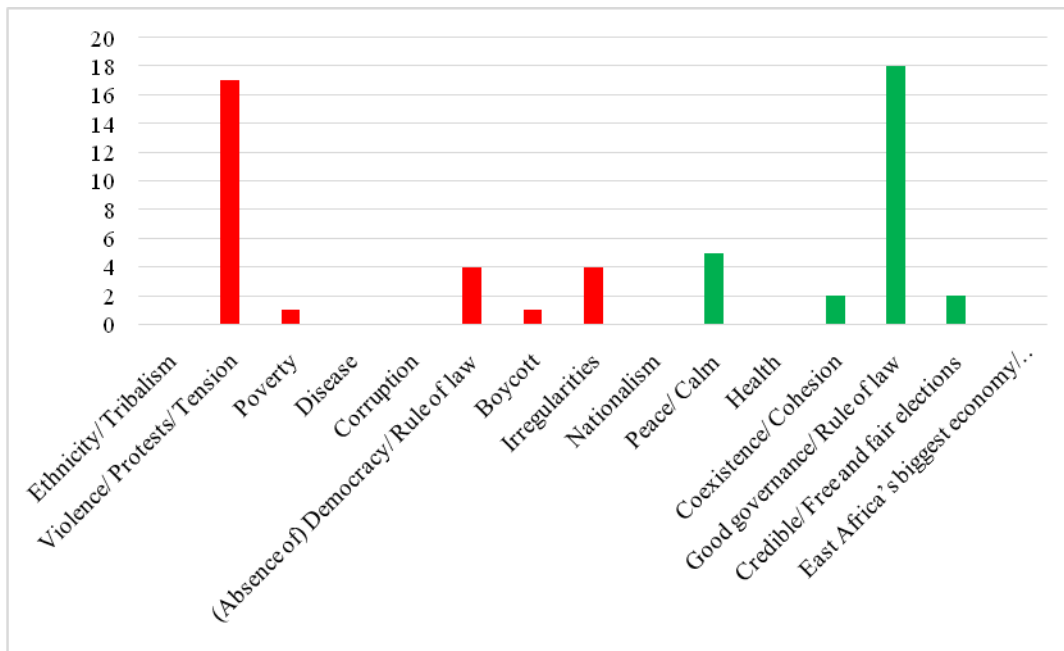
Based on the criteria, Table 4.5 shows the occurrence of images that depict the different keywords and phrases.

	<b>Keyword/ Phrase</b>	<b>Occurrence</b>
Unfavourable Keywords and Phrases	Ethnicity/ Tribalism	0
	Violence/ Protests/ Tension	17
	Poverty	1
	Disease	0
	Corruption	0
	(Absence of) Democracy/ Rule of law	4
	Boycott	1
	Irregularities	4
Favourable Keywords & Phrases	Nationalism	0
	Peace/ Calm	5
	Health	0
	Coexistence/ Cohesion	2
	Good governance/ Rule of law	18
	Credible/ Free and fair elections	2
	East Africa's biggest economy/ Regional hub	0

**Table 4.5: Occurrence of images depicting keywords and phrases**

From the analysis, none of the photos depicted Nationalism/ National Identity or Health for the favourable keywords and phrases. Neither were there any images that depicted Ethnicity/ Tribalism, Disease or Corruption under the unfavourable keywords and phrases. Good governance/ Rule of Law was the most commonly depicted favourable keyword in the images, appearing 18 times, mainly driven by the use of 11 photos of Kenyans (presidential candidates and ordinary voters from across the country voting on the election date in one of the stories). For unfavourable keywords, Violence/ Protests appeared 17 times in the photos, making it the highest appearing.

Figure 4.10 compares occurrence of the unfavourable keywords and phrases (red bars) and favourable keywords and phrases (represented by green bars).



**Figure 4.10: Depiction of favourable and unfavourable keywords and phrases in images**

Of these, there were no images that depicted Ethnicity/ Tribalism, Disease, Corruption, Nationalism, Health and East Africa's biggest economy. The top-four keywords, out of the eight that the sampled stories were analysed for, in order of frequency were: violence/ protests, democracy, irregularities and ethnicity/ tribalism. The emphasis on violent protests, considering reference to past elections (that were also marked by unrest), builds the image of the country as unstable during election times. The significant reference to tribalism and ethnicity as a critical factor in the choice of presidential candidate serves to build the narrative of the country in the eyes and minds of CNN's audience across the world – of a country where issue-based politics does not exist. In one of the text stories, the journalist states that: "Tribal bonds remain stronger than national identity in Kenya, where over 40 different ethnic groups have been designated".

To further reinforce this, there was also a CNN generated infographic summarising the ethnic communities in Kenya that was used in six of the sampled stories to demonstrate the ethnicity angle.

A picture, it is said, is worth a thousand words. For images accompanying text stories, the most common were of protests – riots and bonfires lit on roads – that also featured ordinary Kenyans. The same was the case for video stories. Looking at these images, it is easy to conclude that more than anything else, the electioneering season in Kenya was heavily marked by protests.

#### 4.1.4 Sources

The sources in the stories are the individuals quoted for text stories or those interviewed within video stories. On average, CNN tended to use elite sources (politicians, observers and analysts) more (71.7 per cent) compared to non-elite sources/ ordinary citizens (28.2 per cent). Text stories had more of the elite sources (at 85 per cent) compared to video stories (57.8 per cent). Text stories had more of the local sources (at 65.2 per cent) compared to video stories (34.7 per cent).

Local voices appeared in the stories more (65.2 per cent) compared to foreign ones (34.7 per cent). In some cases, a single story had these different kinds of sources quoted.

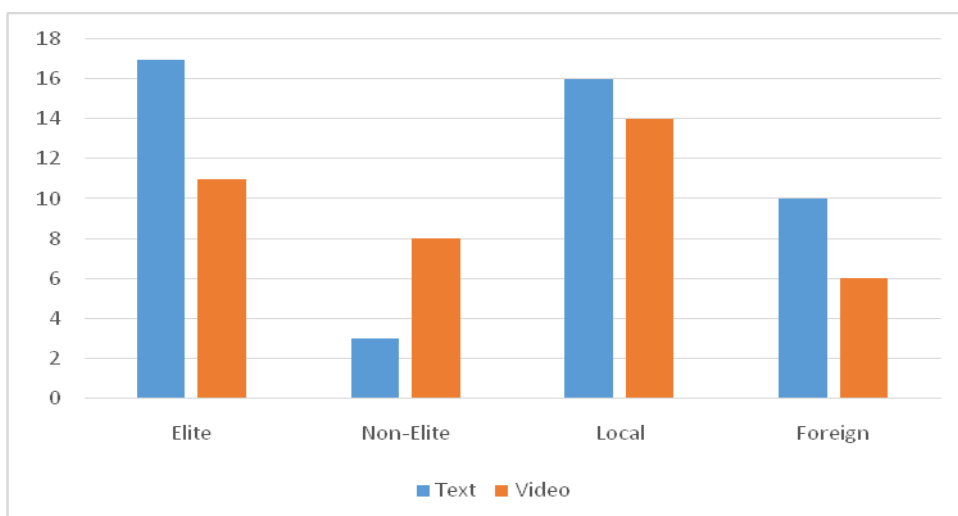


Figure 4.11: Comparison of different sources in text and video stories

Generally, from the analysis, CNN had a bias towards elite news sources (such as politicians, observers, analysts, journalists, among others) as opposed to the non-elite news sources (in this case, ordinary Kenyan people). It also used more local sources compared to the foreign ones.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Overview**

This chapter presents a broad summary of the study's findings, which it discusses and draws conclusions and recommendations.

#### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

The overall framing of the coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections is derived from a combination of the main issues/ themes focused on, dominant frames, the language used, and the sources that were quoted in the sampled text and video stories published on the CNN website.

For the main issues/ themes, the analysis assigned each of the sampled stories to one of the identified broad categories – Politics, Economic and Socio-cultural. Out of the three, Political stories were found to be the highest occurring in the sample, followed by Socio-cultural that also had substantial frequency. Stories of an Economic nature were in the minority within the sample.

The dominant frame in a story was a combination of its focus, background information, underlying problems and solutions, and the setting of the story. From the analysis, the most common focus of the sampled stories was found to be that of election-related issues, which is expected, considering it was an electioneering season in Kenya at the time. However, the other identified frames – ethnicity and socio-economic issues – featured significantly, jointly accounting for more than half of the dominant frames in the sampled stories; with socio-economic issues contributing more. For background information, poverty and socio-economic factors featured prominently, reported in over half of the sample stories.

This was more frequently than the other pieces of background information –past elections in Kenya and other African countries. The underlying problems identified in the sampled stories were more related to the conduct of elections than socio-economic issues, which at 42.5 per cent was still significant. Of the stories that had a setting, which were about half of the sample, majority were set in urban slums (29.1 per cent) with other parts of the urban areas (upper and middle class) in the minority (at 6.25 per cent). From these findings, the dominant frame in the stories portray poverty and other socio-economic issues.

In analysing the language used in the sampled stories, the stories focused on identified favourable and unfavourable key words and phrases as well as images. The most common unfavourable keywords and phrases used in the story were violence/ protests, as well as (absence of) democracy and rule of law. The most commonly appearing favourable words were Credible/ Free and fair elections, as well as East Africa’s biggest economy. The frequency of unfavourable keywords and phrases was higher than that of the favourable ones, with the most common occurring 28 and 11 times respectively. In terms of the contents of the images in photos accompanying text stories and those in the video footage, the most common were ordinary Kenyans and protests.

In determining the sourcing trends, the stories were analysed for whether they sources were elitist or not, and local or not. From the findings, majority of the stories (at 71.7 per cent) had elite sources (politicians, analysts, and observers) with ordinary Kenyan voices only accounting for the minority. On average, majority of the sources were local at 65.2 per cent.

## **5.2 Discussion**

Overall, the quantity of coverage of Kenya’s 2017 elections between March 2017 and March 2018 was a total of 65 stories. This translates into an average of five stories per month. Even the month of August that served as a climax when the elections were held and the whole world had its eyes trained on the country as evidenced by the hordes of observer

missions, only nine stories were published on the website. Judged by this volume of stories, it clearly indicates that the coverage of the elections was not much of a priority story for CNN. Volume of coverage dedicated to the continent by foreign press has been an issue of concern, with Palmer (1987) attributing this minimal and irregular coverage to limited manpower and wide jurisdictions for international correspondents that force them to focus on the 'spectacular, bizarre, or truly horrific'. This aptly explains the very few stories in CNN's coverage of the elections that are set outside Nairobi.

From the findings, two frames emerged as dominant with regard to the framing of CNN's stories on Kenya's 2017 elections: Poverty (and other socio-economic issues) and Protests/ Violence. This supports the assertion by Kalyango (2011) that selection of issues to focus on are slanted on western perspective. Africa is often framed unflatteringly in the lens of poverty. This is part of the exaggeration and reliance on stereotypes when covering the continent, as argued by Wahutu (2018). The stereotypes exist even in CNN's coverage of Kenya's elections, with poverty and other socio-economic challenges emerging as a major attention point not just as a focus area for stories, but also the background information added into stories to give context and analysis. Kothari (2010) identifies socio-economic challenges (war, famine and disease) as most common representation of Africa by US media. The findings from CNN's coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections have violence as a dominant frame. This is consistent with the findings of a study of the coverage of Africa by *New York Times* between 1955 and 1995 which indicated that perspective of ethnicity (and religion) is how the continent is understood, as a result (Schraeder and Endless, 1998). It also agrees with the argument by Wahutu (2017) that attention of global media has always been focused on violence and disorder in Africa, dating back to colonial days, with ethnicity used to depoliticise conflict in the continent. International media have been found to rely on tribalism to explain conflict in Africa and not the Western, as if to emphasise the difference (Nothias,

2017). This explains the emphasis on the protests, particularly in the imagery, to portray the continent, in the words of Kothari (2010), as ‘a dark continent where violent and irrational people live’. It also lends itself to the criticism by Segal (1976) of political coverage of Africa by international media for not presenting events within context and using ‘simple explanations for complex problems such as tribalism.

When it comes to language, CNN’s coverage had a pattern in its keywords and phrases as well as images. This is similar to the argument by Nothias (2017) about Western press’ reliance on a specific set of vocabulary, metaphor and explanatory framework. This is the reason Violence/ Protests came up more frequently in the sampled stories both in the words and phrases, as well as the images.

In its sourcing for stories on Kenya’s 2017 elections, CNN was found to rely more on local sources, which accounted for 65 per cent. This is inconsistent with the argument by Nothias (2017) that foreign media often rely on Western sources and interviewees. However, whereas there was effort to have more local voices in its stories, most of the sources in CNN’s stories were elite than ordinary Kenyans. This presents an incomplete view that does not adequately include the ordinary people’s voice.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The study determined that the most prominent issue and theme in CNN’s coverage of Kenya’s 2017 elections was politics. Electioneering is, after all, first and foremost, a political exercise. The bulk of the text and video stories published by CNN on its website revolved more around the political process, political leaders and political reactions; and less about the socio-cultural and economic stories. This implies that CNN was more interested in the issue of the day, and not necessarily telling the complete Kenyan story, beyond elections. There were no attempts to report beyond the elections.

The dominant frames of Kenya, according to CNN's coverage of the 2017 elections were those of a poor and violent society. On one hand, it is portrayed Kenya as a country where protests are the order of the day; with images of violence and protests dominating the coverage by CNN. On the other, it is portrayed as a country where life mostly starts and ends in Kibera slum with no attempts to show other facets of life in Kenya. From the analysis, the stories are more in Nairobi, and specifically Kibera slum; and the few that are set outside Nairobi are at polling stations, accompanying the candidates to cast their votes, or interviewing voters waiting on the queue. To some extent, CNN also significantly emphasised the tribalism frame, particularly to explain the voting patterns in Kenyan elections. CNN even has developed an infographic that it uses more than once to emphasise the ethnic angle in Kenyan elections. Besides ethnicity, there were other dynamics in the elections.

For the language used by the CNN stories, the most common unfavourable keywords and phrases in the story are violence/ protests, absence of democracy and rule of law, and election irregularities. For favourable keywords and phrases, the most common were: credible/ free and fair elections, peace/ calm, and East Africa's biggest economy/ regional hub. These keywords and phrases further support the violence frame promoted by CNN. Similarly, the images also emphasise protests. When analysed for those depicting the keywords, again violence stands out.

The main news sources quoted for CNN's stories were local individuals, mostly elite and included politicians, analysts, and observers. Considering that the local elite, particularly the politicians, have an interest in the contest, their view when interviewed could slant coverage in a particular direction. The variety in news sources is lacking in CNN's coverage of elections, with the same individuals quoted in stories over and over.

Thus, CNN, in framing its coverage, ends up emphasising certain aspects of Kenya's 2017 elections, and offering context in the manner in which the stories are packaged and presented, as argued by Oranga (2011). The emphasis on violence and poverty is the meaning that stands out for the audiences.

Kenya's image on the global stage has direct economic implications. One of the ways that this is played out is in attracting and retaining foreign direct investment, since existing and prospective investors would not invest in places where elections cycle disrupt economic activity significantly. The other way that the image of the country is influenced is in sectors such as tourism, which rely on visitors from across the world who would not visit places that are unstable.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

This section outlines recommendations derived from the study's findings for CNN in its coverage of Kenya and the rest of Africa; and suggested areas for further study.

### **5.4.1 Recommendations for CNN**

In order to enhance its coverage of Kenya, and the rest of Africa, CNN should invest in manpower to continuously tell a more balanced story from different locations. This would enable its journalists to interview different kinds of news sources and get different perspectives of an issue. With limited manpower, it is left to mainly focus on moments such as the elections. In this way, it is not possible for the media house to tell a complete story, leaving it prone to the attacks about framing of the continent.

The news crews should also be encouraged to diversify the kinds of stories that they report on and the news sources that they interview to inject a variety of voices. Even with limited crew that is largely stationed in the capital, it is possible to scout for stories beyond Kibera, to show the different aspects of Kenyan life from different demographics, drawn

from urban settings and the rural settings adjacent to Nairobi. This may require hiring more local journalists that are familiar with local culture and nuances.

#### **5.4.2 Suggested areas for study**

The findings of this study give a glimpse of coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections, specifically by CNN. This provides a foundation for further scholarship to analyse framing trends in coverage of the elections by other foreign press outlets, particularly global networks that rival CNN in setting the global news agenda. This would provide a basis for developing trends and patterns in the frames, as well as deriving conclusions on the foreign press' representation of Kenya's 2017 elections as a whole.

There is also a scholarship opportunity to analyse the differences (if any) that exist in frames taken by foreign news outlets that are print in nature in their coverage of Kenya's 2017 elections. From this study's analysis of video and text stories published on CNN's website, there were incidences of inconsistencies between text and video stories, even though they are both part of the same media outlet and it is expected that they would generally be similar in frames taken in stories. Extending these to other media genres would provide comparison between different print and electronic outlets, or traditional media compared to online news sites.

In addition to this, with these findings on CNN's coverage, an analysis of the framing in local media's coverage of the polls would also offer a good basis for comparison to determine similarities and differences. According to Wahutu (2017), due to converging media practices globally, coverage by African media generally mimics foreign press. This provides an opportunity to compare these two. By establishing the differences (if any) and trends in coverage by contrasting international press outlets and that of local press, it is then possible to

draw concrete conclusions. It would also put to the test the much-held opinions about foreign press' framing of Africa.

The findings from the study indicate that CNN's frames of the country are largely unfavourable. This is a research opportunity to study the practice of foreign press' coverage to determine the drivers of these frames. Such a study that involves interviewing the foreign correspondents and their editors would contribute towards increased understanding of the practice of foreign press in Kenya; and determining whether it is deliberate policy to portray Africa in a particular way or the result of reduced manpower that hampers research and telling the complete African story.



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## APPENDIX 1: CNN STORIES ON KENYA'S 2017 ELECTIONS

	Link	Date published	Text			Video			
			Reporter	Headline	Length (Words)	Reporter	Headline	Length (Min/Sec)	Format
1.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/03/africa/nigeria-kenya-cambridge-analytica-elections-intl/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/03/africa/nigeria-kenya-cambridge-analytica-elections-intl/index.html</a>	April 4, 2018	Anna Cardovillis & Bukola Adebayo	Cambridge Analytica: Nigerian, Kenyan opposition to probe firm's alleged role in their elections	925	Farai Sevenzo	Did Cambridge Analytica impact Kenya's elections?	4.21	Packaged Story
2.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/07/africa/kenya-media-wanjigi-obituary/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/07/africa/kenya-media-wanjigi-obituary/index.html</a>	February 7, 2018	Briana Duggan & Stephanie Busari	Kenyan newspaper publishes obituary for opposition figure -- who isn't dead	600	Farai Sevenzo	Kenyan government shuts down TV stations	1.51	Live call-in with reporter
3.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/03/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/03/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown/index.html</a>	February 3, 2018	Hillary Clarke & Briana Duggan	Kenya TV stations shutdown enters 5th day as government defies court order	400	-			
4.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/02/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown-intl/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/02/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown-intl/index.html</a>	February 2, 2018	Briana Duggan, Lauren Said-Moorhouse & Faith Karimi	Kenya TV stations still off air despite court order	1360	-			
5.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/01/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/01/africa/kenya-tv-stations-shutdown/index.html</a>	February 1, 2018	Briana Duggan, Faith Karimi & Farai Sevenzo	Kenyan court orders government to restore TV stations yanked off air	710	-			
6.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/14/africa/hrw-kenya-election-sexual-violence-report-">https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/14/africa/hrw-kenya-election-sexual-violence-report-</a>	December 14, 2017	Euan McKirdy	Sexual violence widespread during Kenya's elections: Report	975	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya holds controversial second election	1.53	Packaged story
						None	Kenya	0.38	Interview

	<a href="#">intl/index.html</a>						opposition leader Odinga says he will abide by constitution		with Raila Odinga
						Farai Sevenzo	Kenyan leader Kenyatta sworn in amid protests	1.05	Packaged story
7.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/27/africa/kenya-election-rerun/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/27/africa/kenya-election-rerun/index.html</a>	October 29, 2017	Lauren Said-Moorhouse & Farai Sevenzo	Turnout in Kenya's election rerun down from previous vote	890	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya holds controversial second election	1.53	Packaged story
8.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/25/africa/kenya-election-rerun-court/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/25/africa/kenya-election-rerun-court/index.html</a>	October 25, 2017	Briana Duggan, Farai Sevenzo & Laura Smith-Spark	Kenya election set to go ahead after Supreme Court no-show	841	-			
9.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/25/africa/kenya-election/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/25/africa/kenya-election/index.html</a>	October 25, 2017	Lauren Said-Moorhouse & Faith Karimi	How Kenya's presidential election unraveled	1023	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya braces for repeat election	2.25	Live call-in with reporter
						Farai Sevenzo	Vote count begins in Kenya's elections	1.54	Packaged story
						News host	Kenya opposition leader claims election was hacked	4.56	Live call-in with Raila
						None	Celebration after new election announced	0.51	Multimedia slideshow
						Farai Sevenzo	Major candidate quits Kenya	1.19	Live call-in with

							election re-run		reporter
10.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/20/africa/kenya-election-commission-official/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/20/africa/kenya-election-commission-official/index.html</a>	October 20, 2018	Briana Duggan & Faith Karimi	Under pressure, Kenyan election official takes leave before new vote	912	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya's Supreme Court rules in election	3.25	Packaged story
11.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/18/africa/kenya-election-latest/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/18/africa/kenya-election-latest/index.html</a>	October 18, 2018	Briana Duggan & Laura Smith-Spark	Kenya's election chief fears presidential vote won't be credible	768	-			
12.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/13/africa/kenya-raila-odinga-disputed-election/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/13/africa/kenya-raila-odinga-disputed-election/index.html</a>	October 13, 2018	Laura Smith-Spark, Nima Elbagir & Farai Sevenzo	Kenya's Raila Odinga signals he could run for president again	744	Nima Elbagir	Raila would run for President again	1.27	One-on-one interview with Raila
13.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/11/africa/kenya-elections-latest/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/11/africa/kenya-elections-latest/index.html</a>	October 11, 2017	Hillary Clarke & Farai Sevenzo	Kenyan police clash with protesters after opposition leader quits election	576	-			
14.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/21/africa/kenya-supreme-court-coup/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/21/africa/kenya-supreme-court-coup/index.html</a>	September 21, 2017	Farai Sevenzo, Simon Cullen, Briana Duggan & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenya's Supreme Court involved in 'coup,' President says	627	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya's Supreme Court rules in election	3.25	Packaged story
15.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/20/africa/kenya-election-supreme-court/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/20/africa/kenya-election-supreme-court/index.html</a>	September 20, 2017	Briana Duggan and Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenya Supreme Court: 'No choice but to accept' opposition hacking claims	480	None	Celebration after new election announced	0.50	Footage without VO
16.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/04/africa/kenya-presidential-election/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/04/africa/kenya-presidential-election/index.html</a>	September 4, 2017	Joe Sterling	Kenya sets presidential rerun for October 17	405	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya's Supreme Court rules in election	3.25	Packaged story

	<a href="#">ml</a>								
17.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/03/africa/kenya-election-kibera-slum-odinga-support/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/03/africa/kenya-election-kibera-slum-odinga-support/index.html</a>	September 3, 2017	Stephanie Busari	Kenyan court's election ruling spurs hope for Odinga supporters	1287		-		
18.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/01/africa/kenya-election/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/01/africa/kenya-election/index.html</a>	September 1, 2017	Laura Smith-Spark & Farai Sevenzo	Kenya Supreme Court nullifies presidential election, orders new vote	1600	None	Celebration after new election announced	0.50	Footage without VO
19.	<a href="http://money.cnn.com/2017/09/01/news/economy/kenya-election-economy/index.html">http://money.cnn.com/2017/09/01/news/economy/kenya-election-economy/index.html</a>	September 1, 20	Ivana Kottasova	Kenya election shocker sparks fears over economy	500	None	Celebration after new election announced	0.50	Footage without VO
20.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/africa/kenya-elections-protests/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/africa/kenya-elections-protests/index.html</a>	August 13, 2017	Briana Dugan, Faith Karimi & Chandrika Narayan	24 killed in post-election violence in Kenya, rights groups say	448	Farai \sevenzo	One killed in Kenya election protests	1.00	Live link with reporter
21.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/africa/kenya-elections-results/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/africa/kenya-elections-results/index.html</a>	August 12, 2017	Simon Cullen, Lauren Said-Moorhouse & Steve Almassy	Kenya elections: President Uhuru Kenyatta wins second term	1056		-		
22.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/africa/kenya-elections/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/africa/kenya-elections/index.html</a>	August 11, 2017	Faith Karimi & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenya presidential election: Vote totals being announced	520	None	Kerry: Kenyan elections have 'great legitimacy'	1.09	Interview
23.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/10/africa/kenya-elections/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/10/africa/kenya-elections/index.html</a>	August 11, 2017	Dominique van Heerden & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenyan challenger claims election was hacked, but John Kerry disagrees	667	None	Kerry: Kenyan elections have 'great legitimacy'	1.09	Interview
24.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/09/">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/09/</a>	August 10,	Dominique van	Kenya opposition claims election	1020	Farai	Kenya opposition	1.37	Reporter live link

	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/07/africa/kenya-election/index.html">africa/kenya-election/index.html</a>	2017	Heerden & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	system hacked, rejects early results		Sevenzo	claims election system hacked		interview
25.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/07/africa/kenya-election/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/07/africa/kenya-election/index.html</a>	August 9, 2017	Dominique van Heerden & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenya election: Voters endured long lines, now wait patiently for results	1,120	Farai Sevenzo	Kenyans vote in presidential election	1.47	Packaged story
26.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/04/africa/kenya-asian-community/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/04/africa/kenya-asian-community/index.html</a>	August 7, 2017	Zain Virjee	Kenya's 44th tribe: Why I'm finally a first-class citizen of my country	858	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya prepares for presidential election	2.43	Packaged story
27.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/04/africa/kenya-election-helicopters/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/04/africa/kenya-election-helicopters/index.html</a>	August 4, 2017	Briana Duggan	Helicopters and high stakes: How to campaign like a Kenyan	589	None	Kenya's 'James Bond' election	1.30	Footage without VO
						None	No more James Bond	2.32	Interview without VO
28.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/28/africa/boniface-mwangi-kenya-elections/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/28/africa/boniface-mwangi-kenya-elections/index.html</a>	August 3, 2017	Chris Giles	Could Boniface Mwangi stage a shock upset in the Kenyan elections?	1012	Unidentified	Kenyan photographer wants to change the conversation	8.10	Packaged story (African voices)
						Zein Virjee	Photographer's view on the Kenyan vote	3.30	Interview
29.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/27/africa/kenya-elections-technology/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/27/africa/kenya-elections-technology/index.html</a>	July 27, 2017	Loren Treisman	How Kenyans are using tech to stop election fraud and violence	1175	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya prepares for presidential election	2.43	Packaged story
30.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/africa/kenya-election-youth-">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/africa/kenya-election-youth-</a>	August 2, 2017	Joshua Masinde	Will Kenya's youth vote swing the country's election?	992	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya prepares for presidential election	2.43	Packaged story



	<a href="#">vote/index.html</a>								
31.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/africa/kenya-election-guide/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/africa/kenya-election-guide/index.html</a>	August 2, 2017	James Masters	Kenyan elections 2017: What you need to know	900	Farai Sevenzo	Kenya prepares for presidential election	2.43	Packaged story
32.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/03/africa/kenya-election-official-chris-msando/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/03/africa/kenya-election-official-chris-msando/index.html</a>	August 3, 2017	Dominique van Heerden & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenyan election official was strangled, authorities confirm	456		-		
33.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/31/africa/kenya-election-official-dead/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/31/africa/kenya-election-official-dead/index.html</a>	July 31, 2017	Briana Duggan & Lauren Said-Moorhouse	Kenyan election official killed days before vote	697		-		
34.	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/03/africa/kenya-bridge-collapse/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/03/africa/kenya-bridge-collapse/index.html</a>	July 3, 2017	Briana Duggan	How did a \$12 million bridge collapse in Kenya?	629				

## APPENDIX 2 – CODING SHEET

<b>Objective</b>	<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Codes</b>
Dominant frames	Focus of the story	1 - Socio-economic issues – poverty, corruption
		2 - Ethnicity/ Tribalism
		3 - Election-related issues – campaigns, preparedness
	Background info	1 - Past elections – 2007/ 2013
		2 - Poverty and other socio-economic factors
		3 - Polls in other African countries
	Underlying problems and solutions	1 - Conduct of elections
		2 - Socio-economic issues
	Setting	1 – Urban (middle/ upper class)
		2 – Urban (slums)
		3 – Rural
	Language	Unfavourable Keywords/ Phrases
2 – Violence/ Protests		
3 – Poverty		
4 – Disease		
5 – Corruption		
6 – Democracy		
7 - Boycott		
8 – Election Irregularity		
Favourable Keywords/ Phrases		1 – Nationalism/ National identity
		2 – Peace/ Calm
		3 – Health
		4 – Cohesion/ Coexistence
		5 – Good governance/ Rule of law
		6 – Credible/ Free and fair elections
Images		1 – Protests
		2 – Politicians

		3 – Ordinary Kenyans
		4 – No image
		5 – Elite (Politicians, Observers, Analysts)
		6 – Inanimate objects
Main issues/ themes	Broad categories	1 – Politics
		2 – Economic
		3 – Socio-cultural
Sources	Elite/ non-elite	1 – Elite – politicians, analysts
		2 – Non-elite – ordinary citizens
	Local/ foreign	1 – Local
		2 – Foreign

### APPENDIX 3: SCORING SHEET FOR TEXT STORIES

Objective	Parameter	Code	Stories																
			1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	33
Dominant frames	Focus of the story	1																	
		2																	
		3																	
	B/G info	1																	
		2																	
		3																	
	Problems and solutions	1																	
		2																	
	Setting	1																	
		2																	
		3																	
	Language	Key words	1																
2																			
3																			
4																			
5																			
6																			
Images		1																	
		2																	
		3																	
Main issues/ themes	Broad categories	1																	
		2																	
		3																	
Sources	Elite/ non-elite	1																	
		2																	
	Local/ foreign	1																	
		2																	

## APPENDIX 4: SCORING SHEET FOR VIDEO STORIES

Objective	Parameter	Code	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28
Dominant frames	Focus of the story	1														
		2														
		3														
	Background info	1														
		2														
		3														
	Underlying problems and solutions	1														
		2														
	Setting	1														
		2														
		3														
	Language	Key words	1													
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
Images		1														
		2														
		3														
Main issues/ themes	Broad categories	1														
		2														
		3														
Sources	Elite/ non-elite	1														
		2														
	Local/ foreign	1														
		2														

## APPENDIX 5: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK



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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on \_\_\_\_\_ in respect of M.A./PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: 450/13777/2018

Name: COYDOL GUYONGI

Title: CRISIS PREVALENCE OF WOMEN'S 2017 ELECTIONS

DRANGA JICA  
SUPERVISOR

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Dr Samuel Siringi  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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15/08/2018  
DATE

Dr. Ndetei Ndetei  
DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE/STAMP

19.10.18  
DATE



# APPENDIX 6: TURNITIN ORIGINALITY REPORT

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## Turnitin Originality Report

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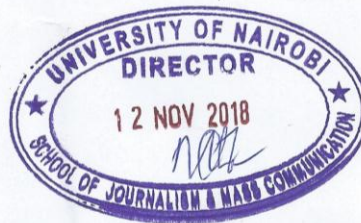
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Cosmas Butunyi

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## APPENDIX 7: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS



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**REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS**

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on \_\_\_\_\_ 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 / 87977 / 2016

Name: BUYUNYI LOSMAS

Title: CNN'S FRAMING OF KENYA'S 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS

DR. JAMES ORANGA  
SUPERVISOR

Thunya  
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9/11/2018  
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi  
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