



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE ROLE OF BROADCAST MEDIA ON THE MITIGATION OF ECONOMIC
CRIMES IN PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

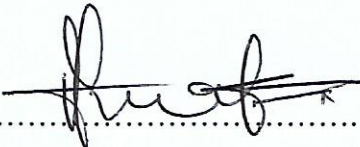
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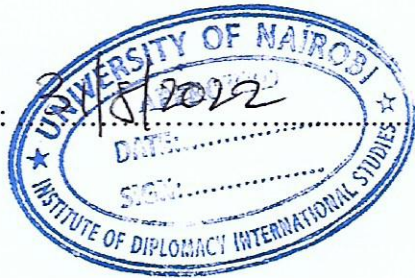
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated first and foremost to Almighty God who has been there right from the beginning to this point. Special dedication to my ever-supportive mother for her relentless support, compassion and hard work.

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I would want to appreciate the divine mercy of Allah for bestowing upon me the bravery, strength, and resolve necessary to carry out this activity. Second, I'd want to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to my Supervisor Dr. Maluki for all of the hard work that he's put in. I really appreciate his criticism and corrections to make this work successful. I wish to appreciate all my family and friends for all the support academically, emotionally and financially all through. I also like to register my appreciations to my friends for their guide and support.

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ABSTRACT

Corruption is an age-old social problem that is endemic to governments, individuals, companies, institutions, and nations globally. It is thriving despite the continuous efforts that have been sustained by various nations to curb it. Corruption is viewed as both an ethical and legal problem that has stifled growth in many countries. The main objective of this study was to establish the Role of Broadcast Media in Mitigating Corruption in Public Economic Management in Africa. Specifically; to critically assess the role that broadcast media plays in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya; to analyse the challenges faced by broadcast media in the coverage of corruption in Kenya and to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies used by broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya. The study was guided by Agenda Setting Theory in Mass Communication. This study adopted both secondary and primary research designs. The target population was 174 employees drawn from different media companies. The study adopted random and stratified random sampling techniques sampling the target population to 120 respondents. Both primary and secondary data was collected using a questionnaire and an interview guide. The reliability of the questionnaire was determined over the course of this investigation by employing Cronbach's Alpha as the reliability measure of choice. According to the study, corruption is a sort of dishonesty or a crime committed by a person or group in a position of authority in order to obtain illegal benefits or exploit that position for one's own benefit. The report also revealed that the most significant difficulty confronting media companies is agenda shaping. The survey discovered that media companies frequently dealt with libel and defamation proceedings where the onus of evidence rested with the accuser and that many of them had to pay significant fines as a result. The study also revealed that it is not wise to promote corruption. The study's conclusion was that in order to raise public awareness, the media should keep informing the public and exposing corrupt practices. The study came to the conclusion that corruption is a sort of dishonesty or a crime committed by a person or group in a position of authority in order to obtain illegal benefits or misuse power for one's own profit. The study found that media outlets frequently dealt with libel and defamation proceedings where the onus of evidence rested with the accuser, and many of them had to pay significant fines as a result. Failure of the government to support and protect the media house and journalists has often been featured as some of the man challenges facing the broadcast media houses and outlets in Kenya. The study concluded that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government. According to the study, media companies should set up divisions dedicated to covering corruption. Since security is the biggest issue facing media companies, it is necessary to give investigative journalists and media companies in general proper security. This will improve journalist training and aid in the fight against corruption. The best way to cover corruption stories is through effective training. This may be accomplished by improving laws relating to media and security and by establishing a dedicated police unit to provide security to investigative journalists. Given the dearth of investigative journalists working for media companies, it is strongly advised that journalists receive training on how to manage and disclose corruption. There is a need for more investigative journalists to be employed; media companies should adopt cutting-edge technology to combat corruption effectively and efficiently; and to prevent being compromised while performing their duties, journalists should be provided with a good compensation package, risk allowances, and transportation conveniences.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the general introduction of the subject of study, the research problem and objectives of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis and research methodology.

1.1 Background to the Study

The term broadcast media is used to imply a wide spectrum of different communication methods or channels for example television, newspapers, radio, magazines and the digital media channels like YouTube among others, supplied by the press and the media. A wide range of information can be found in broadcast media for examples, daily news, documentaries, interviews, entertainments, advertisements, financial markets, education content and whistleblowing¹. Consequently, the broadcast media can have a long range of influence in every segment of the society which plays the part of audience. In the words of Adeyemi (2013)², the broadcast media often plays the role of agents of change, through being the watchdog and whistle-blower among other roles in the society. Although some activities of the broadcast media may be common and the norm for instance daily news, in some cases, the broadcast media play critical role in helping with dealing with sensitive and delicate cases of corruption. Corruption on the other hand is defined as the “abuse of entrusted power for private gain”³. In this light, according to Transparency International, corruption can take the form of public servants demanding or taking money or other forms of favours in exchange of service, politicians misusing public resources, granting public jobs, tenders or contracts to their

¹ BBC Media Action (2018). Kenya – Media Landscape Reports.

² Adeyemi, A. (2013) „Nigerian Media and Corrupt Practices: The Need for Paradigm Shift“ European Scientific Journal January 2013 edition vol.9, No.1 ISSN: 1857 – 7881 (Print) e-ISSN 1857-7431

³ Rose-Ackerman, S. (2017). *Corruption and development* (pp. 289-303). Routledge.

sponsors, families, friends or close relatives, or corporations bribing officials in order to secure lucrative deals. In whichever form corruption occurs, it hampers economic growth and development, weakens democracy, exacerbates inequality, social division, poverty and environmental crisis and also erodes trusts⁴. All over the world, corruption occurs in businesses, governments, government agencies, courts, the media and the civil society and across all sectors with the help of politicians, officials, leaders, public servants, business people, and private practitioners such as lawyers and bankers.

Any successful fight on corruption is a direct function of information and knowledge and that is the link between fighting corruption and broadcast media. Broadcast media and more specifically, investigative journalism, performs a vital role in uncovering corruption in government or private organizations and bring the case to public scrutiny and thus fighting against the impunity⁵.

The media have the capacity to shape public perception⁶. This is important in promoting accountability. In several incidences, the exposure of corruption cases has acted as a catalyst for criminal cases. The media plays a critical role in: exposing corruption cases hence promoting good governance and raising public awareness; carrying out independent investigations; reporting of corruption cases as they occur and acting as a watchdog hence discouraging individuals from engaging in corruption. The reporting of corruption cases can adversely affect organizational and individual reputations; thus, the naming and shaming induces changes contributing to transparency. Several corruption cases have been brought to

⁴ Clark, A. K. (2017). Measuring corruption: transparency international's "corruption perceptions index". In *Corruption, Accountability and Discretion*. Emerald Publishing Limited

⁵ Coronel, S. (2010). Corruption and the watchdog role of the news media. *Public sentinel: News media and governance reform*, 111-136.

⁶ Corrado. G & Rossetti. F. (2018). Governmental corruption a regional analysis of Italy

the limelight showing the potential of the media in curbing corruption. In many cases, senior government officers have lost their jobs because of public outcry or prosecutions following the fearless exposure of media reporting⁷.

There is a widespread belief among academics and industry professionals that the media plays an essential role in bolstering democratic processes and, by extension, the fight against corruption⁸ quality of government⁹, economic development¹⁰ and anticorruption¹¹. In terms of corruption, the people may use the broadcast media as a primary route for information about governmental, administrative, and corporate actions to be disseminated to them, giving them a crucial ability to hold those in authority accountable. Mendes (2013) asserts that the media may considerably increase the political risk of individuals exposed for their corrupt behavior or use of power by revealing, exposing, enlightening, and educating the public about the harmful implications of corruption for society at large¹².

There have been published reports from around the world on how media has helped in the fight against corruption. In Venezuela for examples, two broadcast media investigative stories by the Caracas Daily El Universal was highly lauded and credited in forcing President Perez to take responsibility for his fraudulent action¹³. In the United States, there has been an increasing

⁷ Wolf, L. (2017). The Corrective Measures Taken in Response to State Capture

⁸ Norris, P., 2008, 'In Section 2 of Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance and Development, edited by M. Harvey, Global Forum for Media Development, Internews Europe, pages 66-75 discuss "The Role of the Free Press in Promoting Democratization, Good Governance, and Human Development."

⁹ Färdigh, M.A., Andersson, E., & Oscarsson, H. (2012). Freedom of the Press and Influence Peddling In "Good Government," edited by Stephen Holmberg and Bernard Rothstein. The Significance of Political Science in Today's World (pp. 130-49). Edward Elgar Publishing is located in Cheltenham.

¹⁰ Besley, T. & Prat, A. (2006). Handcuffs for the hand that wants to grab? Capturing the media and making the government answerable. *The American Economic Review*, 96(3), 720-736.

¹¹ Brunetti, A. & Weder, B. (2003). A free press is terrible news for those who engage in corrupt behavior. 1801–1824 in the *Journal of Public Economics*, which has 87(7–8) pages.

¹² Mendes, Maria. 2013. Expert Answer on Corruption in the Media in Developing Countries, Version U4 by Transparency International

¹³ Staphenurst, R. (2000). *The press's ability to combat corrupt practices*. World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

concern of corruption. The Transparency International noted that the US probably hit its worst stage of corruption in 2020. In the annual Corruption Perception Index (CPI), for examples, the US dropped to a record low of 67 out of 100, down from 76 in 2015. The drop comes not as a surprise following the exposure by collaborative investigation of *BuzzFeed News* and International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). They disclosed in their publication how several significant institutions in the United States had purposely enabled trillions of dollars' worth of questionable financial transactions to go forward, giving drug lords, kleptocrats, and terrorists' access to profits of corruption all over the globe.¹⁴The exposé in the newspaper bolstered the accountability of the judicial system, and as a result, the potential effectiveness of the court as a tool against corruption. It also suggests that the broadcast media were responsible for improvements in the series and the courts, which were made for the interest of the state.¹⁵

In Europe, endemic corruption continues to pose a significant threat to democratic governance and the rule of law (European Court of Auditors, 2012). Hungary is one of the most corrupt countries in Central and Eastern Europe, according to a widely-used survey¹⁶. But from the late 1990s, several European nations have established two organizations with a focus on the prevention and management of corruption¹⁷.

In 2019, an investigation conducted in Bulgaria jointly by a media company called Radio Free Europe together with Anti-Corruption Fund non-governmental organization unearthed high

¹⁴ Griffin C. & Amy M. (2020). Report: The United States now has one of the most corrupt governments in the world. FP News for the 28th of January, 2021

¹⁵ Staphenurst, R. (2000). *The part played in the fight against corruption by the media*. The World Bank Institute, located in Washington, DC.

¹⁶ Kaufmann, D., & Vicente, P. D. (2011). The Economics and Politics of Corruption in the Law, 23(2), 195–219, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0343.2010.00377.x

¹⁷ Transparency International (2011). The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for 2011 was developed by the Secretariat of Transparency International in Berlin, Germany.

level corruption involving senior politicians and government officials¹⁸. The exposure revealed that the officers owned luxury apartments below the market rates. As a result, the Justice Minister, three Assistant Ministers, several Members of Parliament and the Bulgarian Anti-Corruption Watchdog head were forced to resign.

Investigative reporters and the news media thus need a cooperative approach with the government agencies that look into or bring charges against corrupt officials. The work that journalists undertake is designed to suit their immediate interests since it provides reporters and the outlets that they work for with fascinating and dramatic stories that can be investigated and published. Reporting about the operations of anti-corruption organizations serves not just the public interest but also the interests of the anti-corruption bodies themselves since it promotes public support for the job that they do and, as a result, reinforces their legitimacy. This may deter politicians who are the targets of their investigations from interfering with or undermining their work. The media attention that journalists provide to the activities of these organizations has another advantageous side effect in that it could inspire those who have knowledge of wrongdoing to come forward and testify.

In Africa, the battle against corruption has been impacted just as much by broadcast media, which has had remarkable results. According to Larmorde (2013), the broadcast media has functioned as a way of informing as well as platform for educating the general public on issues pertaining to corruption, including the impact that corruption has on the socio-economic growth and development of a nation. Larmorde goes ahead to observe that effectiveness of any county's fight on corruption requires the effort of the people but that depends on how well the citizens people are informed and educated about corruption, its prevention and control. This is

¹⁸ Ariely. G & Uslaner. E (2017). *Conflicts of interest, equity, and unfairness*.

where the broadcast media comes in. According to the hypotheses put forth by Besley, Burges, and Pat in their research for the World Bank on the topic of development, the citizens of any country now have the ability, thanks to the broadcast media, to investigate and scrutinize the actions and inactions of elected or appointed officials in the government.¹⁹In any democratic system, the role of the broadcast media in informing and educating the populace about a wide variety of topics, including instances of corruption, is an extremely important one. This makes it possible for the public to actively participate in the process of corporate governance.

Following the release of the Paradise Papers by members of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, the son of a former president in Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, was taken into custody, charged with a crime, and sentenced to prison in 2018. At the same time, an investigation was opened into the activities of another manager in the country. The magazine revealed how the son of the previous president of Angola, who was working as head of Angola's sovereign fund, deceitfully benefitted after he assisted in the transfer of \$500 million (£378 million) from the national bank of Angola to an offshore account in the United Kingdom. Within the same court proceeding, three further defendants, including a former governor of the National Bank of Angola (BNA), named Valter Filipe da Silva, were sentenced to between four and six years in jail for fraud, embezzlement and the impact of spreading corruption.²⁰A journalist in Zimbabwe by the name of Hopewell Chinono uncovered wrongdoing in the process of acquiring supplies for the Covid 19 project. As a direct result of this, the Minister of Health was forced out of his position due to his involvement in the scandal.²¹

¹⁹ Besley, T. & Burgess, R. (2001). Freedom of choice in politics, accountable governance, and the function of the media. To cite: *European Economic Review* 45:629-640.

²⁰ OCCRP. 2018. Angola: An Anti-Corruption Operation Leads to the Arrest of the Former President's Son

²¹ Moyo, J (2021). A prize was given to a reporter for bringing light to corrupt practices.

There have been evident examples of noticeable results on the role of broadcast media's aid in the war against corruption in Nigeria as well. Many public officials have lost their jobs due to public protest or legal proceedings which stemmed from comprehensive and communicated documentary by the media houses. Ibrahim Salisu, a former House of Representatives speaker, and Evan Ewerem, a former Senate president, resigned when the broadcast media kept up the pressure on them to report on the forging of their credentials. Both of them resigned as a result of media pressure.²² Corrupt practices and cronyism at the highest levels of government have been widely reported in South African media, prompting the Office of the Public Protector to begin an investigation into allegations against the previous president. Following the *Nkandla* report on the outcomes of the investigations and the, *State Capture* report – 2016, the then President Jacob Zuma, had to step down from the presidency in February 2018²³. Nevertheless, with a score of only 44 in Corruption Perception Index, corruption still impairs the government's efforts and potentials fulfil its social services like healthcare, education, clean water, housing, and social security obligations and ensure accountability in the delivery of economic and social growth and development.

Although corruption is a worldwide problem, it has a greater effect on developing and undeveloped nations when funds intended for development are improperly transferred into the hands of the wealthy, thus escalating poverty. In addition to poverty and unemployment, corruption is seen as the most severe national issue, according to the African Governance Report.

²² Ayodele, A. E. (2012) „ In Nigeria, the Fight against Corruption Is Led by the Media, You may get this information by visiting <https://odinakadotnet.wordpress.com/page/2/>. (March 5, 2019)

²³ Education for Justice (E4J) (2020). The part that the media should play in the battle against corruption. Encouragement of a Culture of Legality, as Declared in the Doha Declaration

In Kenya, there have been many cases of corruption which were acted upon by the right authorities only after they were aired by the broadcast media. When it comes to uncovering and exposing corruption, the Kenyan media has typically done an amazing job. As a "whistle-blower," the media has put pressure on government officials to account for their fraudulent and deceptive actions and omissions, as well as educating the public about corruption (by disseminating information), and by engaging in investigative journalism, just to name a few. A number of scandals, including as the Goldenberg affair, the NYS scam, and the Mau Forest land controversy, were only brought to the EACC's notice after they were widely reported in the media. The action by EACC has seen many government officials including ministers forced to step aside to pay way for proper investigation²⁴.The outcomes of the media exposure of corruption cases represents the tangible effects of fighting corruption. On the other hand, the intangible effects include a raised accountability amongst the public, politicians, government and private institutions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Corruption is an age-old social problem that is endemic to governments, individuals, companies, institutions, and nations globally. It is thriving despite the continuous efforts that have been sustained by various nations to curb it. Corruption is viewed as both an ethical and legal problem that has stifled growth in many countries. It has denied the youth of their opportunities and has also interfered with resource allocation and thus led to a feeling of exclusion. It is one cause of the increasing poverty gaps between the rich and the poor. Studies

²⁴ Stapenhurst, R. (2000). The part that the media plays in fighting against corrupt practices. *The World Bank Institute, located in Washington, DC.*

have also shown that countries with higher levels of corruption have lower levels of political and civil liberties²⁵

Corruption has remained one of the devastating phenomena in many countries particularly in South America, Latin America, Africa, Russia, China and India among other Eastern countries. Broadcast media has been at the forefront to highlight some of these corrupt cases. It has highlighted such stories via print, radio, television and digital. Despite these efforts by the broadcast media, still corruption is endemic and continuous to raise its head by ravishing institutions, governance and opportunities.

Studies have shown that legal and administrative mechanisms have been used to serve as preventive measures to corruptions. However, these efforts have been weak and uncoordinated and thus ineffective in curbing corruption. Broadcast media has come in to bridge this gap and has highlighted corruption cases nationally, regionally and globally. Broadcast media play a vital role in the mitigation of corruption in Africa. It acts as the public watchdog for the citizenry. However, despite these impetuses in fighting corruption, broadcast media faces several challenges.

There is need for detailed research on the role of the broadcast media on mitigating corruption in Kenya. This study therefore attempted to fill this gap in knowledge by establishing the role of broadcast media in mitigating corruption in public economic management in Africa. The effectiveness and the strategies used by broadcast media will also be examined by this research.

²⁵ Kaufmann, D. (2004). Corruption matters: Evidence-based challenge to orthodoxy. *Journal of Development Policy and Practice*, 1(1), 1 –24.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What role does broadcast media play in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya?
2. What are the challenges facing the broadcast media in coverage of corruption cases in Kenya?
3. How effective are the strategies used by the broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to establish the Role of Broadcast Media in Mitigating Corruption in Public Economic Management in Africa.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To critically assess the role that broadcast media plays in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya
2. To analyse the challenges faced by broadcast media in the coverage of corruption in Kenya
3. To evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies used by broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya

1.5 Empirical Review

1.5.1 The Role Broadcast Media Plays in Mitigation of Corruption in Kenya

There are three key roles in fighting corruption that the broadcast media may play: corruption watchdog, public engagement in anti-corruption efforts, and integrity promotion. As the "fourth pillar" of democracy in any system that values and welcomes checks and balances, the media

serves as a watchdog to keep tabs on the conduct of public officials, leaders, legislators, the executive, and judges, as well as businesses and the private sector. The media may monitor daily government performance, look into specific examples of suspected corruption, and expose them, which may put pressure on decision-makers to take action in order to achieve the goals of this function. The media outlets may expose the public officials who use their position and authority to promote and cover up incidents of corruption or who refuse to take action when actual, verifiable proof of their misconduct is revealed by naming and shaming them.

Reports in the broadcast media about corrupt practices have, in many cases, captured the spotlight on a worldwide scale. The report on the Mossack Fonseca Papers investigation is one of the greatest examples available²⁶. Sensitive material from the Panama-based company Mossack Fonseca was revealed to the German *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in 2015. Together with the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), the newspaper examined the papers, and more than 11.5 million reports detailing details about financial dealings with over 200,000 offshore corporations, secret trusts, and tax havens were revealed. The publication of the findings prompted the filing of several lawsuits in numerous nations throughout the world. In Uruguay, Iceland, Spain, Germany, Mexico, France, Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, more than US\$1.2 billion in losses were recouped (UK). Following the revelations, several other nations are still conducting their investigations. Following their active participation in the cases, certain people were forced to deal with the full power of the law. They include American Richard Geffey, a Massachusetts-based accountant who is awaiting trial, as well as Panamanian attorney Ramses Owens and Harald Joachim Von Der Golts, who are all being tried in the US for the same crime. While 11

²⁶ Explore the Panama Papers Key Figures, <https://panamapapers.icij.org/graphs/>.

others were detained in Ecuador, Nikolay and Evgeniya Banevi were detained in Nice, France.²⁷

Social media has evolved into a broadcast media channel as a result of the digital revolution. Comparing social media to traditional media like radio and television, it is believed that social media is more generally accessible and less susceptible to state intervention. Social media offers information with analysis, commentary, and advocacy, which helps to lessen corruption. Due to their unrestricted freedom, social media offers a platform for "citizen journalism," as any citizen who has access to and a social media account can post authoritative information about corruption that can then be looked into by private investigators, governmental organizations, or investigative journalists. Social media may also mobilize public opinion in a way that increases citizen involvement in pertinent instances. At some point, the spread of certain news may lead to substantial changes in the government, as has happened in a number of nations thanks to Twitter activism, including Egypt, Armenia, and Tunisia.²⁸

1.5.2 Challenges Faced by Broadcast Media in the Coverage of Corruption in Kenya

In addition to the beneficial role that social media may play in including the public in the fight against corruption, it is important to remember that the broadcast media outlets now in use are vulnerable to misuse, which can result in the prolonged spread of misinformation among the public. Particularly, the public's faith in both mainstream and alternative media channels is seriously threatened by the rising incidence of misleading information disseminated through

²⁷ Dalby D. (2019). The Panama Papers contribute to the recovery of nearly \$1.2 billion in funds throughout the globe. Organization of Investigative Journalists from Around the World

²⁸ Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., & Sonin, K. (2018). The corrupting influence of social media. Applied Economics, Volume 10 Number 1 of the American Economic Journal, Pages 150–74.

social media, sometimes known as "fake news." In addition to spreading false information, fake news is often used for nefarious purposes, such as to destroy political opponents by casting doubt on their integrity via weaponized allegations claiming corrupt behavior or to disparage journalists who properly expose examples of corruption.²⁹ To combat such abuses, the whole society must work together, which brings up the above noted issues with collective action once again.

Despite the significance and usefulness of the media in the battle against corruption, media ownership might undercut such efforts, particularly when corrupt elites, businessmen, or politicians have undue control over the media. In these situations, media coverage could be skewed and exploited to influence citizens.³⁰ Investigative journalists have described being intimidated, having their professional reputation questioned, and facing political persecution. Moreover, due of their investigations into corruption, journalists often get death threats, and some have already been murdered. The Committee to Protect Journalists said that 34 journalists were killed in 2018 alone. Freelance journalists are more likely to accept higher risk employment than other journalists, which increases their exposure to violence. They are also more likely to work without proper institutional protection. Additionally, the State or proprietors of private media outlets may severely restrict freedom of speech.

In Brazil, the magazine *Veja* published an interview with Pedro Collor, the brother of a previous president. In the interview, Pedro Collor accused Paulo Cesar, the campaign finance officer for the current president, of misusing money that was intended for charity in order to

²⁹ Kossow, Niklas. 2018. Fake news and AntiCorruption, Transparency International AntiCorruption Helpdesk Answer

³⁰Freille, S., Haque, E. M., & Kneller, R. (2007). A contribution to the empirics of press freedom and Corruption. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 23(2), 838-862.

run a multimillion-dollar influence-peddling ring on behalf of the current president. After the release of the exposé, the Congress created a committee to examine the claims. Additional broadcast media, such as the magazine Isto It and the newspapers Folha de So Paulo and Estado de So Paulo, helped to seal the claims, which were then utilized during the congressional inquiry. These publications had access to a variety of pieces of evidence, such as bank records, telephone records, cancelled checks, and photographs of the president's luxurious private residence. In addition, these publications had interviews with senior officials and their associates, who helped to bolster a "safe" but enormous and high-level corruption within the Collor's administration.

It was eventually revealed that Farias had extorted more than \$55 million from a variety of companies in return for personal favors by the government. This is in addition to at least a million dollars that was directly paid to President Collor. The revelations caused national uproar against the presidents who consequently resigned just a day before he was impeached for the same. The investigation and the information of the public were achieved through the broadcast media.

1.5.3 Effectiveness of Broadcast media in combating corruption

When covering corruption scandals, journalists often turn to whistle blowers and informants who are protected. Whistle blowers come to journalists for a variety of reasons, such as to conceal their identities, to bring pressing matters to the notice of the public or the government, or because law enforcement or employers have failed to adequately address their concerns. According to a journalist, reporting to the media rather to law enforcement may be more fruitful for a whistle-blower. A journalist may write and publish a narrative that can be read by a worldwide audience via social media platforms in a matter of days, but criminal processes may

take years to come to a conclusion. Because of recent technological advancements, journalists may now connect with their sources via encrypted platforms (like Signal), which can safeguard the identity of the whistle-blower. Journalists agreed, however, that the absence or severely insufficient whistle-blower protection systems in many nations pose serious dangers to their sources.

Significant cases of corruption have also been successfully fought with the help of the broadcast media in the United States. The case of Dan Rostenkowski is a good example. Don Rostenkowski was a prominent Illinois Democrat who served for 36 years as a member of the Congress and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee from the early 1980s to early 1990s. Over a period of two and a half years, the Chicago Sun-Times produced several investigative articles. Rostenkowski, who was then in charge of the influential House Ways and Means Committee, was accused in the articles of misusing hundreds of thousands of dollars from his campaign money and congressional allowances.

1.6 Literature Gap

Some studies have been done on the role of the broadcast media and how it aids fight against corruption in various parts of the world. Kenya for examples is identified with what is perceived as aggressive media going by some of the top documentaries on corruption. As a matter of fact, major scandal in government has been best exposed by investigative media. However, the trend of scandal seems to be growing with even worse sandals like the Covid-19 KEMSA scandal. At the verge of dreadful impacts of Covid-19, some government officials still had the gut to swindle money and resources meant to fight Covid-19. Basically, it appears that corruption is growing in Kenya each day with every phenomenon which calls for extensive capital expenditure by the government. It appears that nothing is really happening in the fight against

corruption. The Kenyan broadcast media as in known in the public domain has helped to exposes cases of corruption upon which relevant authorities moved swiftly to initiate forensic investigation and prosecute the perpetrator of the vice. It however not clears how effective the media has been in the fight against corruption, because limited research-based data is available and accessible. There has never been conclusive research which has correlated the minimal success on fight against corruption to the work or broadcast media. This explains why this project proposes an in-depth study on the role of the media in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

1.7 Justification of the Study

1.7.1 Academic Justification

Academia is very vital in the 21st Century since it informs policy. It is therefore necessary for academicians to carry out more research in corruption issues especially on the role of broadcast media infighting the corruption menace. Research is the hallmark of academics and therefore all players in the academic circle should churn out more journals in the area of corruption. And how it affects the society.

1.7.2 Policy Justification

The role of the media in educating, informing, and cautioning the public on corruption is appreciable across the globe. There is evidence of success of broadcast media in fighting corruption. However, in the Kenya's case, there is need to documents credible, and reliable data on the success and challenges of the media on fighting corruption so that informed decision can be made with regards to policy establishment and revision which can support and protect the work of the broadcast media in fighting corruption which continues to plague the country.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

A study's scope not only outlines the parameters within which the inquiry will be conducted but also indicates the extent to which the research field will be investigated during the course of the attempt. In the most fundamental sense, this indicates that you will need to define the topic(s) of the study as well as its scope. The focus of the study is on the role of investigative journalism on the fight against corruption in Kenya. Although the larger African community will be considered for informative discussion, the scope is limited to the Kenya's scenario. Additionally, the study will explore the challenges the broadcast media faces regarding their coverage and documentation of cases of corruption in the country. Additionally, the study will be limited to broadcast mainstream media and therefore will not consider social media although it is part of broadcast media. The corruption considered in the study is both in the public and the private sector.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

1.9.1 Agenda Setting Theory in Mass Communication

This idea explains how the news coverage by the media determines which topics get people's attention. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, two college teachers, presented the hypothesis for the first time in 1972. When polling North Carolina voters during the 1968 presidential election, researchers discovered that the topics that individuals believed to be genuine and crucial were those that the broadcast media had portrayed as being of the utmost importance. The agenda-setting idea is based on two key tenets.

The first is that, rather from just relaying news to the public, the media filters and profiles what we see. An example of this is when a spectacular or scandalous news tops a broadcast medium instead of one that occurred more recently or has the potential to have a significant impact on

the lives of many people, such as a prediction of significant flooding or landslides. The second premise is that a problem will be seen as more serious and vital by the public if the media covers it more extensively. Another way to look at it is that broadcast media companies provide us with particular topics or situations that the public should take more seriously rather than instructing us what to think or feel about them.

The agenda-setting idea has support from both psychology and science. The more a topic is covered by the broadcast media, the more deeply it gets ingrained in people's memory when they are asked to recollect it. As a result, even if a story doesn't directly touch them or stand out to them as a serious concern, it has an impact on their lives.

Thus, the idea that the mass media sets the agenda for what people should worry about gave birth to the agenda-setting hypothesis. The agenda-setting idea has certain drawbacks, one of which is that it is difficult to quantify. The notion has mostly been unproven in terms of a causal link between media attention and popular prominence. It is more difficult to persuade people that the mass media is dictating the agenda in 2018 due to the worldwide reach of the internet and social media, where practically everyone can discover the news they're seeking for rather than being restricted by just depending on one or two sources. The idea also fails for those who have already made up their minds. For instance, despite clear indications that an elected person is corrupt, someone may still hold the opinion that they are not corrupt. This has been especially evident in Kenya, where some voters have spoken out to protect their officials.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

This study adopted both secondary and primary research designs. Secondary research (desk research is a research method) in which the researcher uses already existing data to answer his/he research questions. Existing data is summarized and collated to increase the overall effectiveness of research. One of the advantages of using this method is that the data is credible based on the fact that most them are extracted from published materials. However, before the material may be utilized in any way, caution is required to guarantee that it is genuine in all respects. Secondary research refers to studies that have been conducted before but have not yet been made public in the form of research reports or other articles. These materials might be made available to the public via many channels, such as internet resources, public libraries, surveys that have already been completed, etc. There are additional organizations, both government and non-government, that archive data that may be retrieved and employed for research purposes.

1.10.2 Target Population

The research targets the broadcast media fraternity which will include 20 editors and reporters from the Standard Newspaper and Daily Nation as well as the agencies concerned with information management in the country for example Media Council of Kenya (10 respondents), and the Communication Authority of Kenya (20 respondents). Additionally, the research study will target the following offices; Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission of Kenya (20 respondents), Directorate of Criminal Investigations (20 respondents), Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (10 respondents), National Police Service (20 respondents) giving a total of 174 target population, because they deal directly with corruption and have sometimes relied on broadcast media lead for their work.

The target population was 174 employees drawn from different media companies. The required sample size was based on a 95% confidence level and 3% margin of error based on an estimated 80% outcome response.

The sample size was calculated using the formula below:

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{Z^2 \times P(1-P)/e^2}{1+(Z^2 \times P(1-P)/e^2N)}$$

Where N = Population Size

Z = Z score

e = Margin of error

P = Standard of deviation

$$\frac{3.8416 \times 0.25/0.0009}{1 + (3.8416 \times 0.25)/0.0009 \times 174}$$

$$= 120$$

1.10.3 Sampling and Sampling Technique

Sampling is the method of selecting the desired respondents targeted as source of information needed for the research.³¹ Sampling therefore involves the identification of the desired respondents, contacting and establishing relationship with them then planning for an appointment with them for face-to-face interviews.

³¹ Mugenda, A. G. (2008). Social science research: Theory and principles. *Nairobi: Applied.*

The study adopted random and stratified random sampling techniques. The researcher will choose a random sample of respondents from each strata. The use of stratified random sampling is justified since it assures that a subgroup that would otherwise be completely excluded by other sampling techniques due to the population's small size is included in the sample.

1.10.4 Data Collection Methods

In this research, primary and secondary data were also used. Because it uses data that is already available, secondary data is far more affordable than primary data. In primary research, on the other hand, data is gathered directly by organizations or enterprises, or they might hire a third party to collect data on their behalf.³²

Data for secondary research was extracted from online sources from the internet, government and non-government agencies such as bureaus of statistics, public libraries, educational institutions, commercial information sources like newspapers, radio and TV stations, and journals. The researcher also collected primary data and therefore identified the research sources then filter them in terms of content relevance, authenticity, to narrow down on the most suitable sources. The data to be collected are those that directly enable the achievement of the objectives of this study. The collected data was then combined and compared to each other to see if any there is any contradiction information. For any contradicting information, cleaning will be done to ensure that only clean data is used. The clean data was then analysed using descriptive statistics. The analysis was able to answer the questions of interest.

³² Orodho, A.J. (2004). Techniques and Social Science Research Methods. Nairobi: Masola Publishers

1.10.5 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis is the process of giving the gathered information structure, order, and significance. To meet the goals of the research, descriptive statistics were produced using SPSS as an analytical tool. The analyzed data was given in the form of tables, frequencies, and percentages. The processed data was also presented in terms of illustrations and numerical values assigned to replies (coding) in the questionnaires to reflect measurement of variables.

1.10.6 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

A test's validity is determined by how closely it measures the variables it claims to. By demonstrating that an instrument's items are reflective of the abilities and traits to be tested, the instrument is said to be validated. By ensuring that the questionnaire questions adequately covered the study goals, content validity was determined. Research specialists, academics, and practitioners evaluated the surveys (Kothari, 2005).

The word "reliability" describes how well findings hold up over time and fairly reflect the whole group being studied. If the results of a study can be duplicated using the same methodology, then the research instrument is considered to have high levels of reliability. The reliability of the questionnaire was determined over the course of this investigation by employing Cronbach's Alpha as the reliability measure of choice. Nunnally suggested that a reliability value of 0.7 was sufficient. The reliability and suitability of the data collecting instrument were determined by Cronbach's Alpha values over 0.7. 8 respondents who were not a part of the main study's sample were utilized for the pilot study's data.

1.10.7 Ethical Consideration

Following the sensitivity of the matter, care was taken to ultimately abide principles of confidentiality as best desired by the targeted respondents. In other words, the researcher strived to take care of the best interest of the respondents as far confidentiality is concerned. The researcher therefore sought permission to conduct the research from relevant Authorities such as the university and NACOSTI. The researcher also gave full information about the study, sought the consent of the respondents, and clarified to the respondents that they have the freedom to withdraw at any time if they are not comfortable or obtain from giving certain information feared to raise conflict of interest.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF BROADCAST MEDIA IN MITIGATING CORRUPTION IN KENYA

Larmorde notes that the broadcast media serves as channel of information as well as platform of educating the general public. Larmorde goes ahead to observe that effectiveness of any county's fight on corruption requires the effort of the people but that depends on how well the same people are informed and educated about corruption³³. This is where the broadcast media comes in. In their World Bank development studies, Besley, Burges, and Pat make the argument that residents of every nation have the ability to scrutinize and inquire into the deeds and inactions of elected or appointed authorities thanks to the broadcast media. Any democracy relies heavily on the broadcast media to inform and educate the public about a wide range of problems, including corruption. As a result, the public is able to actively participate in the governing process.

The battle against corruption is impacted both directly and indirectly by the broadcast media. Tangible effects are those visible, recognizable and attributable results such as launching of investigation by government agencies and authorities mandated with such responsibility, enactment of better laws and policies or abolishment of laws or policies which interferes encourage corruption, initiation of judicial proceedings, forced resignation or impeachment of corrupt leaders, firing of officials engaging in scandalous deals or activities, issuance of public recommendation by whistle-blower organization such as Transparency International. Intangible effects on the other hand include system checks on corruption, that are glaring the

³³ Larmorde, I. (2013, October 28). The media is a crucial ally in the ongoing fight against corruption. This information was obtained from the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission at the following website: <http://efccnigeria.org/efcc/>. (March 5, 2019)

product of hard-hitting broadcast documentaries which create a wider sense of responsibility and accountability among leaders, whether appointed or elected and their institutions³⁴.

In October 2021, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) published 11.9 million documents exposing companies and individuals with offshore accounts. The leaks known as Pandora Papers revealed details on ownership of 29,000 offshore companies. In 2015, the leaking of documents to a Germany Newspaper resulted in the Newspaper carrying out an investigation on Mossack Fonseca, a Panama based company. The investigation unearthed corruption incidences that were referred to as Panama Paper case. The investigation revealed information on over 200,000 offshore companies. Consequently, the leaks resulted in lawsuits in different countries across the world leading to the recovery of over \$1.2 billion from United Kingdom, Mexico, Belgium, Uruguay and New Zealand³⁵.

The 2021 publication of the Pandora Papers, which follow the Panama and Paradise Papers, offers copious proof of the destructive effect of "shell entities" functioning on a worldwide scale. Tax evasion, money laundering, hiding illegal or possibly humiliating domestic and offshore corporate structures, and other dubious financial operations are just a few of the actions conducted by and via such corporations³⁶. More than 91 countries and territories were represented in the Pandora Papers released by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ, based in Washington, DC), which revealed the financial secrets and offshore dealings of a wide range of high-ranking political and business leaders. It's possible to get a unique understanding of an underground global offshore economy that helps powerful people

³⁴ Staphenurst, R. (2000). The part that the media plays in fighting against corrupt practices. *The World Bank Institute, located in Washington, DC.*

³⁵ Monteiro, C (2022). *Pandora Papers*

³⁶ Pacini, C., & Stowell, N. F. (2020). Panama Papers and the exploitation of shell organizations.

and affluent individuals hide their assets and tax liabilities, elude public scrutiny, and avoid paying taxes, thanks to the instances and information given in the Pandora Papers³⁷. The disclosure of the Pandora Papers exposes the hypocrisy of policy-makers who are charged with preventing corruption and who are also accused of amassing undeserved riches by abusing the system's flaws. The truth revealed presents a picture of avaricious politicians and bureaucrats (along with others) who have compromised their morality and violated the law in order to collect and hide enormous amounts of personal money and unethical relationships.

Integrity is a crucial component of good leadership. The real dynamics of public administration operation are determined by the nature of the connection between integrity and governance. Integrity is a virtue that encompasses all other virtues and is shown by those who behave honorably by matching their judgements with a vision of the ideal life for individuals and society while also striving for high standards in their professional conduct³⁸. This story of integrity closely resembles the definition of good governance as a necessary component for promoting societal well-being³⁹. All institutional types that support both positive substantive outcomes and public legitimacy are referred to as having good governance⁴⁰.

There are several examples of observable consequences that can be attributed to the role of Nigeria's broadcast media to the country's ongoing battle against corruption. The detailed and persuading reporting done by the media has resulted in a number of government workers losing their jobs as a direct consequence of public uproar or legal proceedings that were brought about

³⁷ The] Guardian. (2021, October 3). The Pandora Papers reveal the financial dealings of the wealthy and powerful and are the largest data breach in the history of offshore companies.

³⁸ van Steden, R. (2020). Blind spots in public ethics and integrity research: What public administration scholars can learn from Aristotle.

³⁹ Perry, J. L., de Graaf, G., van der Wal, Z., & van Montfort, C. (2014). Returning to our roots: "Good government" evolves to "good governance."

⁴⁰ Rose-Ackerman, S. (2017). What does "governance" mean?

as a result of the reporting. The resignation of Ibrahim Salisu, a former speaker of the House of Representatives, and Evan Ewerem, a former president of the Senate, as a result of the broadcast media's persistent coverage of the detailed forgery of certificates, are two excellent examples of the tangible results of media intervention in Nigeria. Both of them bowed to media pressure by resigning their positions⁴¹. Also, notable cases include the resignation of Patricia Etteh-former Speaker of the House of Representatives who was accused of scandalous furniture allowance following investigative media reporting. Although she has the support of the president to maintain her seat, she succumbed to pressure and resigned in October 2007, having served for only four months. Other cases include the impeachment of, Chuba Okadigbo (Former president of the parliament), Dimeji Bankole (Former House of Representatives speaker – spotlighted for misappropriated tens of millions of dollars of government fund) and Farouk Lawan (Former house of representatives member, sentenced to 7 years in prison for \$3 million bribery fraud) due to the revelations through media's efforts to mitigate corruption in Nigeria. The media exposed Okadigbo as having accepted the payment of 372 million Naira to equip his personal residence and approved the inflation of the street light project to roughly 173 million Naira.⁴²

According to what Egbuna has seen, there are also some measurable but intangible consequences of the broadcast media on the fight against corruption⁴³. The Radio Naigeria for example has been on the forefront with war on corruption and encourages service delivery by

⁴¹ Ayodele, A. E. (2012) „ In Nigeria, the Fight Against Corruption Is Led by the Media, You may get this information by visiting <https://odinakadotnet.wordpress.com/page/2/>. (March 5, 2019) A. Muhammad published an article in 2015 titled "The Media and War Against Corruption in Nigeria." The Human Being, the Media, and Society

⁴² Ogundiya, I. S. (2012), A Nation in the Wilderness: Corruption, Elite Conspiracy and the Illusion of Development in Nigeria” in Abdulrahman, D. A., Ogundiya, I.S, Garba, I. and Danlami, I. M. (eds), 50 Years of Nigeria's Nationhood: Issues and Challenges for Sustainable Development: A Publication of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto

⁴³ Ayodele, A. E. (2012) „ In Nigeria, the Fight Against Corruption Is Led by the Media, You may get this information by visiting <https://odinakadotnet.wordpress.com/page/2/>. (March 5, 2019)

the Nigeria dubbed as Police Dairy. The Radio station air programmes with a real time interactive session with member of the public through phone calls respective Area Commanders or Divisional Police Officers (DPO's) and Commissioners of Police. In as much as the initiative started as a programme limited to the Federal Capital and seat of power, it became a network programme aired instantaneously to members of the public on all 35 registered Radio stations in Nigeria by December 2006. Stapenhurst, notes that all forms of inquiries by the media even without any serious investigative report or a conclusive proof of corruptions can lead to a mitigation response by relative authorities' keen on protecting their reputations as well as those of the institutions they represent. Consequently, intangible effects have resulted to concrete effects through broadcast media in the war to mitigate corruption⁴⁴.

The broadcast media often confronts unethical individuals, organizations, or activities and may therefore readily sway a criminal or other inquiry into sensitive issues. An excellent example is in South Africa, where extensive press coverage of allegations of high-level clientelism and corruption compelled the Office of the Public Protector to look into the claims. President Jacob Zuma was forced to step down in February 2018 as a result of the Nkandla report on the findings of the investigations and the State Capture report from 2016. A joint investigation by Radio Free Europe and the Anti-Corruption Fund (NGO) in Bulgaria in 2019 revealed that several top politicians and public employees had purchased surplus bungalows at exorbitant rates. As a result, the director of the Bulgarian Anti-Corruption Agency, many MPs, three vice-ministers, and the then-justice minister were forced to resign⁴⁵.

⁴⁴Stapenhurst, R. (2000). The part that the media plays in fighting against corrupt practices. *The World Bank Institute, located in Washington, DC*

⁴⁵ Education for Justice (E4J) (2020). The part that the media should play in the battle against corruption. Encouragement of a Culture of Legality, as Declared in the Doha Declaration

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the son of a former president of Angola, was arrested and given a jail term in 2018 as a result of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists' publication of the Paradise Papers, while another manager is now under investigation. After revealing how the former president's son, who was working as head of Angola's sovereign fund, illegally benefitted from the transfer of \$500 million (£378 million) from the national bank of Angola to an account in the UK, the journal uncovered the scheme. In the same court case, three more defendants, including Valter Filipe da Silva, the former governor of the National Bank of Angola (BNA), were sentenced to between four and six years in prison for fraud, embezzlement and shady dealings⁴⁶. It is debatable if President Joao Lourenco's noteworthy efforts in the battle against corruption can be directly credited to the lessons his predecessor taught him⁴⁷.

The Chicken-gate affair is another case where media exposure brought it to public attention. In the "chicken gate" incident, IEBC and KNEC officials colluded with Smith and Ouzman directors to get contracts for the printing of ballots⁴⁸. In the first procurement fraud, prominent officials of the EMB were taken advantage of and given large bribes by Smith and Ouzman, a security printer located in the United Kingdom with whom they had a contract to purchase electoral materials. In the subsequent criminal trial for corruption that took place in the United Kingdom, it was revealed that the officials of the company had paid up to £349,057 in bribes (over Kshs. 45 million) to secure the contract. These bribes were referred to as "chicken" by the IIEC officials and commissioners.

⁴⁶ news24/africa/news/angolan-court-sentences-ex-leaders-son-to-5-years-for-fraud-20200814

⁴⁷ Freedom House (2010). Press freedom as of 2010. Statistics from the annual Press Freedom Index published by Freedom House. : Freedom House, New York. the document was retrieved from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>

⁴⁸ Chicken gate scandal suspects Oswago and Oyombra arrested

Printing materials for the by-elections that took place following the election in 2008 and the referendum that took place in 2010 were included in the scope of the contract. In return for these payments, IIEC gave Ouzman with information about competitor bids, which allowed the company to increase the amount it spent on printing. During the several journeys that IIEC officials took to the United Kingdom, Ouzman hosted and lavishly entertained a huge number of these officials, including Chairman Isaack Hassan⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Wachira. M (2021). Capture of the State Is at the Heart of Kenya's Failure to Fight Corruption

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES THE BROADCAST MEDIA FACES IN CORRUPTION COVERAGE IN KENYA

The burden of evidence in libel and defamation trials fell on the accused, and journalists and media organizations have often been involved. As a consequence, many have had to pay significant sums. One of the main issues confronting Kenya's broadcast media outlets has been cited repeatedly as the government's failure to support and safeguard the media and journalists. Threats and acts of violence have been directed against members of the media, most often emanating from members of the police and the government, in response to coverage that has been critical of President Uhuru Kenyatta's party or for reporting on the activities of opposition groups.

They allegedly ignored the president's order to halt live coverage of opposition leader Raila Odinga's bogus inauguration as president at the beginning of 2018, leading to the network's closure at the beginning of 2018⁵⁰. To put it another way, Kenya's press is just half free, according to a 2017 report from the non-profit organization, Freedom House.⁵¹

While the mainstream commercial media was commended for encouraging a record voter participation and successfully overseeing the electoral process, it was also criticized for its overtly political election coverage and a lack of thoughtful discussion and analysis. There were many complaints about the involvement of local language media, which are widespread in Kenya, since they looked to be siding with specific ethnic groups and encouraging prejudice and utilizing racial stereotypes to instil fear. However, it is noteworthy that local language

⁵⁰ BBC Media Action (2018). Kenya – Media Landscape Reports.

⁵¹ Reporters Without Borders, (2018). World Press Freedom Index, Kenya Report

broadcasters were also given credit for their critical role in reducing conflict-related stress and fostering communication.⁵²

For the broadcast media, fake has fast become a problem on two fronts. The problem of fake news has arisen as a new leading edge for journalistic ethics and public faith in the industry. Because almost every news outlet is under suspicion for some kind of wrongdoing, there has been a global decline in confidence in news and journalism. Everyone is now a journalist thanks to the development and widespread use of social media in the information age and the increasingly popular citizen journalism. As a result, those who spread false information have created sophisticated methods for doing so. Because trust, speed, and credibility are the three main tenets of journalism, false news has emerged as a thorn in the side of all three principles. False information spreads more quickly via social media channels and social media bots, is presented in a manner that borders on the truth and gains the public's confidence. Second, it makes the media's job more difficult since it requires them to perform research and do their due diligence before publishing anything.

For instance, there was a lot of false news spread during the Kenyan general elections of 2017 via social media. Jubilee and the National Super Alliance were two of the prominent political parties that used a variety of false news producers and distributors in 2017. (NASA). Their purpose and obligation was to create and disseminate falsehoods that offered alternate facts about all political topics and different perspectives on how those issues impacted the party or the candidate they supported.⁵³

⁵² BBC Media Action (2018). Kenya – Media Landscape Reports

⁵³ <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Government-condemns-Daniel-Moi-health-rumour/1056%204341632-dg1900/index.html>

In this context, false news dissemination by certain Kenyan media outlets has resulted in legal action, prosecution, and fines. Muthoni (2019) claims that the Nation Media Group (NMG), which owns NTV, was fined KES 8 million shillings for airing sensitive and unconfirmed news and accused of spreading false information regarding the passing of city billionaire Jimmy Wanjigi's wife. Although the Nation Media defense claimed that a stranger wrote the obituary, the court determined that the publication was financially benefiting from the advertisement and had a duty to check and broadcast only truthful facts⁵⁴. For presenting false breaking news on the passing of late minister and Kenyan Member of Parliament Hon. Njenga Karume, The Nation television (NTV) was also prosecuted in court and fined. This came after a tweet from rival television network KTN. Njenga Karume's family filed a legal complaint against NTV because the broadcaster falsely reported that he had passed away when he was simply ill. The TV station may have been careless, but the key point is how they acquired the material⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Muthoni, K. (2019). Jimmy Wanjigi was awarded Sh8 million by the court for writing a bogus obituary. 2019 May 3 edition of the Standard Digital News.

⁵⁵ BBC Media Action (2018). Kenya – Media Landscape Reports

CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECTIVENESS OF BROADCAST MEDIA IN COMBATING CORRUPTION

4.1. Introduction

The media, especially social media, is crucial in the battle against corruption because it has the power to hold the public and private sectors accountable and transparent. Several pieces of research have pointed to a link between unrestricted press freedom and high levels of corruption. When government activity is secretive by choice or default, the media reports on corruption in the public sector⁵⁶. Public examination of corruption and an end to impunity can only be achieved by investigative journalism, which relies heavily on the power of the media. This chapter focuses on providing literature on effectiveness of broadcast media in combating corruption.

4.2. Media and Corruption

In many countries, the media is the first to face unethical persons or practices, and this confrontation is often the beginning of a criminal or other investigation. For instance, in South Africa, an inquiry was opened into allegations of systemic corruption and clientelism at the highest levels by the Office of the Public Protector, which is an independent watchdog. This investigation resulted in the production of the Nkandla Report in 2014 and the State Capture Report in 2016, both of which revealed the unethical and illegal actions of the then-President Jacob Zuma and contributed to his resignation in February of 2018⁵⁷. In 2019, an investigation that was conducted jointly by Radio Free Europe and the Non-Governmental

⁵⁶ Brunetti, A. & Weder, B. (2003). A free press is bad news for corruption. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87(7–8), 1801-1824

⁵⁷ Clark, A. K. (2017). *Measuring corruption: transparency international's "corruption perceptions index"*. In *Corruption, Accountability and Discretion*. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Organization Anti-Corruption Fund showed that a number of high-level politicians and public workers in Bulgaria had acquired magnificent homes at prices that were far lower than market rates. As a direct consequence of this investigation, the director of the Bulgarian Anti-Corruption Agency, together with the then-justice minister, three vice-ministers, and several parliamentarians, all tendered their resignations. In response to this investigation, the head of the Bulgarian Anti-Corruption Agency, the then-justice minister, three vice-ministers, and a large number of parliamentarians resigned. According to Stapenhurst these achievements were the visible benefits from media efforts to combat corruption, while the intangible outcomes included improved political pluralism, lively political conversation, and a stronger degree of responsibility among public officials, institutions and organizations.

Reports in the media about corrupt practices have also moved into the spotlight on a worldwide scale. The case of the Mossack Fonseca Papers is an example of a situation that highlights the significance of journalists and the media in the process of identifying instances of corruption (widely known as the Panama Papers case). In 2015, confidential papers originating from the company Mossack Fonseca in Panama were sent by an unknown source to the German publication *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. As a direct consequence of the newspaper's examination of the records, which was carried out with the support of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, more than 11.5 million documents were made public (ICIJ). These records included information on offshore businesses, financial activities involving tax havens, and hidden trusts. The records included details on more than 200,000 offshore businesses in total (the online database offshore leaks, which was built by the ICIJ and enables free access to all files released from Mossack Fonseca), and the materials were obtained from Mossack Fonseca. As a direct consequence of the publication of these documents, legal action

has been taken in a number of jurisdictions all over the globe.⁵⁸Over one billion and two hundred fifty thousand United States Dollars have been recovered in a variety of countries, including Iceland, Uruguay, Mexico, New Zealand, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. You may see the list of countries that have initiated investigations as a direct result of the Mossack Fonseca Papers, as well as the total amount of money that has been recovered, by clicking on the link provided. For further information, have a look at this interactive overview provided by the ICIJ on the impact that the disclosure of the records has had on instances of corruption all across the world.

Stapenhurst draws a distinction between the tangible (direct) and impersonal (indirect) ways that the media assists in the exposure of corruption. Examples of the tangible effects of media exposure of corruption include the public's rage at government corruption, the impeachment and resignation of a corrupt individual, the beginning of official investigations into corruption, and the pressure from people on corrupt States to change.⁵⁹One example of an intangible effect of the media on corruption is raising public awareness of the lack of enough economic rivalry and the potential that enhanced competition would promote accountability and offer incentives for public authorities to inquire into wrongdoing. The degree to which the media is independent and unbiased will determine how much journalists can help expose corruption. Journalism and reporting cannot effectively

⁵⁸ Coronel, S. (2010). Corruption and the watchdog role of the news media. *Public sentinel: News media and governance reform*, 111-136.

⁵⁹ Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., & Sonin, K. (2018). The corrupting influence of social media. *Applied Economics*, Volume 10 Number 1 of the American Economic Journal, Pages 150–74.

expose corruption without a free and independent media. Freedom of information (FOI) laws have an impact on the media's ability to expose corruption.

Legislative protections are also need to be in place in order to protect journalists and their sources from false allegations, prosecution, and other forms of persecution. Those who have risked their lives to expose corruption at the most extreme end of the spectrum, including journalists and whistleblowers, have paid with their lives. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has developed the materials that are mentioned below in order to assist the media and governments in reporting on corruption. A comprehensive look of ethics, integrity, and their relationship to the media may be found in Module 10 of the E4J University Module Series on Integrity and Ethics. In spite of the importance and use of the media in the fight against corruption, ownership of the media has the potential to undermine such efforts. This is especially true in situations where corrupt elites, businesses, or politicians have excessive influence over the media.

In these situations, media coverage could be slanted and utilized to influence the public. Investigative journalists have described being intimidated, having their professional reputation questioned, and facing political persecution⁶⁰. In addition, because of the investigations that they conduct into instances of corruption, journalists often get threats of death, and some of them have indeed been killed. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, there were a total of 34 journalists who were slain in the year 2018. Freelance journalists are more likely to accept higher risk employment than other journalists, which increases their exposure to violence. They are also more likely to work without proper institutional protection.

⁶⁰ Färdigh, M.A., Andersson, E., & Oscarsson, H. (2012). Freedom of the Press and Influence Peddling In "Good Government," edited by Steven Holmberg and Bernard Rothstein. The Significance of Political Science in Today's World (pp. 130-49). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Additionally, the State or proprietors of private media outlets may severely restrict freedom of speech.

4.3. The Media's Role in Curbing Corruption

The history of Kenya's social and cultural life, as well as its political and economic growth, as well as its bureaucratic customs and practices, all played a role in the nation's descent into corrupt practices. To speak more generally, it is more likely to thrive in environments where agencies dedicated to combating this vice, such as the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC), are ineffective and economic policies distort the market. They assert that the institutions have teeth but they are unable to bite, which is accurate. Corruption has a distorting effect on both the economic and social growth of a society because it promotes poor decision-making and competitiveness in bribes rather than in the quality and pricing of products and services. All too often, it leads to the poorest people in the world being forced to pay for the corruption of their own government officials and the representatives of international businesses. This is an unfair burden to place on such individuals. The data that is now available also indicates that corruption will spread if it is not stopped. Corrupt authorities are motivated to seek higher bribes after a pattern of effective bribery becomes established, creating a culture of illegality that in turn fosters market inefficiency.

The misuse of public authority for one's own gain or the advantage of a group to whom one owes loyalty is the most straightforward definition of corruption. When an official abuses their position by taking, offering, or extorting a bribe, it happens at the nexus of the public and private sectors⁶¹. Where opportunity and inclination collide, corruption happens as a single transaction. Klitgaard created a simple model to describe the dynamics of corruption: In other

⁶¹ Griffin C. & Amy M. (2020). Report: Corruption in U.S. at Worst Levels in Almost a Decade. FP News January 28, 2021, 7

words, the level of monopolistic and discretionary authority that an official exercises determines the degree of corruption. Monopoly power is significant in economies with high levels of regulation, but discretionary power is often significant in emerging and transitional economies, where administrative norms and regulations are frequently ill-defined and where there is a deficient system of legal protection.

Last but not least, there may be a lack of accountability because the ethical standards for public service are not well defined, administrative and financial systems are not appropriate, or monitoring organizations are not very effective. For anti-corruption efforts to be successful, they need to simultaneously try to reduce an official's monopolistic power, his or her discretionary authority (for example, by administrative adjustments), and raise their responsibilities (for example, through monitoring agencies).⁶² It is the goal of these strategies, which include a system of checks and balances, to manage conflicts of interest in the public sector and to avoid conflicts from forming or having an impact that is damaging to the common good.

4.4. Investigating and Exposing Corrupt Officials and holders of public office

The most visible instances of journalism's ability to expose corruption are when politicians or other high-ranking public officials are fired as a result of the uproar in the community or the legal action that results from the brave reporting on wrongdoing. Examples of this kind of consequence are not difficult to locate, especially in modern Kenyan culture, where a rise in media coverage of corruption over the previous year resulted in the resignation or arrest of a

⁶² Ismail, I. K., & Haddaw, A. A. (2014). The effect of the notion of legitimacy on the disclosure of organizations in Jordan using a model of linear regression to analyze the data. 190-196 in the Journal of Business and Management volume 6 issue 16

few government figures⁶³. They had not been the only ones who had been the subject of such incisive investigative reporting. As a direct or indirect consequence of media coverage, cabinet ministers and permanent secretaries in the Kenyan government's House of Representatives ultimately lost their positions.

In several instances, foreign organizations' assistance was required for independent media reporting to be successful in forcing the resignation of dishonest government officials. In Kenya in 1996, the International Monetary Fund (IM F) and the government were both put under pressure to act as a result of news coverage of a scheme orchestrated by the Minister of Health⁶⁴. The importance of an independent press in this issue must be emphasized before moving on. The government and the Minister himself utilized the government-owned press as a conveyor belt to fight back the accusations against him while the independent Kenyan press covered the story without making any mention of it.

The well-paid KACC was given a scorecard by the media to evaluate its contributions to the battle against corruption and how far it had advanced in exposing the corrupt. In the Daily Nation's lead article on July 3, 2006 after talking tough for two years, Ringera is now in the spotlight. The judge that oversaw the anti-graft commission was Ringera Aaron. In his first address after his inauguration on August 19, 2005, he stated: "I must let you know that a number of cases involving the big fish are not moving fast⁶⁵. It's easy to see why. Big fish have plenty of money. The panel didn't pick up the pace until the media began conducting its own parallel

⁶³ Kossow, Niklas. 2018. False news and the fight against corruption, an answer from the Anti-Corruption Helpdesk of Transparency International

⁶⁴ Mendes, Maria. 2013. Transparency International's U4 Expert Answer Provides a Concise Overview of Corruption in the Media in Developing Countries

⁶⁵ Moyo, J. (2021, February 12). Zimbabwe: A journalist gets recognized for uncovering corruption. From <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/zimbabwe-journalist-wins-award-for-exposing-corruption/2142796>, retrieved on May 12, 2022.

investigations. A number of associated corruption deterrents, including public humiliation, loss of status, social standing, and income, among others, are concurrently strengthened when public officials lose their employment after being found guilty of corruption. Furthermore, the political upheaval that occurs when high-ranking public officials are removed contributes to raising the bar for public accountability, acting as yet another deterrent to big misconduct on the part of others in the future.

4.5. Prompting Investigations by Official Bodies

Even if it seldom results in the removal of a public official or bureaucracy, aggressive reporting by independent-minded journalists sometimes plants the seed for official organizations to conduct formal investigations of their own. Such was the situation after a slew of other scandals throughout the nation, including the so-called "Mother of All Scandals," the Goldenberg affair⁶⁶. This controversy started when a firm run by business tycoon Kamlesh Patteni allegedly struck an agreement with the government to export diamonds for which it was allegedly paid Ksh. 255 million before ballooning to Bsh. In articles published in The Nation newspaper in 1991 and 1992, it was exposed how the government had planned to import "ghost diamonds" while defrauding the people of billions of shillings.

The study demonstrated how well-known government figures and a prestigious bank may have encouraged the type of corruption that threatens Kenya's democracy. A criminal inquiry by the Kenyan Justice Department was sparked by the series, according to the legislative monitoring committee on corruption. The Criminal Investigations Department's investigation into Kenya's

⁶⁶ Muhammad, A. (2015) „ The Media and the Fight Against Corruption in Nigeria Media, Human Beings, and Social Structures in Nigeria

biggest educational scandal the awarding of ghost people degrees at Kenyatta University without attending classes was sparked in part by articles that were published in 1997 alleging contract fraud and mismanagement by senior administrators in public universities in Kenya.

A similar issue involving the Internal Security Ministry paying 4.2 billion for a navy ship that will be utilized by the government was exposed by the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission. Questions were raised about the project's price, the participation of the winning bidders' representatives throughout the planning phases, and the financial viability of the firm, Euro Marine⁶⁷. The business was well-known for building military boats throughout Europe. KACC investigators questioned senior military figures, including the then-Chief of General Staff and Kenya Navy Commander. To date, the boat has never been delivered. This decision was made in response to a newspaper article on the improper nature of the agreements. Numerous news revelations on corruption served as the impetus for the Uhuru Kenyatta-led Parliamentary Accounts Committee's (PAC) investigations into widespread government wrongdoing.

4.6. Reinforcing the Work and Legitimacy of the State's Anti-Corruption Bodies

Even if the aforementioned pieces do not, technically speaking, constitute investigative reports that reveal any kind of crime, journalists' stories may sometimes be very important in enhancing the effectiveness of public anti-corruption agencies. Simply reporting on these committees' activities and findings on a regular basis might boost public scrutiny of them and, as a consequence, their independence from entrenched interests in power structures who would otherwise try to influence their work⁶⁸. It must be acknowledged that the news media and journalists often work together to investigate or bring cases against corrupt politicians.

⁶⁷ Mutugi, K. J., Nyamboga, N., & Matu, N. (2020). The Obstacles That Kenyan Television Journalists Must Overcome in Order to Identify Fake News 7(1-2), 46-70 in the Journal of Development and Communication Studies.

⁶⁸ Srivastava, M. C. (2016). The part that the media plays in the fight against and prevention of corruption. 170-180 in the second issue of the Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research.

By providing reporters and their magazines with interesting, dramatic stories to research and publish, journalists' work supports their immediate interests⁶⁹. Reporting on the operations of anti-corruption bodies serves not just the interests of such bodies but also serves to promote public support for the work that those organizations do, which in turn helps to reinforce their legitimacy. This may discourage politicians who are the targets of their investigations from interfering with or undermining their work. The media attention that journalists provide to the activities of these organizations has another advantageous side effect in that it could inspire those who have knowledge of wrongdoing to come forward and testify.

When four permanent secretaries were suspended and three senior cabinet ministers resigned in March 2006 after their corrupt dealings were exposed in the media, a similar symbiotic connection was evident in Kenya. The Nation also played a significant role in publicizing the results of anti-corruption architects, helping to build the popular feeling that has driven the ongoing anti-corruption reforms. When key findings of prosecutors, investigators, parliamentary committees, or other public institutions that investigate corruption are seized upon and amplified by robust reporting, there is little doubt that public pressure to hold corrupt officials responsible will rise⁷⁰.

4.7. Role of Social Media in Combatting Corruption

In contrast to traditional forms of communication, social media are seen to be easier to access by the general public and to be less subject to control from on high. The fight against corruption is aided by social media platforms, which provide information in the form of analysis, criticism,

⁶⁹ Transparency International (2011). The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for 2011 was developed by the Secretariat of Transparency International in Berlin, Germany.

⁷⁰ Tumber, H. (2004). Scandal and media in the United Kingdom: from Major to Blair. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(8), 1122-1137.

and advocacy, as well as via investigations and crowdsourcing. A venue for "citizen journalism" is provided by social media due to the fact that several social media platforms provide users with the opportunity to report instances of corruption, which are then investigated by members of government or journalists⁷¹. Social media may also enhance citizen participation with specific causes, which, when it reaches a certain point, may result in revolutions and political reforms, as activity on Twitter has done in various nations, including Tunisia, Egypt, and Armenia.

It is essential to keep in mind that the modern platforms of mass media are susceptible to abuse, which can lead to the sustained dissemination of false information among the general public. This is true despite the fact that social media may have a positive impact on the participation of individuals in the fight against corruption. In particular, the public's faith in both mainstream and alternative media sources is seriously threatened by the rising frequency of misleading information disseminated through social media, sometimes known as fake news⁷². In addition to spreading false information, fake news is frequently used for nefarious purposes, such as to discredit journalists who accurately report instances of corruption or to discredit political opponents by raising questions about their moral character by weaponizing reports alleging corrupt behaviour. To stop such abuses, the whole society must work together, which brings up the above noted issues with collective action once again.

⁷¹ Wolf, L. (2017). The Remedial Action of the "State of Capture" Report in Perspective. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, 20, 1–45. <https://doi.org/10.17159/1727-3781/2017/v20i0a1687>

⁷² Srivastava, M. C. (2016). Role of media in preventing and combating corruption. *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 2(2), 170-180.

4.8. Intangible Effects of Journalism on Corruption

The impacts of journalism as a barrier to corruption, however, are likely less direct and more indirect than the aforementioned instances may suggest. The skill must be seen in the perspective of journalism's larger function in society, not only in terms of the direct influence it has had on particular cases of sleaze or corruption. Michael Johnston, a specialist on corruption, has found a number of variables that support corrupt behavior⁷³. One of the most potent reversing forces working against these variables is often tough, independent media.⁷⁴ Poor political competition, which, as Johnston has shown, often contributes to maintaining the most severe examples of entrenched political and bureaucratic corruption, is unquestionably the case when it comes to weak political competition. By offering a range of viewpoints and so influencing public discourse in a manner that fosters political and economic rivalry, hard-hitting, independent journalism may serve as a tacit check on the kind of corruption that would otherwise thrive in the absence of such competition. It may serve a similar purpose by giving market participants access to a wide range of economic data. As Johnston has observed: Stronger political and economic competition can enhance accountability, open up alternatives to dealing with corrupt networks, and create incentives for political leaders to move against corruption.

⁷³ Perry, J. L., de Graaf, G., van der Wal, Z., & van Montfort, C. (2014). Returning to our roots: “Good government” evolves to “good governance. *Public Administration Review*, 74(1), 27–28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12164> [Crossref], [Web of Science ®]

⁷⁴ OCCRP. 2018. Angola: Ex-President’s Son Arrested in Anti-Corruption Purge.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis and presentation of findings. First, the chapter will look at the response rate and provide a quick demographic breakdown of the respondents to arrive at this conclusion. It will also present findings in relation to objectives. Finally, there is a section that summarizes everything that has been discussed so far.

5.2 Response Rate

There were 120 people who were asked to participate in the research. 100 of these individuals took part in the study by completing the questionnaires satisfactorily. This survey had an overall response rate of 83.3%. According to Jack Fincham, a response rate of 83.3% is deemed adequate. This represents more than half of the total sample size; thus the accuracy of the results is unaffected.

Table 5.1. Response Rate

Questionnaires Issued	Questionnaires returned	Response Rate
120	100	83.3%

Source: Field Data, 2021

5.3 Demographic Characteristics

5.3.1 Respondents Gender

The study sought to find out the gender of the respondents. The subject of gender is important in a study since it assists the researcher to obtain a balanced perspective from both genders. The distribution by gender is presented in figure 5.1.

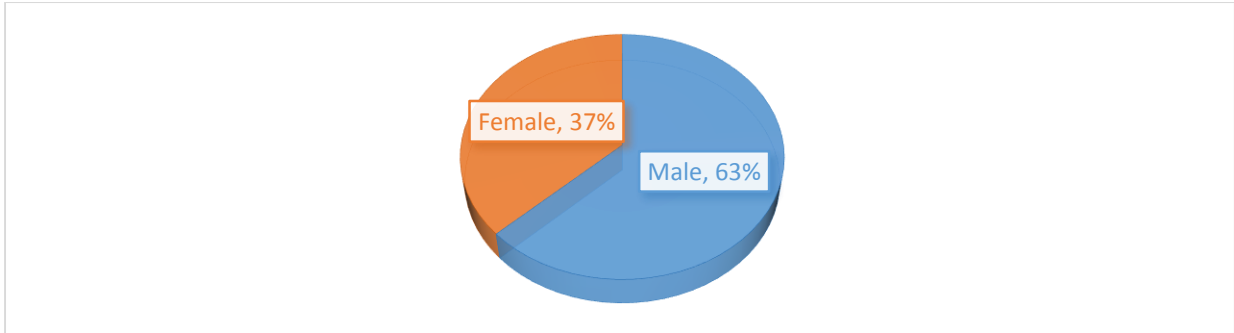


Figure 5.1. Respondents Gender

According to the findings, majority of the respondents, 63% were male while 37% were female. The findings therefore indicate that all the genders were represented albeit the fact that there were more males than females.

5.3.2 Marital Status of the Respondents

Majority of the respondents were married as indicated by 40.2%, 32.2% were single, 15.8% were divorced/separated while 11.8% were widowed. The study findings are as shown in Figure 5.2

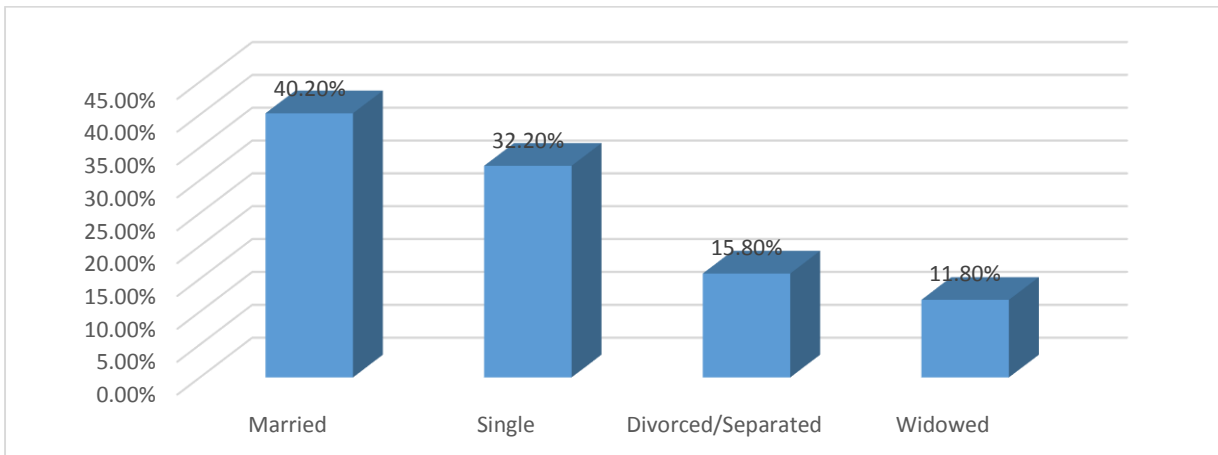


Figure 5.2. Marital Status of the Respondents

5.3.3. Education Level of the Respondents

The study sought to find out the education level of the respondents. The findings are presented in figure 5.3.

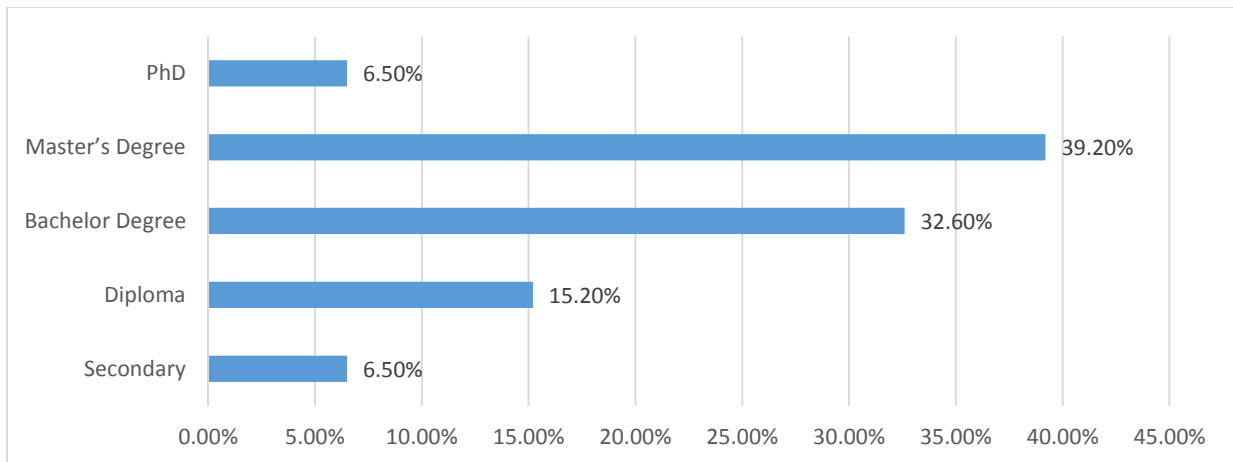


Figure 5.3. Education Level of the Respondents

From the findings, majority of the respondents, 39.1% had a Master's degree, 32.6% had a Bachelor's degree, 15.2% were Diploma holders, 6.5% were PhD degree holders and 6.5% had a secondary school certificate. The findings imply that majority of the respondents were educated enough and they had sufficient knowledge on topic of study.

5.4. Role Played by the Kenyan Media in the Fight against Corruption

This section presents findings on role played by the Kenyan media in the fight against corruption. The findings are shown in the following subsections.

5.4.1. Meaning of Corruption

The respondents were requested to indicate their understanding of the term corruption. According to the respondents' corruption is a form of dishonesty or a criminal offense which is undertaken by a person or an organization which is entrusted in a position of authority, in order to acquire illicit benefits or abuse power for one's personal gain. Corruption may involve many activities which include bribery, influence peddling and the embezzlement and it may also involve practices which are legal in many countries. Political corruption occurs when an

office-holder or other governmental employee acts with an official capacity for personal gain. Corruption and crime are endemic sociological occurrences which appear with regular frequency in virtually all countries on a global scale in varying degrees and proportions. Each individual nation allocates domestic resources for the control and regulation of corruption and the deterrence of crime.

5.4.2. Corruption of Activities

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they have come across any corrupt activities. The findings are as shown in the figure below.

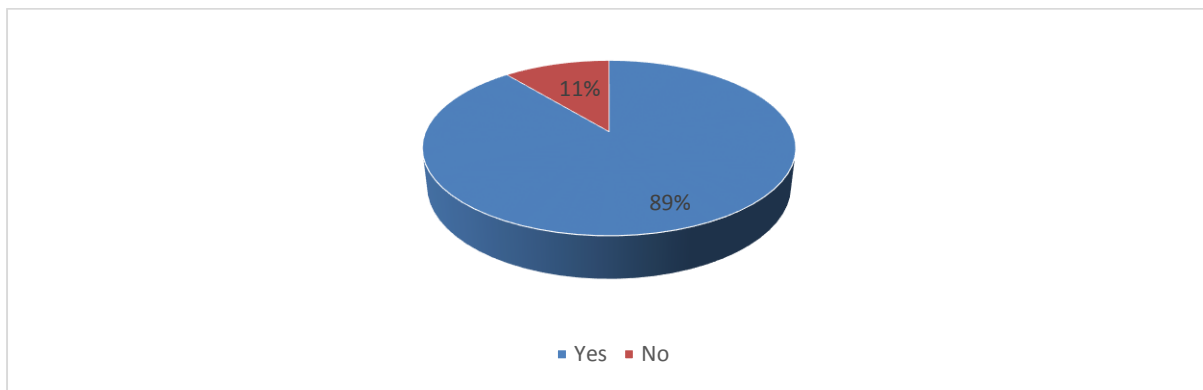


Figure 5.4. Corruption of Activities

From the findings majority (89%) of the respondents indicated that they have come across any corrupt activities while 11% were of the contrary opinion. This depicts the respondents have come across corrupt activities which included theft of public funds, bribes, nepotism, state capture among others.

5.4.3. Corruption Reporting Department

The respondents were requested to indicate their firm have corruption reporting department. The findings are shown in the figure below.

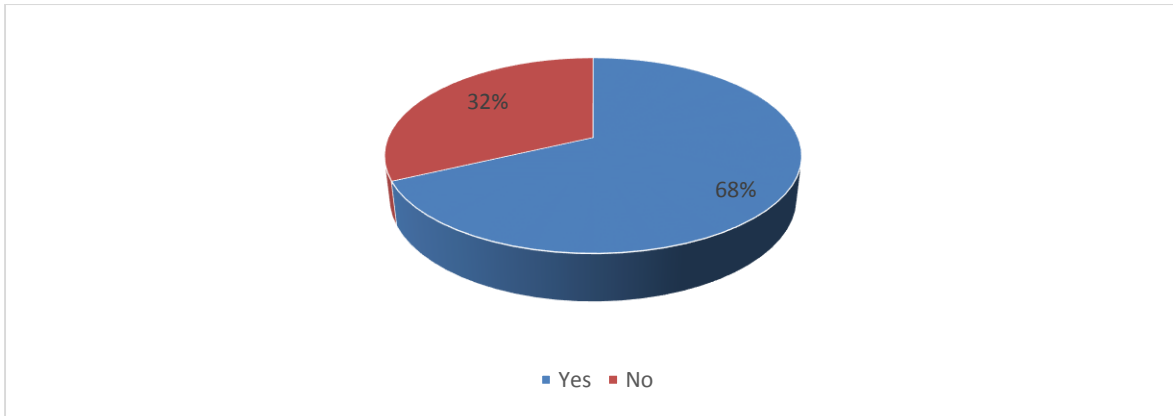


Figure 5.5. Corruption Reporting Department

From the findings majority (68%) of the respondents indicated that their firm have corruption reporting department while 32% are of the contrary opinion. This depicts that the firm have corruption reporting department.

5.4.4. Covering Corruption Stories

The respondents were requested to indicate how frequent their reporters cover corruption stories. The findings are shown in the figure below.

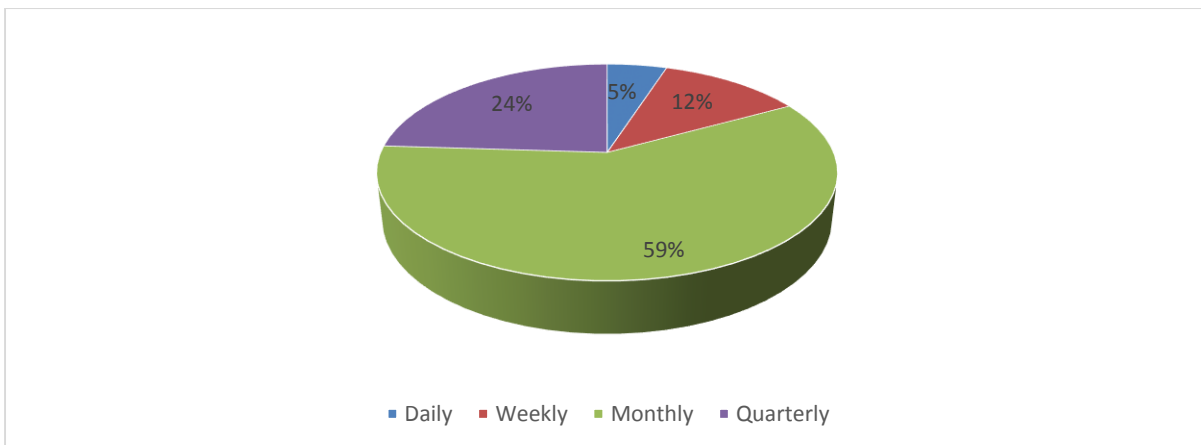


Figure 5.6. Covering Corruption Stories

From the findings majority (59%) of the respondents indicated that their reporters cover corruption stories monthly, 24% indicated quarterly, 12% indicated weekly while 5% indicated daily. This depicts that reporters cover corruption stories monthly.

5.4.5. Percentage of Journalists Covering Corruption Stories

The respondents were requested to indicate the percentage of journalists employed by their firm specialize on covering corruption stories. The findings are shown in the figure below.

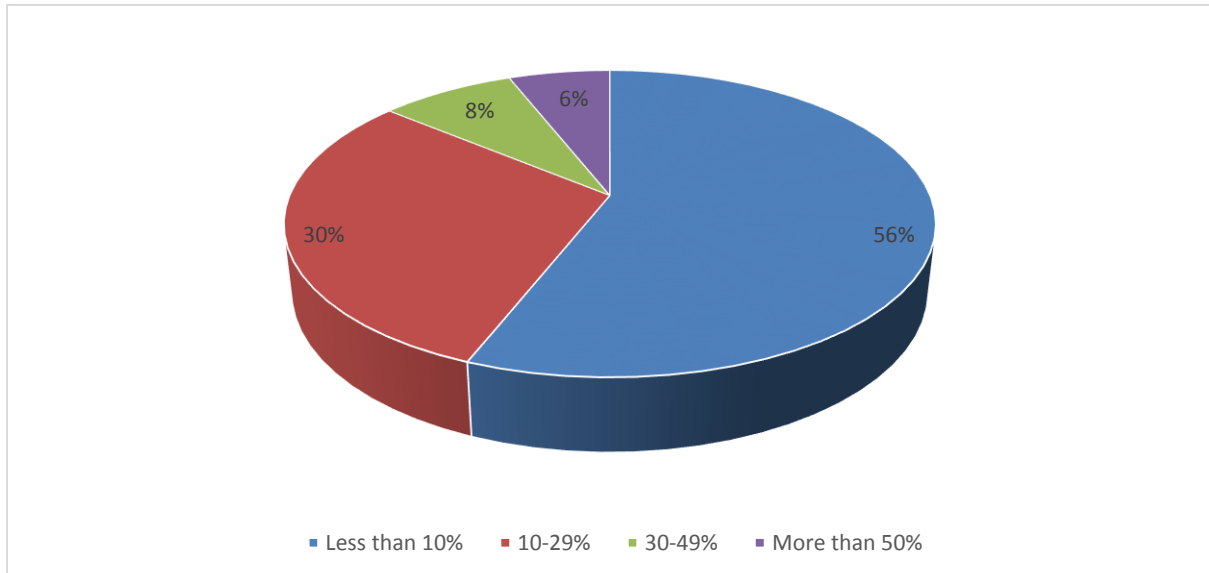


Figure 5.7. Percentage of Journalists Covering Corruption Stories

From the findings majority (56%) of the respondents indicated that less than 10% of journalists employed by their firm specialize on covering corruption stories, 30% indicated 10-29%, 8% indicated 30-49% while 6% indicated more than 50%. This depicts that less than 10% of journalists employed by their firm specialize on covering corruption stories

5.4.6. Extent to Which the Media Plays Various Roles in the Fight against Corruption in Kenya

The respondents were requested to indicate the extent to which the media plays various roles in the fight against corruption in Kenya. The findings are shown in the table below.

Table 5.2. Extent to Which the Media Plays Various Roles in the Fight against Corruption in Kenya

Role	Mean	Std. Dev
Investigation	3.9522	1.0441
Reporting	4.3915	0.9145
Agenda setting	4.2546	0.8076
Whistle blowing	3.8809	0.9927
Public education	3.8812	1.2664
Culture change	4.0414	1.1256
Prosecution	4.0922	1.2245
Public asset recovery	4.1654	1.2098
Policy advocacy	4.1327	1.2344

From the findings the respondents indicated to a great extent that media plays the role of reporting in the fight against corruption in Kenya (mean=4.3915), followed by agenda setting (mean=4.2546), public asset recovery (mean=4.1654), policy advocacy (mean=4.1327), prosecution (mean=4.0922), culture change (mean=4.0414), investigation (mean=3.9522), public education (mean=3.8812), and whistle blowing (mean=3.8809). This depicts that to a great extent that media plays the role of reporting in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

5.5. Challenges Faced by the Kenyan Media in the Fight against Corruption

This section presents findings on challenges faced by the Kenyan media in the fight against corruption. The findings are presented in the following subsections.

5.5.1. Extent of Importance of Challenges Faced by Media Firms

The respondents were requested to indicate the rate of importance of the challenges faced by media firms in Kenya. The findings are shown in the following table.

Table 5.3. Extent of Importance of Challenges Faced by Media Firms

Challenge	Mean	Std. Dev
Weak legal infrastructure	3.9632	0.9654
Poor security	4.1211	1.9122
Agenda setting	4.1725	1.9023
Poor investigative skills by journalists	3.9016	1.8954
Poor remuneration of journalists	3.3265	1.9281
Poor technology	4.0435	0.9068

From the findings the respondents indicated agenda setting was the most important challenge facing media firms (mean=4.1725), followed by poor security (mean=4.1211), poor technology (mean=4.0435), weak legal infrastructure (mean=3.9632), poor investigative skills by journalists (mean=3.9016), and poor remuneration of journalists (mean=3.3265). This depicts that agenda setting was the most important challenge facing media firms.

5.5.2. Other Challenges Faced by Media Firms

The respondents were requested to indicate other than the challenges listed on the table above, to explain other major challenges faced by media firms in the fight against corruption. According to the respondent's media houses have often faced libel and defamation cases where the burden of proof lay with the accused and many have paid large fines as a result. Failure of the government to support and protect the media house and journalists has often been featured as some of the man challenges facing the broadcast media houses and outlets in Kenya. Threats

and attacks, mostly from police and government officials, have also been carried out against media professionals because of negative coverage.

5.5.3. Bribe as the Most Common Type of Corruption in the Government

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they believe that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government. The findings are shown in the figure below.

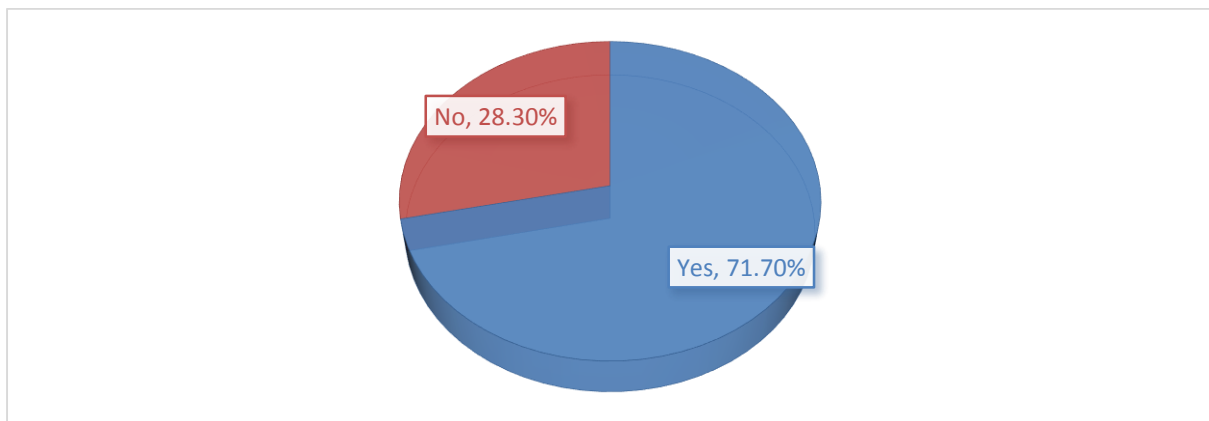


Figure 5.8. Bribe as the Most Common Type of Corruption in the Government

From the findings majority (71.7%) of the respondents indicated that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government while 28.3% were of the contrary opinion. This depicts that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government.

5.5.4. Media Contribution in the Fight against Corruption

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they think the media is contributing in any way in the fight against corruption. The findings are shown in the figure below.

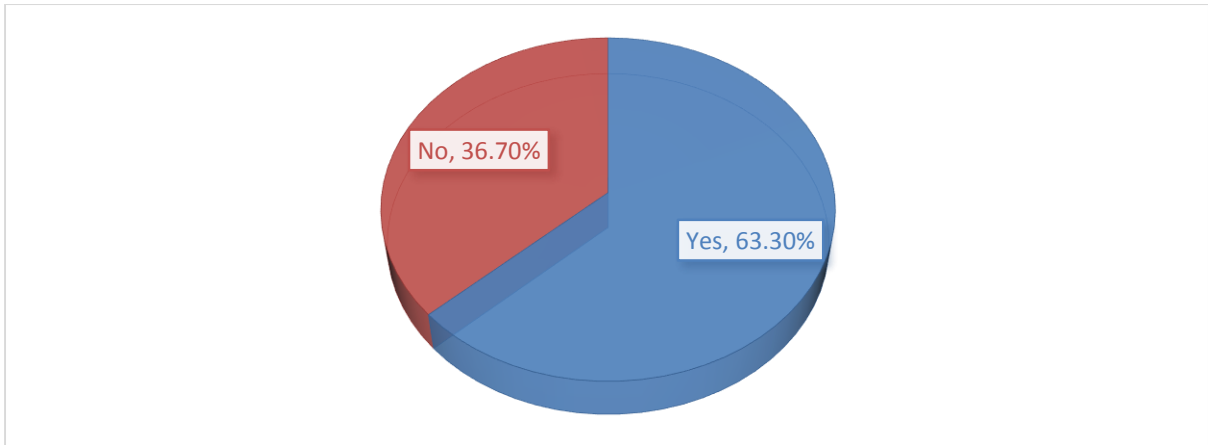


Figure 5.9. Media Contribution in the Fight against Corruption

From the findings majority (63.3%) of the respondents indicated the media is contributing in the fight against corruption while 4% were of the contrary opinion. This depicts that the media is contributing in the fight against corruption.

5.5.5. Encouraging Corruption

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they think corruption should be encouraged. The findings are as shown in the figure below.

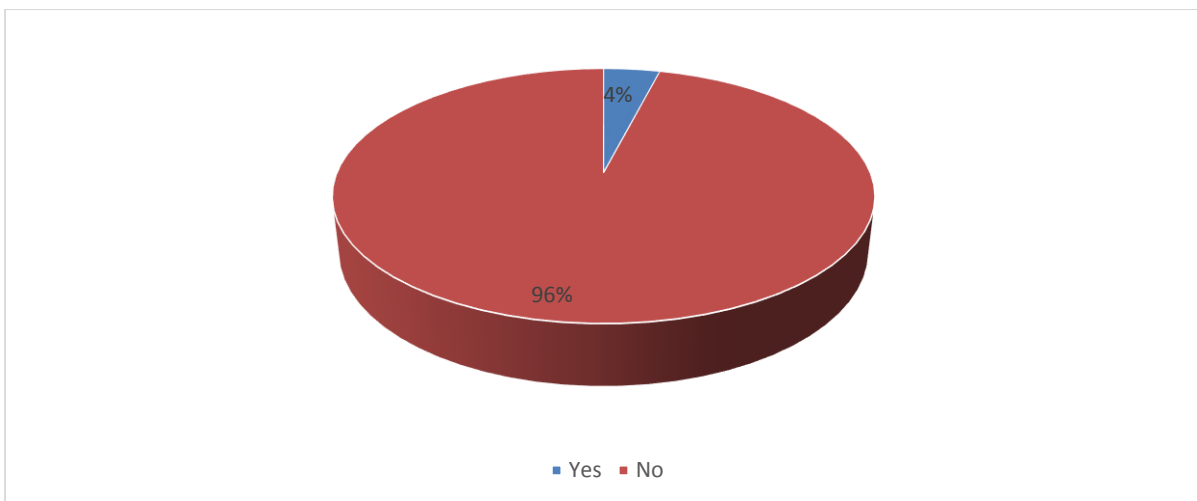


Figure 5.10. Encouraging Corruption

From the findings majority (96%) of the respondents indicated corruption should not be encouraged while 4% were of the contrary opinion. This depicts that corruption should not be encouraged.

5.5.6. Media Educating and Exposing Corruption Activities

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they think that the media should continue with educating and exposing corruption activities in order to make people aware. The findings are shown in figure below.

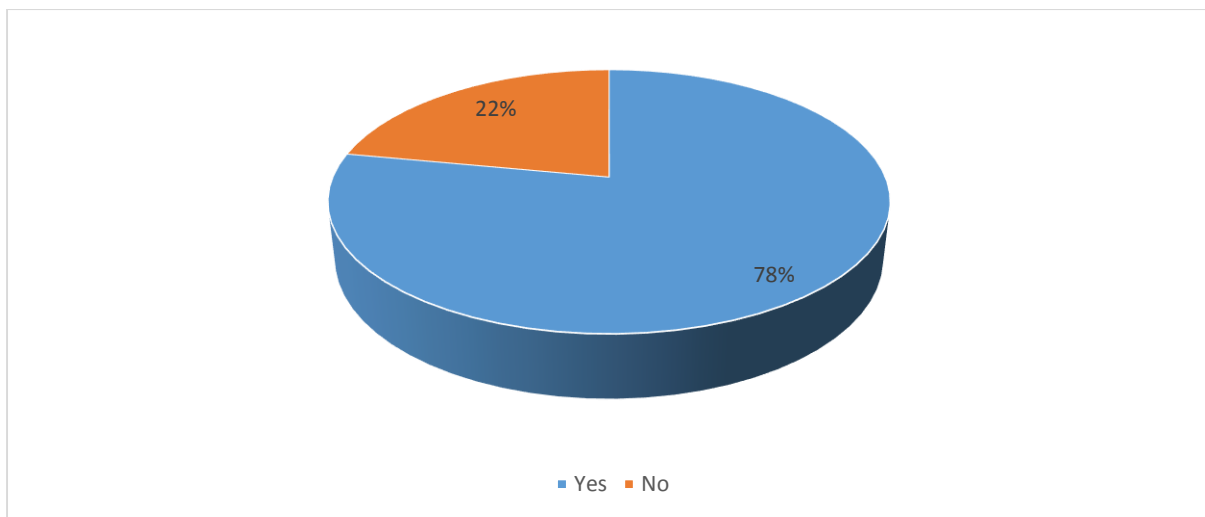


Figure 5.11. Media Educating and Exposing Corruption Activities

From the findings majority (78%) of the respondents indicated that the media should continue with educating and exposing corruption activities in order to make people aware while 22% were of the contrary opinion. This depicts that the media should continue with educating and exposing corruption activities in order to make people aware.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations on the role of broadcast media in mitigating corruption in public economic management in Africa.

6.2. Summary of Findings

The study found that corruption is a form of dishonesty or a criminal offense which is undertaken by a person or an organization which is entrusted in a position of authority, in order to acquire illicit benefits or abuse power for one's personal gain. Corruption may involve many activities which include bribery, influence peddling and the embezzlement and it may also involve practices which are legal in many countries. The study found that the respondents have come across corrupt activities which included theft of public funds, bribes, nepotism, state capture among others. The study also found that the firm have corruption reporting department. The study found that reporters cover corruption stories monthly. The study found that less than 10% of journalists employed by their firm specialize on covering corruption stories. The study further found that to a great extent that media plays the role of reporting in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

The study found that agenda setting was the most important challenge facing media firms. The study found that media houses have often faced libel and defamation cases where the burden of proof lay with the accused and many have paid large fines as a result. Failure of the government to support and protect the media house and journalists has often been featured as some of the man challenges facing the broadcast media houses and outlets in Kenya. Threats and attacks, mostly from police and government officials, have also been carried out against

media professionals because of negative coverage. The study found that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government. The study found that the media is contributing in the fight against corruption. The study further found that corruption should not be encouraged. The study finally found that the media should continue with educating and exposing corruption activities in order to make people aware.

6.3. Conclusion

The first objective was to assess the role that broadcast media plays in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya. The study concluded that to a great extent that media plays the role of reporting in the fight against corruption in Kenya. The study also concluded that fighting corruption requires combined efforts and support from members of the public, various arms of the government, media, and development agencies. Media alone cannot succeed in fighting corruption. The study concluded that the media (including social media) has an important role in the fight against corruption as it can demand accountability and transparency from the public and private sectors. The study also concluded that the media provides information on public sector corruption where governmental activity is opaque by design or by default. The media, and in particular investigative journalism, plays a crucial role in exposing corruption to public scrutiny and fighting against impunity. From the findings the null hypothesis that broadcast media does not play a significant role in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya has been rejected and that alternative hypothesis that broadcast media play a significant role in the mitigation of corruption in Kenya has been accepted.

The second objective was to analyse the challenges faced by broadcast media in the coverage of corruption in Kenya. The study concluded that that media houses have often faced libel and defamation cases where the burden of proof lay with the accused and many have paid large

fines as a result. Failure of the government to support and protect the media house and journalists has often been featured as some of the main challenges facing the broadcast media houses and outlets in Kenya. Threats and attacks, mostly from police and government officials, have also been carried out against media professionals because of negative coverage. The study concluded that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government. The study therefore concludes that the null hypothesis that broadcast media does not face significant challenges in the coverage of corruption in Kenya was rejected and that the alternative hypothesis that broadcast media face significant challenges in the coverage of corruption in Kenya was accepted.

The third objective was to analyze the effectiveness of the strategies used by broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya. The study concluded that the effectiveness of the anti-corruption strategies by the media is limited. The indications are that corruption is still problematic in Kenya and in fact is increasing in some areas. This is indicative of the fact that so far the strategies that the government has formulated and implemented have not been effective. This could be due to the fact that the institutions and the individuals who are charged with dealing with corruption have themselves been compromised and are indeed corrupt. The study therefore concludes that the null hypothesis that strategies used by broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya were not significantly effective was rejected and the alternative hypothesis that strategies used by broadcast media in the fight against corruption in Kenya were significantly effective was accepted.

6.4. Recommendations

Based on findings of the study, the following recommendations have been proposed:

1. Media firms should establish corruption reporting departments. This will enhance training of journalists and help improve fight against corruption.
2. Since security is the most important challenge faced by media firms, there is need for providing adequate security to investigative journalists in particular and to media firms in general. This can be done by strengthening Laws relating to media and security and creating a special wing of the police to offer security to investigative journalists.
3. Training is paramount to successful coverage of corruption stories. It is highly recommended that journalists be trained on how to handle and report corruption.
4. Fighting corruption is hampered by few numbers of investigative journalists employed by media firms. There is need for employing more investigative journalists.
5. Media firms should adopt state-of-the-art technology to effectively and efficiently fight corruption.
6. To avoid being compromised while discharging their duties, journalists should be offered good remuneration package, risk allowance and transport facilitation.
7. Future studies should investigate government's commitment to fighting corruption in Kenya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR JOURNALISTS AND MEDIA PERSONNEL

Date

Location

Gender

Education Background

Occupation / Profession

A. Existing forms of corruption in our society / socio-economic background.

1. Are you aware of any form of corruption in Kenya?
 - If yes, which ones have you come across?
2. What do you understand by the term corruption?
3. Do you think corruption is dangerous in our country?
 - If yes, what do you think corruption can lead to if steps are not taken to fight it?
4. What is your personal view on corruption?
5. What do you think the media should do to help in the fight of corruption?

B. Causes and effects of corruption in the government.

6. What do you think lives the police into indulging in corruption activities?
7. Do you think the media has done a lot to expose the vice? If yes, give your reasons
8. Which department is known to be corrupt?
9. Why do you think so?
10. It is said that "Corruption leads to poor economy of a country", do you agree with this statement? Explain
11. What do you think government should do in order to stop corruption?
12. Do you think the media should join forces with the government to fight corruption?
 - If yes, why should they join forces?
13. What problems do the media encounter when fighting corruption?
14. What has the media done to fight corruption?

Appendix II: GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE ON CORRUPTION

PART A

Date

1. Name (Optional).....
2. Gender
3. Marital status: Single/Married/Widowed/divorced
4. Education Background: Primary/Secondary / Tertiary
5. Occupation / profession
6. Number of investigative journalists employed by your firm
7. (a) Less than 10 (b) 10-39 (c) 40 and above

PART B: ROLE PLAYED BY THE KENYAN MEDIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

8. What do you understand by the term corruption?.....

9. Have you ever come across any corrupt activities? Y/N

Explain

10. Does your firm have corruption reporting department

(a) No

(b) Yes

11. How frequent do your reporters cover corruption stories?

(a) Daily

(b) Weekly

(c) Monthly

(d) Quarterly

12. What percentage of journalists employed by your firm specialize on covering
corruption stories

(a) Less than 10%

(b) 10-29%

(c) 30-49%

(d) More than 50%

13. Indicate the extent to which the media plays the following roles in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

Role	Very small extent (1)	Small extent (2)	Moderate Extent (3)	Large Extent (4)	Very Large Extent (5)
Investigation					
Reporting					
Agenda setting					
Whistle blowing					
Public education					
Culture change					
Prosecution					
Public asset recovery					
Policy advocacy					

PART C: CHALLENGES FACED BY THE KENYAN MEDIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

14. On a scale of 1-5 where 1= unimportant; 2= least important; 3= neutral; 4= important; 5= most important, rate the importance of the following challenges faced by media firms in Kenya (Tick the right box for each challenge).

Challenge	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Weak legal infrastructure					

Poor security					
Agenda setting					
Poor investigative skills by journalists					
Poor remuneration of journalists					
Poor technology					

15. Other than the challenges listed on the table above, explain other MAJOR challenges faced by media firms in the fight against corruption

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

16. Do you believe that bribe is the most common type of corruption in the Government? Y/N

If yes, explain

17. Do you think the media is contributing in any way in the fight against corruption? Y /N

If yes, explain how

18. According to your opinion do you think corruption should encourage? Y /N

If No, Explain

19. Do you think the media should continue with educating and exposing corruption activities in order to make people aware? Y/N.

If yes, Explain

.....

Appendix III: NACOSTI LETTER



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Appendix IV: INTRODUCTION LETTER



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February 17, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: HALIMA MAALIM HUSSEIN- R50/68333/2013

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (DDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, "**The Role of Broadcast Media in Mitigating Corruption in Public Economic Management in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya**".

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

