



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**MEDIA SPECTACLE IN DAILY NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS AND THE
CASE OF FORMER NAIROBI GOVERNOR, MIKE SONKO MBUVI**

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K50/87593/2016

**A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Communication Studies,
University of Nairobi**

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DECLARATION


This research project is my original work and has not been presented for academic credit or any purpose in any other institution.

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This research project has been submitted to the University of Nairobi for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to analyze Media Spectacle in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers and using the case of former Nairobi County Governor, Mike Sonko. The study was anchored by Stuart Hall's reception theory. The study was guided by the following objectives; to establish events in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle, to assess the prominence given to former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle, to identify the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle and finally, to analyze ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle. The study utilized descriptive survey research design and mixed research approach. The study population was 184 Newspapers from the Standard Newspapers and the Daily Nation Newspapers in the months of October, November and December, 2020. The sample size of the study was 65 articles drawn from both the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers. Textual analysis code sheet was used to obtain data from the published articles and photos on Mike Sonko's coverage. All articles in the sampled newspapers published on Mike Sonko were analyzed. Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences whereas qualitative data was analyzed using thematic narratives. Quantitative data was presented in tables and figures whereas qualitative data was presented in narratives. The study findings were that the newspapers did not cover much on Sonko's leadership as Nairobi governor, what he has done for the residents of Nairobi instead they concentrated on his glitzy lifestyle, flashy clothes and expensive jewelry, how he violated constitutional laws while forgetting to cover his legacy and achievements in the county thus depicting him as a media spectacle. The study concludes that Mike Sonko was depicted a media spectacle by the Standard and Daily Nation Newspapers coverage thus depicting him as liar, a populist, a corrupt leader, intellectual dwarf, wailing governor and mistaken good hearted man. The study recommends that the media should not give a wider coverage to an individual at the cost of other news and events of importance to the economy and livelihood of the country. Lastly, the study recommends that future research should be done involving Nairobi County Assembly members, the city hall officers and the residents of Nairobi City County in order to obtain their ideologies since they worked closely with Sonko.

DEDICATION

It is with genuine gratitude and warm regard that I dedicate this work to my dear husband, Mr. Sammy Oketch who has been a constant source of support, inspiration and encouragement throughout my post graduate school. I am truly thankful for having you in my life.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

TV- Television

US- United State of America

SPSS- Statistical Package for Social Science

NYS- National Youth Service

KNH-Kenyatta National Hospital

NMS- Nairobi Metropolitan Services

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0: Overview of study

This study sought to analyze media spectacle in Kenya. Most importantly, the chapter gives an overview on background of the study, explaining the statement of the problem, objectives as well as research questions guiding the study. Further, this chapter explains justification, significance, scope and limitations of the study and operational definition of terms used in the study.

1.1: Background of the study

Media culture continues to be a central organizing force in the economy, politics, culture, and everyday life. Media culture drives the economy, generating ebbing and flowing corporate profits while disseminating the advertisements and images of high-consumption life-styles that help reproduce the consumer society. Media culture provides models for everyday life that replicate high consumption ideals and personalities and sell consumers on commodity pleasures and solutions to their problems, new technologies, and novel forms of identity. As techno capitalism moves into a dazzling and seductive information/entertainment society, mergers between the media giants are proliferating, competition is intensifying, and the media generate spectacles to attract audiences to the programs and advertisements that fuel the mighty money machines.

Spectacle can be described as media constructs that are out of the ordinary and habitual daily routine. They involve an aesthetic dimension and often are dramatic, bound up with competition like the Olympics or Oscars. They are highly publicized social events, often taking a ritualistic form to celebrate society's highest values. While media rituals function to legitimate a society's "sacred center" and dominant values and beliefs (Heppand Couldry 2009), media spectacles are

increasingly commercialized, glitzy, and important arenas of political contestation. Media spectacle refer to technologically mediated events, in which media forms like broadcasting, print media, or the internet process events in a spectacular form. Examples of political events that became media spectacles across the world would include the Clinton sex and impeachment scandal in the late 1990s, the death of Princess Diana, the 9/11 terror attack and the United States elections in 2020.

Spectacle is news or an art that is publicly displayed across media and it is viewed as unusual and entertaining or interesting to various audiences. Spectacle can be termed as anything attracting the attention of people or something impressive that is presented to the eyes of people. According to Debord, (1967:2) the society of spectacle, the society is more obsessed with images and appearances over reality and experiences. However, the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images. This can be found on every television or screen one watch for information needs (Schirato & Webb 2004:412).

The concept of ‘spectacle’ unifies and explains a great diversity of apparent phenomena. The diversity and the contrasts are appearances of a socially organized appearance, the general truth of which must itself be recognized (Rothenbuhler, 1998). Considered in its own terms, the spectacle is affirmation of appearance and affirmation of all human life, namely social life, as mere appearance (Debord, 1967:2).In addition, Schirato and Webb (2004) states that the spectacle actively alters human interactions and relationships whereby media images such as photographs, films and content influence our lives and beliefs on a daily basis thus transforming the way we live. The media interprets the world for us with the use of simple narratives.” (p. 417)

In the past decades, spectacle culture has significantly evolved. Every form of culture and more and more spheres of social life are permeated by the logic of the spectacle. Movies are bigger and more spectacular than ever, with high-tech special effects expanding the range of cinematic spectacle. Television channels proliferate endlessly with all-day movies, news, political talk, sports, specialty niches, re-runs of the history of television, and whatever else can gain an audience. The rock spectacle reverberates through radio, television, CDs, computer networks, and extravagant concerts. Media culture provides fashion and style models for emulation and promotes a celebrity culture that provides deities and role models.

Media culture excels in creating mega spectacles of sports events, political conflicts, entertainment, "breaking news" and media events, such as the impeachment of Mike Sonko. Mega spectacle comes to dominate party politics, as the political battles of the day, such as the handshake. These dramatic media passion plays, define the politics and culture of the time, and attract mass audiences to their programming, hour after hour, day after day. Internet in turn has generated a seductive cyberspace, producing unique forms of information, entertainment, and social interaction, while promoting a dot.com. These interactions of technology and capital are producing rich forms of techno capitalism and a techno culture the future of the media will be as full of uniqueness, innovation, hype, and instability.

The concept of "Media spectacle" therefore, refers to technologically mediated events in which mainstream media including television and radio process events in a spectacular manner (Kellner, 2003:1). Media spectacle further has been described by as a public show or display especially on large scale aimed at attracting and retaining attention to the audiences (p 1). According to Dayan and Katz, (1992:4) spectacle means media constructs that are extraordinary to the normal routine. These constructs are special in that they bring about an ever-present gaze to unfolding events.

According to Bazin et al, (2018), media spectacle therefore, creates a memorable appearance in the minds of the audience. Corporate events, sports, politics, entertainment, consumer news and information are today delivered by the media in form of a spectacle.

Consequently, according to Debord (1967:2) the word 'spectacle' has been used as a way of critiquing contemporary representative politics suggesting that politicians might be just as involved in selling the people an appearance over actual policies. He further argues that "the spectacle cannot be understood as a mere visual deception produced by mass media technologies but as a worldview that has been materialized rather than being imposed from above" (p.2).

The presentation of news and information often takes the form of media spectacle (Kellner, (2008:17). He further argues that "Political and social life is also shaped more and more by media spectacle. Social and political conflicts are increasingly played out on the screens of media culture, which display spectacles like sensational murder cases, terrorist bombings, celebrity and politicians' sex scandals, and the explosive violence of everyday life." (p.5) Media culture not only takes up expanding moments of everyday life, but also provides ever more material for fantasy, dreaming, modeling thought and behavior, and identities (p.8). Additionally, Herman and Chomsky, (1994) avers that the media rather than informing citizens, news controls them deciding what it is and what is not important to know.

Although a key element in the concepts of both media events and rituals is the pre-determined recurrence of events as media rituals (Couldry, 2003) or of mediatized rituals (Cottle, 2006: 417), these concepts have also been applied to events that occur unexpectedly, such as school shootings and other mass killings, natural disasters and major accidents (Katz and Liebes, 2007:84), thus extending the concepts' applicability to many types of events. According to Seeck and Rantanen (2015:3), "the media event model emphasizes that it is the media that produce or stage these events

(p 3). However, according to Hallin and Mancini, (1992:121), “media events exclude unplanned events covered by the media such as an assassination which is not a media event but the funeral that follows makes it a media event.”

The media events of the time further, were typically pre-staged speeches by national leaders, meetings of heads of state and funerals of key politicians and monarchs often broadcast as news at certain times, such as in the evening nine o'clock news bulletin (Seeck and Rantanen (2015:3) The important events were televised, and an ordinary citizen viewed televised events passively at home. Certainly, television’s visual images, its flow of news, its marathon mode provided perfect empirical case studies of staging media events.

According to Debord (1967:2) spectacle is diffused throughout society and those who participate in it to some extent are responsible. Media spectacles have increased in novel spaces and sites thus becoming one of the organizing principles of the economy, politics, society, and everyday life. For instance, Katz and Liebes, (2007: 11) states that, “internet-based economy deploys spectacle as a means of promotion, circulation and selling of goods.” According to Liebes, (1990:73) media events are carefully staged as occasions in which press, and broadcast media co-operate with government in relating to the event as genuine celebrations, voluntarily, relinquishing their tough, independent and critics to guide audiences such as high moments of integration. Further, depending on the level of nation’s authoritarianism, in pre staged events like speeches by national leaders, the subject matter often defines whether or not the occasion becomes a media event (Kellner, 2003:6). Additionally, Dayan and Katz (1992:201) made a distinction between pre-planned media events and unplanned news events. However, Cottle (2006:418) points out their concept of media were primarily concerned with ceremonial occasions of state and government and ritualization and affirmation of interactive appeals to national collectivity.

Kellner (2008:1) states that in 1993, the World Trade Center was assaulted in New York by Islamist radicals linked to Osama bin Laden, providing a preview of the more spectacular September 11, 2001, attack. Consequently, terror spectacle is a crucial part of the deadly game of contemporary politics and the bin Laden group had systematically used spectacle of terror to promote its agenda. But the 9/11 terror spectacle was the most extravagant strike on US targets in its history. He further states that “the 9/11 terror spectacle unfolded in a city that was one of the most media-saturated in the world and that played out a deadly drama live on television. The images of the planes hitting the World Trade Center towers and their collapse were broadcast repeatedly, as if repetition were necessary to master a highly traumatic event” (p.1). According to Hepp and Couldry, (2009:42) the spectacle conveyed the message that the US was vulnerable to terror attack that terrorists could create great harm, and that anyone at any time could be subject to a deadly terror attack, even in Fortress America.

According to Kellner, (2009:718) Barack Obama secured the Democratic presidential nomination, setting himself to run against John McCain, the Republican Party candidate in 2008. Following Obama’s impressive performance on the stump in the Democratic Party primaries, coverage of both the party conventions and general election were dominated by the form of media spectacle. While the McCain camp engaged in petty anti-Obama ads and attacks in summer 2008, Obama went on a Global Tour that itself became a major media spectacle as he traveled from Afghanistan and Iraq to Europe. Since Obama had become an extremely effective creator of political spectacle, McCain presumably had to produce good media spectacle himself. From the time Obama clinched the nomination, McCain largely attempted to create an anti-Obama spectacle through television ads, planting anti-Obama stories in the press and circulating them through the Internet, and eventually attacking Obama everyday on the campaign trail.

According to Kellner, (2009: 722), “In 1972, Palestinian gunmen from the same movement stunned the world when they took Israeli athletes’ hostage at the Munich Olympic Games, producing another media spectacle turned into an academy award-winning documentary film. Another spectacle is when the media revealed that Palin’s 17-year-old daughter was pregnant and unmarried, creating an all-day sex scandal spectacle and leading to debates on whether a mother with all these problems should run for vice president and submit her family to the media scrutiny. “This all made Sarah Palin suddenly a spectacle of scandal as well as the object of adulation by the Christian and Republican Right.” (p. 722).

According to Debord, (2004:3) real life is materially invaded by the contemplation of the spectacle and ends up absorbing it and aligning itself with it. Debord, (1967:6) further, explains that it is not only advertisers and politicians that have come to prioritize the projection of images and appearances over communicating actual meaningful information but everyone in the society. For instance, social media use has invaded our everyday life the way we behave online. Integrated spectacle has always provided abundant goods while defending itself with the use of misinformation and misdirection (Dayan & Katz, 1992:211).

Media spectacle also builds upon Dayan and Katz (1992:205) perception of media event which explains how political systems exploit aired live ceremonies and pre-planned events such as politics, deaths and weddings of royals, and games. In addition, according to Dayan and Katz’s (1992: 205) “the spectacle has become a common phenomenon of media culture that is keen to celebrate dominant values and institutions. Media events further, transform the home into a public space and create new forms of leisure as viewers congregate before the screen collectively experiencing the event” (p.205) This is evident that there are many categories of media spectacle.

Consequently, the Gulf war of 1990–1991 was the major media spectacle of its era, captivating global audiences and seeming to save President Bush before the war's ambiguous outcome and a declining economy that helped defeat Bush presidential campaign of 199 (Dayan & Katz, 1992; 212). Further, Bush's popularity was declining, since he raised taxes in the country something that he never promised in his campaign, and it appeared that he would not be re-elected. In turn, Bush undertook a major media campaign and easily defeated Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis. His campaign team promoted the image of an experienced, energetic, and hard-working public servant (Kellner, 2008: 13) presenting him usually surrounded by American flags, or alongside the military, or at home serving soup for the family. In addition, “Kennedy is introduced as the most photogenic president in the TV era, and arguably the first to effectively use the medium of television to communicate regularly with the public. He effectively used the media to sell himself to the public, and once elected became one of the most effective manipulators of television and political spectacle in the contemporary era” (p 14).

According to Seeck and Rantanen (2015:16) “Donald Trump emerged as a major form of media spectacle and has long been a celebrity and master of the spectacle with promotion of his buildings and casinos from the 1980s to the present. This was happening in his television shows, his events, and in his presidential campaigns in the year 2016 United States of America’s general election.” Kenya has also become increasingly mediated by media spectacle like other nations whereby political campaigns and other news have been subjected to the logic of spectacle. Therefore, spectacle can conclusively be referred to as a contested terrain in which different forces use the media to push their interests and agenda. Further, it has been focusing on sensational events coverage to attract and retain a large audience. This is because they need more circulation of newspapers, a lot of viewership and listenership thus competition.

Certain events in Kenya have been shaped and created to become spectacles as well. For instance, in the death of the late former president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Moi and former Safaricom CEO, Bob Collymore. During the death of Moi, a primary school in Kakamega County had also lost thirteen of its students to stampede on the eve of late President's death but the story did not seem to get as much airtime or attention as that of Moi. Further, the death of Collymore became a spectacle since it attracted unprecedented media coverage thus dominating all the front pages of Kenya's Newspapers (Gathira, 2019).

In addition, Mike Sonko, a popular and egocentric politician whose spectacular rise in Kenya had three years that were tumultuous with the resignation of his deputy shortly after their election in 2017 and open political wars with both the government of President Uhuru Kenyatta and the county assembly. This led all the Kenyan media concentrated or allocated more space and time covering Mike Sonko's flamboyant dressing style, expensive jewelry, flashy clothes, his rescue team activities, glitzy lifestyle, his philanthropic nature, giving money to people who lives in the slums, how he converses in the rebel language of the slum forgetting to focus or pay attention to important issues that really affects the people of Nairobi County that were to be addresses by the former governor.

Consequently, the coverage of the former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko's leadership in Nairobi City County and his political moves is not any different as spectacle. This is because much time, airtime and space in television, radio and newspapers respectively was used to cover Mike Sonko and the conflict in his political career. This does not mean that there was never other important news of human interest that could be covered during the same period.

According to Dayan and Katz's (1992:202) the spectacle has become a common phenomenon of media culture that is keen to celebrate dominant values and institutions. For instance,

covering of politicians' lifestyle thus giving it more space and airtime than other newsworthy related stories that maybe transformative, educative, informative and of great benefit to the audience. According to Herman and Chomsky, (1988:1), "the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace". They further argue "that it is the function of the media to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society" (p 1).

Additionally, Nansen et, al, (2016: 74) states that "the deaths that occurred in domestic settings now occur in institutional settings." This is not to say that death and the dead have been removed from daily life; the mediation of death through popular culture ensures that it is present daily (Laderman, 2003: 4). For instance, Earle, et al, (2009: 32) states that in western societies the medicalization and institutionalization of death and the dead has shifted its cultural positioning through the post-industrial era. Further, they state that "bodies that were routinely laid out for final visitation in the family home in the United Kingdom and in the United States for example, are now laid out in funeral homes." (p.32)

1.2: Statement of the problem

According to Debord (1967:2) spectacle is diffused throughout society and those who participate in it to some extents are responsible. Media spectacles have increased in novel spaces and sites thus becoming one of the organizing principles of the economy, politics, society, and everyday life. Events and media spectacles focus on news and their concepts ensuring they shape events unlike today whereby the concept of news have changed completely. Under the influence of a multimedia culture, seductive spectacles fascinate the natives of the media and consumer society thus involving them in a world of entertainment, information and consumption, which greatly

influences thought and action (Dayan & Katz, 1992:204). However, Katz and Dayan (1992:205) argue that media events tend to integrate societies whereas Hallin and Mancini, (1992:123) states that media events dissolve social divisions and bring the members of a community together around a shared sense of identity.

Kellner, (2003) defines media spectacles as those phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society's basic values, those that leads people to their way of life and those phenomena that dramatize the societies' controversies, struggles and conflicts. According to Dayan and Katz's (1992:202) the spectacle has become a common phenomenon of media culture that is keen to celebrate dominant values and institutions. For instance, the media coverage of politicians such as former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko was intense on newspapers despite having other events or stories of human interest to report thus creating a memorable appearance in the minds of audiences. In addition, Wahlberg and Sjoberg, (2000:37) states that the media outlets have avoided serving the interests of dominant ideology patrons thus are blamed for exaggerating risks in order to sell news instead of using media spectacles to hoodwink media consumers while hiding real problems facing society that needs to be addressed.

Media spectacle has on many occasions used for politics and leadership whereby those in power or are influential govern and control people through media use. According to Keller, political and social life is also shaped more and more by spectacles.

Social and political conflicts are increasingly played out on the screens of media culture that covers spectacles and events.

Former Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko, a popular and egocentric politician whose spectacular rise in Kenyan Politics within a short period compared to seasonal politicians. His reign in as

an MP of Makandara and Nairobi Senator was smooth with minimal scandals. His wars began when he became the Governor of Nairobi County. The former Governor was faced by difficult moments and events from resignation of his deputy shortly after election, to having open political wars with both the National Government and County Assembly.

These occurrences caught the attention of Kenyans prompting the media to concentrate on covering unfolding events in the Sonko Saga. More airtime and space was allocated to the embattled Governor who was widely known by his flamboyant dressing style, philanthropic nature and glitzy lifestyle.

The coverage of Mike Sonko was intense on Daily Nation and Standard newspapers creating a memorable appearances and experiences in the minds of the audiences. Although the researcher interacted with other studies on Media Spectacle conducted across the globe, there seemed to be not so many studies on Media Spectacle easily available locally. This arose the curiosity of the researcher to identify whether coverage of Mike Sonko by Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers qualified to be a Media Spectacle.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Main Objective

To analyze the media coverage of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The following are the specific study objectives.

- i. To establish events in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.
- ii. To assess the prominence given to former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle.

- iii. To identify the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.
- iv. To analyze ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.

1.4: Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions.

- i. Did events in 2020 published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers in 2020 depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle?
- ii. How did prominence given to former Nairobi Governor; Mike Sonko depict him as a media spectacle?
- iii. What ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspaper dominant depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle?
- v. In which ways were photos used in Daily Nation and Standard newspapers depict political conflict in former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle?

1.5: Justification of the Study

The mainstream media such as newspapers have found themselves in constant and intense competition for attention and this has led the corporate media going for sensational breaking news stories or events which they construct in the forms of media spectacle that attempt to attract or excite audiences or readers for as much time as possible, until the next spectacle emerges (Kellner, 2008: 5). Consequently, the Kenyan print media like other media in different countries has adapted to creating spectacle mediated events such as general elections, politicians' deaths and loss of power and heads of corporate. For instance, in cases of the death of Kijana Wamalwa, Bob

Collymore of Safaricom, scandals such as Goldenberg, Anglo leasing, National Youth Service (NYS), Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) and the impeachment of Mike Sonko were made media spectacle by the Kenyan media.

Further, the length and depth of coverage of such stories and events is unique depending on the matter in question. Kenyans as well as other viewers across the globe find themselves glued to their screens viewing these “developing” stories as they are being influenced by media in order to focus on the attention facts and opinions that shape perspectives of the day, attracting various target audiences to their programs. Media spectacle has in the past been used to create and to influence public policy, entertain audiences, to inform and enhance social interaction among people (Wolf, 1999). According to Kellner, (2008:5) “the major media spectacles provide articulations of salient hopes, fears and fantasies, obsessions and experiences of the present”. This study helped in interpreting, understanding, negotiating and opposing media events and stories regarded as media spectacle. The present study sought to look at how print media in Kenya covered and reported Mike Sonko before and after his impeachment as the Governor of Nairobi County in terms of space, the photos used, placement of stories on prime pages and the length of stories published.

1.6: Significance of the Study

The present study was important to the management of the media industry since it informs the media owners, editorial team and editors on the importance of balancing content, news coverage and media events in terms of coverage. This is majorly because the mainstream media has moved away from traditional news coverage to sensational events coverage to attract and retain a large audience thus profit. The current study further benefits the members of the public by guiding them on what to or not consume and how from the media. This explains how various audiences who

read or receive news for instance on Mike Sonko and his dramatization conflict make interpretation once receiving information from a certain media.

The findings from this study finally provide significant knowledge necessary in bridging the research gap in relation to media spectacle. This may benefit researchers who intend to study on media spectacle as it acts as a foundation.

1.7: Scope of the Study

The study was limited to the leading newspapers in Kenya; the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers since they have a wider circulation. Consequently, the study focused on how news articles and events published about Mike Sonko's governance in Nairobi City County were covered by the two newspapers. It majorly focused on the events in 2020 published in the newspapers under study, prominence given to Mike Sonko, ideological standpoints on articles that depict him as a spectacle and finally, how these newspapers used photos to depict political conflict between Mike Sonko and other parties. Further, descriptive research design and mixed research methods were utilized in the present study. The study was guided by two theories: reception theory and encoding and decoding model of communication.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study used textual analysis. However, the researcher was not at a position of analyzing all newspapers from both publications. All articles and photos published on Mike Sonko in the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers from October, November and December 2020 was selected for textual analysis. However, accessing articles and photos in all newspapers from both publications for analysis was also a challenge since it needs a lot of time; the researcher therefore analyzed articles and photos from sampled newspapers for analysis.

1.9 Operational Definitions of Terms

Media Spectacle- this refers to ways in which the media reports or constructs certain events to their audiences in a unique, unusual, interesting and dramatic way.

Proliferation- this is an increase or growth of media spectacle or events within the media industry.

Dramaturgical- this is an action that is designed to improve an individual's self-image when seen by other people.

Gatekeeping-this is the process of filtering or determining information that is to be disseminated or conveyed in various media.

Mainstream media-this refers to traditional forms of mass communication media platforms that are used to inform influence or persuade audiences used or that are known to most people such as newspapers, television and radio.

Dramatization-this is the act in which people behave or how the media inform or tell news stories or events with an aim of exciting them.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter looks at the empirical literature on media spectacles. It also looks at the theory and conceptual framework that will guide the study.

2.1 The concept of media spectacle

Kellner, (2003) defines media spectacles as those phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society's basic values, those that leads people to their way of life, and also those phenomena that dramatize the societies' controversies, struggles and conflicts. According to him "media culture leads to fantasy, dreaming, thoughts of modeling and behavior and various identities due to media culture."

Media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences' attention like media sensationalism, corruption cases, wars and many others (Kellner, 2003). These media spectacles are showing us the dominant values, fears, and goals of the age. Having such huge ordeals taking place, the public is consumed by these images and consistent influence by the media thus reinforcing hegemony and creating what they want the public to view. This is in line with various media spectacle theories which states that the media use their power over their audiences to create and shape events and spectacles that they define as the most important (Natalie & Alasdair, 2014).

Media spectacles further have long been used as vehicles of power (Gotham, 2011: 201; Taylor and Toohey, 2011: 3261). In addition, media spectacle was early developed in order to analyze the power of the media industry in creating and shaping of media events or spectacles in the societies

or to their audiences (Dayan & Katz, 1992; 324). However, the interesting thing about media spectacle is the amount of influence it can have since they are becoming actual guidelines for life, civic values, experience, and reality (Brizarella, and Armano, 2017).

According to Kellner (2004; 42), media spectacle is all about celebrities who dominate as role models in society, icons of fashion, in appearance and in personality traits. Therefore, this means that these are some of the cultures that shape and create media spectacle to various media audiences. In the society of spectacle further, “being a celeb includes key social domains for instance entertainment, politics, sports and many other domains.” (p.42). Due to the emerging of the new media and social networking such as twitter, face book, Instagram and many others, the media spectacle or events have always increased. These social networking sites have been used to play a key role in media spectacle. This is because the media environment has changed in terms of news gathering and dissemination by social media (Meikle and Young, 2012:58). In addition, Fenton, (2010:43) states that dramatic news and events to some extent dominate in news coverage once presented as media spectacle. Kellner, (2004;43) avers that social media and new media are part of the media constructs that covers or shows events which interrupt the usual flow of information or reporting of news. These events finally emerge famous among the audiences or media consumers since they capture the attention of the mainstream media and new media.

Further, Kellner, (2004) posit that society that is networked globally, media spectacles proliferate instantaneously and become virtual, viral and moments of media hype. Moreover, “breaking news of any kind is considered as a media spectacle because of the high competition from other media houses.” (pg. 46) Breaking news can be in form of stories to do with wars, terrorism, environmental disasters, death and many other mega events. Therefore, according to Natalie & Alasdair, (2014), “media spectacles focus on specific temporal and historical period that happens in short periods of

time but eventually become trending news for some time.” Creating spectacles has thus come to be recognized as an important and powerful way of putting one’s message across (Seeck & Rantanen, 2015; 17). This also indicates that there is a particular logic of media events and spectacular events that can be turned around and used by random people without a prior position of power or the authority to stage events.

The media coverage of politicians such as Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto including the former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko among other politicians has been intense in all media despite having other events or stories of human interest to report hence media spectacle. Although, media coverage of these events or personalities is often intense in details, some cases stand out with dramatized, exaggerated or over amplified by various media coverage thus creating memorable appearance in the minds of audiences. They use media spectacles to hoodwink media consumers and hide the real problems facing society that the society needs to be get informed. The media outlets have avoided serving the interests of dominant ideology patrons thus being blamed for exaggerating risks in order to sell news (Wahlberg & Sjoberg, 2000:37).

2.2 Media events and spectacles

Dayan and Katz (1992; 321) define media events as those events that show some central value or some aspect of collective memory thus portraying an idealized version of society. However, they progress time to time as they are first negotiated among organizers, broadcasters and audiences, then later performed by broadcasters, and lastly celebrated by audiences at home. Therefore, this means that the media stages these events as the event model states. Dayan and Katz (1992;322) further, defines media spectacles as a form of news, information and the events which are processed by media corporations, the state and political groups, and institutions and individuals who have got power to construct political and social realities.

According to Liebes (1998) media events are occasions that are staged whereby the media in conjunction with the government coordinate towards an event by relinquishing their tough, independent, cynical stance of critics to guide audiences toward those events. For instance, Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee celebrations which showed how the media used to enhance nationalism through these celebrations. Katz and Dayan (1992:324) argue that media events tend to integrate societies and according to Hallin and Mancini, (1992:121) media events dissolve or de-emphasize social divisions and bring the members of a community together around a shared sense of identity. According to Anderson, (2007: 41) “the media is supposed to play an important role in democracies by informing the public and raising questions about government decisions.” Therefore, media events play an important role in uniting the people within the society.

Due to the increase of new media and its usage, people globally are now accessing events that are happening around the world and not wait until the old media stage (Gotham, 2011:205). Further, the new media has not only enabled connecting or linking people who are in need of certain events but also influenced the way in which events are being staged by the old media (Frew, 2013:102). Initially, events and media spectacles used to focus on news and their concepts while analyzing them in order to show they shaped events unlike today whereby the concept of news have changed completely. News was described as a specific writing that involved the concept of time and events (Rantanen, 2009:2).

Although Katz and Liebes (2007:151) argue that live broadcasting of ceremonial events is decreasing in importance and possibly also in frequency nowadays while the live broadcasting or coverage of terror, disaster and war events are taking center stage. This is due to profound changes in the organization and technology of broadcasting firms and a decline in the appeal of media events due to their staged and short-lived nature.

However, by broadcasting events and by interrupting their regular flow of programmes, the media increase the spectacular nature of these events. They interrupt routines by broadcasting media events as they occur in real time and thus intervening in the 'normal' rhythm of broadcasting and of audiences' lives. According to Dayan, (2001: 747) and Kellner, (2008) broadcasting of events is a way of celebrating reconciliation, not conflict.

Under the influence of a multimedia culture, seductive spectacles fascinate the denizens of the media and consumer society thus involving them in a world of entertainment, information, and consumption, which greatly influences thought and action (Dayan & Katz, 1992:326). Advertisers, therefore, have been attracted to these events because of the high audience viewership. This has led them to invest heavily in these events in order to promote their products and services.

Terrorism has also been viewed as the media spectacle in the United States of America history since the 9/11 terror attack which emerged as the most spectacular and deadly attack in history (Kellner, 2002). There was live coverage on television on the mass shootings in Virginia thus becoming a media spectacle. Atran (2010) posits that, in media driven western societies, terrorists aim to achieve publicity through creating spectacular events, acts of terror. They do so in order to cause reactions and in particular overreactions. In his view, in these cases of terror, the weak are attempting to amplify their acts through the media, relying on people's inherent bias in attributing big causes to big effects.

2.3 Media spectacle and politics

Media spectacle is being used for leadership whereby those in power or influential govern and control people through the media use. According to Kellner, (2012; 9) political and social life are also shaped more by media spectacle. Further, social and political conflicts are increasingly played out on the screens of media culture that covers spectacles and events such as sensational murder cases, terrorism, celebrity and politics and many other issues (p.10). For instance, Machiavelli advised his modern prince of the productive use of spectacle for government and social control, and the emperors and kings of the modern states cultivated spectacles as part of their rituals of governance and power (Blondheim and Liebes (2002:274).

Moreover, former Governor Mike Sonko's governance, impeachment and politics in Nairobi City County were seen as one of the media spectacles since it attracted the attention of many Kenyans. During the months of October, November and December 2020, both mainstream and new media allocated most of its time and space informing people about Mike Sonko's impeachment and his political journey while posting videos and photos and covering stories forgetting other important news. For instance, Sonko, a popular and eccentric politician whose spectacular rise was unparalleled in Kenya, his first major fall in Nairobi politics was marked by his impeachment votes. His three years as Nairobi's second governor were tumultuous, with the resignation of his deputy Polycarp Igathe after 2017 elections and open political wars with both the government of President Uhuru Kenyatta and the County Assembly (Kiruga, 2020).

However, according to Kiruga, (2020) "in early 2020, the former Governor, Mike Sonko maneuvered out of a planned impeachment vote by signing over critical functions to the Kenyatta administration." Kiruga, (2020) further states that an alternative city administration which he waged war against was created at the move to survive until his refusal to sign over two thirds of

the city's budget to the Nairobi Metropolitan Service (NMS) which was created by the president to run the capital, and which costed him any political goodwill that he had within the major political parties." In addition, to media spectacle and politics, Kellner (2012; 6) argue that Barack Obama emerged a victor in his two presidential elections due to the media spectacle. "Obama blended politics and performance in orchestrated media spectacles like Ronald Reagan who performed his presidency in a well-scripted and orchestrated daily spectacle." This means that political rallies are controlled by media spectacles.

Donald Trump emerged as a major form of media spectacle and has long been a celebrity and master of the spectacle with promotion of his buildings and casinos from the 1980s to the present. This was happening in his television shows, his events, and in his presidential campaigns in the year 2016 United States of America's general election. Before the US presidential general election, Donald Trump used media spectacle while he was in New York as an entrepreneur. Trump used gossip columns, tabloids, and rumor mills to market his business. Further, he used public relations advisors to promote both his businesses and his persona and finally he emerged a maestro of the spectacle. Due to his popular television show known as *The Apprentice* made him into a national celebrity (Kellner, 2017:9).

Further, Trump was empowered and enabled to run for the presidency because media spectacle became a major force in United States of America politics (Kellner, 2017:4). Media spectacle in this case helped in determining general elections, government, the ethos and nature of political sphere. Trump ran his 2016 presidential campaign as a media spectacle with rallies and daily tweets that became a focus for television news not only in international media but also to local televisions and dailies. This is where he could make his shocking comments that media replayed now and then on cable and network news. In the media spectacle and Trump also is the most powerful

propaganda films of all time (Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*) where Trump presents himself as a Superhero who magically restores the United States of America to greatness. Trump presents himself providing jobs to citizens and creating incredible wealth. Further, Trump is seen restoring the United States to its rightful place as the world's superpower (Kellner, 2017:8).

2.4 The spectacle of death

In western societies the medicalization and institutionalization of death and the dead has shifted its cultural positioning through the post-industrial era (Earle, Komaromy, & Bartholomew, 2009). Bodies that were routinely laid out for final visitation in the family home in the United Kingdom and in the United States for example, are now laid out in funeral homes. Further, deaths that occurred in domestic settings now occur in institutional settings (Laderman, 2003). This is not to say that death and the dead have been removed from daily life; the mediation of death through popular culture ensures that it is present on a daily basis.

The use of social media to commemorate and memorialize the dead continues this cultural move to mediate death and the dead and reposition the emotional experience within the flow of daily life. Further, the notion of media spectacle also builds upon Dayan and Katz's notion of a "media event" (1992), which referred to how political systems exploited televised live, ceremonial, and preplanned events (Hutchings, 2012). The events such as funerals for instance the funeral coverage of former president of the republic of Kenya, Daniel Moi according to the present study.

In June 2009, a video was posted on the Internet of a woman dying on the streets of Tehran with blood pouring from her nose after she was shot by government militia. Shortly after seeing the video clip, President Barack Obama issued a statement condemning the Iranian government crackdown on citizens protesting the outcome of the elections. Although the Iranian state

attempted to censor and block Internet and cellphone cyber-traffic, news of the post-election crisis spread throughout the world thanks to amateur video clips from cellphones, blogs, YouTube, social networking sites and Twitter page postings. The fax machine messages that were sent out to the world by Chinese student activists during the state crackdown in Tiananmen Square in 1989 seemed strikingly dated in this new age of social media. Social movement had clearly undergone a dramatic transformation as a result of these new media technologies (Robins, 2014:108).

In addition, the death of Safaricom CEO, Bobby Collymore, attracted unprecedented media coverage and dominated all the front pages, with the country's biggest newspaper, the Daily Nation, dedicating 24 pages to a special report on his life and achievements (Gathara, 2019). According to Gathara, (2019) Bob Collymore was a major figure, and his funeral was attended by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former UK premier, Tony Blair. During his death, the media covered stories that covered his social life, his life with cancer until his demise. However, few local politicians or cultural figures have met same treatment as Collymore and Moi. For instance, in Collymore's case, it may have been paid for partly by Safaricom but regardless of its merits, the episode opened a window into how the Kenyan media and society deals with death for prominent people (Gathara, 2019). This is contrary to an ordinary citizen whose passing on is never focused on by media. For instance, there were pictures of bodies of police officers who were killed in terror attacks in North Eastern a fortnight prior from Robert Alai something that led to his arrest. The pictures showed that there was no public mourning due to their demise thus the question of which deaths are worth noting, why and how? Which ones should go unmentioned? Which bodies are allowed to be seen by the public and which ones are not allowed?

2.5 Media spectacle and entertainment

Sports for instance world soccer cup, Olympics, English premier league and many other kind of sports political campaigns, terrorism, death of prominent people for instance politicians and celebs have been a domain of the media spectacle since they attract many audiences thus celebrating society's deepest values for instance competition among members, success and funds (Roberts, 2004).

Entertainment has always been a prime field of the spectacle and up to now entertainment and spectacle have entered the domains of the economy, politics, society, death and everyday life in important new ways (Horne, 2006). In addition, spectacle and entertainment involve contemporary forms of entertainment from television, film, music, drama, and other domains of culture, as well as producing spectacular new forms of culture, such as cyberspace, multimedia, and virtual reality (Cottle, 2006:418). For instance, according to Kellner, (2003) "Hollywood film has been seen as a world of glamour, publicity and fashion whereby films such as Oscars and stylish high technology films are hyped into spectacle through advertising and trailers."

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6.1 Reception theory

The study was guided by reception theory by Stuart Hall which states that meaning is encoded by the sender and decoded by the receiver and that these encoded meanings may be decoded to mean something else. This means that the sender encodes meaning in their messages according to their ideals and views and the messages are decoded by the receivers according to their own ideals and views, which may lead to miscommunication or to the receiver understanding something very different from what the sender intended (Hall 1993). The audience receives the creative work done and perceives to its content in either similar or different. The meaning of the message can change

in the way they see it fit according to their social context. This further, means that a text is not simply passively accepted by the audience, but that the reader or viewer interprets the meanings of the text based on his or her individual cultural background and life experiences (Hall, 1980).

Reception theory focused on content, in interpreting the text, to read the text we must be able to interpret the symbol and structure (Amin, 2018). It further explains that contextual factors influence the way audiences view or read media, such as newspapers or television news. The concept of receptive theory is that the text of the media or television program is not the meaning attached to the media text, but the meaning is created in the interaction between the audience and text (Amin, 2018). In reading a text the audience does not only interpret a text but also interprets it in the overall structure so that the audience can interpret it in its entirety.

According to Hall (1993:101) the following are the basic premises of encoding and decoding model: every media texts have certain meanings encoded within them. However, it is the audience, who receive these texts that determine how the messages are to be interpreted, a text can encode the same event in different ways, every message has potentially several 'readings' and finally, reception of messages can be problematic as an encoded message can be decoded in a different way. He emphasizes the role of audiences' social positioning leading to the differential interpretation of texts by different groups.

Hall (1993: 101); Amin, (2018) further, states that there are three meaning making positions which include the dominant reading, in which interpreters share the text's encoded meaning and produce the preferred reading; the negotiated reading, in which the readers reach a middle ground between the preferred reading and the reading produces by their own contextual conditions; and the oppositional reading, in which readers completely go against the encoded message. The theory

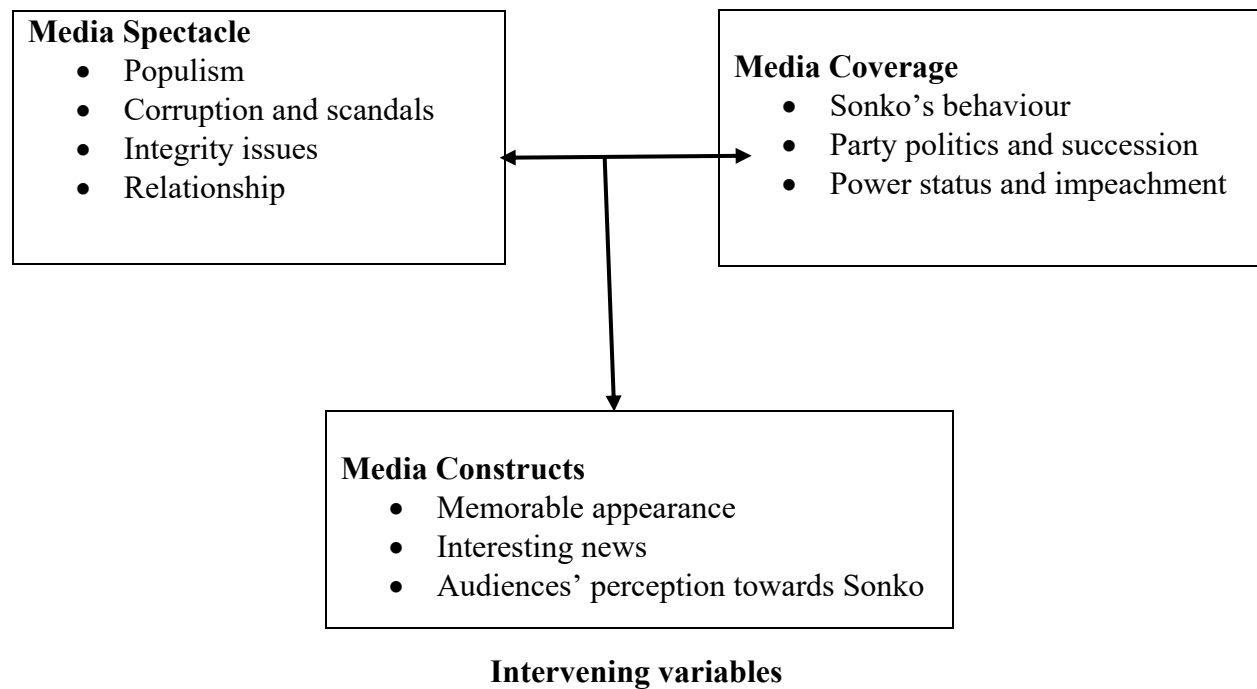
demonstrated how audiences interpret different media events. Majorly, the interpretations are socially structured and culturally patterned; something that takes place not just at the individual level but moved away from the notion of audience as individual to that of being culturally and socially situated.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

Table 3.1 shows the conceptual framework for the study

Dependent variables

Independent variables



Source: Researcher, 2022

2.7.1 Media spectacle

According to Kellner, (2003) “media spectacles are the phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society’s basic values, those that leads people to their way of life, and those that dramatize the societies’ controversies, struggles and conflicts.” For instance, in the present study, media spectacles include populism, corruption and scandals, relationship and integrity.

2.7.2 Media coverage

This is a perspective or an angle in which particular news story or article is presented in either electronic, print or social media in form of politics and conflict. This includes the Mike Sonko's party politics and succession politics, power status and his imminent impeachment process as the Nairobi County Governor during his governance.

2.7.3: Media constructs

These are factors influencing or leading to the media coverage on Mike Sonko's stories and news during his impeachment process and they include audience appearance, interesting news, audience' perception towards Sonko and interesting news on Mike Sonko as the governor of Nairobi County. These factors, therefore, link the media coverage and media spectacle variables of the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0: Overview

This chapter entails research design, research methods, sampling and sampling procedure, research instruments, data analysis and presentation of data. It also has the ethics used in the study. These will help the researcher to answer the research questions and reporting of findings.

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted descriptive survey design that aims at investigating and describing a given variable into details. The design gives an in depth and comprehensive exploration required in research. The study aimed at analyzing the media coverage of Mike Sonko as a media spectacle. The research design is a blueprint for fulfilling objectives and answering questions that constitutes the blueprint for collection, measurement and analysis of data (Cooper & Schindler, 2006:71).

The study focused on how the former governor for Nairobi County, Mike Sonko was covered by Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers. It established the following; events in 2020 on Mike Sonko that were published in the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers, ascertaining the frequency in which the events were covered, the prominence given to articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers in terms of positioning of the articles in the newspapers such as page and size of article, identifying the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a spectacle and finally analyzing ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict the dramatization of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a spectacle

3.2 Research Approach

A mixed research approach was used in the current study since both quantitative and qualitative approaches were utilized. For qualitative variables, textual analysis was used to gather information. Textual analysis describes content, structure and functions of the messages contained in texts (Aryia, 2020). Textual analysis further; focused how the two newspapers reported stories during Sonko's impeachment period. Mixed research approach helped the researcher to adequately answer more research questions and at the same time acquiring comprehensive data thus adding more insights other than using one research approach (Nutting et al., 2009: 254).

3.3 Research Method

The study utilized textual analysis methodology to determine the writer's intention and tone. Textual analysis involved understanding the language and symbols present in texts to gain information regarding how the audiences might have made sense of the texts in the two dailies. Textual analysis involved selecting and acquiring appropriate types of articles to be studied and determining which particular approach to employ in analyzing them (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 1999). The researcher analysed different aspects of texts including choice of words, design elements, location of the text, target audience and the relationship with other texts. Newspaper articles and photos that covered on Sonko's impeachment published from October to December 2020 in both the Daily Nation the Standard newspapers were analyzed using textual analysis based on key themes generated from the study objectives. According to Smith, (2017) textual analysis helps researchers to understand the impact of various concepts in the lives of people.

The study utilized published messages and images to get cues through which communication by the two dailies may have been understood by the audience. The study aimed at analysing how

Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers covered the embattled former Nairobi Governor and establish if the coverage was a spectacle.

Both quantitative and qualitative variable were analysed. Tables were used to analyse quantitative data while themes were used to analyse qualitative. The researcher analysed a total of 184 newspapers from both Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers in the months of October, November and December 2020 which had 31,30 and 31 days respectively.

3.4 Population, Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

3.4.1 Population

The study analyzed 184 Newspaper from both the Standard and Daily Nation in order to obtain data regarding the media coverage of Mike Sonko during the three months under study. The researcher established that out of the 184 newspapers published in the two dailies during the months under study, total of 65 articles published touched on Sonko. Out of the 65 articles, Daily Nation had 31 articles while Standard had 34 articles.

The study focused on photos and articles published, the prominence in which former Governor Sonko was given in terms of size of each article published, placement in terms of page pages that the articles appeared, the size of photos including if they are colored or not and if it they are only capturing Sonko or includes other people. The study analyzed the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers for each day for the months of October, November and December 2020 which has 31, 30 and 31 days respectively, therefore, a total of 184 newspapers were analyzed. This is the period in which the impeachment process of former Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko began and ended.

Table 3.1 shows the target population for the study

Newspapers	October	November	December	Total
Daily Nation	31	30	31	92
Standard Newspaper	31	30	31	92
Total	62	60	62	184

Source; Researcher, 2022

3.4.2 Sample Size

A sample is considered as a small portion which represents the larger population that is studied to determine the characteristics of the population (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2012). Churchill and Brown (2004) noted that the correct sample size in a study is dependent on factors such as the nature of the population to be studied, the purpose of the study, the number of variables in the study, the type of research design, the method of data analysis and the size of the accessible population. However, Cooper and Schindler (2003) define sampling as selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. This defined population is referred to as a sampling frame. Generally, sample sizes larger than 30 and less than 500 are appropriate for most research. The researcher counted the number of articles in the two dailies featuring Sonko and found a total of 65 articles in the 184 copies of newspapers. Out of the 65 articles, Daily Nation had 31 articles while Standard had 34 articles.

Table 3.2 shows the sampling frame for the study

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>October Articles</i>	<i>November articles</i>	<i>December Articles</i>	<i>Total Articles</i>
<i>Daily Nation</i>	10	13	8	31
<i>Standard</i>	12	9	13	34

Source; Researcher, 2022

3.4.3 Sampling Procedure

The researcher further analyzed all articles from both Daily Nation and Standard to establish whether all of them featured as media spectacles. The 65 articles were analysed based on how the two dailies presented their articles with a keen focus on the themes thus creating events, how the events were mediated by both Daily Nation and Standard newspapers created memorable appearances in the minds of the audience. The study analysed the use of words, language, phrases, adjectives and qualifiers concerning the events of the impeachment of Mike Sonko. The researcher therefore, established that not all the 65 articles analysed were spectacles. The researcher established that out of the 65 articles, 20 articles did not qualify.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

Textual analysis from the sampled newspapers in which articles and photos published on Mike Sonko was done for both qualitative and quantitative data; the researcher looked at the size, placement, tone of the stories or articles and photos published. The study analyzed the use of language, words and phrases use in their articles concerning the leadership and impeachment process of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko and during the months of October, November and December 2020 in both the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers.

Table 3.3 shows sample textual analysis code sheet for data collection

Articles/ photos	Page placement	Action photo	Photo with other parties	Size of articles ($\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ & 1 pages)				Themes
				$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	
1								
2								

Source: Researcher, 2022

3.6 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Quantitative data and variables were assigned into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) hence generating frequency tables, figures and percentages. Descriptive statistics are used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. They provide simple summaries about the sample and the measures (Kumar, 2012:16). According to Cooper and Schindler (2003:147), “descriptive study seeks answers who, what, when and where questions.”

Qualitative data further was examined basing on various themes and put them in various categories in statements and comments based on the study objectives. The researcher therefore analyzed data based on how the Daily Nation and Standard presented their articles or stories thus creating events, how events were technologically mediated, how the newspapers created a memorable appearance in the minds of readers by covering events that interrupted the reporting of other important news. The researcher further, analyzed on how the two dailies had to construct political and social realities on Sonko amongst the readers or audiences and finally, on how the articles and photos were publicly displayed the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers thus being viewed as unusual and entertaining or interesting by readers and Nairobi County residents. The researcher

described and summarized data to a doable size, comparing variables and forecast outcomes in narratives, tables and figures (pg. 151).

3.7 Data Presentation

Quantitative data was presented in frequency tables and figures. Quantitative data was derived from the textual analysis code sheet on how the articles and photos pushed on Sonko were published. Frequency tables enabled the reader to understand complex raw data and the use of figures will enable effective comparison of data in the study. Qualitative data further presented in narratives. Qualitative data is data derived from the use of language, words and phrases in the articles published on Sonko's governance and impeachment process.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Triangulation method was used to obtain data with an aim of ascertaining the accuracy of collected data in textual analysis. The appropriateness, clarity and simplicity of the language structure used photos, positioning and relevance of the information was checked through a pilot study. A pilot study assisted the researcher to review questions and variables under study in order to improve the textual analysis code sheet thus meeting the study objectives. The researcher, therefore, conducted a pilot study using articles in 10 newspapers from both the Standard and the Nation Newspapers and try to find out if the study objectives can be answered after which the really study was done. Murithi et al. (2016: 55) describe validity as the accurateness and meaningfulness of interpretations in research findings. Creswell (2003: 33) also describes validity as the consistency in the findings of the research and reliability is the credibility of research results.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

According to Driscoll & Brizee (2012:1) a researcher needs to have approval and authority from the supervisor to conduct any research and those they have no intention to cause any injury or damage in the process of doing the study. After an approval of the proposal by the supervisor, the researcher preceded the field for data. The researcher ensured not to copy other researchers' work and reference all sources of information used in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0: Overview

This chapter presents findings on the results of the study in line with research objectives. Data analysis was based on study objectives. Quantitative data from textual analysis code sheet were analyzed by use of statistical tools and presented in form of tables and figures whereas qualitative data were transcribed and presented in form of narratives.

4.1 Presentation of the Findings

4.1.1 Response Rate

This refers to the percentage of the sample that was dully collected for analysis. 46 newspapers from the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers were obtained for analysis thus making it sufficient for the study.

4.2 Events in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle

The researcher sought to investigate the events in 2020 in the Daily nation and the Standard that depict former Nairobi Governor Mike Mbuvi Sonko as a spectacle. This was determined by looking at various events and the frequency in which the events were covered by both the Standard and the Daily Newspapers. Dayan & Katz (1992;322) defines media spectacles as a form of news, information and the events which are processed by media corporations, the state and political groups, and institutions and individuals who have got power to construct political and social realities.

On the other hand, Kellner, (2003) avers that media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences' attention like media sensationalism, corruption cases and wars. However, Mike Mbuvi Sonko fits in this since he had power as the Nairobi Governor or politician thus constructing political and social realities thus making him a media spectacle. He also created news in form of events whereby the Governor was involved in many occurrences that were presented in form of news thus a media spectacle. For instance, in this since he had power as the Nairobi Governor or politician thus constructing political and social realities thus are making him a media spectacle. He also created news in form of events whereby the Governor was involved in many occurrences that were presented in form of news thus a media spectacle. For instance, in the event where Mike Sonko totally refused or rejected Ksh. 37.5 billion budgets stating that it had a deficit of Ksh. 5.8 billion accusing ward reps of contravening the public Finance Management Act by allocating NMS Ksh. 27.1 billion to run the transferred functions whereas county government is allocated Ksh. 10.4 billion in which Ksh. 2 million would be channeled to county assembly stating that it was against the law. This is after the bill, which was passed by the assembly approved a budget of Ksh. 37.7 billion while giving his administration Ksh. 8.4 billion whereas Ksh.27.1 billion was allocated to NMS, with the rest going to the county assembly thus making Sonko a media spectacle. Below are the findings from the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers.

“Mr. Sonko declined to sign into law the Nairobi City County Appropriations Bill, 2020 that had been forwarded to him last month, referring it back to the county assembly. In the memorandum, the City Hall boss rejected the budget saying it had a huge deficit. He called for allocations to NMS to be voided while also saying that adjustments made to the executive’s earlier budget were unlawful.” (Daily Nation, pg. 22; October 25th, 2020).

“MCAs have resumed from a two-week recess with Governor Mike Sonko's memorandum rejecting the county's Sh37.7 billion annual budget top of the agenda.” (Standard, pg. 18; November 4th, 2020).

This implied that the MCAs were for the leadership of the Nairobi Metropolitan Service that is the reason as to why they were allocating the newly created office more funds compared to City Hall something that Mike Sonko rejected. It also implied that the transferred functions to NMS required a lot of funds compared to the functions that remained to the former Governor Mike Sonko. Mike Sonko had notified all Small and Micro-enterprises, contractors and suppliers that they were to be paid after clearance by the auditor general in a press release that was published on October 9, 2020. He further informed them not to give any bribe for them to be paid. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard Newspaper as shown below.

“Mike Sonko notified all Small and Medium-sized Enterprises that the county Government started paying all pending bills for SMEs...all suppliers and contractors should not pay kickbacks in order to be paid.” (Standard, pg. 6; October 27th, 2020).

This implied that Mike Sonko is concerned towards empowering SMEs and is trying his best in his leadership to stop corruption within the County Government. It means that initially, the contractors and suppliers could pay kickbacks for them to be paid. Below are the findings from the Daily Nation Newspapers.

“The report, launched on Wednesday by President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM Party leader Raila Odinga, proposes that the functions of health services, county transport, county planning and development, county public works and firefighting services and disaster management be taken over by the State” (Daily Nation, pg.1; November 27th, 2020).

This study revealed that Mike Sonko is accused of misusing the county funds. This is after he used Ksh. 4 million in his daughter's trip to the United States of America and diverting Ksh. 622 million meant for bursary. Below are the findings from the Standard and the Standard Newspapers.

"...Sonko is too greedy and a governor gone rogue who splashes Ksh. 4m on his daughter's travel and diverting Ksh. 622m meant for bursary." (Standard, pg. 21; November 30th 2020).

Kellner, (2003) argues that media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences' attention like media sensationalism, corruption cases and even wars. Kellner, (2012;9), further states that "social and political conflicts are increasingly played out on the screens of media culture that covers spectacles and events such as sensational murder cases, terrorism, celebrity and politics and many other issues." (p.10). Mike Sonko's media coverage as media spectacle is established in the manner in which the newspapers reported his impeachment process and as Nairobi County governance. The way Mike Sonko refused to sign the annual bill, how is uncomfortable with the funds allocated to his office as compared to NMS office and the plan to impeach him. Therefore, the study findings indicate that the former Governor Mike Sonko had been quarreling with the Nairobi City County members of county assembly because of his refusal to sign the annual budget. Sonko believes that the newly created Nairobi Metropolitan Service is not a delivery unit within the county government. He states that it does not qualify to be allocated the funds. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard and Nation Newspapers as shown below.

"Mr Sonko has been at loggerheads with many representatives after refusing to append his signature on the county's Ksh 37.5 billion annual budgets that allocated Sh27.1 billion to Nairobi Metropolitan Services, leaving City Hall with Sh8.4 billion." (Standard, pg. 3; November 4th, 2020).

“I will not, I shall not and I am not going to append my signature to give funds to an illegal entity...NMS is not a delivery unit within the county government and therefore does not qualify to find its way as a vote for appropriation of funds.” (Daily Nation, pg. 2; November 4th, 2020).

This depicts the former Nairobi City County Governor, Mike Sonko, who was not comfortable or satisfied with the way the funds allocated to his office as compared to those allocated to Nairobi Metropolitan Service. This may imply that the MCAs wanted to sabotage the governor's leadership by allocating him a little amount of money while in favor of the then newly created Nairobi Metropolitan Service.

The study also revealed that the members of county assembly rejected Mike Sonko's memorandum that aimed at amending the Nairobi City County 2020, bill in which in the contentious budget, the newly created Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS) was allocated Sh27.1 billion for transferred functions, leaving City Hall with a paltry Ksh. 8.4 billion. Below are the findings from the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers.

“Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko has suffered a blow in his bid to amend the county's Ksh. 37.5 billion annual budgets after Nairobi MCAs rejected his memorandum.” (Standard, pg. 3; November 4th, 2020).

“The ward representatives, however, rejected all the amendments that had been put forward by the governor.” (Daily Nation, pg. 21; October 12th, 2020).

This means that the MCAs were for the newly created Nairobi Metropolitan Service and that is the reason as to why they rejected his amendment bill. The study results also implied that NMS was allocated more funds because its allocated functions needed a lot of funds, and they could act on Mike Sonko's memorandum. According to Heppand Couldry (2009), media spectacle refers to technologically mediated events, in which media forms like broadcasting, print media, or the

internet process events in a spectacular form. Kellner, (2003) also argues that media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences. However, the political events that became media spectacles across the Kenya was Mike Sonko's impeachment process, conflict between former Governor Mike Sonko and NMS Director, Mohammed Badi in the year 2020. The study findings therefore revealed that the MCAs passed a budget that kills the county government by denying its residents an opportunity to enjoy services. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard Newspaper as shown below.

"...MCAs passed a budget that essentially 'kills' the county government by denying its residents an opportunity to enjoy services other counties offer...the fact that they rejected the memorandum does not cure the illegalities that the governor pointed out. The governor is still consulting his legal team and looking at options." (Standard, pg. 5; October 17th, 2020).

The study findings further, revealed that there was a plan to by the leaders from both sides of the political divide to impeach former Governor Mike Sonko because refused to sign the Nairobi County Government budget. This also depicted Mike Sonko as a media spectacle. Below are the findings from the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers.

"A group of MCAs in Nairobi says there is a new plot to impeach Governor Mike Sonko over his refusal to sign the county government budget." (Daily Nation, pg. 6; November 27th, 2020).

"Leaders from the political divide said an impeachment motion against the governor would be introduced at the county assembly soon." Standard, pg. 7; November 27th, 2020.

This implied that there was a conflict between former Nairobi County Governor Mike Sonko and the Nairobi Metropolitan Services Director, Badi thus depicting Sonko as a media spectacle. Mike

Sonko is reported to be fighting Badi, director of Nairobi Metropolitan Services in the way they will utilize the sh. 127 million grants from the Danish Government and the World Bank after Treasury suspended the health sector budget operating system. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard and Nation Newspapers as shown below.

“The row between Nairobi county government and Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS) has stalled the utilization of Sh127.2 million grants from the Danish government and the World Bank after the Treasury suspended the health sector budget operating system.” (Standard, pg. 10; November 16th, 2020).

“Governor Mike Sonko told Parliament that the conditional grants were meant for Universal Health Care project to support Level 2 and Level 3 facilities.” (Daily Nation, pg. 12; November 17th, 2020).

This depicts that there is still a big conflict between the two leaders on how to utilize the funds and where to be used. Consequently, Mike Sonko is made a spectacle after his nominee, Philip Kaingu to service board to replace the former holder of the office skips vetting. Below are the findings from the Standard.

“Sonko’s nominee to service board skips vetting...Meshack Guto, failed to appear before the County Assembly Labor and Social Welfare Committee.” (Standard, Pg. 19; October 19th, 2020).

According to Bazin et al, (2018), media spectacle creates a memorable appearance in the minds of the audience thus media spectacle for instance politics, welfare of people, consumer news and information delivered by the media inform of a spectacle whereas Kellner, (2003) states that media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences’ attention. For instance, when Sonko waived rents for residents who were staying in Nairobi County Government houses. It was therefore, established that Mike Sonko waived rent to

families housed in Nairobi City County houses something he termed as cushioning tenants or allowing them to recover economically from the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. This is evident from the findings below from the Standard and Daily Nation.

“Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko has extended waiver on rent to families using county house. The decision would cushion households against the negative economic of Covid-19, including loss of jobs and income.” (Daily Nation, pg. 22; October 25th, 2020).

“Pursuant to my earlier waiver in April, I do hereby extend the waiver earlier granted for a period of six months from the date of this letter, as our residents continue to recover economically from the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic.” (Standard, pg. 21; October 25th, 2020).

This depicts that Mike Sonko was portrayed as a leader who is concerned with the people’s welfare. Further, the findings implied that Sonko was a sympathizer or a populist to the tenants who had rented the county houses during the Covid 19 pandemic something that was seen to be good to the residents. Consequently, on the harassment of tenants even after the Governor issued them a waiver, the study established that tenants who had rented in Nairobi County Government houses were evicted despite being issued rent waiver by former Governor Mike Sonko. Below are the findings from the Standard Newspaper.

“City Hall is on the spot over evictions of tenants living in Nairobi County government houses despite issuance of rent waivers by Governor Mike Sonko. This comes after the Nairobi County Assembly raised concerns over continued harassment of county estate tenants despite the rent and rates waivers.” (Standard, pg. 22; October 9th, 2020).

The former Governor accused by the MCAs for lack of enforcement of waivers declaration for tenants facing financial challenges despite waiving rents. The waiver was to ease the burden in

rental arrears for most of the tenants and bring a new chapter in management of rental payments for the houses, but this has now turned into a nightmare for the same tenant. Below are the findings from the Daily Nation Newspaper.

“The MCAs took issue with the lack of enforcement of waivers declarations by Mr. Sonko for tenants facing financial challenges aid the move by the governor to issue waiver on house rent arrears owed to the Nairobi City County government by tenants who had failed to clear their debts due to financial challenges.”....“MCAs have called for investigations into claims that tenants in county estates are being threatened with evictions despite Governor Mike Sonko extending rent amnesties...The housing committee has been tasked to investigate and report back to the assembly on the status of the waivers.” (Daily Nation, pg. 16; October 10th, 2020).

This depicts that the governor is being fought by his enemies from improving residents’ living standards. It was revealed that tenants living in Nairobi County Government were evicted and harassed from city hall by county employees despite Mike Sonko issuing them with waiver and rent rates. However, Mike Sonko was also reported accusing the Kenya Revenue Authority and Nairobi Metropolitan Service harassing residents over rent arrears despite the economic crisis due to Covid 19 pandemic pursuant to his earlier waiver for six months in the month of April 2020. The waiver-targeted tenants who had failed to clear their debts due to financial challenges in a bid to end cases of occupants of the county houses being evicted by cartels who later allocate them to new tenants at a fee. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard and Nation Newspapers as shown below.

“Sonko accused Kenya Revenue Authority and NMS of harassing vulnerable city residents over rent arrears despite the current economic crisis”..... “The move came about after the then Nairobi Housing Director Marion Rono said City Hall is owed

a whopping Sh224 million by tenants living in the more than 16,000 county houses in the capital city. The debt accrued over six years...The governor in April last year issued a waiver on rent owed to the county government by tenants living in Nairobi County houses.” (Standard, pg. 22; October 9th, 2020).

Maj-Gen Badi refuted the waiver arguing that housing is a transferred function and, Mr Sonko has no authority over council houses terming the declaration are beyond the Governor’s purview. The tenants have been harassed by the county employees. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard and Nation Newspapers as shown below.

“The rent waiver issued by the governor is not legitimate because housing is a transferred function, so he has absolutely no authority to waiver,” (Standard, pg. 19; November 3rd, 2020).

This implied that the waiver was published in the newspapers in form of advertisements and was all over the public domain, but the directive was not followed. This means that there was a fight between the county boss and the NMS boss. The study further revealed that Sonko got relief after the Nairobi County Government was allowed to recruit new staff after close to two thus depicting him as a media spectacle. There was no activity going on within the county due to lack quorum in the public service board. Below are the findings from Daily Nation Newspaper.

“The county government can now recruit new staff after close to two years of inactivity due to lack of quorum in the county’s public service board. This is after last week’s approval by the assembly of a new member to the board, in what will now offer relief to Governor Mike Sonko’s administration.” (Daily Nation, pg. 20; October 23rd, 2022).

The study, therefore, revealed that Mike Sonko was taken to court and accused of misappropriation of county funds. This is after he had spent taxpayers’ money amounting to ksh. 4 million on his

daughter's travel to the United States of America to attend a conference of which she travelled in first- class flight which translated to county funds. Sonko further, diverted sh. 622 million meant for bursary. Below results shows that Sonko became a spectacle. Mike Sonko's Secretary to the Nairobi County Public Service Board nominee declined by the committee for vetting after the nominee who was to be vetted never appeared before the committee. This depict that the nominee was not interested in the position perhaps he was not ready to work with county government of Nairobi in its state of leadership. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard as shown below.

“The county government service board will have to wait longer after for the appointment of a secretary to the board after Governor Mike Sonko's nominee for the position failed to turn up for vetting.” (Standard, pg. 21; October 19th, 2020).

Media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences' attention like media sensationalism, corruption cases, wars and many others (Kellner, 2003). However, Kellner, (2004;43) avers that social media and new media are part of the media constructs that covers or shows events which interrupt the usual flow of information or reporting of news. For instance, Mike Sonko used his social media accounts to express himself over the frustrations he encountered after the County Government functions were transferred to Nairobi Metropolitan Service. From the findings, the study established that Sonko pours his frustrations online. This is after the president transferred some function to the Nairobi Metropolitan Service Director. Below are the findings from the Daily Nation Newspaper.

“I am writing to the office of the prosecutor of the ICC to demand for investigations against the forced arbitrary displacement of Nairobi residents by our own 'Hussein Mohammed' which amounts to crimes against humanity and prosecution.... you cannot come and put colored pavements and call it development...” (Standard, pg. 14; November 10th, 2020).

This shows how Sonko is bitter with the appointed Nairobi Metropolitan Service Director and the sharing of power to control Nairobi City County and the competition of power status between the two leaders. The study established that Sonko defies Senate summons after he failed to attend before the health committee to discuss issues about the transferred health function to NMS whereas Badi, the NMS Director is accusing Sonko for withholding ksh.253 million meant for Nairobi County health facilities. Further, study findings established that Governor Sonko accuses Speaker Benson Matura of contempt of court for allowing the ouster motion tabled. Below are the findings from the Standard.

“...Stop the ongoing impeachment process until the case before the Employment and Labour Relations court is determined.” (Standard, pg. 14; November 11th, 2020.)

The study reveals that there are plans to impeach Mike Sonko from office as the Nairobi City County Governor due to violation of the constitution, abuse of office, and lacking the physical and mental capacity to run the county government. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Nation as shown below.

“Michael Ogada, put forward several grounds for the removal of Mr. Sonko from office key among them gross violation of the Constitution, abuse of office, committing a crime under national and international law and lacking the physical and mental capability to run the county government.” (Daily Nation, pg. 8; November 26th, 2020.)

In addition, study findings reveal that Nairobi MCAs stated a process of removing Mike Sonko from office whereby 86 MCAs appended their signatures on notice of impeachment motion, against a threshold of 42 needed, paving the way for a second attempt at impeaching the governor. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Standard and Nation as shown below.

“Nairobi MCAs have begun a fresh process of removing from office beleaguered governor Mike Sonko. This is after 86 MCAs appended their signatures on notice of impeachment Motion, against a threshold of 42 needed, paving the way for a second attempt at impeaching the governor.” (Standard, pg. 12; November 26th, 2020.)

“Moving the motion, Michael Ogada, put forward several grounds for the removal of Mr. Sonko from office key among them gross violation of the Constitution, abuse of office, committing a crime under national and international law and lacking the physical and mental capability to run the county government...The time has come that as Nairobi MCAs, we have made a decision that we have to bite the bullet and make sure normalcy is brought back to the city.” (Daily Nation, pg. 21; November 26th, 2020.)

Media spectacles include media extravaganzas, sports events, politics and any other happenings that grab the audiences’ attention like media sensationalism, corruption cases, wars and many others (Kellner, 2003). The study, therefore, established that Sonko was stripped off his authority by the national government. He was instructed by President Uhuru Kenyatta to surrender a number of Nairobi County functions such as health, transport, public works, planning and revenue collection. A move described as a breakthrough in the running of country services that had ground to halt since he had a hard time managing the capital. The Daily Nation Newspaper also describes him as incompetent king of theatrics. However, Treasury Cabinet Secretary Ukur Yatani said there is no legal framework to transfer Nairobi County Government funds to the NMS currently domiciled in the executive office of the President. This is also confirmed as quoted in the Nation Newspaper as shown below.

“...Mike Sonko finally runs out of drama, stripped of his authority by the national government given the suit by MCAs and shown the door by the senate.” Further findings indicate that; “Treasury Cabinet Secretary Ukur Yatani said there is no

legal framework to transfer Nairobi County Government funds to the NMS currently domiciled in the executive office of the President...Monies can only be released to the Nairobi County Government through the County Revenue Fund.”
(Daily Nation, pg. 12; November 17th, 2020.)

The study results established that Sonko faulted the president Uhuru Kenyatta for creating Badi’s office, saying the president could do so after the recommendation from the Public Service Commission. Through his lawyer Harrison Kinyanjui, the governor claimed that he is not comfortable with the; *“militarization of the city by Badi who walks around in military fatigues.”* On the process, the study further revealed that Sonko accused Nairobi Metropolitan Service Director, Badi of playing mere politics and not service delivery. Further findings reveal that Mike Sonko’s powers were clipped by MCA’s once they transferred the management of ward development project to NMS. The findings implied that the Nairobi Metropolitan Service director, Mohammed Badi is not service delivery oriented in the transferred function from the County Government of Nairobi, but he is just playing mere politics. The study also revealed that Sonko was asked to give steps that were put in place to ensure the Dandora stadium was complete as stipulated in the plan which construction limited company known as M/s Scanjet was tendered and paid sh. 196 million. Consequently, Nairobi MCAs accused the governor of failing the bar of leadership or governance in the oversight of the utilization of county resources. For instance, the issue of Dandora stadium was not constructed as required despite the County Government allocating it enough money for its construction. Below are the findings from the Standard and Nation.

“Member of County Assembly for Dandora phase four, Francis Ngesa seeks answers from Mike Sonko why the stadium is not completed and the steps of the

completion the project in the stipulated plans.” (Daily Nation, pg. 9; October 2nd, 2020.)

“Dandora stadium was not constructed as required despite the fact that the county paid ksh.196 million to the constructor.” (Standard, pg. 11; October 14th, 2020.)

This means that the contactors were paid a lot of money, yet the work was not into satisfaction as per the expectations of the public. There was a plan to stop Mike Sonko’s impeachment but on 2nd October, 2020, the court extended orders barring Nairobi County Assembly from debating Governor Sonko’ impeachment motion. *“...earlier orders shall remain in force until further directions.”* The study further established that the MCAs charged Mike Sonko with 10 counts relating to gross misconduct and abuse of office, irregular award of tenders and behaving badly in office as the Governor. This is confirmed as quoted in the Nation Newspaper as shown below.

“In the impeachment motion, MCAs have charged the flamboyant governor with 10 counts relating to gross misconduct and abuse of office, citing cases of irregular award of tenders amounting to billions of shillings and fraud.” (Standard, pg. 16; November 24th, 2020)

“...plans are in motion to begin collecting signatures in support of the impeachment, but added that the scheme would fail...I can guarantee that Jubilee ward representatives will not support the impeachment of Mr Sonko...He is our Governor. If any issue touches on him, we can only take directions from the President.” (Daily Nation, pg. 25; November 25th, 2020)

Further, on the impeachment of Mike Mbuvi Sonko, the study revealed that there was a call from statehouse and an ODM meeting at Capitol Hill office setting in motion a fresh plan to remove him from office. This is confirmed as quoted in the Nation and Standard Newspaper as shown below.

“A phone call from State House and a meeting at ODM leader Raila Odinga’s Capitol Hill office sealed the fate of beleaguered Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko, setting in motion a fresh plan to remove him from office.” (Daily Nation, pg. 6; November 27th, 2020)

“The second bid to kick the city governor out of office has been a long time coming, with those familiar with the matter saying it was only a matter of when, and not if.” (Daily Nation, pg. 1; November 27th, 2020)

Consequently, the study established that Sonko’s fate as the Governor for Nairobi County was already sealed, and no one could be at a position to seal him. Below is evidence from the Standard and Daily Nation newspapers.

“The assembly’s leadership is adamant that Mr Sonko’s fate is sealed and not even President Kenyatta, ODM party Leader Raila Odinga or the courts will save him.” (Daily Nation, pg. 12; November 29th, 2020)

Further study revealed that Mike Sonko was impeached by 88 members out of 120 members of the county assembly on December 3, after a censure motion that was filed against Embakasi ward representative Michael Ogada. This is confirmed as quoted in the Daily Nation as shown below.

“...86 MCAs, 47 from ODM and 39 from Jubilee, signed the notice of impeachment motion against a threshold of only 42 MCAs. Two-thirds, or 82 out of the 122 MCAs, will be needed to vote in support of the motion on Thursday for it to sail through. The motion has the backing of most MCAs, who want the governor relieved of his duties for denying Nairobi residents services by constantly frustrating the operations of the Nairobi Metropolitan Services.” (Daily Nation, pg. 21; November 30th, 2020)

The study concludes that Mike Sonko frustrated Nairobi residents by denying them services since he could not allow the Nairobi Metropolitan Services to take effect. This means that the suffering

the residents of Nairobi had is due to Sonko who acted as an obstacle for development. The Nairobi residents, therefore, feel that Sonko denied them those services and development. Further findings showed that Beatrice Elachi, who had earlier tendered her designation as the Nairobi County Assembly speaker reacted on the developments advising Sonko to return to God and ask for forgiveness for his sins. Below is evidence from the Standard and Daily Nation newspapers. From the study findings, it means that the former speaker did not wish to associate with the Former Governor Mike Sonko. This is after the former speaker addressed her designation letter to the president instead of the Governor as required by law.

“She addressed her resignation letter to President Uhuru Kenyatta and not the County Clerk and Governor as required by law. She cited "lots of conflicts" and "life-threatening incidents" in recent days for her decision to leave office...the governor had drawn the wrath of God because he had mistreated a number of individuals during his time in office.... turn back to God and ask for forgiveness.”
(Daily Nation, pg. 8; November 5th, 2020).

4.3 Prominence given to Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle

Prominence reflects the degree of the importance given by the media or journalists in terms of news coverage, well known person, an event and even a place with stronger news angle, achievements or previous publicity. Prominence was determined by the size of articles and positioning or placement of articles that covered Sonko in the months of October, November and December 2020. The study, therefore, sought to establish the prominence given to former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko that depicts him as spectacle in both the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers.

Table 4.1: Size of articles published about Sonko

Size of Articles	Number of Articles	Percentage (%)
¼ page	22	33.85
½ page	24	36.90
¾ page	10	15.40
Full page	9	13.85
Total	65	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2022

Study findings also established that considerable majority, 33.85 % of the articles the total articles published in the Standard and the Daily Newspapers about Mike Sonko were ¼ a page, followed by 36.90 % that were ½ in terms of size (table 1). Few articles were established to have covered full page and ¾ pages thus 15.40 % and 13.85 % respectively. This implied that Mike Sonko was given prominence since most articles covered ½ pages and above.

Table 4.2: Placement of articles about Sonko

Page No.	Front Pages (1-5)	Pages (6-10)	Pages (11-20)	Pages (21-30)	Pages (31-40)	Back Pages (41-Above)
No. Articles	19		13	11	3	2

Source: Field Survey 2022

The study established that out of the total number of articles published about Sonko’s impeachment process and governance in Nairobi City County, considerable majority of them (19) appeared in first pages of both the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers followed by (17) articles appearing in pages between 6-10 (table 2). The study further revealed that only 5 articles about Mike Sonko during and after the impeachment process appeared in pages 31 and above.

Table 4.3: Cored and uncolored published photos about Sonko

Category	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Coloured photos	34	72.34
Uncoloured photos	13	27.66
Total	47	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Schirato and Webb (2004) states that the media spectacle actively alters human interactions and relationships whereby media images such as photographs, films and content influence our lives and beliefs on a daily thus transforming the way we live. For instance, the photos published in the Standard and Daily Nation newspapers were colored while others were not colored. The newspapers also used Mike Sonko’s photos that were action and non-action photos to establish the relationship with other parties in the readers’ mind. Therefore, the study findings implied that the newspapers gave Sonko a lot of prominence by covering him in the first pages. On whether the articles or stories published about Mike Sonko were colored or not colored, the study established that out of the total 47 photos published about former Governor, Mike Sonko during the impeachment process and his governance, 72.34 % were found to be colored whereas 27.66 % of

the photos were uncolored (table 3). This implied that most photos published about Mike Sonko gave Sonko prominence to audiences since using colored photos draw attention to the subject while creating powerful visual effect that is pleasing to the eye. Therefore, a lot of people who accessed those newspapers might have been attracted to photos of Mike Sonko.

Table 4.4: Articles with photos about Sonko

Category	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Articles with photos	47	72.31
Articles without photos	18	27.69
Total	65	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2022

The study further, investigated on prominence given to former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko on the ways the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers published its photos thus making him as spectacle. The study sought to establish whether the articles published about Mike Sonko were accompanied by photos. The study, therefore, revealed that revealed that out of 65 published articles about Mike Sonko, 72.31 % of the articles thus majority had photos whereas, 27.69 % were revealed not to have photos accompanying them (table 4).

4.4 Ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict Mike Sonko as a spectacle.

On the ideological standpoints on articles published in the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers dominant that depict former Nairobi governor, Mike Sonko as spectacle, the study

sought to investigate by measuring or determining the audience's attitude towards Mike Sonko on his leadership, what they believe about Mike Sonko in his governance, political actions and the mental position. The study, therefore, sought to reveal findings on Sonko as the wailing Governor, liar, intellectual dwarf, the populist, Sonko the mistaken good hearted man. However, the notion of media spectacle builds upon Dayan and Katz's notion of a "media event" (1992), which referred to how political systems exploited televised live, ceremonial, and preplanned events (Hutchings, 2012). Sonko also utilized or exploited the media on the occurrences that happened in his life as the Governor of Nairobi City County in the manner in which Sonko as a politician has been reported or covered by the media. For instance, his lifestyle, the way he uses his social media accounts and use of his wealth and governance.

Spectacle is news or an art that is publicly displayed across media and it is viewed as unusual and entertaining or interesting to various audiences. Spectacle can be termed as anything attracting the attention of people or something impressive that is presented to the people's eyes. According to Debord, (1967:2) media spectacle is being used for leadership whereby those in power or influential govern and control people through the media use. According to Kellner, (2012; 9), "political and social life are also shaped more by media spectacle."

4.4.1 Sonko as the wailing Governor

The findings established that former Governor Mike Sonko was described as wailing man, who some time back was the 'baddest' an in town who flaunted bling and a lot of money with the godfather's mashchino. The standard Newspapers reveal that; "...*the baddest man in town flaunting bling and billions with the maschino of godfather.*" This depicts that he has been described as a bad man because of his bling and wealth. The above evidence depict that the newspapers majorly reported on Mike Sonko's lifestyle, his political journey and how is popularly

known assuming the services and developments he has been offering to the public as Nairobi County Governor. This influenced the readers to think that Sonko did no development while he was in office other than showing off.

Research findings or evidence show that Sonko's antagonists depict him as a weakling. This is after Sonko reacted on his social media dismissing the Standard Newspaper and accusing the enemies from sponsoring the narrative against him. The standard newspaper describes him as 'the wailing Governor.' This means that Sonko's enemies are not happy with him, and they have gone as far as paying the media to publish negative stories about him. He believes that the story was not true. Below are the findings from the Standard.

"...the wailing Governor, Mike Sonko snapped, dismissed the newspapers and accused his enemies of sponsoring the narratives against him." (Standard, pg. 7; 14th, October 2020).

4.4.2: Sonko as a liar

From the findings, it was revealed that that power struggle in the Nairobi County Government will hurt the delivery of service to business and millions of the county assembly over the proposed budget. Mike Sonko offered a blow in his battle with Nairobi Metropolitan Services after the new office was handed the lion's share of the county's annual budget for the 2020/2021 fiscal year. NMS was allocated Ksh.27.1 billion, leaving Mr. Sonko with a paltry Ksh.6.4 billion from the Ksh.35.5 billion annual budgets. The assembly got the remaining Ksh.2 billion. Below are the findings from the Standard.

"The power struggle over the expenditure plans for Nairobi County is unfortunate and will only hurt service delivery to businesses and millions of residents. For about a month now we have been treated to needless power contests between

Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko and members of the county assembly over the proposed sh37.5 billion annual budgets for 2020.” (Daily Nation, pg. 2; November 4th, 2020).

This means that Mike Sonko is struggling in his administration, management and leadership as the governor due to the few funds he was allocated to run the Nairobi County Government services, expenditure and developments thus depicting him as media spectacle. Further, analysis established that the former county Governor, Mike Sonko is made a media spectacle as he is described as a leader who symbolizes greed and extravaganza. This depicts that the former county governor is selfish to wealth and using a lot of money for his own gain since he misused the public funds to pay lawyers for his defense instead of using the county funds and resources well working for the residents of Nairobi had he promised in his manifesto. This is confirmed as quoted in the Standard as shown below.

“...Sonko using bursary cash to pay law firms shows an official who exhibits greed and extravagance when dealing with public resources.” (Standard, pg. 12; December 3rd, 2020).

The study findings established that Mike Sonko intimidated the county executive members and chief officers with one-year contracts. This implied that Sonko used his position as the governor to blackmail the officers and leaving them with unanswered question on whether they will be finally employed or not. Below are the findings from the Standard.

“He has been blackmailing his county executive committee members and chief officers with one-year contracts, whose renewal he has undertaken, leaving the officers anxious about their employment and creating a climate of fear and uncertainty,” (Standard, pg.5; December 12th, 2020).

4.4.3: Sonko the intellectual dwarf

Kellner, (2003) defines media spectacles as those phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society's basic values, those that leads people to their way of life, and those phenomena that dramatize the societies' controversies, struggles and conflicts. The study established that Mike Sonko was described as darling of the MCAs just because he gives them money and they will never go against his demands. The study revealed that since his arrest and the transfer of functions to Nairobi Metropolitan Services, the relationship with the MCAs have reduced. Below are the findings from the Standard Newspaper.

“The City Hall boss, once a darling of the MCAs because of his “deep pockets”, has been losing the sway he had over those who would never dare go against his demands as was witnessed on Tuesday. Mr. Sonko’s clout among the MCAs has been waning ever since his arrest last year and subsequent transfer of key county functions to NMS.” (Standard; pg. 14; November 23rd, 2020).

“Minority Whip Peter Imwatok, a fierce critic of the governor, said the overwhelming rejection of the governor’s memorandum clearly showed that allegiance to Mr. Sonko was all about money... “Those who were close to him were doing it just because of the money. “He used to buy them through money, forgetting that money cannot buy loyalty forever,” he said. He added that the MCAs have also woken up to the reality that the 2022 polls are around the corner and they will be judged by the development in their wards and not loyalty to an individual.” (Standard; pg. 10; November 8th, 2020).

This implied that once the MCAs realized Sonko's power had started reducing now that some functions were transferred and him being arrested, they had to quit or avoid him completely. This implied that they only loved him or associated with him because of the money he used to provide for them. The newspaper also describes him as *‘a shadow of himself’* or *‘populist.’* He is further,

being described as incompetent King of theatrics or drama who is finally thrown out of the competition. Below is a statement from the Standard Newspaper; “...*incompetent King of theatrics Mike Sonko finally out of drama.*” (Standard; pg. 7; December 17th, 2020).

This description by this newspaper made him a spectacle since the media or the newspaper concentrated on his way of dressing and forgetting his legacy and achievements as the Nairobi County Governor. That means that Mike Sonko is not competent or has no qualifications to be a governor and manage the county resources. This is confirmed as quoted in the Nation as shown below.

“Nairobi governor Mike Sonko on Thursday treated Kenyans to theatrics as he used his phone's spotlight to read documents presented before him...for Sonko, he was not seeing the papers clearly. Sonko was seen using his spotlight to read the sentences in the white pieces of paper in front of him.” (Standard; pg. 2; October 17th, 2020).

The study established how Sonko’s powers cut off or how he was impeached by saying that that Sonko was cooked when he refused to append his signature to the to the county’s Sh37.5 billion budget. An author in the Daily Nation described his impeachment process; “...*Governor Sonko’s goose was cooked when he refused to append his signature to the county’s sh37.5 billion budget.*” (Daily Nation; pg. 2; November 4th, 2020).

From the above findings, it means that Sonko’s powers were finished completely after he refused to amend signore to the county’s budget. Perhaps the powers he had could remain intact could he have amended that signature. The study revealed that Mike Sonko’s powers was cut after the county assembly the management of ward development projects from his office to the Nairobi Metropolitan Services thus making him a spectacle. Further, MCAs approved the transfer of the

Sh1.3 billion-funded Ward Development Fund from the office of the governor to NMS. This comes hot on the heels of the assembly allocating City Hall a paltry sh 6.4 billion, with NMS controlling sh. 27.1 billion of the county's annual budget. This is confirmed as quoted in the Nation as shown below.

“Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko’s powers have been clipped yet again after the county assembly transferred the management of ward development projects from his office to the Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS).” (Daily Nation; pg. 21; October 12th, 2020)

Further findings states that funds for Nairobi City County could not be controlled by Mike Sonko’s office since it was not able to raise bills of quantities or certificates and engineers who are now under the public works department that is under the Nairobi Metropolitan Service. This implied that Mike Sonko was not to be treated the same way other governors are being treated. Further, it means all the privileges governors enjoy were withdrawn since his powers were also cut off. This is confirmed as quoted in the Daily Nation as shown below.

“Assembly Budget and Appropriations Chairman Robert Mbatia said the fund will now fall under public works department in NMS...could not continue to be controlled by the governor because his office cannot cost or raise bills of quantities or certificates as all engineers expected to undertake the projects are now under the public works department, which is a transferred function under NMS.” (Daily Nation; pg. 4; October 12th, 2020)

4.4.4: Sonko the populist

According to Dayan and Katz (1992:205) media spectacle builds upon perception of media event which explains how political systems exploit aired live ceremonies and pre-planned events such as politics, deaths and weddings of royals and games. The study established that politicians are selfish. This is after Sonko informed other politicians to stop being selfish and

concentrate on developments for the residents of Nairobi County. He further stated that the residents of Nairobi need service delivery and politics. This implied that politicians are portrayed to be selfish, and they need to stop and work for the citizens who elected them. This is confirmed as quoted in the Daily Nation and the Standard as shown below.

“The people are tired of shenanigans. They want development so that they can provide for their families. We the political class need to stop being selfish, BBI only aids the ones in power”.” (Daily Nation; pg. 2; November 4th, 2020)

“All that Nairobians want is efficient service delivery by the county administration, not petty politics.” (Daily Nation; pg. 22; December 7th, 2020)

The study also revealed that Sonko raises concerns after article 5.2 and 5.3 of the Deed of Transfer was violated over adjustments made by the assembly to various votes which he termed as exceeding the one percent threshold as per the law. Sonko forgets that he had earlier transferred some functions to NMS with the agreement of the president. This is confirmed as quoted in the Nation Newspaper as shown below.

“Mr Sonko also raised concerns over adjustments made by the assembly to various votes saying they exceeded the one percent threshold as provided for in law. He also said the budget violates article 5.2 and 5.3 of the Deed of Transfer of functions.” (Nation; pg. 2; November 4th, 2020)

This depicts that the governor was trying to show populism to voters that he is working as per the guidelines of the law thus the reasons to why he refused to amend or sign the bill in order to get backing from the residents. Maybe the assembly members were manipulated by the head of state so that they may allocate large amount of money to NMS as compared to Nairobi County Government office. The study, therefore, established that some MCAs believed and were so much confident that the impeachment process or bid was to fail since it had no blessing from the Jubilee

and ODM party leaders. Below are the findings from the Nation Newspaper; *“...the impeachment bid will flop as it neither has the blessings of Jubilee nor ODM party leaders.”* (Standard; pg. 6; December 2nd, 2020). The results imply to the readers that Sonko’s the impeachment process could only succeed once it was blessed by Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta as Jubilee and ODM party leaders consecutively. Without the blessings, the process could not succeed. It also implies that the two-party leaders were the propellers of his impeachment. The study findings further revealed that Sonko’s impeachment could be successful earlier if it was not the intervention of President, Uhuru Kenyatta who asked them to drop the debate and this confirms what other MCAs stated that the impeachment process can only be successful if it is blessed the party leaders. Below are the findings from the Standard and the Nation.

“Sonko’s grace was, however, the interventions by the president Uhuru Kenyatta who after a state house meeting implored the MCAs to drop their plans.” (Standard; pg. 9; November 28th, 2020)

“...If he Sonko thinks the impeachment is just an ODM air, he’s dead wrong. “If Jubilee did not want Sonko to go, they would not have appended 39 signatures to the notice of impeachment motion...” (Daily Nation; pg. 6; November 27th, 2020)

The study findings established that Mike Sonko was brave during his impeachment, and he did not need anyone to his rescue. He was not scared to be impeached. This is confirmed as quoted in the Daily Nation as shown below.

“Mr Sonko put on a brave face, saying, he was ready for any eventuality: “I don’t need to be saved. I’ll stand firm like the Senate when they were dealing with the County Revenue Bill.” (Daily Nation; pg. 18; November 8th, 2020)

This implied that Mike Sonko felt determined and firm that could overcome the impeachment like he did when they were dealing with the county revenue bill. Further it was established that

immediately after Sonko's impeachment, former Nairobi County Assembly Speaker, Beatrice Elachi claps back at him stating that his downfall could be due to the tears of the oppressed in the county. This evidence implies that Sonko's relationship with the county assembly members and the people of Nairobi was not good and maybe his impeachment is due to the tears and cries from. This is confirmed as quoted in the Standard as shown below.

"Many people are crying because of you, may the people around you have not been telling you the truth when you do wrong things. It could be possible the tears that have been resulted in this. Return to God that is the only things I can you."

(Standard; pg. 8; December 4th, 2020)

4.4.5 Sonko the mistaken good-hearted man

According to Dayan and Katz's (1992:202) the spectacle has become a common phenomenon of media culture that is keen to celebrate dominant values and institutions. For instance, covering of politicians' lifestyle such as Sonko thus giving it more space and airtime than other newsworthy related stories that maybe transformative, educative, informative and of great benefit to the audience. Sonko's lifestyle, deeds and the people he associated with made voters or Nairobi County residents think that they did a mistake voting him. The published articles described Sonko as incompetent and the king of theatrics because of his dressing style; wearing ripped jeans, bling, rings and shorts as well as his living standards when he was impeached. The study established that most people in Nairobi County feel that they made a big mistake by electing Mike Sonko as their governor. From Maina Kamanda's sentiments in the Standard Newspaper reveals that; *"Mr. Sonko was a big mistake from the start."* Further, findings established that Nairobi City County has been struggling with good governance and leadership which was termed as something that could be addresses by the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). This was confirmed as quoted in the Standard as shown below.

“The county government has been grabbling with governance and the leadership issues which should be addressed by the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI).”
(Standard; pg. 19; October 24th, 2020).

This means that Mike Sonko is not competent enough to run the County Government of Nairobi affairs and for the county government to have good governance; it has to be addressed by this special status if endorsed. This is evident that there is political conflict between the Nairobi leadership and the BBI proponents. The findings revealed that the media has reported on how Mike Sonko switched his political posts in the precious two elections and the ‘baddest’ man. The Standard also describes Sonko’s reign as soap opera. Below are the findings from the Standard.

“A city politician who has risen fast in the last decade and half, switching posts from Senator to Governor in the last two elections, Sonko’s reign has been a daily soap opera.” (Standard; pg. 21; October 25th, 2020).

This implied that the way Sonko was acting a movie known as soap opera in his ways of living instead of working for the residents of Nairobi. Sonko has risen in his political journey from a Member of Parliament to the Senator and finally to Governor. The dressing style and his extravagant life have depicted him as acting a movie. Fenton, (2010:43) states that dramatic news and events to some extent dominate in news coverage once presented as media spectacle. For instance, Mike Sonko’s Deputy Governor’s resignation, his extravagant way of living and the transfer of County functions. From the study therefore, it was revealed that Sonko’ administration and management could not be trusted by his Deputy Governor, Polycarp Igathe. The reporters describe the ex-governor as a leader who demeaned his office by using divisive language, uses social media posts and demeans his office thus lowering his status as the governor thus making him a spectacle. This implies that Sonko could not be able to handle or utilize the county resources

well. In the article, it was stated that Sonko was already fighting with the MCAs after being elected. Below are the findings from the Standard.

“Mike Sonko used his position to abuse in a manner detrimental of his status, use of divisive and undermining languages including social media posts that undermine and demean his office.” (Daily Nation; pg. 21; December 6th, 2020)

The above evidence implies that Mike Sonko is a fighter who was elected to office and not a leader. It further implies that Sonko is a leader who does not respect his office or position and a governor who lacks mental capacity to run the county government. This is when the MCAs had plans to impeach him for violating the constitution and other laws. Additionally, the researcher established that the public or Nairobi residents are suffering since they do not access essential services within the county because of the battle that is between Mike Sonko and Mohamed Badi. Below are the findings from the Standard Newspaper.

“...Amid the supremacy battle between the Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS) and what was left of Governor Mike Sonko’s administration, the residents are suffering denial of key services...” (Standard; pg. 8; October 5th, 2020)

4.5 Ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict in former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle

Various audiences interpret photographs published or taken in different ways. For instance, they interpret based on the sense of sight and memory thus creating a sense of reality that is influenced by viewer’s physical, social and cultural conditions. The study focused on whether the photos published in both newspapers accompanied articles published or not, whether the photos published were action or non-action photos and whether the photos published about Sonko were either taken alone or with other people.

Table 4.5 5: Action and non-action photos about Sonko

Category	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Action photos	21	44.68
Non- action photos	26	55.32
Total	47	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Photos play a large role in shaping how various audiences view a given subject once they are shared or published. For instance, action photos proof that an event really happened since the readers or viewers can see exactly what happened and even the setting where the event happened. Action photos capture people’s expressions, their body language and their interactions. Images can represent something from the real world in the mind of the person. The researcher, therefore, sought to investigate whether the photos published on Mike Sonko in both the Standard Newspapers and the Daily Newspapers in the months of October, November and December were action or non-action photos.

Schirato and Webb (2004) states that the spectacle actively alters human interactions and relationships whereby media images such as photographs, films and content influence our lives and beliefs on a daily thus transforming the way we live. The media interprets the world for us with the use of simple narratives.” Sonko is portrayed as a media spectacle in the manner in which the photographs are taken or published in the two newspapers. The photos were analyzed in terms of action and non-action, whether Sonko was alone in the photographs or with other parties and whether the photographs were accompanied with articles thus the relationship that Sonko has with

other politicians and the members of the public. The study, therefore, revealed that majority of the photos thus 55.32 % published in both newspapers were non- action photos whereas 44.68 % were action articles (table 5).

Table 4.6: Published photos about Sonko with and without other people

Category	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Photos without other people	26	55.32
Photos with other people	21	44.68
Total	47	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2022

According to Debord, (1967:2) the society of spectacle, the society is more obsessed with images and appearances over reality and experiences. However, the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images. The study for instance studied on how he photos that were published on the articles presented. Were the photos taken with other people or were they taken without people. The researcher further, sought to establish whether the photos published on the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers on Mike Sonko were either taken alone or with other people. Therefore, the study findings (table 6) revealed that considerable majority, 55.32 % of the photos taken about Mike Sonko were taken while he was alone whereas 44.68 % were taken with other parties. This implied that most of the photos did not establish relationships between the Mike Sonko and other politicians. Perhaps the former governor has no good relationship with other politicians.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Overview

This chapter presents the summary of findings, gives conclusions and offers recommendations of the study.

5.1 Events in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle

On the events covered in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle, the study therefore concludes that Mike Sonko was accused in court of misappropriation of county funds after it was revealed that he had spent taxpayers' money on his daughter in a trip to United States of America. The results also established that in the year 2020, Sonko's authority was also stripped off to the national government by President Kenyatta. Sonko surrendered a number of county functions such as health, transport, public works, planning and revenue collection thus depicting him a media spectacle. There is also a conflict between former Governor Mike Sonko and Nairobi Metropolitan Service Director over some county functions that were transferred to NMS by the president, and they will utilize the sh. 127 million grants from the Danish Government and the World Bank after Treasury suspended the health sector budget operating system.

In the year 2020, Sonko became a media spectacle after faulting President Uhuru Kenyatta for creating Badi's office which he later through his lawyer claimed that he was not comfortable with the militarization of the city by Nairobi Metropolitan Service Director, Badi who walks around in military fatigues. Sonko claims that Badi's office remains a biggest impediment for him to deliver that he had promised Nairobi residents. In addition, Mike Sonko was depicted as a media spectacle

after he was impeached successfully by 88 members of Nairobi County Assembly and later by the Senate thus depicting him as a media spectacle. Sonko was impeached by the 88 out of 122 Members of Nairobi County Assembly and later the Senate over misappropriating county funds, violation of laws and abuse of office as the governor.

5.2 Prominence given to Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle

The study concludes that Mike Sonko was portrayed as a media spectacle being given wider coverage about his impeachment process and governance in Nairobi City County by the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers thus making him prominent to the readers. Since considerable majority, 36.90 % of the articles the total articles published in the Standard and the Daily Newspapers about Mike Sonko were $\frac{1}{2}$ a page and those that were published full page were found to be 13.85 % whereas 15.40 % of the total articles covered $\frac{1}{4}$ pages.

The MCAs loved Mike Sonko when he used to dish them with cash and when his power was still intact, but they avoided him after he was arrested and the county functions transferred to Nairobi Metropolitan Services. Mike Sonko was also given prominence by the two Newspapers when the MCAs approved the transfer of the Sh1.3 billion-funded Ward Development Fund from the office of the governor to NMS. This comes hot on the heels of the assembly allocating City Hall a paltry Ksh 6.4 billion, with NMS controlling sh27.1 billion of the county's annual budget. Further, on the prominence given to Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle, the analysis revealed that most of stories coverage about Sonko appeared in the front pages of both newspapers since considerable majority of them (19) appeared in front pages (1-5) in both the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers followed by (10) articles appearing in pages 6-10) whereas few articles, thus (5) were published in the back pages of both newspapers.

5.3 Ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.

On the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle, the study established that Mike Sonko's newspaper coverage about his leadership as Nairobi governor concentrated on his glitzy lifestyle, flashy clothes and expensive jewelry while forgetting to cover his legacy and achievements in the county. This, therefore, made him a media spectacle and readers or Kenyans could think that Mike Sonko is extravagant. The study further concludes that Mike Sonko's impeachment process coverage in the Daily and Standard Newspapers created a perception to the audience or readers feeling that Nairobi County electorates made a big mistake by electing Mr. Mike Sonko as their governor.

The study established that former Governor Mike Sonko's relationship with the county assembly members and the people of Nairobi was not good. It further concludes that the Members of County Assembly never liked Mike Sonko instead they only liked his money. He had no loyal friends. In addition, it was established that according to Beatrice Elachi, Mike Sonko's impeachment was successful due to the tears and cries from the people he mistreated. The study established that Sonko demeaned his office since he used divisive language in his social media sites, something the readers or audiences never expected him to do as the governor. Finally, the audience or readers felt that Mike Sonko had violated the constitution laws and misused the county funds that were to be used in establishing county projects thus improving the Nairobi residents' living standards.

5.4 Ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict in former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a spectacle

The study established ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict the political conflict on former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle and the study established that the newspapers coverage on Mike Sonko portrayed him as someone who has not established good relationships with other people. This is due to majority of the photos thus 55.32 % published about Mike Sonko in both Newspapers indicated to be appearing alone compared to 44.68 % where he appears to be with other parties.

5.5 Conclusion

Based on the study findings.

On the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict Mike Sonko as a media spectacle, the study concludes that Mike Sonko's newspaper coverage about his leadership as Nairobi governor depicted him as a media spectacle since it concentrated on his glitzy lifestyle, flashy clothes and expensive jewelry while forgetting to cover his legacy and achievements in the county. This shows how political systems exploit aired live ceremonies and pre-planned events such as politics and forgetting other important news available for the readers.

The researcher further concludes from the way Mike Sonko was reported by the Standard and the Daily Nation Newspapers created a perception in the minds of the readers, Nairobi residents or electorates feel that they made a very big mistake electing Mr. Mike Sonko as their governor. The researcher also concludes that Nairobi residents, audience or readers of the newspapers felt that Mike Sonko had violated the constitution laws and misused the county funds that were to be used in establishing county projects thus improving the Nairobi residents' living standards.

Additionally, the researcher concluded that the former Governor, Mike Sonko demeaned his office. The former Governor used divisive language in his social media sites, gross violation of the constitution, abuse of office, misconduct and crimes against national law, irregularly awarding tenders to his close friends, forging documents and misappropriating county funds. This is something the readers or audiences never expected him to do as the governor. The actions therefore, amount to abuse of office contrary to Article 75 of the Constitution together with Section 11 of the Leadership and Integrity Act, 2012, on the conduct of state officers. The researcher concludes that the way photos published used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict on former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko thus making him a media spectacle. Images can represent something from the real world in the mind of the person and also capture people's expressions, their body language and their interactions. Therefore, 55.32 % of the published photos about Mike Sonko were taken while he was with people whereas 44.68 % of the photos published were action photos.

In addition, the study concludes that former Governor Mike Sonko's relationship with the county assembly members and the people of Nairobi was not good. This is after the study established that Members of County Assembly never liked Mike Sonko instead, they only liked his money. This means that Sonko had no loyal friends but instead he had friends who were after his money. Based on the study findings and analysis, the study concludes that the newspapers coverage on Mike Sonko portrayed him as someone who has not established good relationships with other people. This is due to majority of the photos thus 55.32 % published about Mike Sonko in both Newspapers indicated to be appearing alone compared to 44.68 % where he appears to be with other parties.

Finally, the study concludes that according to Beatrice Elachi, Mike Sonko's impeachment was successful due to the tears and cries from the people he mistreated. Sonko was also accused of harassing, intimidating and molesting county officers.

5.6 Recommendations

Based on the study findings on the critical analysis on the media coverage as a spectacle: Mike Sonko and political conflict the researcher recommends that:

Media should not give one person a wider coverage yet there is a lot of news or events that need to be covered or reported. There is much in society that can be reported thus educating, entertaining and informing audiences. This is after the study revealed that Sonko was given wider coverage by the two Newspapers compared to other stories in that period. They should ensure that their coverage is balanced.

Leaders should also respect their office since the office belongs to the public. Whenever leaders wish to make or disseminate any information to the public or other government bodies or leaders, they should make it through appropriate channels.

5.7: Recommendations for further study

The present study focused on critical analysis on the media coverage of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as media spectacle. The researcher intended to study on the following study objectives; to establish events in 2020 in the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle, to assess the prominence given to former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers that depicts him as a media spectacle, to identify the ideological standpoints on articles published in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers dominant that depict former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media

spectacle and to analyze ways in which photos used in Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers depict political conflict of former Nairobi Governor, Mike Sonko as a media spectacle.

Future research, therefore, should also be conducted involving Nairobi County Assembly members, the city hall officers and the residents of Nairobi City County in order to obtain their ideologies or perception on whether or not the media houses depicted Mike Sonko a media spectacle. The County Assembly members are people who worked closely with the former Governor, Mike Sonko and therefore, they have detailed information on Sonko's allegations and leadership. The study further, recommends that future research should focus on the newspaper to compare the results. Such study should look at how other governors who have been impeached for instance Ferdinand Waititu and Martin Wambora so that the results or the findings can conclude whether Mike Sonko was depicted as spectacle compared to other leaders.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS CODE SHEET

Articles/ photos	Page placement	Action photo	Photo with other parties	Size of articles ($\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ & 1 pages)				Themes
				$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								