



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**FRAMING OF POLICE ENFORCEMENT OF THE COVID LAWS IN
KENYA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY NATION AND
STANDARD NEWSPAPERS**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this project is entirely original and has not been previously submitted, in whole or in part, to any other academic institution for the purpose of conferring a degree or examination.

Signed 

Date 15/09/2023

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This research has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to the National Police Service personnel and media practitioners in Kenya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

NPS	-	National Police service
APS	-	Administrative Police Service
COVID-19	-	Coronavirus disease
DCI	-	Directorate of Criminal Investigation
IAU	-	Internal Affairs Unit
ICC	-	International Criminal Court
IPOA	-	The Independent Policing Oversight Authority
KPS	-	Kenya Police Service
OIE	-	Organisation for Animal Health
PHA	-	Public Health Act Cap 242
WHO	-	World Health Organisation

ABSTRACT

This study analysed how the Standard and The Daily Nation newspapers framed via their reporting of the enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36 -The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020 the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. The aim of this study was to identify the frames used by the Nation and Standard newspapers in reporting police enforcement of the curfew; to examine the figures of speech in reporting the National Police Service by the Nation and Standard newspapers during the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. The cultivation theory and the media framing theory guided it. A mixed method approach was employed. The methodology consisted content analysis and frame categorization. Data was collected using a code book looking at frames, tones, story placement, and figures of speech used. The key findings of the study were that the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers had different numbers of stories that were published on the subject matter. Results also showed that most of the stories published had negative story tone, depicting the police service in a negative perspective. On story placement, the study found that the stories on state curfew were placed on pages considered prime. Among the figures of speech used are :metaphor, similes and antithesis. Generally the frames used by the two newspapers were negative.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter establishes the foundation of the study to be undertaken. It paints a bigger picture of why the research was conducted by depicting the current situation in media coverage of police operations in Kenya.

The chapter sets out the study objectives and research questions answered as a result of the study. The justification of the study shows why it was essential to explore this topic, primarily to contribute to existing knowledge from past research undertaken on the subject and fill gaps. The significance of the study is also discussed with a focus on its positive and learning impact on the various media framing audiences, including academia, media policymakers, the police force, and society at large.

1.1 Background of the Study

Kivoi 2020 argues that, Kenya has a worrying history of policing with impunity and excessive force. Ten days after the president imposed the dusk to dawn curfew to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 in 2020, at least six police brutality-related deaths were publicised (“Kenya: Police Brutality,” 2020). Kivoi (2020) traces the brutality and indemnity to the British colonial period when the administration erected the police to silence resistance. The colonial government identified protecting the administration’s interests as the central role of the police. This bias negated the common belief that the police should primarily serve the public’s interest. Successive post-independence leaders in Kenya perpetuated the problematic setup by constantly using force to advance their interests. For instance, Kivoi (2020) further notes that the first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, led the service in shooting 11 people in Kisumu after the

crowd protested his arrival. Successive post-independence leaders also perpetuated the problematic setup by constantly using force to advance their interests. For instance, Daniel Arap Moi, the second President of Kenya, also used force to oppress, punish, and quell the opposition (Kivoi, 2020). This political socialisation eventually caused the force to react as a paramilitary unit, such that although its main role is to identify, investigate, and prevent crime, its members are mainly trained to deal with conflict and disorder (National Police Service, 2017).

Waguona (2001) argues that in Kenya, police leadership has perpetuated a culture of hostility and indifference juniors adopt. Waguona (2001) further explores the widespread apathy in the police force. According to Fick (2018), anti-police brutality activists did, nonetheless, make progress in reducing police aggressiveness. First, they shifted the police brand from a force to a service. This rebranding was meant to reduce the intense indifference and move members toward a more compassionate policing approach (Fick, 2018).

Second, they stimulated the erection of a police oversight agency – the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), responsible for providing oversight over police work. Also, Fick (2018) adds that IPOA was to work alongside the Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) to increase police accountability.

However, both are dysfunctional and overwhelmed. For instance, the IAU is run by the police, who often take measures to protect their members from prosecution. On the other hand, IPOA is overwhelmed by the cases it receives, with some files going as far back as 2012. As of 2018, the agency had received over 9200 complaints and had only convicted two police officers (Fick, 2018).

Macharia Njeru, the chairperson of IPOA, is convinced that the agency is effective as a watchdog. This conviction is surprising as police-related violence is on the rise. A 2019 survey conducted by the agency revealed that the number of victims of police brutality had increased from 2013. The report noted that about 50% of the 6,000 surveyed had been brutalised by police in 2019, and only 30% claimed police abuse in a previous survey done in 2013 (Reuters Staff, 2018).

According to Kenya (2020), the President of the Republic of Kenya made interventions to cushion Kenyans against the economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic in the country. He gave an executive order to the police to control the spread of the disease, which was spreading among the population. The issue of Public Order Number 1 was later gazetted as Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020 which includes the following major provisions: A daily curfew from 7 pm to 5 am would be in place in the Republic of Kenyan territory as of Friday, March 27, 2020, for 30 days. It is illegal for anybody who is not a medical professional, a health worker, or someone who provides critical or essential services to move during those hours.

The legal notice No. 36 gave the police service the legal mandate to enforce the curfew orders. The coverage of this police mandate by the two leading newspaper offers important lessons about how the mass media role in society is played out including its agenda setting functions. Indeed, McCurdy (2017) suggest that objective journalism can serve as a supervisory body over the force, and Kenyan media houses seem to keep police officers in check. Notably, Panuel (2019) considers that watchdog journalists report police wrongdoings to the public, stopping the misconduct by revolting, complaining, or reporting. Watchdog journalists are believed to be more effective than

the current agencies in holding police officers accountable because they are not affected by the challenges facing IPOA and IAU. Besides, many researchers maintain that the media has the power to influence general public opinion (Weighton & McCurdy, 2017).

According to Kamau (2016), press freedom is guaranteed in the Kenyan constitution, placing print media as a legitimate and accountable news source among the public. This media freedom and independence, coupled with market leadership in the newspaper readership, make the Standard and Daily Nation dailies important in understanding the print media's coverage of Police Enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36. As gatekeepers, the Nation and Standard daily newspapers promote accountability by raising awareness of pervasive social issues, stirring public attention to matters of common interest, informing governing authorities about social needs, and informing the international community about development issues. Furthermore, Kamau (2016) notes that humans cannot exercise their right to speak freely if they do not know what powerholders are doing or what instruments are available to hold them to account. Hence, the depth and breadth of democracy can be seen in the information the media publishes about the authorities (government, the NPS, etc.). Due to their status as national dailies and significant market share, the Daily Nation and the Standard are a mechanism of accountability. They are the watchdogs that help guard public interests and ensure transparency by highlighting cases of corruption, misadministration, and brutality in the National Police Service.

According to Sela-shayovitz (2014), news coverage of the police has a significant impact on police legitimacy. The NPS needs good coverage to effectively conduct its

duties. Notably, legitimacy is a major precursor to the public's readiness to obey and work with the police. While there are many documented cases of police brutality in Kenya, not all officers are brutal or unreasonable. Yet, people who have no other interaction with the police apart from this negative perception come to associate law enforcement with a violent image due to implicit bias. The NPS needs positive coverage to serve the public, hence the need for balanced, objective news-making by national media houses such as the NMG and SGL. Sela-shayovitz (2014) argues that the public considers the police legitimate if they perceive their application of procedural justice as reasonable and unbiased and see members of the force treating citizens with dignity. The NPS is the most visible institution of the criminal justice system in Kenya and, therefore, bears the burden of social control, responsibility, and crime issues. To control its professional image in public view, the NPS needs positive frames since the media can either uphold or water down its legitimacy. Besides legitimacy, the NPS needs good framing to reflect ongoing police reforms and efforts to build relations with the community. Notably, community policing needs community involvement and support. Of equal importance, Aschcroft (2013) states that the news media can be instrumental in advancing these efforts through the dissemination of positive information about the police. The print media is the preferred medium in marketing community policing because it can convey a great deal of information, from stories to visuals.

According to Skolnick and McCoy (1984), "the press has a role in generating police accountability through an objective public understanding of police organizations." In its role as a watchdog, the media tends to focus on the failures of the police only, ignoring its duty to enlighten the public about the force's role as a key governmental institution. Hence, the NPS needs positive or good frames to demonstrate its key role

in government. Indeed, in America, Skolnick and McCoy (1984) state that broadcasting police policies and institutional patterns fulfils the First Amendment's value of facilitating enlightened citizen participation in government affairs, not just checking police excesses. In other words, the NPS wants a media space that enlightens the public about their duties, achievements, and accountability to policies. Notably, citizens have a civic duty to help the police enforce the law. If the media paints the police as complex, unapproachable, and hostile, the force will fail in fulfilling some of its mandates, hence appearing unaccountable. Negative framing of police operations results in low morale, biased public perception of the police, and low officer turnover. According to Miller *et al.* (2004), police executives strive to persuade civilians that they function professionally and with integrity through public relations campaigns, retraining officers in handling police-public encounters, and improving supervisor capacity to monitor police-public encounters. These efforts are most effective when the media frames the police as accountable. However, negative frames diminish police responsibility and thus morale. Fulton (2020) notes that when the media uses phrases such as "officer-involved shooting or deadly force," it reduces the responsibility of the police. Besides, bad framing results in low officer turnover and voluntary resignations. In their study on police turnover following the George Floyd case, Mourtgos *et al.* (2021) state that non-mutual relations between police officers and the public and political leaders reduce their morale to serve. The exchange theory states that people prefer relationships in which equity is experienced.

Bad framing robs police officers of this equity. If officers use force to protect citizens or themselves in accordance with professional and legal standards, they may face public backlash and develop a perception of inequality.

Mourtgos *et al.* (2021) noted that accumulated stress and burnout among law enforcement officers results in chronic medical issues, marital problems, substance abuse, and low job satisfaction. Ross and Lester (2011) state that media presentations, whether general or targeted, shape society's perception of reality. The messages the media pass on teach the public which lifestyle to value and what counts as appropriate conduct. Hence, bad framing causes reduced police officers' morale, job satisfaction, sense of responsibility/accountability, and acceptance in their jurisdiction areas.

Framing of news shows the importance of framing as an approach to comprehending news gathering and processing by different publics. News reporters use framing to construct social reality and provide meanings to images and words. Hallahan (1999) argues that in journalism, framing is generally a result of unconscious assumptions about the social world. Framing goes beyond mere agenda setting to bring new perspectives into the public domain regarding a broad range of social problems.

According to Dowler and Zawilski (2007), Kenyans already have crystallised attitudes about police brutality following exposure to brutality for over five decades. This conditioning makes citizens less susceptible to positive media-related perceptions from balanced or favourable airtime. There is consensus that the media influences general public opinion, but more research is required to explore the intensity of the media's influence on public perceptions of the police.

Maleche *et al.* (2020) state that by acting on Public Health Act Cap 242 (PHA) and Public Order Act Cap 50 (POA), President Kenyatta introduced new guidelines, directives, and prevention and management measures in the form of protocols to contain COVID-19. Notably, these directives were published in Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020. The health public secretary proceeded to declare COVID-19 a notifiable disease under the provisions of PHA Part IV that deals with the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases. The declaration gave the police a legal basis to enforce travel restrictions, quarantine rules, and other rules deemed necessary to control and manage the pandemic. The NPS was also tasked with enforcing self-quarantine requirements, social distancing in public transportation, 5 am to 7 pm curfew, county lockdown, and prohibitions on public gatherings. Contravening these laws resulted in a fine not exceeding 10,000 Kenyan Shillings for curfew directives or 20,000 Kenyan Shillings for cessation of movement (Maleche *et al.*, 2020). Besides, people who breached these laws were assumed to have contacted infected persons and subjected to mandatory quarantine for 14 days.

The Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020 did not include any public participation. Mwangi Kamau and Khsiebi (2022) state that participation strengthens the community and defends it against so-called impersonal bureaucracy. Although it is assumed that everyone should participate in topics that affect them, most people have little interest in doing so.

Another point of contention is the differing media and police representation of the force, for instance, Bearak (2021) claims that the DCI Kenya official Twitter account for the Directorate of Criminal Investigations-Kenya shows an opposing side to the police. The

account shows police officers preventing and investigating crime and providing justice for the affected. Importantly, it shows police officers tracking fellow members who have committed crimes against the public, indicating a side of the police that inclines to the public's interests, not the government's.

The National Police Service-Kenya's official Twitter Account also explores an empathetic side of the police by outlining activities such as blood donation and gender-equality interests. The platform notes when wayward police are arrested and encourages the public to report rogue members.

Besides, the platforms extend media stories by showing police progress after a crime. Journalists seem interested in covering instances of police brutality but barely comment on the investigations that follow to apprehend the rogue cops or broker an understanding. Media houses, for instance, barely covered IPOA's discipline against the police officers who killed Yassin Hussein Moyo, a 13-year-old boy who was standing on a balcony witnessing the police enforce curfew restrictions. IPOA charged one police officer and recalled, interdicted, and preferred disciplinary actions against other members, yet media houses ignored the updates (Zhu, 2020). Besides, journalists disregarded the steps the police took to end tensions during COVID-19. The police brokered an understanding in different locations, thus improving their perceptions. Narushima and Rapin (2020) explore how Kamukunji police officers created two posts consisting of young male and female officers to help Kamukunji youth interact better with the police. Accordingly, this study explores the difference in coverage between the police and the media, arguing that the media use unfavourable frames to misrepresent the police. Hence, this study sheds light on how the force imposed

COVID-19 restrictions by exploring the media framing of police operations during the 7 pm to 5 am curfew from March 28, 2020, to April 28, 2020, a period of 30 days.

1.2 Problem Statement

From the background, the practice of policing in Kenya is contested. There is a considerable accusation of police impunity and brutality (Kivoi,2020, wagiana 2001, IPOA 2019). The mainstream media acts as a watchdog over police operations. This role is particularly important in Kenya, as erected police watchdog agencies have become dysfunctional, and the burden of police accountability falls directly on the media (Fick, 2018). Studies by Walgrave and Van Alset's global analytical overview of studies from the 1960s show mixed results in the effect of the mass media on the formation of public perceptions of police. Therefore, how mass media frames important social mandate like the curfew is important. Indeed, Graziano and Gauthier (2017) indicate that bad coverage of police enforcement of government directives can hurt police service image, credibility, trustworthiness, and reputation, people are more likely to perceive that police misconduct, including racial discrimination, is common.

Accordingly, the effect of the Kenyan media coverage of police on public perceptions of the police is unclear. This calls for more research on this area.

This study sought to explore the types of frames that were used by the national and standard newspaper in their coverage of the legal notice No. 36 (Covid Curfew In Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to gain an insight into how the mainstream media framed the legal notice No. 36 through their coverage of police enforcement of the same.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To identify the frames used by the Nation and Standard newspapers in reporting police enforcement of the legal notice No. 36.
- ii. To examine the figures of speech used by the nation and standard their coverage of the legal notice No. 36.
- iii. To compare and contrast the Nation and standard coverage of the legal notice No. 36.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What are the frames used by the Daily Nation and Standard in reporting police enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36?
- ii. Which figures of speech do the Nation and the Standard newspapers use in reporting the National Police Service?
- iii. How did Nation and standard cover the legal Notice. No. 36?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study will shed insights into the way Kenyan media covers police operations and as a result help build knowldeg on how mass media coverage of police work may be improved. It hoped that the study will shed light on how the public perception of police may be made better by ehancing their understanding of police mandate especially those madates highlighted by the mass media as noted Onyango and Salau (2022).

There has been concern regarding poor relations between the public and police and this is one of the reasons the reforms in the police sector gave birth to National police service from the police force. Therefore, the study will shed light on police professionalism as

nootedby (Mutahi & Ruteere, 2019). In any case, Otieno, Oginda, and Oima (2014) claims that when police are not held accountable for the ir action negative publiiv perception is increased.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The results of this research will be significant because it will shed ligh on various gaps identified at the LR and Problem and background. Of particular concern is the mass media police relation gaps and the public percettion of polic e work. Generally speaking the work will inform on the agenda setting function of media as well as building the knowledge about how those agendas are bult bt ass media. The study will be significant because it will create a reserviour of media frames used to cover police work in kenya because it willcontextualise the police for

The findings will increase police understanding their obligation in upholding or safeguarding the rule of law whilst implementing government directives throughout their services, particularly with regard to their responsibility to ensuring that the general public complies with the stipulated government directives.

The study findings will provide recommendations on the need to uphold the rule of law by citizens and the police force, each party will be able to undertand the role they need to play in all crises related situations to promote good working relationship among them and ultimately enforcement of government directives. Therefore, the study will greatly help in improving the relations between the police, the media, and the citizens.

This research findings also offer suggestions that can be used to strengthen police morale because a lack of it may cause officers to become frustrated and retaliate by using excessive force on citizens when enforcing laws.

Scholars and academics will find this study valuable as it will add their knowledge on the use of mainstream in covering health crisis. As such they will be able to carry out further researches on the same hence this study will act as a reference point for their study.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

There is a shortage of scholarly documentation of COVID-19-related police brutality. Since the pandemic is still new to scholars, much of the present literature is only concerned with pre-COVID and post-election-related police abuse. The COVID-era police aggression is unique because both the police and the Kenyan government leveraged the pandemic as a pretext for abuse. This nuance presents a range of unique police and media challenges, calling for specific research in this period. The study decided to focus solely on the observation of prior records, such as newspaper articles, in an effort to learn more about the topic. As a result, just one coverage assessment is made. This study explored the framing of police actions in Kenya during the COVID-19 pandemic. Accordingly, it explored police brutality during the COVID-19 period from March 28, 2020, to April 28, 2020.

1.8 Definition of Terms

NPS (National Police Service): A national agency charged with overseeing law enforcement in Kenya.

Stereotypes: Composite images, traits, or expectations about a group or category of people.

Media Framing: This refers to how the media packages a story by choosing what aspects to highlight, give prominence to, draw attention to, make salient, and what parts to regard as unimportant and to exclude. These are the issues of focus for the content of the coverage.

Media Coverage: This was used to imply media reportage.

Implicit Bias: An unconscious belief about a group of people.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter explores the literature on media framing, media themes in police-related coverage, COVID-19, and police operations during the pandemic as per the objectives outlined.

2.1 COVID-19 Outbreak and Symptoms

On January 11 and 12, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) received further detailed information from the National Health Commission about the outbreak of a virus that was spreading fast around the world.

According to Lone and Ahmad (2020), in December 2019, authorities in Wuhan City, China, made the first official reports of COVID-19 infections in humans. COVID-19 is a sickness brought on by the unique coronavirus that caused it, which was later renamed SARS-CoV-2. Chinese officials have detected human cases with symptoms beginning in early December 2019 through retrospective investigations. While some of the initial cases were connected to a Wuhan wholesale food market, others were not. Many of the earliest patients were either market vendors, staff members, or frequent customers. SARS-CoV-2 was detected in environmental samples taken from this market in December 2019, further indicating that the market in Wuhan City was the origin of this outbreak or contributed to its first amplification.

On February 11, 2020, the WHO formally recognised the virus as the "severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2)". The virus is related to the coronavirus that caused the 2003 SARS outbreak, thus the name. The two viruses are

distinct despite being linked. Following guidelines previously agreed with the World Organization for Animal Health (OIE) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, WHO announced "COVID-19" as the name of this new disease on February 11, 2020.

Mild to severe symptoms emerge 2–14 days after the virus exposure. Symptoms include a cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing, fever, chills, muscle aches, sore throats, and a recent loss of taste or smell. There have also been reports of other, less frequent symptoms, such as gastrointestinal ones like nausea, vomiting, or diarrhoea. You should also follow respiratory etiquette because the COVID-19 virus is primarily transmitted by saliva droplets or discharge from the nose when an infected person coughs or sneezes. (Ciotti *et al.*).

Most COVID-19 virus-infected people experience mild to severe respiratory infections and recover without the need for special care. Serious sickness is more likely to strike older people and those with underlying medical conditions such as cancer, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, or chronic respiratory diseases.

2.1.2 Confirmation of COVID-19 in Kenya

According to Ahmed *et al.* (2020), on March 12, 2020, the first coronavirus case in Kenya was identified. This is the first case to be reported in Kenya since the outbreak in China started in December 2019. The government of Kenya embarked on the following to fight the disease, which is now considered a pandemic. Khalid *et al.* (2022) note that when a disease spreads over numerous nations or continents, it is called a pandemic.

The Kenyan government urged Kenyans to take the following actions to combat the

disease: Use hand sanitiser with an alcohol basis or wash your hands with soap and water often. If someone is coughing or sneezing, keep at least 1 metre (5 feet) between you and them. People who cough or sneeze should stay at home or maintain a social distance, but they should avoid interacting with other people in a crowd.

When coughing and sneezing, the World Health Organization (2020) recommends covering your mouth and nose with a handkerchief, tissue, or your flexed elbow to practise excellent respiratory hygiene. If you have indications of being sick, such as a fever, cough, or difficulty breathing, stay at home. There was a suspension of all public events, meetings, religious vigils, and sporting contests. The government also closed all schools and educational institutions and suspended all interschool competitions. The provision of hand sanitisers to passengers and routine vehicle washing are requirements for public transportation companies. The suspension of jail visits is temporary. Additionally, it cautioned Kenyans against abusing social media and urged them to refrain from disseminating false information that can incite panic.

Restricted travel outside the country unless required, and no visiting nations that are the epicentre of a disease. The information would be distributed every day. To win the battle against the disease's spread, the Kenyan government has launched an education campaign and is requesting that the general public abides by its rules. Kenyans must be able to adjust their behaviour and adhere to the government's directives to defeat the disease.

2.2 Frames used by the Nation and Standard newspapers in reporting police enforcement of the curfew between March 28, 2020, and April 28, 2020

Benequista (2016) define a frame as a way of presenting and situating a problem with the goal of conveying a particular meaning. To frame something is to pick out certain

elements of a seen reality and emphasise them in a communicative text. Mutahi and Kimari (2020) note that framing requires choosing and emphasising a few aspects of the events or problems as well as connecting them in order to support a specific interpretation, assessment, and/or remedy. Understanding framing entails comprehending the media content that is present in the media texts as well as the interpretation that the media content aims to advance via its coverage—or lack thereof—of events. The context of a matter has broader effects on the perspective that those who are subjected to it embrace.

According to Mwai (2016), frame can be thought of as a framework for organising media content. As a result, it gives the receiver of the frame an instant context by choosing which facts or concepts to emphasise or leave out. Studies prove that changes in how media frame events have an impact on media consumers' thinking and opinions about such occurrences. For this reason, frames are crucial when relaying information to the public.

A crucial media technique for influencing the public's impressions of current events is framing. According to Benequista (2016), framing is both prescriptive and diagnostic. They describe the issue by defining the causal agent's function, and they assign blame by defining the issue's source or cause. Subsequently, frames present potential fixes in an effort to lessen the issue that has been identified. This has to do with how people talk about and see the globe.

According to a study on newspaper readership in Kenya, the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* dailies were the market leaders, with an average daily reach of 48.5% and 26.9% as of March 2019 respectively (BT Reporter, 2019). The two newspapers were

chosen because they are mainstream and they are the oldest newspapers in Kenya with a high average readership of 4,379,400 and 2,223,500 copies, respectively.

Various researchers have performed comparative analysis, primarily on the *Daily Nation Newspaper*, against other print outlets. Nguyo (2014) compared *The Star's* and *Daily Nation's* framing of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Osindo (2014) also compared the *Daily Nation's* and *People Daily's* framing of climate change issues. Kiptinness and Kiwanuka-Tondo (2019) argue that the consensus is that since the *Daily Nation* has a large audience, any negative framing valence to stories may damage public perceptions. Unfortunately, no literature analyses the framing of police by *The Daily Nation*. This study thus adds to the literature comparing *The Daily Nation* with other dailies by investigating the framing of police enforcement of the 7pm to 5am curfew(2020) by *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation*.

Framing of responsibilities, news, and actions significantly applies to this study: media framing of police enforcement of laws to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Hallahan (1999) notes that most social issues evoke queries of responsibility and cause. In this case, the media blames the police for using unnecessary force during the enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020.

The body of existing literature demonstrates the significance of framing and the term frame in communication processes. It can be put to a lot of different uses. Framing is a strategy used by several news organisations to define and develop a topic of public importance. Thus, media research focuses on how news consumers are impacted by the news' substance. The depiction of the problem's potential effects would, in turn, create a standard for implementing and evaluating viable remedies (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

They can elevate the use of terminologies that were previously unfamiliar or random. This explains why topics like terrorism, feminism, and sexual orientation, among others, have been elevated in the news by their frequent mention. According to Dinsdale (2020), there are three types of framing; valence framing, semantic framing, and tale framing.

2.2.1 Valence Framing

Lee and Cho (2022) opine that, valence information is framed when it is presented favourably or unfavourably. When information is presented positively or negatively, individuals react variedly. When framing has a positive connotation, it is linked to cherished ideas, values, customs, and rituals, for instance through the work of police lives were saved. This is a positive valence. Also, negative valence associations might be helpful, especially when the message focuses on rivals. Political advertising, for instance, can highlight certain unfavourable traits of a rival candidate to make voters associate them negatively. For police their work can be said to unprofessional and therefore reckless, thus negative effect.

2.2.2 Semantic Framing

Weng and Qin (2021) moreover aver that, a study programme in observational semantics called frame semantics highlights the connections between language and experience and offers a structure for presenting the findings. A semantic frame is thus a set of information or a logical arrangement of concepts that define aspects such as features, activities, conversations.

Caswell (2021) argues that semantic framing involves simply rephrasing phrases. In persuasive communications, semantic framing is used to draw attention to certain characteristics that could be flattering or disparaging and, thus, benefit or hurt message sponsors. A concept of language interpretation known as frame semantics links linguistic expressions to word information, such as event categories and actors.

2.2.3 Tale Telling Frame

Furthermore, Liu, Austin, Lee, Jin, and Kim (2020) indicate that, the art of tale telling involves crafting and presenting a narrative that engages the audience and clarifies the point. In order to affect how the audience views and comprehends an episode, the act of choosing and emphasising some features while minimising or deleting others is important. Selecting important themes or ideas that are the message's focus and employing a range of storytelling or narrative approaches to support those themes constitutes tale framing. According to Brüggemann and D'Angelo (2018), news framing can be categorized into two major areas; specific news framing and generic framing typologies specific news framing describes how news items are presented with an emphasis on the unique specifics, context, and nuances of a particular event or subject. This kind of framing emphasizes the who, what, when, where, and why of a news article in order to give the audience detailed information. It aims to demonstrate a thorough comprehension of the issue by focusing on precise facts, figures, and professional viewpoints. Investigative journalism frequently employs specific framing, which is prominently featured in complicated news stories where audience comprehension depends on depth and detail.

Presenting news stories in a more broad-based and straightforward way is known as generic news framing. Instead of emphasizing the precise details of particular occurrences, this framing approach frequently concentrates on overarching themes, patterns, or trends. By emphasizing overarching principles, trends, or ramifications, it seeks to simplify complex problems for a larger audience. Because it avoids becoming mired down in the specifics of a particular incident or topic, generic framing is frequently employed to make news stories more relatable and accessible to a wider audience. It frequently appears in news reports on subjects including health, way of life, and social trends.

In conclusion, while generic news framing emphasizes broad themes and patterns, particular news framing focuses on the specifics of a story in more detail. Depending on their objectives and how complex the topic they are covering is, journalists and media organizations select amongst several framing methods, with each strategy having a different function in determining how news is presented to the general audience.

2.2.4 Responsibility

Temmann, Wiedicke, Schaller, Scherr, and Reifegerste (2021) point that responsibility is a type of framing that indicates how Individuals play out their roles in incidents in ways that maximise rewards and minimise liability in accordance with how they see themselves. It places blame for the development of health problems at various levels of influence of people, including individuals, social networks, or community. In accordance with their levels of control and stability, people have a tendency to attribute occurrences' causes to either external or internal forces within this frame.

According to Hallahan (1999), responsibility is another way the media frames stories which can be defined as the act of assigning blame for a problem or its solution.

After the Asian Tsunami, one idea was a "global duty" to identify solutions and to hold local governments accountable for their lack of preparedness. Therefore, in this frame, individuals place more blame on their own behaviour than on societal issues.

2.2.5 Human Interest Framing

Suhani (2022) avers that human interest framing is an account or a story, whether in a broadcast or a newspaper, intended to arouse interest and sympathy by making the subjects of the account easy to relate to. Since numerous human interest narratives are designed to be a respite from hard news stories, which are frequently grim and sad, when thinking of the traditional human interest tale, one presumably picture anything lighthearted. It shows individuals and their issues, concerns, or accomplishments in an atmosphere that piques the reader's or viewer's interest or inspires them. Soft news includes articles with a human interest. Therefore, irrespective of whether an incident is heartwarming, the goal of human interest narrative is to highlight the humanity of that particular incident.



Figure 2.1: A police officer helps a child in need, The Standard, 2021

For instance in figure 2.1, the human interest frame is visible because the police woman is helping the child wear a mask, this is positive valence and display of responsibility of police work.

2.2.6 Economic Consequences Frame

Valenzuela, Piña, and Ramírez (2017) indicate that, economic consequences is a type of frame that describes an issue, crisis, or occurrence with regard to economic repercussions it may have on a person, group, institution, area, or nation. It is a situation that is sometimes characterised by an economic downturn and a public health crisis, in which news stories with a pessimistic tone are more common than those with an optimistic outlook on the economy. Contrarily, incorporating information about anticipated economic development into a supportive context enhances public support for pandemic policies. As a result, how media presented economic news during Covid-19 may have additionally affected how supporters of governmental policies felt about it. Consequences can have a wide range of effects. In terms of maintaining unity within a party or coalition or in terms of a country's standing internationally, pursuing a policy may not be a good choice.

For instance in a daily nation article about police pay the story was captioned with a image of policemen and a caption reading ; Police salaries and benefits to cost tax payers Shs 300 billion in 5 years, Nation 2022. The economic elements is brought out very well (see figure 2.2)



Figure 2.2: Police salaries and benefits to cost tax payers Shs 300 billion in 5 years, Nation 2022.

2.2.7 Conflict Framing

Bartholomé, Lecheler, and De Vreese (2018) additionally report that, conflict framing has also been widely used in news reporting. As implied by its name, this frame places a focus on the conflict components of the specific topic, such as a disputation between two parties. Conflict serves as a way of framing by drawing focus on antagonistic tensions, disputes, and incompatibility. In the midst of a dispute, individuals construct frames that assist people comprehend its causes, the behaviours that contribute to it, the motivations of the participants, and the appropriate course of action. A conflict frame thus represents disagreement amongst people, organisations, or nations. For instance, in figure 2.3 a photo show an image of a member of the public (with bandaged face – presumed to be injuries from police encounter) holding a used cartridge of ammunition. figure 2.4 shows police arresting a protester.



Figure 2.3: Protesters clash with police in Kisumu over police brutality, The Standard 2021



Figure 2.4: Police showing of unarmed sparks protest in Nairobi, The Nation, 2020.

2.2.8 Morality Framing

Valenzuela et al. (2017) opine that, mainstream media should embrace morality framing when reporting news. Morality can be defined as the public use of expression that explicitly distinguishes between the good and the bad and supports an ethical reason for action. In this context, problems are viewed using a morality lens by connecting them to ethical principles or religious doctrine. One might, for instance, reframe a moral dilemma in order to support a particular point of view or views. However, some frames downplay or even ignore a decision's ethical implications. Further, the media frequently moralises, sometimes as a result of the transgressions of political actors; alternatively, policies may be viewed as ethically dubious, which give us the frame of morality. For instance, Michael Moore takes a moral tone in his editorialising of the US Patriot Act and his global condemnation of US foreign policy. In figure 2.5, an image of police arresting their own , displaing high morality ground.



Figure 2.5: A police officer accused of corruption susependend, The Standard, 2022.

2.3 Story Format/types

In story format, the study focused on the types stories published during the coverage of Legal Notice No. 36. It focuses on hard news, soft news, opinions, features, editorials, pictures with captions, editorial cartoons, and letters to the editor to determine the frames used in the headlines, the facts, and the explanations. According to Martínez-Costa *et al.* (2020), hard news mainly comprises breaking news about timely and serious stories. They mostly cover watchdog, political, and business journalism. Daily newspapers that use hard news to report police coverage Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020 7 pm to 5 am curfew enforcement in Kenya. Nation Media Group (2020) condemned the actions of the police when they were enforcing the 7 pm to 5 am curfew that was gazetted. For the next few days, the media ran stories about what they saw as violence against peace-loving Kenyans trying to get home.

The police attributed their actions to external factors, such as controls and conditions, and blamed the media for biased coverage. This propensity to attribute responsibility has led to victimisation in society, with the media subtly creating stories to frame the police as the villains and the public as the victims. To frame these actions, the media uses visuals and word choices that depict police brutality and augment readers' stereotypes and feelings about the force.

According to Kamau (2016), as gatekeepers, "the mass media sets agendas because it has control of information that passes through its gates." In other words, the media intrudes on people's "life-space" through what it reports to them. In media framing, journalists go beyond hierarchy and attach the acceptable translation they desire to

sustain. In the U.S., for instance, certain media houses may perpetuate white supremacy in their stories while others uphold equality. Similarly, the Kenyan media may sustain police immorality in a piece that reads "police brutalised women and children last night," deliberately vilifying the force.

Arowolo (2017) argues that media framing is often part of competitive intelligence, where journalists identify elements that make their items more desirable to consumers than rivals. The citizenry could overcome media framing by first assessing the information exposed to journalism students who learn to manipulate the public as part of sensible business skills. Arowolo (2017) further argues that people interpret data using a primary framework consisting of natural and social outlines. Natural frameworks occur when the public identifies events as physical occurrences, taking information literally without attributing any social occurrences to the causation of events. On the other hand, social frameworks take place when the individual attaches socially driven occurrences to events such that they believe social players are behind every outcome and event. Scheufele (1999) argues that media leaders leverage these frameworks by consciously drawing attention to various attributes of the objects of news coverage to manipulate the natural and social frames such that the audience believes they are rationally reading the pieces when they have been subjected to manipulation.

Additionally, Ombati (2020) reported that 12 police officers were arrested by their counterparts after being found in different social joints with other revellers drinking and breaking the curfew. The story showed the police officers breaking the law while they were supposed to be enforcers of Legal Notice No.36-The Public Order (State

Curfew) Order, 2020 the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. Also, the story continued that in another Drive Inn area in Nairobi, two police officers were arrested for being on duty illegally. They were found patrolling the area despite having been suspended on disciplinary grounds.

The Standard newspaper reported that during the enforcement of the curfew, citizens were found drinking in a bar in Gwasi, Suba South Sub-County, Homa Bay County. A fight ensued, and during the melee, a 35-year-old woman was hit where she collapsed. She was taken to the hospital where she was announced dead (Junior, 2020).

Figure 2.6 is an example of a Hard News publication on the front page.



Figure 2.6: A pic showing police teargassing likoni residents (Hard news)

2.4 Story Tone

The study analysed the articles from both dailies for the tones they used while reporting police enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order,

2020 the enforcement of the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. The comparison was based on three tones: positive, negative, and neutral.

2.4.1 Negative Tones

Jacobs and Van der Linden (2018) say that, even the happiest message might be ruined by a negative vocal tone. Negative media frames shape the public's perception of the police as it shifts their attention from the importance of observing Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020, and the enforcement of police brutality. For example, Namu and Riley (2020) reported that in nine weeks of police enforcing the curfew, 15 people had been killed by the police. The words and phrases used in the story denote negative tones. These included: the police unleashed a torrent of violence, the perfect storm for indiscriminate mass violence by the police. Another phrase used in the story was COVID-19 is the unseen killer, but the police are the seen killers. The story did not allow the police to respond to the allegations, but journalists are supposed to give a balanced view and report on two sides of every story. In this research, a specific framings such as story tone and story format were used and measured via content analysis (see figure 2.7 for negative tone.)

Nairobi

Plan set for virtual Madaraka festivals

The county government has set out plans for virtual Madaraka festivals to mark the 50th anniversary of the 1992 elections. The plan is to hold virtual festivals in all 27 constituencies across the county. The festivals will be held on the county's official website and will feature various activities such as singing, dancing, and sports. The county government is also planning to hold a series of virtual forums to discuss the county's development plans and the role of citizens in the development process.

The county government is also planning to hold a series of virtual forums to discuss the county's development plans and the role of citizens in the development process. The forums will be held in all 27 constituencies and will be moderated by county officials. The forums will provide an opportunity for citizens to voice their concerns and suggestions to the county government. The county government is also planning to hold a series of virtual forums to discuss the county's development plans and the role of citizens in the development process.

In Brief

Kenya, Tanzania arrested, quarantined
A four-member cell of terrorists who had been active in the region of Kenya and Tanzania were arrested and quarantined. The terrorists were arrested in a joint operation by the Kenya and Tanzania police forces. The terrorists were found with various weapons and explosives. They are being held in a secure facility and are being treated for COVID-19.

For Justice. Another victim of brutal enforcement of COVID-19 regulations

Man beaten up for not wearing his mask dies

Family of Maurice Chirigat, 40, says he was harassed from public space
By Maurice Mwangi
A 40-year-old man has died after being beaten up by police officers for not wearing a face mask. The man, Maurice Chirigat, was seen in a public space in Nairobi. He was approached by police officers who demanded that he wear a mask. When he refused, he was beaten up and taken to a hospital. He died of his injuries.



Maurice Chirigat, 40, was hit for not wearing a mask at a public market in Nairobi. He was beaten by police for not wearing a mask at a public market in Nairobi. (Photo: Facebook)

Man called into to see the type of house he wanted to buy
A man was called into a house to see the type of house he wanted to buy. The man was shown a house that was not what he was looking for. He was then taken to a police station and arrested. He was charged with a crime related to the house. He is currently in custody.

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Turkey

Villages 'worst hit' by Cholera outbreak

At least 100 villages in the rural areas of Turkey have been hit by a cholera outbreak. The outbreak is the worst in the country since 2014. The disease is spreading rapidly and has caused several deaths. The health authorities are working to contain the outbreak and provide medical aid to the affected villages. The outbreak is believed to have been caused by contaminated water. The health authorities are also testing the water supply in the affected areas.

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Gen. Joseph B. Mutai, Chief of Defence Forces

Man called into to see the type of house he wanted to buy
A man was called into a house to see the type of house he wanted to buy. The man was shown a house that was not what he was looking for. He was then taken to a police station and arrested. He was charged with a crime related to the house. He is currently in custody.

Figure 2.7: A picture portraying use of excessive force by police

2.4.2 Positive Tone

Jonkman, Boukes, Vliegenterhart, and Verhoeven (2020) argue that, it is not only merely being pleasant; positive tone is stronger and aids in task completion due to its straightforward wording. Positive message framing encourages individuals to accept views and forges long-lasting relationships. Credibility is increased with a positive tone. When describing anything in a story, writers frequently employ words with a positive attitude. Such phrases also assist writers in evoking in readers' minds the positive feelings that the story calls for, such as joy, hope, and enthusiasm. A positive tone creates a conducive setting for polite conversation that can increase understanding, encourage a culture of risk-taking, minimise misinterpretation, and produce an enjoyable educational experience (see figure 2.8).



Figure 2. 8: Kisii police officer sensitizing traders to stay at home during Covid-19

2.4.3 Neutral Tone

Picault and Renault (2017) indicate that, a lack of either positive or negative phrase is referred to as neutral tone. The facts are all that are expressed in a neutral tone. This could appear sufficiently innocuous, but based on the audience's attitude, neutral tone runs the potential of being taken negatively. When expressed in a sarcastic, insulting, or disdainful tone of voice, words that initially sounded neutral may turn provocative and leave the listener feeling hurt and helpless. By maintaining neutral tone, one can prevent the listeners from misinterpreting messages being conveyed. This brings up self awareness once again, which is essential to becoming cognizant of others and having empathy for them. For example, Oketch (2020) some Kenyan media remained in reporting about police officers who were seen portraying good relations with the public, while health practitioners' COVID-related deaths were considered heroic on most front pages (see figure 2.9) neutral tone.



Figure 2.9: Neutral Story.

2.5 Figures of speech used by the Nation and the Standard newspapers reporting the National Police Service

2.5.1 Figures of Speech used by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

According to Aziza and Simanjuntak (2022), a term or phrase that purposefully deviates from standard language usage to achieve a particular rhetorical effect is known as a figure of speech. Meanwhile, Gapur and Pujiono (2019) defines figures of speech as a departure from the usual use of words to enhance their impact. The audience develops a variety of meanings as a result of the usage of figurative speech. Despite being readily available, news portals do not always reflect the consumer's reading habits or knowledge of the content they provide. This is due to the fact that not all readers of news are familiar with figurative language.

In Kenya, the media has played a central role in providing information about police actions during the pandemic using figures of speech. It has also taken part in depicting police as 'brutal' as many media articles covered the deaths of six people at the hands of police officers during the first 10 days of the COVID-19 curfew ("Kenya: Police Brutality," 2020). Their use of such kinds of figures of speech involved the overt claim that the police killings were unjustified and that they happened before the onset of the curfew ("Kenya: Police Brutality," 2020).

Ombati (2020) discovered that some speakers painted police officers as "brutal thieves" who broke into homes and shops, extorted money from occupants, and looted food in countless locations across the country. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, media coverage was negative toward police and their operations. According to Weighton and McCurdy (2017), after the 2017 elections, Kenyan media and journalists focused on the brutalisation by security agencies that hoped to quell the post-election violence. The officers are described as "brutal," "violent," and "savage." The post-election coverage is particularly informative because it represents two distinct contenders (i.e., the government represented by the police and the opposition, who hoped to publicise police misbehaviour and violence). Accordingly, using such kind of speech in favour of either contender would result in further civil unrest. But noteworthy is that media houses understand that the coverage of police officers as incapable and violent is more significant than that of the opposition. Consequently, the framing of police officers as brutal indicates deliberateness.

In daily communication, a variety of distinct figures of speech are employed (Aziz, 2022). A few examples of figures of speech includes simile, irony, metaphor,

personification, hyperbole, euphemism, alliteration, assonance, and apostrophe among others. however, this study deploys personification, metaphor, and similes.

Al-Khasawneh (2021), notes that personification is the process of giving abstractions or inanimate things to human characteristics or traits. For instance, a speech can frequently use expressions like "time flies," "the howling wind," and "dancing leaves." Personification in an expression includes sentence such as 'the chance came knocking at his door', 'the plants in her home pleaded with her to water them in silence', 'lightning flashed in the sky', and 'in the dead of night, the wind howled'.

Kozlova (2021), states a metaphor is used for implying a comparison between two things that have something in common but are in general different from each other . Some examples of the usage of metaphors in a communication includes 'he's a star of our class', 'life is a highway', 'she had diamond-like eyes'. President Kenyatta, for example, invokes metaphors related to the WAR in a speech he gave on May 16, 2020 when he stated, "it is however, clear we have not delivered the final blow to this enemy that has invaded our community and the world at large". Kenyatta used three metaphorical expressional metaphars; "*Final blow*", "*this enemy*" and "*has invaded*".

Al-Khasawneh (2021), additionally defines a simile as a rhetorical device that contrasts two things that are distinct from one another but have some traits. These are typically created by using the words "as" or "like." Some instances of similes in any communication includes 'as brave as a lion' and 'the expression was ice cold' among others.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6.1 Media Framing Theory

According to the theory, journalists rely on selection and salience to frame. To frame is to select some aspects of reality and make them more important. Goffman (1974) defines media frames as "the way interpretation of messages is encouraged or discouraged by the media." She further describes frames as using words, images, phrases, and presentation styles. The media framing theory posits how journalists present items that influence audiences' choices in processing the information. O'Donnell (2013) analysed the effect of framing on the audience, noting that this deliberate presentation is more likely to have a more powerful effect on the audience than opinion pieces penned through editorials. The author advances the theory by noting that though the information presented by certain media may be factual, how it is interpreted depends on the reporting style used. He also states that frames are intended to be applied to certain issues to create a context, but socio-political influences often result in skewed presentation or framing. Media personnel, using frames, decide how

items are covered, which leads to concerns that the Kenyan media might be framing COVID-related police operations negatively.

Fridkin *et al.* (2017) argue that frames influence the public's understanding of events because they exist in two main ways: frames in communication and frames in thought. As frames in communication, media frames become explanatory structures entrenched in political discourse such that they use texts, visuals, and images to put forth a salient idea. As frames in thought, they live inside the individual's mind and help the citizens make sense of national issues. A change of perception is attained when the frames in communication (i.e. texts, images, and visuals that have been determined to be salient) shape the frames in thought in a process called the framing effect (Fridkin, *et al.*, 2017). The framing effect may be reached in a variety of ways, including establishing equivalency that occurs when journalists replace logically equivalent phrases or words (Fridkin *et al.*, 2017). Carpenter (2018) reasons that the equivalency framing effect is also called the gain and loss frame as it deals with benefits versus costs and how they influence individual frames in thought. For instance, instead of saying, "80% of all police officers are corrupt," the media outlet might use, "20% of police members are honest." This example presents an equivalency framing facet identified as attribute framing, whereby the feature (corrupt versus honest) becomes the focus of the frame (Carpenter, 2018). The news editor may prefer "20% of all brutal police have been arrested" instead of "80% of violent police officers remain at large." This example presents risk choice framing – another facet of equivalency framing, whereby individuals are influenced to become more risk averse or risk-seeking (Carpenter, 2018). Despite the two sentences having the same meaning, research has shown that equivalency leads to framing effects. For example, a study by Tversky and Kahneman

(1987) in Carpenter (2018) framed a hypothetical problem in two opposing ways (i.e., risk of death and likelihood of life. However, the objective outcomes and descriptions were the same such that “200 of the people would be saved versus 2/3 of the people would likely die.” The participants selected the first choice, which indicated that 200 people would be saved. Druckman (2001) also notes that readers may view certain developments more favourably if a positive equivalency framing effect is utilized. He gives the example of an economic program, noting that it may garner more support if it is described as creating 95% job opportunities as opposed to resulting in 5% unemployment. The author also notes that women who are told that breast self-examinations are likely to increase the chance of catching a treatable tumour are less interested in breast self-examinations than those who are warned that not performing such tests decreases the chance of finding treatable cancers. Accordingly, equivalence framing influences the audience's understanding of events by implying salience using positive and negative equivalence phrases.

Fridkin *et al.* (2017) further opine that the framing process is believed to be affected by the media's trustworthiness, the audience's pre-existing predispositions, their level of media consumption, news item knowledge, and the level of competition among media frames. In the same vein, Carpenter (2018) adds that an individual's emotions influence the audience's susceptibility to frame effects. Fear and distress have indicated an increased likelihood of framing effect while contentment has shown a moderating effect on framing (Carpenter, 2018). Overall, positive emotions undermine the loss/equivalency framing outcome, and enthusiasm only indicates mixed results, with moderating effects in some framing instances and intensifying results in others. The theory is applicable to this research because it supports the need for journalists and any

other newsreporters to present news that positively influences the public towards the consumption of information being aired. Therefore, by positively airing or presenting the enforcement of Covid-19 rules without bias, the public will likely view positively the police and vice versa. Therefore, even as Nation and Standard Media outlets strived to air the 'true' picture on the ground, the framing of any news matters insofar as building a cordial relationship between the police and the public is concerned.

2.6.2 Cultivation Theory

According to Shah et al. (2020), in cultivation theory, audiences' attitudes and behaviours are influenced by how the world's social realities are presented in the media when they are exposed to them frequently over an extended time. According to research on the cultivation theory in mass communication, audiences are negatively impacted by the frequency of media consumption that overemphasises news about crime and violence. For instance, viewing violent videos and dramas or being exposed to crime-related news might make viewers afraid of being victims of crime, which can affect their attitudes and behaviours in the real world.

Gerbner's cultivation research, which discovered how excessive television viewing affects people's attitudes and perceptions of social reality, is where the relationship between media consumption and fear of crime first became known. The nurturing strategy, according to a recent study, may be used with any dominant medium, including social media, newspapers, and so on.

The level at which people encounter messages or media content, whether or not they are observed enough to be remembered, is described by scholars as exposure to media. If media users are exposed to frequently displayed media information, they will develop

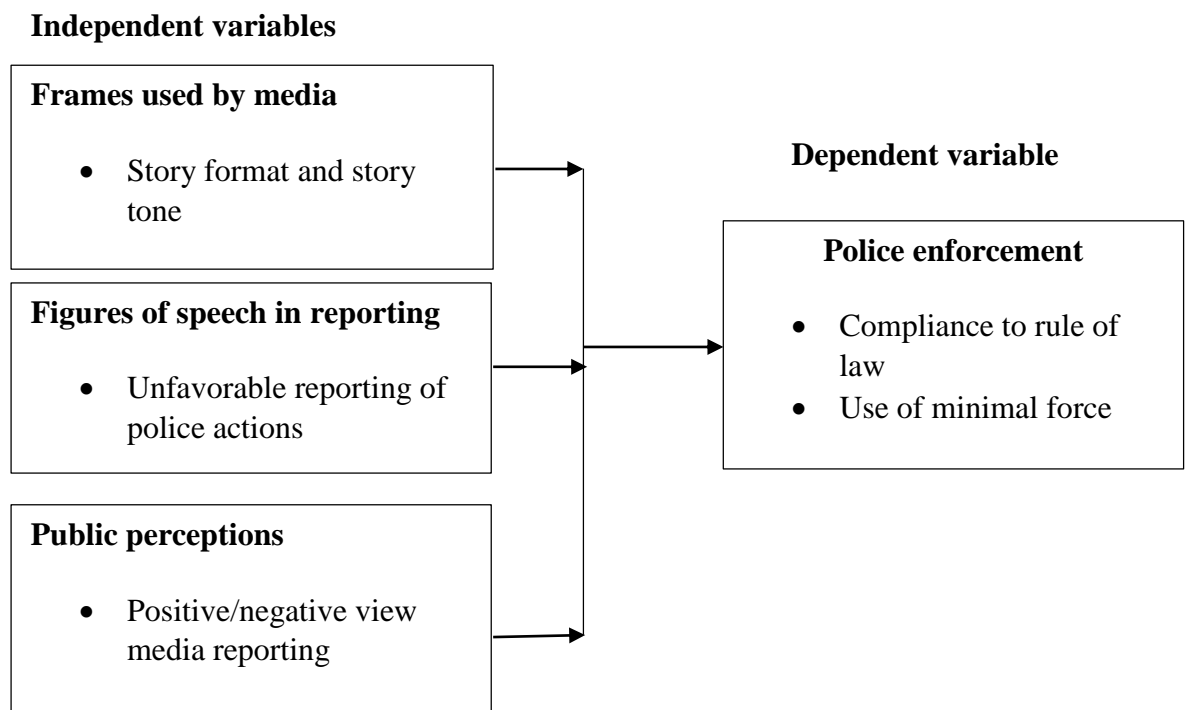
identical attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, even if they did not pay attention to the messages well enough to recall them. However, the cultivation theory contends that repeated exposure to criminal or disaster-related media content affects how people view and behave in the actual world. In a similar vein, being exposed to violent media causes people to become fearful because those who use the media frequently believe that what they see could happen to them, their families, or others.

Between March 28, 2020, and April 28, 2020, the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers carried stories and visuals that depicted the police beating people who were found to be out during the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. The police would let the ones that had a pass, which was a letter from the police station, or a job card that gave details of the essential service the holder was in. The Daily Nation and Standard newspapers shared stories about the curfew's enforcement, instilling fear in their readers and Kenyans in general about the consequences of being caught outside during the curfew. The theory is relevant and applicable to this study because it argues that media could potentially create fear among people especially by viewing police brutality on people ignoring rules set out by the government. Similar to this study, many people who found themselves knowingly and ignorantly flouting Covid rules were exposed to physical beatings by some police officers as was displayed by many media outlets such as Nation TV and KTN. Therefore, instead of embracing the information shared by media, many feared that such situations (beating by some officers) may be befall them.

2.7 The Conceptual Framework

A framework is a diagrammatical illustration indicating the relationship among more than one variable. In this study, the conceptual framework showed the linkage between independent and dependent variables. This connection is shown in the Figure below.

Figure 2.10: The Conceptual Framework



Source: Author (2023)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

In this chapter, the research design and approach, study area, population, and sampling methods are presented. Similarly, sample and sample selection, sampling technique and sample size, tools for data collection, data analysis techniques and data presentation are discussed.

3.2 Research Design and Approach

A descriptive quantitative research design is used. The design made it possible to contextualize the framing of police enforcement of the COVID laws in Kenya. A comparative analysis of the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers was undertaken.

The study used both qualitative (frames, themes analysis and categorization) generation and quantitative approach content analysis of articles were used.

3.3 Target Population

The research population included copies of all Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers published between March 28 to April 28, 2020, the period covered the Public Order (State Curfew) order 2020 of 1.00pm to 5am curfew was first enforced as a result of the COVID-19 outbreak in Kenya by His Excellency the president of the republic of Kenya Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta. These are 30 days, meaning there were 60 newspapers. (Daily Nation and Standard). The period had 60 issues of Daily Nation and Standard (30 Daily Nation Newspapers and 30 editions of the Standard Newspapers). Table 3.1 captures the publications

Table 3.1: Articles/stories during the study period

Newspaper	March 28 – 31 Publication	April 1-28	Total
Daily Nation	2	28	30
Standard Newspaper	2	28	30
Total	6	56	60

3.5 Technique and Sample Size

The study used census sampling technique. It pre-reviewed all the nation and standard newspapers published during the 30days curview period (from 28 march to 28th apri 2020. A total of 60 artcles were identified for the two newspaper , 36 articles in Nation newspaper and 24 articles in Standard Newspaper.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The data was collected using quantitative content analysis method. According to Stemler (2015) content analysis is the study of secondary data such as diary entries, books, newspapers, videos, text messages, tweets, Facebook updates and so on. All the 60 newspapers and data concerning articles about COVID-19 curfew enforcement by police were analysed.

The study systematically examined newspaper contents to answer the research questions raised in the project . The researcher downloaded all COVID-19 curfew enforcement by police stories by the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers and checked placement at and use of pictures, stories sources and framed used.

The researcher categorised the articles using the following variables in the unit code:

Placement: Prominence of the coverage. FrontPage, Page 2, Page 3, fillers (inside stories), and back page story.

Story Direction-Positive, Negative and Neutral. These are adjectives that reveal the tone or sentiments of the article.

Negative- words or phrases indicating the disease's negative impact, such as lockdown, job losses, spread, death, new cases, pay cut, and curfew.

Positive- economic stimulus package, reopen, safety nets, treatment, and vaccine

Neutral – social distance, wear masks, test, frontline workers, quarantine, technology, and isolation.

Frame: valence, semantic, c tales, responsibility, human interest, economic molarity disagreements, obedience, controversy, and wrongdoing.

Story sources: Authorities and bodies that conveyed Covid-19 related messages to the public.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Excel worksheets were used to code the various themes and generate related mathematical tabulations, graphs and other pictorial presentations for the variables identified in 3.5 above and via content analysis. Themes were identified and classified as per the frames, and figures of speech.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher got the University of Nairobi and NACOSTI research approval to adhere to these ethical principles. Generally this was a secondary data and most information came from newspaper article analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

The study aimed to investigate the framing of police enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36-The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020 March 28, 2020, to April 28, 2020, in Kenya by the Standard and Daily Nation Newspapers. This chapter describes the findings of the study from a total of 60 newspaper articles

The first objectives of the study were to identify the frames used by the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers in reporting the police enforcement of the curfew between March 28, and April 28 2020.

4.1 Comparative analysis of articles in Nation and Standard Newspapers

The study established that The Nation and Standard newspapers published 60 articles about police enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36. 34 articles were in Nation and 24 articles were in the Standard Newspaper, representing a 60% and 40% share for the two newspaper respectively. A inference that can be made is that the ntion newspaper was more enthusiastic about police work during the crview than the standard.

4.1.1 Placement of articles

From the data,there was no significant diffrenece in the way the Nation and standard newspapers treated the police implementation of the covid curfew laws. Suffice to say that, 8 in 10 of the articles touching on the police implementation of the covid was placed in the middle pages for both nation and standard 80 and 75 % respectively. Further more, one in ten (13.9 %) artcles about the police enforcement of legal notice no 30 was palced in front page. Almost a similar percent (8.4%) was palced in front page and third page by Standard newspaper. Both papers had a considerable articles in

their editorial pages with Standard newspaper having almost three times more (16.6) editorials articles than the Nation newspaper (5.6 %). With this huge editorial presence, it may be inferred that, the mainstream print media newspaper in Kenya identified the way the police enforced the legal notice No 36 as a matter of great concern. Generally speaking contents finding a place in the editorial are generally considered as very important for the public and requiring attention. Of concern to the research is the fact there was not a single international article about the way the Kenyan police executed their enforcement of covid 19 curfew. It is therefore noted that, given the international and global dimensions of the pandemic, states seemed to operate in isolation. One may then infer that global accountability mechanisms and cautions were missing and this may have aided in the draconian approach to control the pandemic. There was considerable moral panic internationally, and therefore human rights were left to the back banner. Tables 4.1 and Table 4.2 captures the placement of articles by the two newspapers.

Table 4.1 Nation Newspaper

Page	Number of Articles	Percentages
Page 1-2	4	11.1
Page 3	1	2.8
Editorials	2	5.6
Middle	29	80.6
International	0	0.0
Back Page	0	0.0
Total	36	100.0

Table 4.2

Standard Placements	Number of Articles	Percentages
Page 1-2	1	4.2
Page 3	1	4.2
Editorials	4	16.7
Middle	18	75.0
International	0	0.0
Back Page	0	0.0
Total	24	100.0

4.1.2 Types of articles

From tables 4.3 and 4.4 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2. the data revealed that, both the Nation and Standard newspaper didn't hve any significant difrence in the way they covered the police enforcement of covid 19 curview laws under legal Notice No 36. Majority of the articles were hard news and mostly accompanied by pictorial with captions for emphasis. In the Nation newspaper more than half of all articles published there were hardnews (53%) while in the Standard newspaper every 6 in ten of articles published there about police enforcement of covid laws were hardnews (62%) (See table 4.3 and 4.4 and Figure 4.1 and 4.2)

Table 4.3 type of Article in Nation

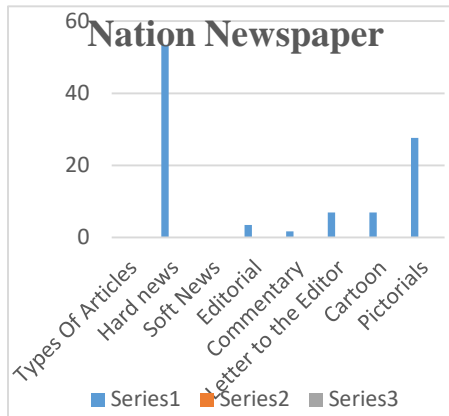
Type of Story	Number of story	Percentage
Hard news	31	53.4
Soft News	0	0.0
Editorial	2	3.4
Commentary	1	1.7
Letter to the Editor	4	6.9
Cartoon	4	6.9
Pictorials	16	27.6
Total	58	100.0

Table 4.4 of article in Standard

Type Of Article	Number of Article	Percentages
Hard news	18	62.1
Soft News	0	0.0
Editorial	3	10.3
Commentary	2	6.9
Letter to the Editor	0	0.0
Cartoon	1	3.4
Pictorials	5	17.2
Totals	29	100.0

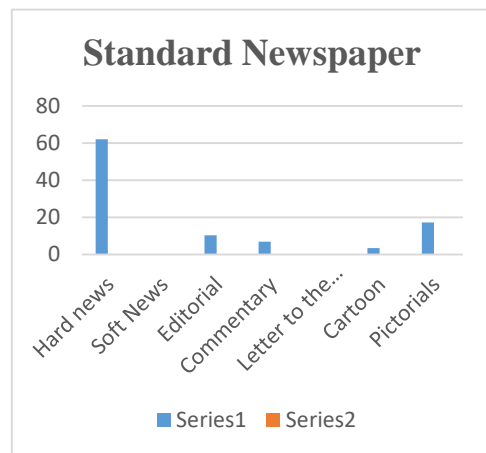
Figure

4.1



Figure

4.2



From the tables 4.3 and 4.4 and the figures 4.1 and 4.2 above, the two newspaper covered the enforcement of the legal notice no 36, largely via the hard news lenses.

This could be attributed to the fact that, the phenomena was new in Kenya and it affected the entire country. Notable also was the use of commentaries and editorial contents, meaning that the matter of police enforcement of the legal notice no 36 was weighty and was considered important. In terms of comparison of the two newspaper, the Nation newspapers had more coverage, it also had more graphic and pictorial presentation of the police activities during the enforcement of the legal notice No. 36. It scrutinized the police work more. However, the standard had more editorials in its coverage of the police enforcement of the legal Notice No 30. Generally speaking, the two newspapers were very similar in the way they covered the police enforcement of the law during the curfew. In terms of granting the masses a platform of voicing their concern via letter to the editor, the Nation newspaper seems to be more accessible because one in ten articles in this newspaper about police enforcement of covid curfew was a letter to the editor. It is noted that the two papers did not have any soft article about the police enforcement of the covid curfew. With absence of soft news then the human interest angles are lost and the negative framing of police enhanced.

4.1.3 Types of frames used

The framing of the legal notice No 36 by both Nation and Standard newspaper reflected huge similarity and resemblance. The frames that were used by the two newspapers were starkly alarming because they were overwhelmingly negative. Indeed, 70% and 72% of all frames in Nation and Standard newspapers respectively were about brutality, conflict and negative valence. Only one in ten frames in the Nation newspaper were positive (13%) and only two (15%) in ten of all frames used by Standard newspaper were positive. Combined, the two newspapers only wrote one

in ten stories (14%) using positive frames (see table 4.5 and 4.6). In terms of comparison, the two newspapers were very close in the way they used negative frames. For instance, the Nation had 28.9%, 21.7 % and 19.3% Negative valence frames, conflict frames and brutality frames respectively, while the standard had 17.5%, 23.5% and 21.6% for negative valence, conflict and brutality respectively. These data indicates that the journalists and commentators in the two daily newspapers judged the police quite negatively in the way they enforced the covid curfew. The enforcement had serious flaws.

Table 4.5 frames in Nation

Nation		
Frames	No Of frames	Percentage
Positive valence	11	13.3
Negative Valence	24	28.9
Conflict	18	21.7
Brutality	16	19.3
Human interest	1	1.2
Moral	0	0.0
Responsibility	13	15.7
Economics	0	0.0
Tale	0	0.0
Total	83	100.0

Table 4.6 Frames in Standard

Standard		
Frames	No Of Articles	Percentage
Positive valence	8	15.7
Negative Valence	14	27.5
Conflict	12	23.5
Brutality	11	21.6
Human interest	0	0.0
Moral	0	0.0
Responsibility	6	11.8
Economics	0	0.0
Tale	0	0.0
Total	51	100

From the Table table 4.5 and 4.6, Nation newspaper had two in ten (15.7 %) of its stories framed using responsibility frames, while the Standard had one in ten of its articles projected in responsibility frames. The tables also indicates that, human interest frames, moral frames, economic and tales frames were negligibly used by the two newspapers (See figure 4.3 and 4.4)

Figure 4.3 Nation

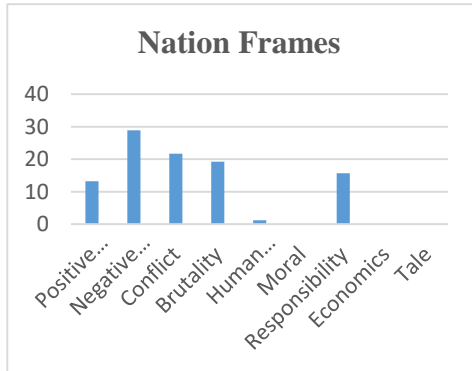
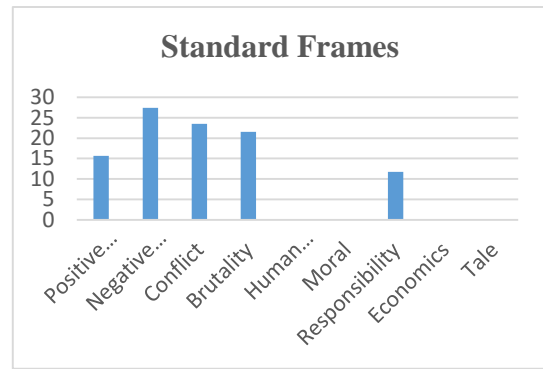


Figure 4.4 Standard



Clearly, without the moral, human interest and tales frames, the police enforcement of the legal notice No. 36 was mechanistic and without human touch. Police work was removed from concepts that would give it the human face.

4.2 Articles illustrative of various frames

This section gives example of articles illustrative of various frames used by the two newspaper coverage of the police enforcement of Legal notice No. 36. Police

4.2.1 Police brutality

From figure 4.5, the frames of police brutality, Conflict and negative valence Frames are clear. The headline put the police on spot and therefore under scrutiny for causing the chaos that was witnessed when police beat up innocent Kenyans who were hurrying home to beat the covid curfew. The image captures the citizen teargassed, and ordered to lie down like criminals and in a very dehumanising acts.

Figure 4.5 Police brutality



From Figure 4.5, the masses are herded together like herd of cattle and without any caution to crowding and its possibility of facilitating the spread and exposure of the masses to the corona virus. The approach negated the very essence of the covid curfew in Kenya. Indeed, over five images were used to illustrate the unprofessional approach that police brought to the enforcement of legal notice No. 36.

a. Negative valence and brutality frames

In figure 4.6, the Nation Newspaper published on 29/3/2020 had its headline in a clock timer reading 6:59:59. The timer had a caption that read that, the country Kenya should brace itself to the beginning of police police brutality and blood bath. The

accompanying image was that of an Kenyan truck driver dragged out of his truck and being violently whipped by police officer. Clearly, it appers that the police misinterpreted the declaring of the legal notice No. 36 as a declartion of the lose of human rights for the Kenyan Masses (see Figure 4.6)

Figure 4.6 negative valence



Negative valence frames capturing suffering of ordinary Kenyans under police brutality

Figure 4.7 (a) (b) and (c) capture photso published in the print media in Kenya showing in (a) police projected as a terrorising gang in, (b) an adult male at his home nursing

serious injury attributed to police brutality during the enforcement of covid curfew and (c) showing an adult female in a hospital bed after what was claimed to be police assault while enforcing the covid curfew.

Figure 4.7 (a)



Figure4.7(b)



Figure 4.7 (c)



4.2.2 Frames of death and conflict

The Kenyan police were not only framed as brutal and violent but they were framed also via death fram. Figure 4.8 below illustrates. An article in one of the print media had a story headlined as: Two killed, ten left nursing injuries for flouting curfew hours

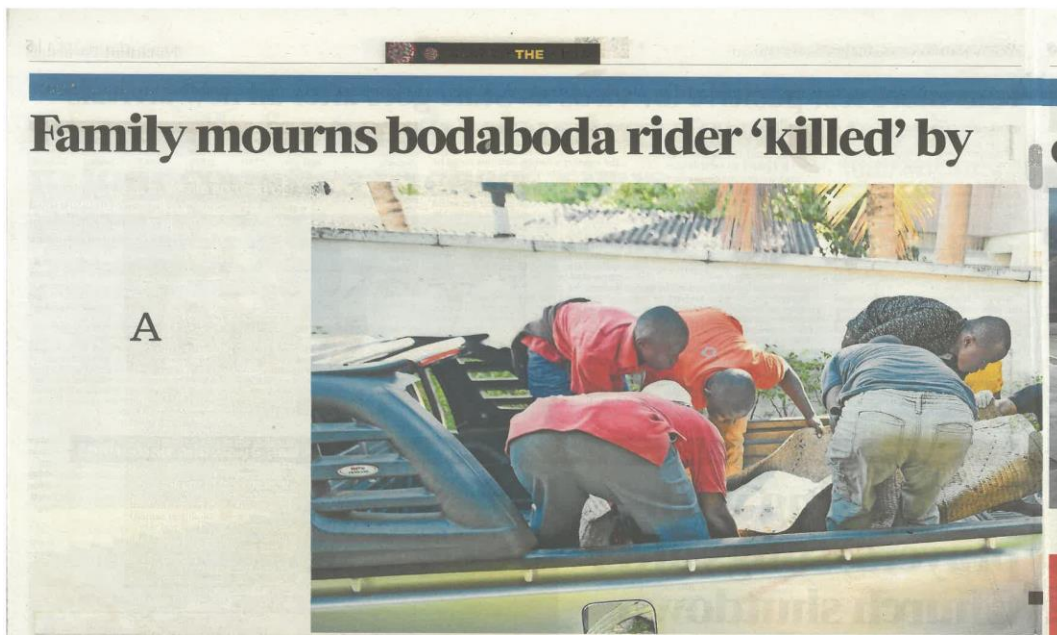


Figure 4.8 Frame of Death

4.2.3 Responsibility frame with a negative valence

Figure 4.9



Figure 4.9 capture a responsibility frame but in a negative valence, the police suspension was due to their unprofessional conduct. Apart from negative valence, the two newspaper also framed police in terms of positive frames. For instance, there were headline stories of police helping the masses wear face masks and also

guiding and directing them toward areas and offices where they could get Corona Virus Information. There were also editorial articles that used positive valence, for instance, an editorial in standard cautioned Kenyan to break the curfew laws at their own risk. A letter to the editor urged police to be humane in their enforcement of covid curfew. And another editorial urged the police to be professional in their work of curfew enforcement.

4.3 Figures of speech

From Tables 4.7 and 4.8 it emerged that the coverage of police enforcement of legal notice No. 36 was largely of narrative nature. It was largely reportage of what was happening (See table 4.5 and 4.6).

Table 4.7 Nation Newspaper

Type	Article	Percent
Metaphor	0	0
Simile	0	0
Idioms	10	33.3
Narrations	20	66.6
Total	30	100

Table 4.8 Standard newspaper

Type	Article	Percent
metaphor	0	0
simile	0	0
idiom	4	19.0
narration	17	80.9
Total	21	100

When a writer uses language that is metaphorical or has a secondary meaning in addition to its primary meaning, they are using a figure of speech. This figurative language may make anything easier to imagine or more intriguing in general. According to Richard Gill (1985), "A figure of speech is any of several kinds of non-literal usage of words used in describing stylistic choices made in communicating their intended emotions". For instance, idioms is "a construction whose meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of its constituents" (Minugh, 2008). According to Mary Gormandy White (2022), a simile is a figure of speech that uses the words "like" or "as" to compare

two things in an intriguing way. A simile's main goal is to make the reader or listener make an intriguing link in their minds. Thus, the public could make a comparison of their situation and words shared by the media houses. A metaphor, according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2022), is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.

Figure 4.10 Illustrates the use of a simile .



Figure 4.11 below illustrates the creative use of language in the framing of police enforcement of legal Notice No. 36. In the figure, there is coinage of a new word 'Karaovirus', the word Karao is a Kenyan street name for police. The journalist also uses illustration and caricature and comparison as well as choice of word that powerfully describes the police character. The choice of the word Vile, frame the police as corrupt to the core, and open to corrupt tendencies especially bribery. The word also carries the meaning of mercenary.

Figure 4.11

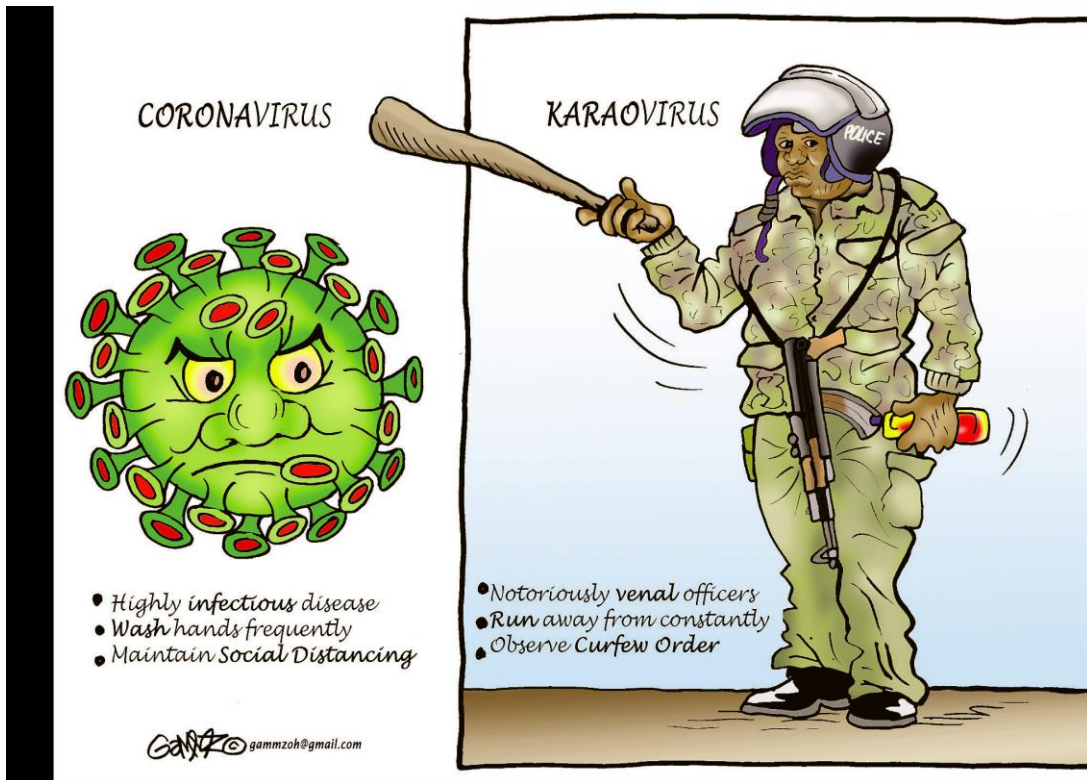


Figure 4.11 above compares the police to corona virus and frame the police as equal or worse than the pandemic which they were to help curb its spread. Nevertheless, the responsibility of the police is also put there...enforce curfew order.

Figure 4.12 illustrates another creative application of language to explain the police enforcement of covid as well as explain their character. The use of sarcasm is evident in the illustrations. For instance, the illustration show a Kenyan bogged /chained by the corona virus but while he/she may survive that virus, he/she might not survive the police brutality. In the expert opinion in the same page the writer cautions the Kenyan people that, there is a more deadlier disease (pestilence) than the corona virus that affects the entire country Kenya, Police brutality and hypocrisy!

Figure 4.12



Figure 4.13 illustrates, two important figures of speech, the personification, the town is given human qualities, and projected as going silent . this suggest that the town is not a physical thing but a community of people affected by the order restricting movement. Simile is also used to compare the silence of the town to the falling of a stone. The silence is sudden and complete. The use of figures of speech creates a vivid description about the effect of corona virus crfew order on the town. There is a sense of anxiety, suspense and despair. The people have been silence, their power of voice taken away and their opinion supressed.

Figure 4.13



4.4 Sources of Articles

The sources of stories about police enforcement of legal Notice no 36 is illustrative of several things. First, the greatest voice about how the police enforced the legal Notice No 30 came from the journalists and the media institutions, they accounted for six in every ten articles published, 64% in nation and 63% in standard. Second, although the police were the primary actors in the enforcement of the curfew, their voice on the issues was minimal, only one in ten articles came from them. The police perspective was therefore not adequately framed by the two newspapers. Third for the three arms of government in Kenya, the Judiciary and Parliament voice was lacking. An inference can be made that, probably this is the reason that there was a lot of outcry out there about how the police enforced the covid curfew. Fourth, the international voice and religion organisation voices were also missing. And finally, only one in ten (10.4%) of the articles about how police enforced the covid law came from the public. Generally speaking there was a silencing order (curfew) and which generally seemed to have led to the silencing of voices critical in ensuring the accountability of the police work. The

print media in Kenya was surely the champion of the masses in soaking out about the excess of police in their enforcement of the legal notice no 36 in Kenya, see table 4.9 and 4.10).

Table 4.9 The Nation

Nation	article	Percent
President	1	2.9
Ministry	3	8.8
Judiciary	0	0
Politician	1	2.9
Journalist	19	55.9
Experts	0	0
Parliament	0	0
International organisation	0	0
Public	4	11.8
Religion	0	0
Media institution	3	8.8
Police	3	8.8
Total	34	100

Table 4.10 The Standard

Standard	Article	Percent
President	1	4.5
Ministry	1	4.5
Judiciary	0	0
Politician	0	0
Journalist	9	50.0
Experts	2	9.1
Parliament	0	0
International organisation	0	0
Public	2	9.1
Religion	0	0
Media Institution	3	13.6
Police	4	18.3
Total	22	100

The print media urged the police to be professional and exposed the crimes and ills committed to the society by the police.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

The chapter gives a summary of the nation and standard framing of the police enforcement of Legal notice No 36. It also give the recommendations.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The the nation and standard newspapers in kenya framed the police work using various frames, the frames included, positive and negative valence, brutality, conflict, responsibility, moral, murder, death and human interests frames. It emerged that 70 % of all articles were negatively framed.

In terms of prominent and placement of articles, the two newspapers did a good job and gave a faie share of their coverage to the pages considered important. Majority of the stories that were published originated from the mass media instiditions and their journalists.

It also emerged that, the gretest voice about how the police excuetd it mandate came from the mass media instistituion. Apart fro the executive, the other arms of government in Kenya were very silent.

5.3 Recommendations

According to the study's findings and the study's objectives, the researcher suggests the following actions:

1. The *Nation and Standard newspapers* had more negative frames stories about the police enforcement of the 7 pm to 5 am curfew. There is need for the police to work more closely with the institution of mass media. It is recoomded that

journalist and police should have various workshops to reflect on the way they execute their mandate and how their services could be enhanced.

2. The framing of articles have bearing on people's opinion, therefore it is recommended that, journalists be trained via seminars and workshops on the effects of language choice on the public reporting on matters that affects society.
3. It is recommended that, the journalist work should be enhanced via sensitization of other stakeholders like the police and executive about the value of their work to society. As an accountability mechanism journalistic works should be objective and impartial and based on professionalism. It is therefore recommended that journalist should have refresher courses on media professionalism.
4. Police officers were framed as brutal, violent, law breakers as they enforced the laws. It is recommended that the police should have trainings on how to execute their mandate via trainings, workshops, seminars, conferences (locally and internationally). Such training should include issues: Human rights, professionalism, community policing, respect to the laws, rapport with other public service institutions, public relation, governance, accountability and ethical behavior.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

The study's objective was to gain an insight on the Nation and Standard newspapers in the framing of police enforcement of Legal Notice No. 36. The researcher suggests further studies on framing of police through other mass media outlets like radio, Television and social media. Other researchers can use other methods such as in-depth

analysis on why the use of frames by various media discourse Analysis and indepth
qualitative analysis of gatekeeping processes of mass media.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: The Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020

SPECIAL ISSUE

521

Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 36

26th March,

2020 (Legislative Supplement No. 18)

LEGAL NOTICE No. 36

THE VALUE ADDED TAX ACT,
2013

(No. 36 of
2013)

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by Section 6(1) of the Value Added Tax Act, 2013, the Cabinet Secretary for the National Treasury and Planning makes the following Order: —

THE VALUE ADDED TAX (AMENDMENT OF THE RATE
OF TAX) ORDER, 2020

1. This Order may be cited as the Value Added Tax (Amendment of the Rate of Tax) Order, 2020.

2. Section 5(2) of the Value Added Tax Act, 2013 is amended in paragraph (b) by deleting the words “sixteen per cent” and substituting therefor the words “fourteen per cent”.

3. This Order shall become effective on the 1st April, 2020. Made on the 25th March, 2020

UKUR YATANI,

Cabinet Secretary for the National Treasury and Planning.

THE PUBLIC ORDER ACT

(*Cap. 56*)

THE PUBLIC ORDER (STATE CURFEW) ORDER, 2020

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by section 8 (1) of the Public Order Act, the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and Co-ordination of National Government makes the following Order:—

THE PUBLIC ORDER (STATE CURFEW) ORDER, 2020

1. This Order may be cited as the Public Order (State Curfew) Order, 2020.
2. This Order shall apply to the entire territory of the Republic of Kenya.
3. This Order shall apply during the hours of darkness between seven o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning with effect from the 27th March, 2020.
4. Under this Order, there shall be no public gatherings, processions or movement either alone or as a group during the period of the curfew.
5. Notwithstanding the provisions of this Order, the Order shall not apply to the services, personnel or workers specified in the Schedule hereto.

1. Medical professionals and health workers.
2. National security, administration and co-ordination of national government officers.
3. Public health and sanitation officers in the County Governments.
4. Licensed pharmaceutical companies, pharmacies and drug stores.
5. Licensed Broadcasters and Media Houses.
6. Kenya Revenue Authority.
7. Kenya Airports Authority and Licensed Civil Aviation Service Providers.
8. Kenya Civil Aviation Authority.
9. Kenya Airways PLC.
10. Kenya Ports Authority and Licensed Ports Operators.
11. Power production and distribution companies.
12. Water service providers.
13. Food and farm produce processors, distributors, dealers, wholesalers, retailers and transporters.
14. Licensed supermarkets, minimarkets and hypermarkets.

15. Licensed distributors and retailers of petroleum and oil products and lubricants.
16. Licensed telecommunications operators and service providers.
17. Licensed banks, financial institutions and payment financial services.
18. Fire brigade and emergency response services.
19. Licensed security firms.
20. Postal and Courier services. Made on the 25th March, 2020.

FRED MATIANG'I,

*Cabinet Secretary for Interior and
Co-ordination of National Government.*

Appendix II: Letter from University



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
FACULTY ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Faculty Nairobi
Telephone: 254-020-491 0001 Ext: 20001, 20002
Director's Office: 254-020-4913200 Direct Line
Email: mauti@uoi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

OUR REF:
YOUR REF:

DATE: August 19, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: MAUTI SARAH NYABOKE- K50/34217/2019

This is to confirm that the above named is a bonafide student at the University of Nairobi, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication pursuing Master of Arts degree in Communication Studies.

Ms Mauti has completed her course work and is currently going to collect data for her research project leading to a Master of Arts Degree in Communication Studies.

Any assistance accorded to her will be highly appreciated.

19 AUG 2022

Wendy Cherono
Senior Administrative Assistant
Department of Journalism & Mass Communication

Appendix IV: Newspaper Content Analysis Code Sheet

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION

Category	Item number	
Date		
Day/Month/Year		
Newspaper: The Daily Nation The Standard		
Placement of article: Front page/ lead story Front page/ sub-storypg. 2 pg. 3 inside pages Back page story	The Standard	The Daily Nation

SECTION B: NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND FIGURES OF SPEECH USED IN REPORTING ENFORCEMENT OF 7 PM TO 5 AM CURFEW FROM 28TH MARCH 2020 TO 28TH APRIL

Category	Item number	
	The Standard	The Daily Nation
Story types 1. News story 2. Picture with caption 3. Letters to the editor 4. Editorial cartoon 5. Opinion 6. Editorial		

Figures o Speech (Idioms, Similes, Metaphors and Antithesis)		
Tone	Positive	
	Negative	
	Neutral	

NEWSPAPERS ANALYSED

Date	Newspaper	Title of article	Page number
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Police on the spot over Likoni Chaos	1
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Scenes from the violence at the Likoni Ferry crossing Yesterday	1
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Traffic jams, police brutality mark first night of curfew	4
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Police beat journalist, public in cruelty spree	5
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Matiang’i meets regional heads	5
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Defy curfew at your own peril	10
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Chaos as police enforce curfew order	10
March 28 2020	The Daily Nation	Police must enforce curfew with restraint	14
March 28 2020	The Standard	Kenyans warned to break curfew at their own peril	4
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	6:59:59	1
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	Police man Whips truck driver in Nakuru	1
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	Night of the long knives as police enforce curfew their style	3 and 4
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	People lying down at ferry crossing.	3
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	Delivery drive recalls beatings by police in Nakuru	3

March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	Punish police officers abusing curfew order	14
March 29 2020	The Daily Nation	Victimising victims of Covid-19	14
March 29 2020	The Standard	Police terror: A police officer whips a motorist who was on the road during curfew hours in Nakuru	1
March 29 2020	The Standard	Sticks, stones and broken bones in first curfew night	4
March 29 2020	The Standard	Police reign terror on motorists	4
March 29 2020	The Standard	Why the police must cultivate goodwill while enforcing curfew	14
March 29 2020	The Standard	CARTOON Police holding club	14
March 30 2020	The Daily Nation	Family mourns as bodaboda rider killed by Police as gangs unleash terror on residents	4 and 5
March 30 2020	The Daily Nation	Enforce curfew in humane manner	14
March 30 2020	The Daily Nation	CARTOON Jack Ma and Govt donation	14
March 30 2020	The Daily Nation	Police should be humane when implementing curfew directive	16
March 30 2020	The Standard	A police officer whips a motorist during curfew crackdown in Nakuru	3
March 31 2020	The Daily Nation	Police get water drums to aid in war on virus	23
March 31 2020	The Standard	Police wrong to unleash brute force over curfew	14
April 1 2020	The Daily Nation	Curfew: Did this boy have to die?	1
April 1 2020	The Daily Nation	Police on the spot over shooting of boy,13	2
April 1 2020	The Standard	Police officers beat a truck driver during curfew in Nakuru	3
April 2 2020	The Daily Nation	Police bosses throw juniors under the bus as Uhuru apologises	4
April 2 2020	The Daily Nation	IG , Kibicho take on LSK over beatings	4
April 2 2020	The Standard	Errant bar owners busted	8
April 3 2020	The Daily	Four rogue officers suspended for	5

	Nation	vile assault during curfew	
April 4 2020	The Daily Nation	Police sensitize residents on measures to fight virus	8
April 4 2020	The Daily Nation	Police deny having a hand in three curfew deaths	11
April 4 2020	The Daily Nation	Police must work with citizens to battle virus	14
April 4 2020	The Daily Nation	Alas, Renaming the police was akin to putting lipstick on a pig	15
April 4 2020	The Standard	GSU inspecting vehicles during lockdown in Eastleigh Nairobi	4
April 5 2020	The Daily Nation	Police are the biggest link in big fight against virus	15
April 5 2020	The Standard	Police beating a motorist during curfew in Nakuru Town	4
April 6 2020	The Daily Nation	Worry as curfew hour brooks lawlessness in deserted cities, towns	6
April 6 2020	The Standard	Police inspecting a sanitizer used in a matatu in Nakuru	2
April 7 2020	The Standard	Act swiftly to bring police brutality to an end	14
April 8 2020	The Daily Nation	Chaos, misery as Nairobi hit hard by Nairobi order	6
April 8 2020	The Daily Nation	Man on mission to educate the public on Covid -19	21
April 8 2020	The Daily Nation	Police target chagáa dens in war on Covid-19	22
April 8 2020	The Standard	Police officers manning a road block	6
April 9 2020	The Daily Nation	Welcome donation Covid-19 battle	21
April 10 2020	The Standard	Man beaten up for not wearing his mask dies Cry for justice: Another victim of brutal enforcement of Covid-19 regulations	13
April 11 2020	The Standard	Police inspecting vehicles in Nakuru during curfew hours	8
April 12 2020	The Daily Nation	What are you doing to tackle fire arms misuse and root out rogue officers?	28
April 13 2020	The Daily Nation	Huh, what curfew? Its party after party as Kenyans trick the system	7
April 13 2020	The Standard	GSU patrolling Nairobi streets	6

April 14 2020	The Standard	Police sanitizing people in Kabarnet Baringo County	3
April 15 2020	The Daily Nation	Mutyumbai: we will arrest you for not wearing a mask	7
April 16 2020	The Daily Nation	Police block motorists from metro area	8
April 17 2020	The Standard	Police officer manhandle businessmen who were found operating past 7pm curfew	16
April 18 2020	The Standard	Police offered food by good Samaritans during curfew in Nakuru	4
April 19 2020	The Standard	Police arrest 3 MCAs, revelers at night party	8
		Report censures military and police for violating curfew law	8
April 20 2020	The Standard	Kisii Police Officer Sentizing Traders To Stay At Home During Covid-19 Pandemic	3
April 21 2020	The Standard	Two killed, 10 left nursing injuries for ‘flouting curfew hours’	9
April 23 2020	The Standard	Some of the 21 youth arrested near Nakuru Golf Club on claims they did not adhere to public health guidelines on Covid-19.	2
		Police now biggest threat to public in fight against virus	2
April 24 2020	The Daily Nation	Villagers bear brunt of brutal police force during curfew , security stings	12
April 24 2020	The Standard	1.Enforcement of Covid-19 laws must be reasonable	14
April 25 2020	The Standard	Isiolo police arresting people contravening covid-19 guidelines APRIL 2020	5
April 27 2020	The Standard	Police Assist Disabled People Cross The Road	6