

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF COUNTY GOVERNANCE IN KENYA: A CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF THE
DAILY NATION AND *THE STANDARD* NEWSPAPERS.**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my own original work and is in no way a reproduction of any other work that has been previously presented for award of a degree in any university.

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

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this intellectual piece to my lovely daughter, Shirley Nyanchama Iberi, for her gentle smiles and my wife Winny Amwayi Iberi for her compassion and love.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work would not have been complete without the help and support I received in diverse ways from various people. I acknowledge my supervisor, Dr. George Gathigi whose supervision, comments, criticism and suggestions greatly helped in shaping my thoughts and arguments. I also thank my parents and siblings for the support they gave me throughout this period. Above all, I am very grateful to the Almighty God for sustaining me all through these years and for taking me through my academic journey to this point.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to examine the print media coverage of County Governance in Kenya by analyzing the two leading dailies: *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Framing Theory, Public Sphere Theory and Agenda Setting Theory, were used to guide the study.

The data used in this study was drawn from the two leading local dailies: *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* for the period of May 2013 to April 2014. The referenced time period was significant on the basis of some observations. First, the country was fresh out of the election in March 2014 and the government was hard pressed to work under the new constitution. The constitutional implementation process that began way back in 2010 after promulgation was to gain momentum with the new leaders in the office. A total of 364 newspapers were analyzed and data collected from the two leading dailies were coded in Excel MS and analyzed accordingly.

From the findings, the study revealed that both newspapers covered county governance issues relatively well because virtually all the newspapers sampled had a story or two related to county governance issue or issues. *The Standard* newspaper had more articles pertaining governance issues principally because there was a section specifically dedicated for county governance issues. After the analysis, a number of dominant topics came to the fore. A number of articles contained issues such as Revenue Allocation, Salaries, Central Government Relations, County Hiring, Corruption at County Government, County Government Spending, Governors' powers, Senators' powers, Members of the County Assembly, County Governance among others were found to be dominant. Nevertheless, most of the issues were presented by reporters who merely reported the incidences that touched on County Governments. Significantly, most of the articles

or stories sampled were of poor quality with the reporters regurgitating on issues instead of providing in-depth and well-researched information regarding the issue at hand. Whilst the two newspapers covered the County Governance issues, their objective to foster good governance at the county level was probably not felt.

Consequently, there is need for training and sensitization of reporters, editors as well as other print media gate keepers on the significance of covering County Governance issues in a thorough and comprehensive way. The print media should also give space to Devolution experts who will pre-empt pertinent issues. Lastly, print media houses should meticulously train their reporters on matters County Governance so as to have an informed group of reporters reporting on County Governance issues.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

NMG	Nation Media Group
SG	Standard Group
KTN	Kenya Television Network
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
RMS	Royal Media Services
DN	<i>Daily Nation</i>
TS	<i>The Standard</i>
AfriMAP	Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project
OSIEA	Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa
OSMP	Open Society Media Programme
CIC	Commission of Implementation of the Constitution
GoK	Government of Kenya
MCAAs	Members of the County Assembly
CoE	Commission of Experts
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
CA	Communication Authority

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background

One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it, another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.

-Mahatma Gandhi.

Since the 16th century, the role of the media as Fourth Estate and as a medium for public discussion and debate has been recognized. Currently, notwithstanding the mass media's propensity for sleaze, sensationalism and frivolity, the notion of the media as watchdog, as guardian of the public interest, and as a conduit between governors and the governed remains deeply entrenched (Weiss, 2000). In Kenya, the newspapers have a very crucial role in promoting the cause of good governance. Good governance is a set of ideas, which promotes legitimacy competence, transparency and accountability of the government in due respect for human rights and the rule of law. For Kenya to develop there is need of having institutions, which promote ingredients of good governance especially in this era of devolution. Experiential evidence proposes that adept implementation of communication activities can play a critical role in translating devolution objectives to actual results on the ground. The Kenyan newspapers can apprise the citizens giving them the voice as well as information based on devolution. Democracy apropos governance requires that people should have the right to know the activities of the government, especially the decision of the government that affects their life, freedom and property. Information is significant for people to make choices regarding their participation in the State, the market and the civil society. Sufficient

information helps people to decide sensibly and take the right course of action beneficial to them. The Media (both print and electronic) thus, helps people to know what is happening around them, socialize them with the values of development and equip them with the fundamentals of modernism. By disseminating information, the media also makes public services more responsive to the people (Njogu, 2013).

At the process level, communication influence mechanisms contribute to improved governance by influencing opinion, attitude, and behavior change of leaders and policymakers (political will), mid-level bureaucrats (organizational will), and citizens (public will) toward supporting governance reform objectives. These pro-reform change processes occur in both the demand and supply sides of governance. At the structural level, communication links citizens, civil society, the media system, and government, forming a framework for national dialogue through which informed public opinion is shaped (Weiss, 2000). Understanding the process and structural aspects of communication is critical to effective governance in a country like Kenya.

The Public Sphere

The public sphere is a communicative space, a setting within society where people form their ideas about matters of mutual concern, by partaking in a progression of public debate and cogent argumentation (Habermas, 1989). Habermas states that public opinion is a consensus that is arrived at through spirited discussion and legitimates government decisions. The function of the public sphere is that of an instrument: it isolates issues of common concern among citizens, deliberates them, proposes possible solutions and then appraises the decisions which are made by the administration bodies. Public opinion is idyllically converted into administrative power through the legislation process.

In his book *Between Facts and Norms* (1996), Habermas reasons that the public sphere and the private sphere are very important spheres in any democratic society. He states that the private sphere of the life world is an area where citizens experience matters and problems at a personal level and this, therefore, ought to be the basis of the problems deliberated in the public sphere. Private matters that necessitate jurisdictional directives should transpire from the private sphere, with the help of the public's relations which promote them to the public arena. The public arena itself is an area of argument, where subjects sponsored by diverse groups fight for recognition as subjects of public concern, and actors representing various interests fight for admission to the argument (Habermas, 1996). He sees the "role of citizen movements as vital not only in promoting issues that affect the private sphere, but also in maintaining and reproducing the public sphere itself by sustaining dialogue. However he recognizes that not every group has equal access to the debate and there are unavoidable asymmetries in the structure of the public sphere (Habermas, 1996).

As for the normative role of the media in the public sphere, Habermas (1992) acknowledges the public's capability to censoriously process media messages, and is less cynical about the impact of the mediation of a cogent debate. Moreover, he agrees with many other scholars that the media is a very imperative institution in bringing together the "abstract public sphere of isolated readers, listeners, and viewers scattered across large geographic areas" (1996) and in creating the public sphere to be more inclusive arena. Consequently, this means that different media sections play the important role of gatekeeping as well as offering access to the debate to different social actors including the public (Habermas, 1996).

The media, thus, plays a significant role in providing and maintaining the public sphere

which in turn fosters good governance in a nation state. 'Governance' and 'good governance' have increasingly become central themes in development communication discourse (Weiss, 2000). Bad governance is regarded as one of the root causes of the failure of many developing nations. Weiss (2000) postulates that major donors and international financial institutions are basing their aid and loans on the condition that reforms that ensures "good governance" are undertaken. Good governance is an indeterminate term used in international development literature to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources (Schramm, 1964). Herbamas adds that rational governance cannot be attained if there is no properly functioning public sphere.

Lines (2009) states that attaining good governance necessitates the understanding and participation of every member and of the society. The media, their roles, channels and content, are considered powerful enough to make this achievement a reality. But a great number of existing media channels, and the content they deliver, cannot take up this responsibility adequately because they are not accessible or affordable for all. The work of the media should not divide the citizens into the information-rich and information-poor. In other words, there must be channels which serve the right to know of the people and the interest of the public, without any control either by the state or commercial entities. Such channels must deliver diversity of content to serve the various groups of members of the society. In particular, content must be informative and useful – it can then be turned into knowledge and wisdom which the people can use to eliminate poverty, alleviate hardship, and improve quality of life in the post-modern society (Lines, 2009).

For many, the cogency and the wide reach of the mass media, primarily print media, appears reason enough to take at face value the notion that the media have the power to enlighten the

public, as well as create false beliefs. Leinnijenhuis and Rietberg (1995) have deliberated over the real impact of mass communication in national development especially in the third world countries. In the course of this period, third world countries have been asserting that the purposive use of the mass media is an imperative part of their struggle for progress (politically and economically). Stromberg (2002) contends that the failure of economic progress, which should have followed the achievement of independence, can be seen in terms of their inability to control native information systems. Mass communication scholars though, in the 1950s and 1960s, argue that the mass media were critical to the process of reconstruction. "Even though that view has changed over time, emerging nations still generally hold that if the channels of information within their borders were controlled by foreigners, they would be confirmed in a state of perhaps more hopeless dependence than before" (Smith, 1980 p79).

These inconsistent proclamations raise the essential questions such as Wete's (1988) "Do the mass media play a role in development? If so, under what type of development strategy can the mass media be most effective? Such issues as the theoretical underpinnings of mass communication and the emerging development strategy, basic to understanding the inter-relationship between the mass media and social change, will be considered." Emerging democracies like Kenya are confronted not only by poverty, sickness, illiteracy and ignorance, but also resistance to fundamental change. Wete states, "The intellectual discussion over the starring role of mass media in national development is the creation of the mission for alternate ways of informing, educating, and persuading large audiences in under-developed nations quickly, frequently, and cheaply" (1988, p122). The mass media thus has a bigger role in the national development. It should be noted that the mass media plays an integral part in reflecting the state of a country. This also means that it can influence

the proceedings (economically and politically) for the better or for worse in a given country (Wete, 1988).

1.2 The Kenyan Media: A Brief History Since 1963

Kenya became an independent country in 1963 after a long domination by the British. At the time, the vast majority of programmes on radio and TV were brought in from British and America. However, this changed gradually when Kenyans took over the government media. Programmes that promoted Kenyan or African culture were introduced under Jomo Kenyatta. Bourgault (1995) agrees that as expected, Swahili became the most dominant language in most programmes and more attention was put on African music and dance. Similarly, journalists covered more African traditions, ethos and values in order to promote the process of Africanization.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the media industry later encountered obstacles under the leadership of former president Daniel Arap Moi. A crackdown on reporters and other newsmen led to arbitrary arrests and incarceration by state officials who were paranoid on the perceived 'subversive' activities of the media (Mungai and Gona, 2010). In 1992, the long-awaited signs of multi-party politics started to emerge and media industry grew remarkably. The print media market improved to four when the People Daily was set up and the alternative press-commonly called the gutter press-also emerged. Exacting criticism of the government by the media, in partnership with the emergence of opposition politics painted a completely different picture of the conformist media of the earlier era (Mungai and Gona, 2010).

1.2.1 Press

Two independent national newspapers, the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and regional and specialized papers like *Business Daily* and *The Star* feature quality reporting, as does the weekly, *The East African*, which is published in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Kampala. Under the recent regimes (Kibaki and Uhuru), the media have demonstrated greater editorial independence than in previous years, and the number of press freedom abuses has declined. Still, some media policies and incidents continue to inhibit press freedom, for instance, the need to post a costly bond prior to publication and to register afterward. In 2003 the government invoked a restrictive constitutional provision on court coverage to intimidate journalists reporting on a possible political murder. In March 2006, hooded policemen raided the offices of *The Standard* newspaper and *Kenya Television Network*, claiming concerns about internal security.

The *Daily Nation* which was started in 1960 is under the Nation Media Group (NMG). The newspaper was seen as the champion of the people throughout President Daniel Arap Moi's era. The NMG also owns NTV, QTV and Easy FM radio and *The East African* (a regional weekly paper distributed in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (Mwaura, 2004). Undoubtedly, NMG is the largest media house in Eastern and Central Africa (AfriMAP, OSIEA, and OSMP, 2011). *The Standard* is the oldest newspaper in Kenya and it was established in 1902. It is the only newspaper in the Standard Group. Under the wing of Standard Group, there is a *Kenya Television Network* (KTN) and Radio Maisha. *People Daily* was established in 1992 and by then, it was owned by the opposition politician Kenneth Matiba (Mungai and Gona, 2010).

1.2.2 Broadcasting

The Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) is the national broadcaster (owned by the

government) in Kenya and it has a countrywide coverage. KBC's objective is to inform, educate and entertain the Kenyan citizenry. Its mandate comprises of increasing the understanding of the government's national development policies. It operates radio and television stations and it has generally uncritical view of the government. The KBC was established in 1961 and in 1964 it was nationalized under an Act of Parliament to become the Voice of Kenya. In 1989 its name was changed back to the KBC after another Act of Parliament (Afrimap, OSIEA, and OSMP, 2011).

1.2.3 Radio

According to a survey by Afrimap (2011), the radio is the most powerful form of media in Kenya since radios can be found in very remote areas, unlike televisions which are mainly found in urban areas. There are more than 90 FM radio stations in Kenya today. KBC, Citizen FM, Kiss FM (pop), Classic FM (classics), Capital FM (rock and pop), Easy FM (R&B), Metro FM (Reggae), X FM (Rock), Homeboyz Radio (Hip hop and R&B) are the popular radio stations in Kenya in terms of listeners and coverage. A number of established private radio stations broadcast in local vernacular languages, including Kameme FM and Coro FM (Kikuyu), Metro East FM (Hindi), Changei FM, Kass FM and Rehema Radio (Kalenjin), Lake Victoria (Luo), Mulembe FM (Luhya), Mbaitu FM (Kamba), Star FM (Somali), Egesa FM (Ekegusii), Minto FM (Ekegusii) among others. Nevertheless, most radio are owned by few media companies. They are KBC, Nation Media Group, Standard Media Group, Radio Africa Group, Royal Media Service, MediaMax Communication Group. It can also be said that the radio market is saturated and thus no longer attractive as a form of investment (Afrimap, OSIEA, and OSMP, 2011). The broadcasts of most commercial radio stations are made up of light entertainment, including talk shows, phone-ins

and music. Most of these FM stations appeal more to the youth (Mwaura, 2004).

1.2.4 Television

National broadcaster KBC, as described earlier, provides KBC Channel 1, Pay Television Channel 2 and Entertainment Metro Television Channel 31. KBC, NTV, KTN, GBS, Citizen TV, K24 are the biggest TV stations in Kenya in terms of coverage and viewers. Recently entertainment TV ventured in the Kenyan airspace with the inclusion of Kiss TV, a 24-hour Music TV Station and Classic TV which airs African content in terms of movies, programs and music. But recently the two joined together. Digital TV is also available in Kenya with the likes of SmartTV, GOTV as well as DSTV. NTV is owned by NMG and began broadcasting in 1999. Kenya Television Network (KTN) became the first private TV station in Kenya when it was permitted to broadcast in Nairobi and its environs in 1989. It is owned by the The Standard Group. Of note more than 100 applications for radio and television licenses are pending before the Communication Authority of Kenya, which is the independent regulatory authority for the communications industry in Kenya. Its role is to license and regulate telecommunications, radio-communication and postal/courier services in Kenya. Kenya's print media are diverse, ranging from well-respected newspapers and magazines to an expansive tabloid press.

1.3 Aim of study

The aim of this study is to examine the print media coverage of County Governance in Kenya by analyzing the two leading dailies: *Daily Nation and The Standard*.

1.4 Research Objectives

- 1) To analyze the print media coverage of County Governments in Kenya.

- 2) To establish the aspects of County Governments were covered by the print media.
- 3) To establish the extent the Print Media focuses on County Governments and how it has promoted good governance in Kenya.

1.5 Research Questions

In considering the media coverage of the County Governments in Kenya, the following research questions which are based on the print media coverage were formulated.

- 1) To what extent has the print media covered the County Governments in Kenya?
- 2) Which aspects of County Governments were covered by the print media?
- 3) To what extent has the print media coverage of County Governments promoted good governance in Kenya?

1.6 Statement of the problem

The Kenyan constitution that was promulgated in August 2010 has met quite a number of expectations of many Kenyans, mainly with regard to the abolishment of “imperial presidency”, devolution of power and resources to counties, the comprehensive bill of rights, and the extension of participatory rights of women and marginalized groups (commission for the Implementation of the constitution, 2012). Implementation of all of these and other innovations provided by the constitution is scheduled to cover five years. Before the next national elections are held in 2017, nevertheless, relevant institutions and laws have to be not only in place but also working properly as envisaged in the constitution. Sihanya also contends that this deadline and the speed of implementation during the first half year after the promulgation, implementation of the constitution deserve first priority on the political agenda of all relevant institutions. One of the pertinent issues that has really dragged and befuddled the common citizen is the devolution process (2012).

The County Government Act No. 17 of 2012 necessitates the county governments to use any form of mass media they are predisposed to create awareness on devolution and governance (The Kenyan Constitution, 2010). The mass media especially the newspaper has become the most effective tool to distribute information to the public. Consequently, the mass media ought to play a significant role in educating and informing the public on the pertinent issues that are otherwise encrypted in legal language. Ghai (2011) adds that the complexity of the language used in the constitution makes it virtually impossible for the average citizen to comprehend every aspect. The media, at this point, becomes a very important tool for the average citizen especially in the aspect of devolution (Ghai, 2011).

1.7 Justification of the Study

Nanz and Steffek (2004) affirm that good governance is a key concept for democratic and economic development in many countries as witnessed around the world during the past few decades. Kenya is one of the countries that have embraced the idea. The current constitutional dispensation no doubt has been sustained probably because certain institutions were carefully put in place (Commission of Implementation of the Constitution, 2012). From the field of Mass Communication, the media educates, informs the public and sets the agenda. This makes mass media audience consider virtually every issue which the media concentrates on as important (McCombs and Weaver, 1985). This study will be important in the field of development communication. It will help in proposing better strategies and perspectives that can contribute in enhancing cognizance of citizenry responsibilities, rights and privileges that are envisaged in the new constitution particularly devolution.

According to Njogu (2013), the mass media especially the print media has become the

most effective tool to distribute information to the public. The power of the media to influence and educate people on matters of policy has never been important in the history of Kenya. Consequently, it is on this basis that the researcher embarked on analyzing how the media has covered the pertinent and ever muddling matter of devolution process in Kenya since the promulgation of the new constitution.

1.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study uses the concept of public sphere. Public sphere theory was established in 18th century and accentuated by Jürgen Habermas who contended that the public sphere was characterized by its critical nature in contraposition to the representative nature of the feudal system (Habermas, 1996; Boeder, 2005). Conferring to this concept, Hauser (1988) stated that it is a discursive place where citizens of a given jurisdiction can exchange their ideas in order to arrive at a common judgment. This critical nature has been enhanced by the power of the mass media even though it has transformed most of the humanity to be passive public: the objects of a consumer's culture (Habermas, 2006). It is interesting to note, however, that the likelihood of attaining larger numbers of persons allow mass media users to create ties that would have been difficult to maintain without the new tool, and these ties create networks, a popular word nowadays. But how is the society influenced by networks? (Varnelis, 2008).

Garnham (2007) advances that certain conceptualizations of 'network,' 'public sphere,' and 'publics' relate to the fields in which they are hypothesized and discussed. Within the sociology, communication and public policy camps, the idea of the public sphere is commonly believed as a 'commons' like place where deliberation and debate can transpire unobstructed. With the collapse of proximity-defined associations and associative edifices (like the traditional notions of community), the public sphere seems endangered. The

question is which is the best place to debate? How can stakeholders find appropriate associations or alliances to carry out public objectives? Habermas has done further research on the theory and post modernism. He states that the problem from this vantage point is about the loss of the historic public sphere and the need to find a new space or place for exercising deliberative democracy. The brief takeaway here: commons-like venues promote democratic deliberation by affording people space and shared context to interact and engage with one another around public issues. Within the eclectic field of media and communication studies, on the other hand, the public sphere is most often conceptualized as the product or outcome of common media usage, typically at a national or shared-language level. The sphere extends as far as the media transmission does; media defines the shape and dynamics of the sphere (1996). Consumption of media informs a group of people simultaneously and in so doing defines a public audience(s), more recently referred to as ‘publics’ (Sheller, 2004; Varnelis, 2008). A case in point is the use of the public sphere theorization in defense of public service broadcasting: public service broadcasting (PSB) has been traditionally characterized in most countries by nation-wide, free-of-charge, universal, full-service content production and distribution for ‘citizens’ as imagined recipients. There is a subtle, but burgeoning, tension between the public sphere as viewed as a cyber-commons and a media-derived audience of (potentially) active citizens (Habermas, 2006).

The theory of Agenda Setting is also very important in guiding this study. The Agenda-Setting role of the mass media concerns more than just the transfer of news from the media to the public. McCombs elucidates that agenda-setting and priming rely on the notion of attitude accessibility. Mass media have the power to increase levels of importance assigned to issues by audience members. They increase the salience of issues or the ease with which these considerations can be retrieved from memory (McCombs, 1982). Principally, this theory

asserts that the media tell audiences what issues are important by highlighting them in coverage and placement, thereby advancing them on the public agenda. Agenda setting theory is an influential theory within the mass communications discipline. More than 200 empirical studies have found agenda setting effects (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Agenda setting has progressed from the idea that the media suggest topics for the public agenda to the recent proposal that the media actually affect the behavior of the audience. Ghanem (1987) established that agenda-setting research was entering a second phase, in which the effects of the media agenda on what the public thinks has been replaced by a research focus on how the public thinks about it.

Once a county government aspect is placed on the media agenda, a level of legitimacy is conferred as the aspect is evaluated as newsworthy. Prestige-press reporting and ensuing coverage by smaller media outlets perpetuates the status of the aspect as an item on the news agenda. Media coverage reports real-world activities, but also enacts a governance mandate in which the importance devolution processes is conveyed to a larger Kenyan public through the mass media. Agenda setting theory and the social construction of reality work in tandem explain how issues of devolution process rise to prominence (McQuail, 2010). Even though this concept has been accepted by many scholars, it is believed that the reverse could be the case, in the sense that the audience's agenda can at times influence the media's issue agenda (Uscinski, 2009).

Framing Theory, is a broad communication theory which was mainly influenced by a social theorist known as Erving Goffman, elucidates that any developmental topic can be viewed from a variety of standpoints that employ a multitude of different values and considerations. Goffman suggested how individuals organize their thoughts and experiences under a series

of frames based on the individual prior experiences and knowledge and, as such, these frames constitute the individual's reality (Goffman, 1974). Consequently, he conceptualized framing as 'rendering what would otherwise be meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful' (Goffman, 1974). Therefore, because of its interpretive nature, framing theory and its resulting analysis lend themselves an analytical approach used by scholars to access and understand how a variety of issues are constructed, structured and developed by the mass media. Other scholars have also deliberated on the Framing Theory and proposed similar or complimentary conceptualizations of the issue. For instance Gitlin (1980) explained the concept of framing as, "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse." Additionally, Gamson (1992) conceptualized framing as the organizing theme in news media accounts and argued that the frames the main media outlets offer are used by their audiences to construct their own themes for understanding social issues. Brent et al (2005) contend that there are two important conceptualizations of Framing Theory. "These are sociological and psychological. The sociological conceptualization concentrates on and concerns itself with interpretative and rhetorical processes of media discourse, as well as the processes of news production and dissemination. The psychological conceptualization concentrates on the organizing structure and the process by which audiences process and interpret information. These conceptualizations, which serve to guide the theoretical and analytic nature of framing research, are rooted in paradigmatic positions that dominate the approach to Framing Theory."

Walter Lippmann was one of the greatest media researchers of his time. He, at one point noted in his Public Opinion book that, "The only feeling that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is the feeling aroused by his mental image of that event,"

(Lippman, 1922, p. 18). This statement has remained relevant till now and it can be applied here in Kenya vis a vis devolution process. Good governance has been a thorny issue for many African countries Kenya included. The recent promulgation of the new constitution has further ‘complicated’ matters as Kenyans grope in the dark with regards to the implementation of the new constitution especially the facet of devolution (Nwonwu & Kotze, 2008). This has been enduring problem that continues to plague the country today. Many Kenyans hold different opinions on the devolution process. The politicians and other political actors view it as the means of consolidating their power while the constitutional experts and others view it as means of achieving massive national development by means of bottom-up (Mwenda, 2010).

As these topics and issues are presented within a variety of frames, people reshape their thinking about an issue and develop a particular conceptualization of the issue. By choosing some elements of a reality and suppressing others, a story about a particular problem is constructed (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Many questions present in Kenya and international societies are complex and time consuming for the average person to learn about and understand. Framing in communications simplifies and organizes these multifaceted problems by endorsing particular explanations and interpretations of the social and political issue. Ultimately, it has a packaging function that requires someone in the media industry to select certain aspects of the larger problem, and make them more palatable for the consumer so that it is easier to understand on a very broad, surface level (Kim, Carvalho, and Davis 2010). The frames that the media choose to use when reporting on and representing a topic are essential because they tell the audience what is important to think about. This can have a deep effect on the attitudes and behavior of the individual by laying out what one should consider when evaluating a variety of issues and applying them to his or her own life

(Chong and Druckman 2007; Kim, Carvalho, and Davis 2010). The framing of devolution process by the Kenyan mass media is particularly interesting to examine because questions of both what the cause of the confusion is, as well as solutions for the matter, are deeply entangled, yet often addressed and conveyed individually. Tankard (2001) adds that this definition and framing of causality and responsibility are very important because they shape the overall approach taken by policy makers when attempting to synthesize a solution for the issue, and when choosing who in particular the efforts towards change within society should be directed towards and applied to.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

There are numerous limitations of this study that must be addressed. First, this study was a content analysis and it focused on just two publications (*Daily Nation* and *The Standard*) out of many that are in circulation. A second limitation of this study is the sample size. Time constraints limited the sample to 364 newspapers from both publications and a period of 12 months. Even though this is a standard number from which to draw initial conclusions, future research using a larger sample would give more strength to the findings. Another limitation of this study is that publications are shaped by events thus likelihood of missing out on the appropriate sample.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Good governance is not just about government. It is also about political parties, parliament, the judiciary, the media, and civil society. It is about how citizens, leaders and public institutions relate to each other in order to make change happen.

Making Governance Work for the Poor: DFID White Paper, 2006

2.1 Mass Media and Good Governance: A Conceptual Framework.

Nanz and Steffek (2004) echo the sentiments of other scholars that media acts as a medium of communication whereby information, messages and stories can be transmitted to the general public. There are various forms of media existence in the world today and they serve the purpose of dissemination of information, as well as critiquing it in the best way possible. Key among the media categories that exist in Kenya today includes the print media, traditional media, electronic media, and mass communication media. Soola (2009) adds that the main aim of the media is to bring about cognizance among the citizenry through the transfer of information. This process of informing the public is an extremely important ingredient of good and sound governance that bring about national development. For instance the population is informed about the shifting or updated policies and programs of the government. It can, therefore, be substantiated that media can enhance the notion of good governance through improved transparency, strengthened enhanced freedom of expression, and expanded opportunity for citizen participation (Soola, 2009).

The media is an important institution that can and should strengthen the democracy and

enhance sound governance through the role Fog refers to as, “surveillance of sociopolitical developments, identifying the most relevant issues, providing a platform for debate across a diverse range of views, holding officials to account for the way they exercise power, providing incentives for citizens to learn, choose and become involved in the political process” (2004). Therefore, it is certainly true that the media is a strong pillar that upholds democracy.

In order to explore the effect of the media as a tool for sound governance, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) conducted a survey on governance and the media. In order to get accurate results, the responses were received from a number of diverse groups, including policy makers, academics and practitioners from government and media sectors. The question put to them was along the lines as Aveggio reports, “How important do you consider the media to be as a watchdog of governance and is this issue receiving an appropriate measure of attention?” The responses were analyzed and the survey concluded that there was an “increasing recognition of media’s role in governance in the development community and that there are some indicators that the media are starting to be recognized at policy level” (2012).

In a nutshell, the ability of people, civil community and the private sector to dissect public institutes and governments and hold them accountable is one important component of good governance. The surveillance of the developmental function of the mass media identified by Lasswell (1948) and Wright (1960) many decades ago shows that the media can play a pivotal role as a watchdog for governance. As watchdogs, the news media has a responsibility to help guard the public interest, ensuring the accountability of powerful decision-makers by highlighting cases of malfeasance, misadministration and corruption, thereby

strengthening the transparency and effectiveness of governance (Lasswell, 1948; Wright, 1960).

2.2 Mass Media and National Development

Mass media enables a country to transform and develop. This translates to the growth of a nation, thus playing an instrumental role in the socio-economic transition and development. Balan (1992) notes that wherever there is a progressive economy and progressive development, there is a progressive mass media system, independent of all powers. Therefore, the mass media and national development are interlinked and inter-dependent with each other. The media, by virtue of its role, can stimulate growth and progress. As a matter of policy, the mass media should be part and parcel of the nation's socio-economic development. Schramm observes that, "Social communication's structure is reflective of the structure and development of the society" (1964). Consequently, any progressive society needs a vibrant and independent media to propagate the development. Kenya is not an exception as it is an emerging democracy, as well as a developing country. The media in Kenya plays a major role in enlightening, apprising and entertaining the citizens. In educating the public, the Kenyan media (exclusively the private media) has been effervescent in educating the Kenyan public about the new constitution dispensation and other gray areas such as the devolution (Sihanya, 2012).

In 2010, The World Bank presented a report on the based on the significance of the news media in emerging nations. The World Bank stated, "In complex modern societies, the existence of the independent news media can be regarded as a necessary condition to guarantee a lively and effective public sphere. Over the years, many rival normative standards have been developed for evaluating the performance of media systems" (2010).

This shows the extent the news media gifts the general public with the platform to raise pertinent issues vis a vis national development. Essentially, as agenda setters, the news media have an obligation to raise consciousness of inescapable social, political and economic problems, help turn the public attention to matters of common interest, inform governing officials about social needs and apprise the international community about development challenges. As gatekeepers, the news media also have an obligation of reflecting and incorporating the multiplicity of perspectives and political arguments in reportage, to exploit the variety of viewpoints and arguments in lucid public discussions, and to enrich the public sphere (Herbamass, 1996).

2.2.1 The Mass Media as an Indicator of Good Governance and National Development

The presence of mass media in any country is important because it influences development in many ways. The existence of mass media, as indicated by such things as per capita availability of radio receivers or newspapers, historically has correlated substantially and positively with indicators of a country's development, such as per capita income or gross national product (Rummel, 1972). It is these correlations that suggest the function of the media as an indicator of development in a given country. Indeed, many scholars have argued that mass communication tends to promote development, which they often conceived not only in economic terms, as per capita wealth, but also political terms, as political stability or democracy. Positive theories (Wells, 1972) suggests that this may happen. One can think of reasons that almost any form of media content might promote development or modernization. Entertainment media, for instance, may show the purported advantages of life in developed countries to tradition peoples, thereby promoting a necessary change. On the other hand, persuasive media may act as a sort of agricultural extension service and facilitate diffusion of innovations. They may provide information about, and convince people to use, new

agricultural, medical, or birth control techniques. Information media might inform citizens about public affairs especially devolution (in the case of Kenya), thereby promoting political participation and democracy. In 1962, when most African countries were gaining self-independence, the UNESCO General Conference authorized a major study concerning the practicalities of media development. Wilbur Schramm (1964) conducted the study that looked into the effect of mass media on national development. One of the crucial discoveries of the research was that the mass media played an integral part in the political and national development of a given country. The study presented evidence of the lack of communication links within developing countries and between those and the First World. Among the things Schramm recommended was a free and vibrant media that could perform the functions of disseminating information and educating the public on political and economic development in their countries. Schramm (1964) spells out, “For the task of the mass media of information and the ‘new media’ of education is to speed and ease the long , slow social transformation required for economic development, and particular, to speed and smooth the task of mobilizing human resources behind the national effort.” Even though the research was conducted over fifty years ago, the findings resonate with the governance and political situation in Kenya. The Kenyan people need the mass media in more ways than one. The citizenry need information with regards to devolution. Conceptualization of devolution system of governance is a new phenomenon in Kenya and thus needs elaborate explanation. It is at this point the media provides a platform with which experts and leaders can use to sensitize the public on matters devolution.

2.2.2 The Mass Media and Citizen Participation in Good Governance

As Lister (1998) notes, the notion of citizenship has long been a subject of debate and value-laden one in the democratic theory. To some, citizenship refers to a set of individual rights,

whereas to others it is seen as a wider set of social and civic responsibilities. More recently, some have claimed for linking these two traditions, such that the right of participation in decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of basic human rights. Lister (1998) states citizen participation as the intervention of private citizens with determined social interests in public activities. As noted by Cunill (1997) citizen participation... refers to political participation but distinguishes from it at least in two ways: it abstracts both participation mediated by political parties, as well as the one exercised by citizens when they elect political authorities. It expresses instead - although with multiple meanings- the direct intervention of social agents in public activities. Citizen participation in this sense involves direct ways in which citizen's influence and exercise control in governance, not only through the more traditional forms of indirect representation (Lister, 1998).

The mass media becomes an important actor in citizen participation process as it informs the citizens and provides the platform on which citizens can interact and communicate freely with one another and the leaders, as well. Media coverage of policy issues is an important factor in understanding citizen involvement in policy decisions. It is with this understanding that media coverage frequency, timing and content can influence the citizens and hence promote participation. Of note, the media promotes citizen participation by holding government to account and empowering the local communities. It also gives the voice to the citizens who would want to air their dissatisfaction on policy issues among other governance concerns.

2.2.3 Media and Devolution Process in the United Kingdom

Devolution as a form of governance has been used in various countries with every country

having its own account of this form of administration. For the purpose of this study, the researcher delved at the United Kingdom countries of England, Wales, Northern Ireland Scotland and Westminster.

A change in policy especially in administration affects different sectors. Devolution as new policy of governance has affected the citizens of UK in more ways than one. However, the focus of this study is on the coverage of the devolution process. According to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2010), “Ten years of devolution coincided mostly with falling levels of poverty and improving employment rates across the UK, particularly in Scotland and the North East of England. Social housing improvements were achieved. The Welsh approach to social care enables costs for older people on lower incomes to be reduced and contrasts with Scotland’s more costly universal approach. It is likely to take longer than ten years to see the true impact of devolved policies for disadvantaged groups, especially in Wales where more limited powers are currently available.”

In a research conducted in the United Kingdom, *‘Reflecting the four nations? An analysis of reporting devolution on UK network news media,’* the media was castigated for not highlighting imperative information with regards to devolution process. The research findings reveal that the media did not adequately play its role in advancing development through proper education and dissemination of information to the public on matters to do with the process of devolution. Of note, the public profoundly relied on the media for information on matters about devolution but there was little to of it. Cushion et al. (2009) explicate, “While politicians have been busy legislating post-devolution, UK news media have found it difficult to reflect the changing contours of political life. Audiences across the UK rely heavily on network news for their information about politics so the lack of coverage or

engagement with devolved policies does little to inform people—especially outside England—about who is in charge and what they are doing. Regular viewers of UK network news, our study suggest could remain oblivious of the fact that important decisions in areas like health and education are being made in four separate places, while the decisions themselves, outside England, are almost entirely peripheral.” The findings of this study show that the media did not sufficiently educate or inform the public on important matters of devolution. It is important to note that the media, both conventional and alternative, can facilitate the empowerment of individuals and collectivities. The table (see Table 1) below shows the average audience that depends on the media for information and education and other innumerable matters.

Table 1. BBC 1 news audiences by nation for weekday network news programmes					
	UNITED KINGDOM	ENGLAND	SCOTLAND	WALES	NORTHERN IRELAND
<i>One O'clock News</i>					
Average Audience	2.8million	2.3million	280,000	140,000	75,000
Audience as % of population	4.9	4.8	6.0	5.1	4.7
<i>Six O'clock News</i>					
Average Audience	4.4 million	3.7 million	350,000	250,000	75,000
Audience as % of population	7.7	7.8	7.3	9.0	4.7
<i>Ten O'clock News</i>					
Average audience	4.9 million	4.1 million	370,000	250,000	125,000
Audience as % of population	8.6	8.7	7.7	9.0	7.7
Source: BARB (12 months from October 2007 to September 2008)					

This means that the UK media is not empowering the citizenry with devolution information so that they can make informed decisions about the systems of governance. The study found out that even though the media have an enormous potential to provide knowledge about devolution, they can also be a vehicle for uncritical assumptions, beliefs, stereotypes, and political ideologies. It showed that there was need to refocus on matters that can propel the four nations to new heights. Cushion et al. (2009) add, “Given the diversity of political

parties now in control of the devolved institutions, the divergence between the political life in the four nations is only likely to increase. This makes it critical that the UK news media keep up with the dynamic world of devolution, not least in terms of providing a more balanced coverage of devolved politics across the four nations. Of course, making sense of any “clear water” that divides Westminster and the other devolved institutions are sometimes a complicated, confusing and time-consuming task. But any scrutiny of policy can only be enhanced by looking at alternatives close to home” (p27). The study served as a wake-up call to the mass media since it was abdicating its watchdog role. The road to success of devolution in the four nations depends on the vibrancy of the media. The process can fully succeed if the mass media empowers individuals by enabling them to publicly and privately scrutinize and contest decisions taken on their behalf by the power elite. Overemphasis on political party matters will only serve to bring a developed and civilized nation to its knees.

2.3 Devolution in Kenya

In 2005, Kenyans rejected a proposed new constitution. This regenerated a constitutional process. Devolution was among the contentious aspects that contributed to the stalemate between the government and other policy makers. It is important to note that the call for an alternative system of governance stemmed from the perceived failure of the highly centralized system of governance that many countries especially in Africa have operated since the early independence years. Therefore, decentralization should be promoted as the best alternative policy to address the administrative inadequacies, misappropriation of public resources and corruption that have pigeonholed centralized systems of governments (Barret, Mude and Omiti, 2007).

The inclusion of devolution in the country’s government was one of the key restructurings

of the constitution that was inaugurated in 2010. Ghai (2010) defines “Devolution is the process of decentralizing power from the center (central government) to sub-national units. It is different from a federal system of government, since under the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty devolution is in theory reversible and the devolved institutions are constitutionally subordinate to the Kenyan Parliament.” Kenya has been divided into 47 counties. There is a president, ministers, senator, governor, and members of parliament. “Devolution in Kenya has taken various forms; Administrative - For example the establishment of Government Offices for the Regions, or, before 1999, the practice of transferring responsibilities from central government departments to territorial departments of the same Government. Executive - where the prerogative powers of the UK Government are transferred to ministers of devolved governments, usually under statutory authority. Legislative-where law-making powers are transferred to other legislatures” (Koki, Chege and Nabulumbi, 2013).

In 2013, Koki, Chege and Nabulumbi conducted a research on the state of devolution in Kenya. The researchers interviewed a total of twelve people consisting of fellow students and lecturers. The interviewees were expected to give their insights about devolution and how they felt about it being applied in Kenya. The researchers asked; “Do you know what devolution is? What do you know about devolution? Do you think Kenya can afford this form of government? What do you think are the positive and negative effects of devolution?” (2013).

The researchers found out that 17% of the interviewees did not understand the meaning of devolution. Those conversant with the concept gave brief explanation and most of them had already concluded that it was a bad governance policy. 83% of the interviewees

thought that Kenya may not be able to afford devolution. The issues of burdening the taxpayer came to the fore with most of them thought that there are so many levels of governance hence more leaders who would demand higher pay. Other reasons include the debt situation in Kenya, unreliable leader and poor system of governance that is not accountable. However, 17% of the respondents stated that Kenya can afford devolution if the untapped resources are exploited and leaders of integrity are elected to serve the people.

2.4 Rationale of Devolution in Kenya

Since Kenya became independent in 1963, it has experienced incidences of political instability which have had adversarial impact on its economy as well as social cohesion. For instance, in 2008, Kenya witnessed violence following the disputed national elections held in December 2007. Kenya has also experienced other failures from time to time. Such failures include corruption, economic stagnation, inequalities and poverty. These failures and episodic instability can be linked to the quality of governance (Kimenyi and Meagher, 2004). Quality of governance is in turn dependent on institution. These institutions can take different forms ranging from the constitution, to local authority by-laws to self-regulation in informal business setting. It is these institutions that collectively determine the governance framework in a country. Different governance frameworks will yield varying political, economic and social outcomes. As Kimenyi and Meagher (2004) note, these differences emanate from the differences in the rules organizing capabilities, social and political principles captures in the governance concept. Devolution is such governance concept.

In Kenya, devolution was advocated by experts as a political response to the vices plaguing fragile and plural societies, such as, conflicts, inequalities, economic stagnation, corruption and inefficient use of resources. Besides, devolution was implemented as a reaction to

external pressure from organized groups (civil and human rights groups). Nonetheless, for devolution to be successful, the criteria of subsidiary and consensus must be observed (Dent, 2004; Kimenyi & Meagher, 2004). There are several ways in which devolution impacts governance. First, by distributing authority over public goods and revenues devolution makes it difficult for individuals or groups of official actors to collude and engage in corrupt practices. Second, where devolution of authority takes place along territorial and communal lines, it can foster effective cooperation within the devolved units. As a result, local communities are able to mobilize social pressure against rent seeking and corruption. Indeed, a growing number of countries have over the last 30 years further decentralized administrative, fiscal and political functions of central government and sub-national governments. These countries include the United Kingdom, Italy and Spain. In many cases, devolution has also been driven by the need to bring government closer to the people.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Methodology of Data Collection and Analysis

3.1 Introduction

Research strategy is very important for the researcher particularly in an effort to find out possible answers to the formulated research questions. As Cooper and Schindler (2003) state, there are certain relevant tools and methodologies that a research strategy must contain. Additionally, it is important for the research to use tools and methods that point out the reliability and validity of the material and data collected. In addition, it is crucial that all materials and collected data is critically scrutinized and examined (Robson, 2002). The research strategy for this project begun by collecting and examining some background information regarding the situation of County Governments in Kenya. Final questions for the interviews and units of analysis will be structured based on the research from noteworthy literature. The results from the primary and the secondary data collected will be examined in order to ascertain the most important results. In addition, some inferences will be drawn based on the results related to the research questions (Cooper and Schindler, 2003).

3.1.1 Data Source

In this project, both primary and secondary data were collected. The secondary data used was censoriously appraised and collected from relevant literature, databases, as well as internet sources. Further, the data used in this study was drawn from the two leading local dailies: *The Daily Nation and The Standard* for the period of May 2013 to April 2014. The referenced time period is significant on the basis of some observations. First, the country was fresh out of the election in March and the government was hard pressed to work under the new

constitution. The constitutional implementation process that began way back in 2010 after promulgation was to gain momentum with the new leaders in the office. Consequently, this time period was significant because leaders whose mandate was to ensure smooth transition had already been elected and in office. Accordingly, there were many organizations including the Media Council of Kenya who were interested in the media's coverage of the devolution process in Kenya. The media was, thus, expected to intensify the coverage of the process because it brought with it intricacies of governance foreign to many Kenyans as witnessed later on.

On the source of data, the two dailies were chosen at the exclusion of the others mainly due to their wide reach in terms of circulation and readership, reliability in reporting and detailed approach in presentation of County government issues.

3.1.2 Population and Sampling Procedures

Based on the nature of data required for the study and the time and finances allotted, the May 2013 to April 2014 was picked for this study since it (the year 2013) marked the inception of a new government and thus the beginning of another era under the new constitution. For this research, publications between May 2013 and May 2014 were be analyzed. A total of 182 publications were analyzed for each paper at alternate days for a period of 12 months (May 2013 to April 2014). This means that every day had an equal chance of being sampled.

3.1.3 Unit of Analysis

Units of Analysis are what the researcher counts and assigns categories (Stacks and Hocking, 1998). In this study, the themes that were identified for study and form the unit of analysis includes all *articles, news, opinions* and *commentaries* that touched on the County

Governments in Kenya. Additionally, these included the knowledge of the devolution process, functions and mandates of different officials in the devolved system of government, conflict arising from the devolution process, powers of wide ranging positions created in the new constitution among others.

Number of articles: This entails all articles on devolution during the period under consideration and which at the time of study were available to the researcher.

Placement of articles: This is the placement of the articles, opinions or news based in the newspapers. They may appear on the front page, back page or inside.

Type of story: this entails the categories of newspaper items-news, features, editorials, letters-to-the editors, opinions, cartoons, pictures and adverts.

3.2 Data Collection Methods

3.2.1 Content Analysis

In this research, Content Analysis was used. Content Analysis involves an orderly analysis of readings, pictures and symbolic matter, not necessary from an author's or user's perspective. Krippendorff further observes that, "Content analysis is potentially one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences. The content analyst views data as representations not physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meanings, and must therefore be analyzed with such uses in mind" (2004, p56). Even though content analysis as a methodology was introduced more than half a century ago, it is still applicable in the present day expressly in the field of mass communication (particularly print media). Hansen (1998) also adds that content analysis has become an effectual substitute to public opinion study, a method of tracking markets,

political leanings and emerging ideas.

3.2.2 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a formal letter from the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism explaining the objectives of the research. This letter helped the researcher to access and or obtains permission from authorities in Nation Media Group, Kenya National Library as well as *The Standard* in order to use their resources. The researcher embarked on content analysis of the two newspapers.

3.3 Data Analysis

This research employed the use of Excel MS for data analysis. Data that was obtained was then analyzed according to thematic concerns.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Results

4.1.1 Newspapers

A total of 364 newspapers from May 2013 to April 2014 were analyzed. The sample was drawn from both the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. Out of the 364 newspapers, 946 articles were found to match the requirements. *Daily Nation* had a total of 323 articles that had County Governance issues while *Standard* had a total of 623 articles with County Government issues and the total was 946. Consequently, the *Standard* had more articles with County Governance issues (63.3%) while *Daily Nation* had fewer articles (36.7%) (See figure 1).

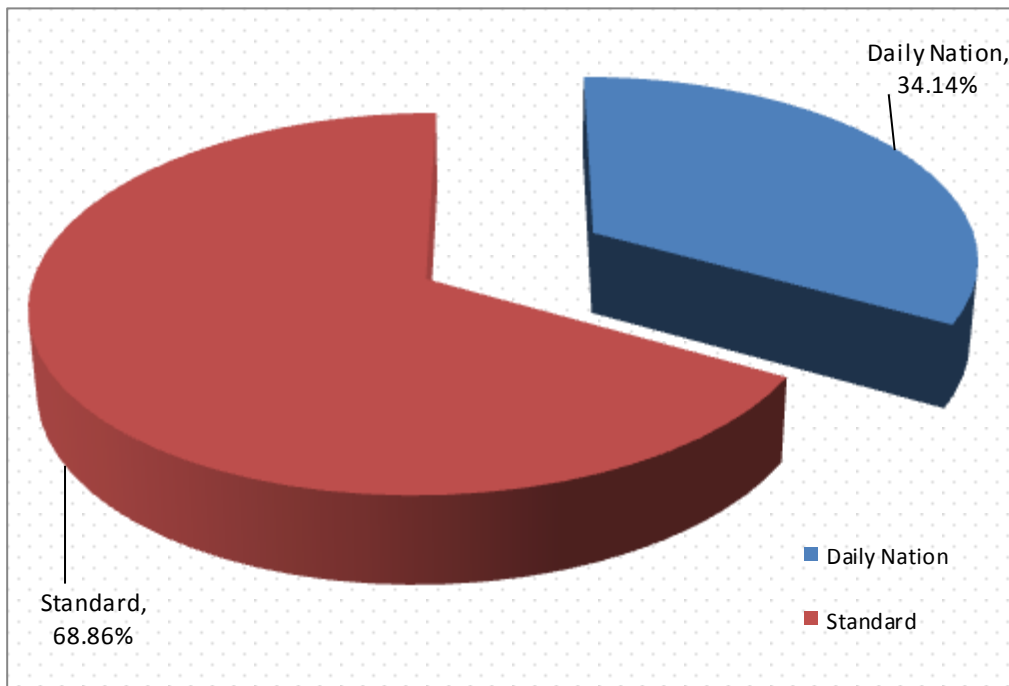


Figure 1. Distribution of articles samples in *Daily Nation* and *Standard*

4.1.2 Day of the Week

The 946 stories in both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* were drawn from all days of the week (See Table 2). That means Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday contributed to the total number of stories. Monday was coded as 1, Tuesday 2, Wednesday 3, Thursday 4, Friday 5, Saturday 6 and Sunday 7. Tuesday posted the highest the day the newspapers were sampled contributing 55 (15.11%) newspapers, while Monday posted 52 (14.29%), Wednesday 52 (14.29%), Thursday 51(14.01%), Friday 51 (14.01%), Saturday 53 (14.56%) and Sunday 50 (13.74%) (See Figure 2).

Table 2. Day of the Week		
Day	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Monday	52	14.29%
Tuesday	55	15.11%
Wednesday	52	14.29%
Thursday	51	14.01%
Friday	51	14.01%
Saturday	53	14.56%
Sunday	50	13.74%
Total	364	100.00%

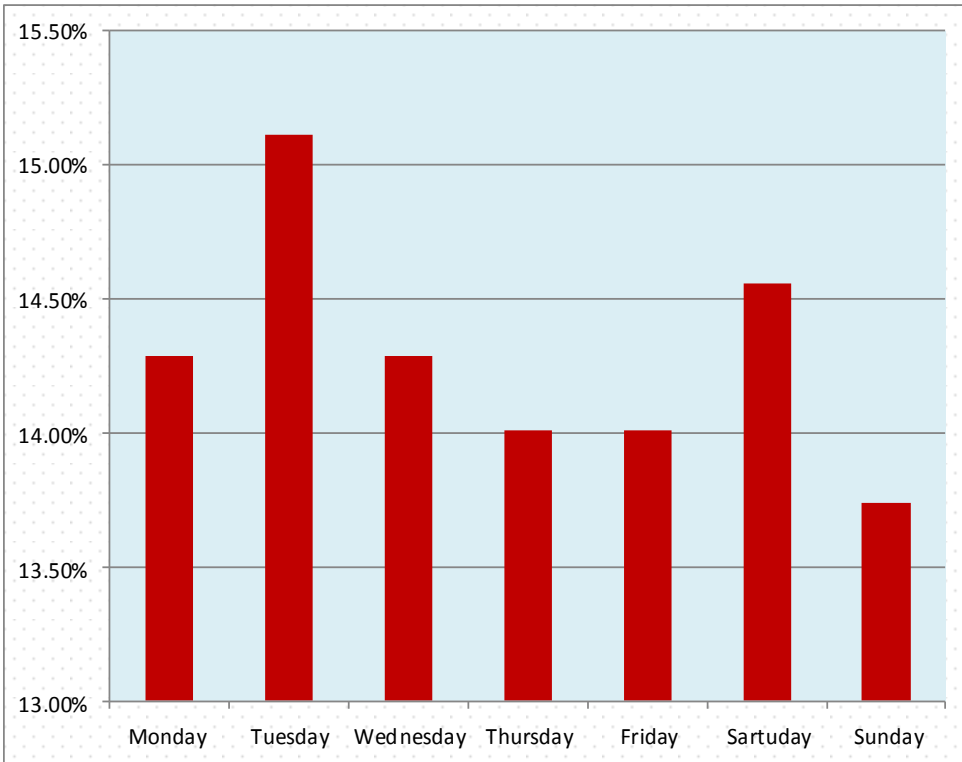


Figure 2. Day of the Week

4.1.3 Key word

The research used certain keywords in order to establish the dominant topics inherent in the stories. County Government was the keyword that was used in many articles. County Government or simply County appeared 271 times with a percentage of 28.65% (See Table 3 and figure). Governors, Governor, County Boss, or Council of Governors appeared 270 seventy times representing about 28.54% of the total number of stories sampled. Members of the County Assembly appeared 136 times which represents 14.38%, Devolution (in Kenya) 58 (6.13%), Senator 91 (9.62%), County Financing 19 (2.01%), County Resources 5 (0.53%), Revenue Allocation 44 (4.65%), County Security 28 (2.96%) while the rest posted 24 (2.54%) times.

Key Word	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Devolution (in Kenya)	58	6.13%
County Government	271	28.65%
Members of the county Assembly	136	14.38%
Governors	270	28.54%
Senator	91	9.62%
County Financing	19	2.01%
County Resources	5	0.53%
Revenue Allocation	44	4.65%
County Security	28	2.96%
Others	24	2.54%
Total	946	100.00%

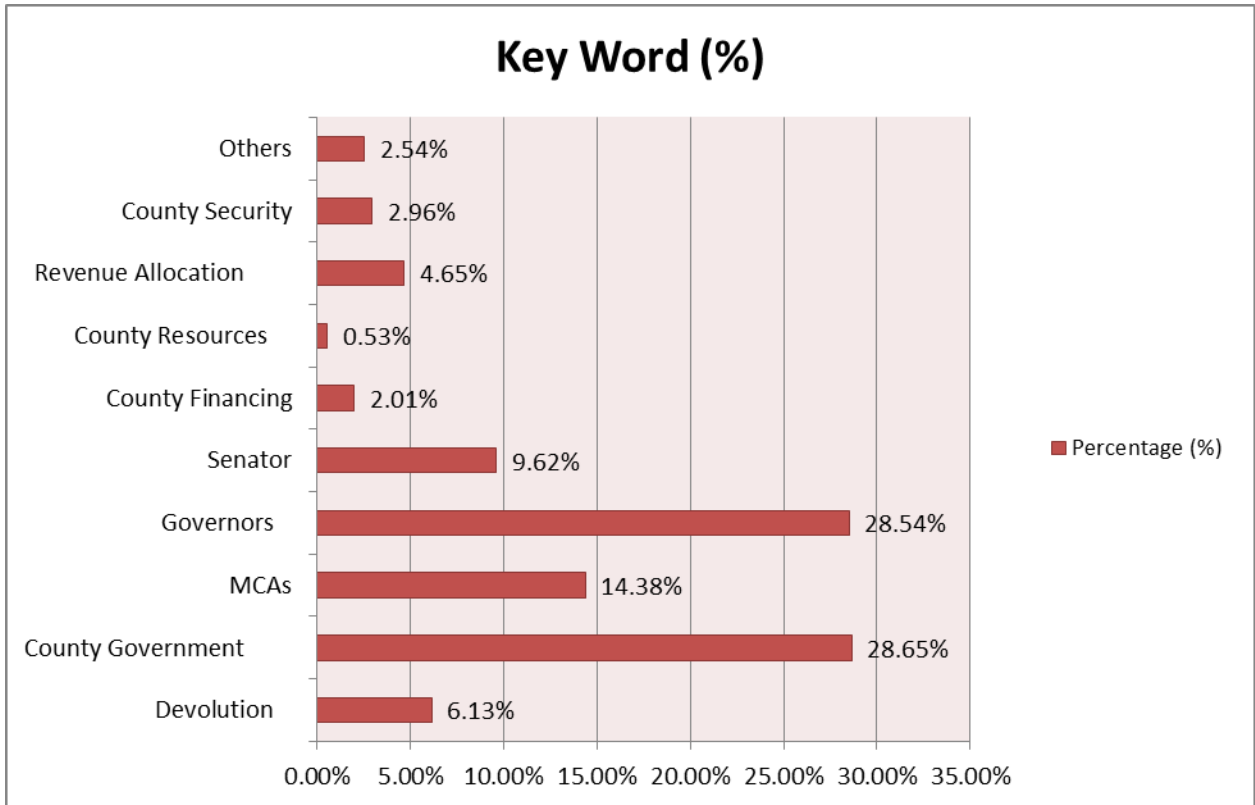


Figure 3 Key word used in the articles

4.1.4 Focus

The stories were also analysed in terms of the focus or the placement of the story in the news papers. The stories were categorised to be either High, Medium or Low (See Table Figure 3). High focus stories were those stories placed on the front or back page, had a headline that mentioned the keywords, devoted more than twenty lines to a County Governance-specific issue, had a graphic devoted to County Governance with an issue in discussion and or was an editorial story. Medium focus stories had a graphic that integrates a County Governance related issue with another issue, graphic that included a County Governance-related issue, a section of an integrated story that devoted 10-20 lines of the story to County Governance-specific issue and a section of an integrated story that devoted 20 lines of the story to County

Governance issue. Low Focus stories had a single mention of five to ten lines devoted to County Governance specific story, a section of an integrated story that devotes 10-20 lines of the story to County Governance issue and there was no graphic.

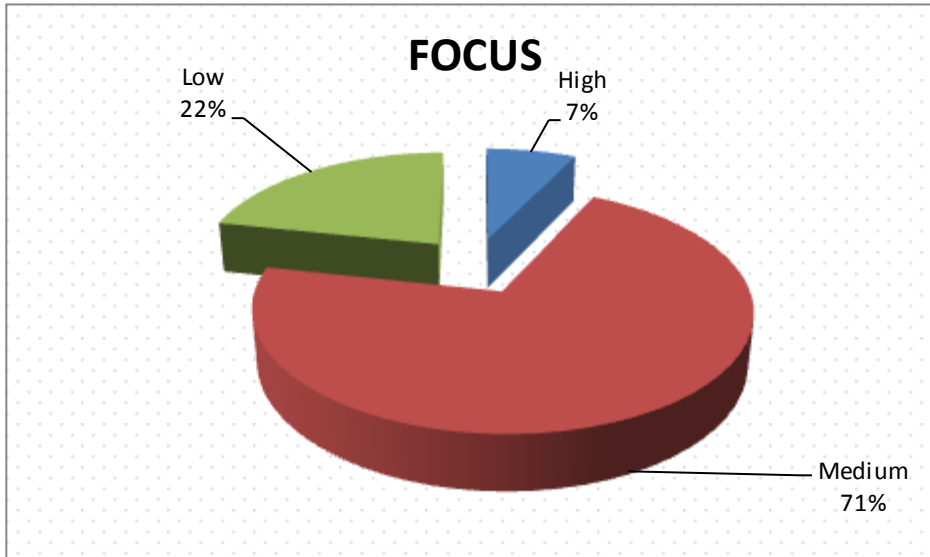


Figure 4. Focus: Either High, Medium or Low

Therefore, of the entire sample of 946 articles, the number of stories of county government issues placed on the front page, back page or editorial were 68 which is 7.19%, while medium posted the highest with 673 (71.14%) stories. Low focus were 205 (21.67%) (See Table 4).

Table 4. Focus		
Focus	Frequency	Percentage
High	68	7.19%
Medium	673	71.14%
Low	205	21.67%
Total	946	100.00%

4.1.5 Dominant Topics

The first research question addressed the newspaper coverage of County Government within twelve months (May 2013-April 2014). There were a total of 16 topics (See Table 5) in the entire sample that were categorised as dominant topics owing to their frequency as well as importance. Salaries (0.32%), Revenue Allocation (11.84%), Central Government Relations (3.81%), County Hiring (5.29%), Corruption at County Government (1.9%), County Government Spending (5.81%) Governors' powers (2.22%), Senators' powers (2.22%), Members of the County Assembly (0.21%), County Governance (22.83%), MCA salaries and Allocances (5.92%), County Security (3.81%), County Administration (19.66%), County Funding (5.29%), County Resources (7.08%), Transition Authority (1.16%) while other topics were (0.63%).

Table 5. Dominant Topics in the Articles sampled		
Dominant Topic	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Salaries	3	0.32
Revenue Allocation	112	11.84
Central Government Relations	36	3.81
County Hiring	50	5.29
Corruption at County Government	18	1.9
County Government Spending	55	5.81
Governors' powers	21	2.22
Senators' powers	21	2.22
Members of the County Assembly	2	0.21
County Governance	216	22.83
MCA salaries and Allowances	56	5.92
County Security	36	3.81
County Administration	186	19.66
County Funding	50	5.29
County Resources	67	7.08
Transition Authority	11	1.16
Others	6	0.63
Total	946	100

4.1.6 Perspective

The researcher also sought to indicate the way that the story is written. General News was any County Government story that emphasizes facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing. Reflective referred to the longer, more insightful tone and covered County Government issue in more depth or told a story rather than just presenting a series of facts. Commentary or Criticism was any story that offered a first-

person opinion or a stated opinion of the newspaper. Consequently, the stories were analyzed in terms of the General News, Reflective and Commentary or Criticism. Therefore, of the 946 stories analyzed General News stories totaled 700 which is equivalent of 74.00%, stories that were written from a Reflective angle were 167 which is 17.65% while Commentary/Criticism totaled 79, an equivalent of 8.35%. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the three forms of treatment, their frequency and percentage.

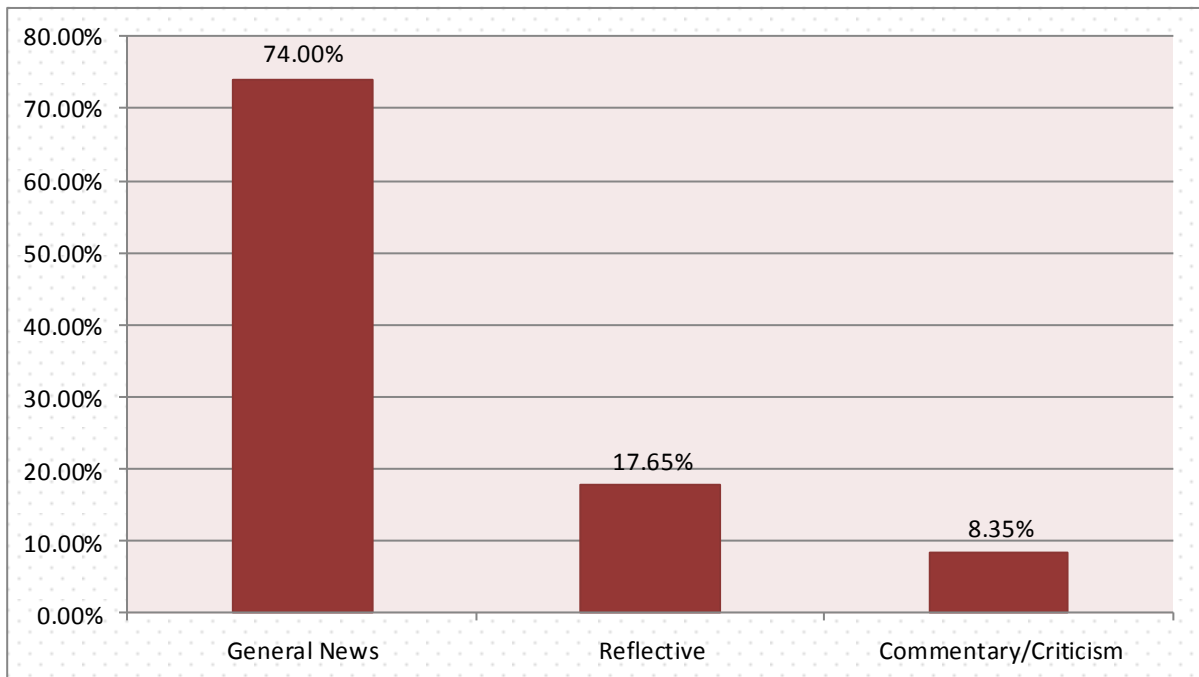


Figure 5. Perspective in which the Articles were written: General, Reflective, Commentary/Criticism

4.1.7 Story Source

Of the 946 stories obtained from the newspapers, the researcher analyzed them in terms of their sources or the authors. There were five forms of story sources and they include Wire Service, Editor, Reporter, Devolution expert as well as Elected Leaders. Table 6 shows the distribution of the story source as well as their percentages and frequencies.

Source of the Story	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Wire Service	0	0%
Editor	41	4.33%
Reporter	835	88.27%
Devolution expert	19	2.01%
Elected Leaders	13	1.37%
Others	38	4.02%
Total	946	100.00%

Out of the sample, there were no articles or stories drawn from the Wire Service having posted 0%, there were a total of 41(4.33%) stories from the editor of the newspaper in both dailies, there were 13 (1.37%) from elected leaders, there were 19 (2.01%) stories from devolution experts (See Figure 5). A total of 835 stories both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* were written by reporters.

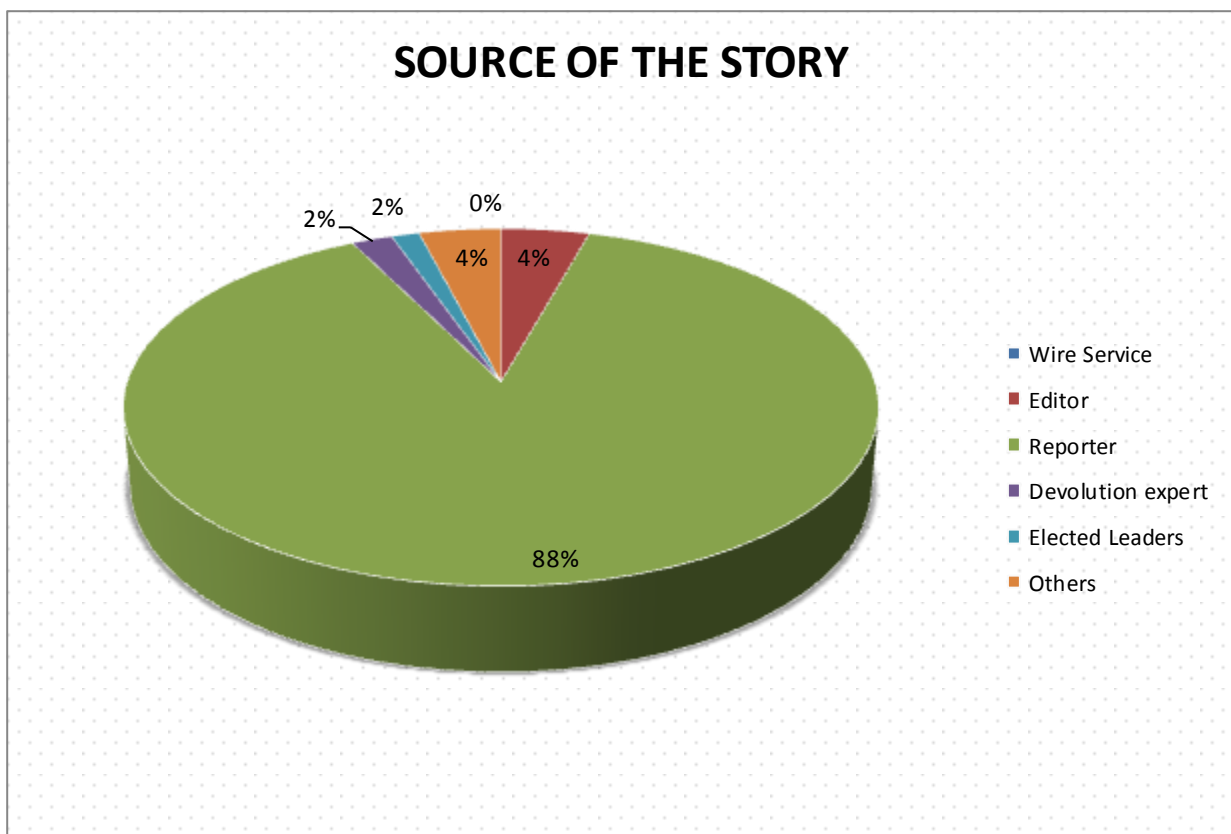


Figure 6. Source of the Story

4.1.8 Statistics

The 946 stories in both *Daily Nation and Standard* were also analyzed in terms of statistics. The researcher indicated whether the stories sampled included statistics particularly with regards to revenue allocation, county funding and revenue collection. Therefore, 12 (1.27%) stories included statistics vis a vis County Governance while a total of 934 (98.73%) stories did not have any element of statistics in them (See Figure 6).

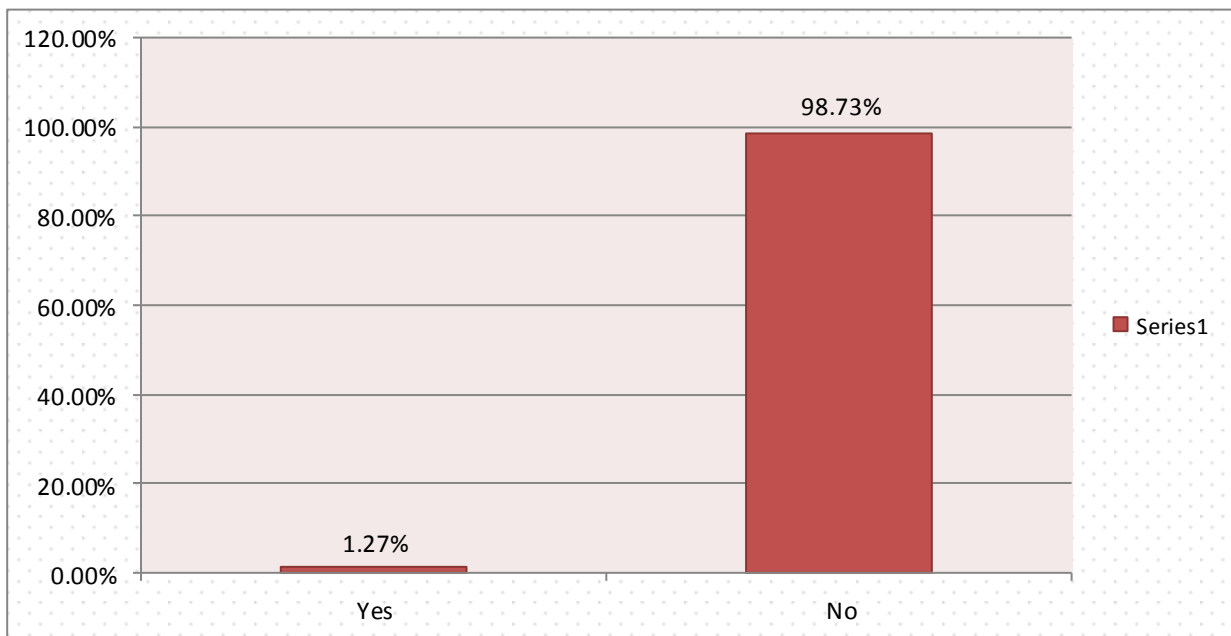


Figure 7. Statistics

4.1.9 Tone

The 946 stories were also analyzed in terms of the tone used whether Optimistic, Neutral, Pessimistic or Advocating for Change with regards to County Governance. As shown in Table 7, most of the stories written in both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* were neutral.

Table 7. Tone used in the Articles

Tone	Frequency (F)	Percent (%)
Optimistic	135	14.27%
Neutral	495	52.33%
Pessimistic	307	32.45%
Advocating for Change	9	0.95%
Total	946	100.00%

A total of 495 (52.33%) stories were neutral, 135 (14.27%) were optimistic about County Government 307 (32.45%) were pessimistic while only 9 (0.95%) stories seemed to advocate for change in terms of County Government. Figure 7 shows the distribution of the stories with regards to the tone used.

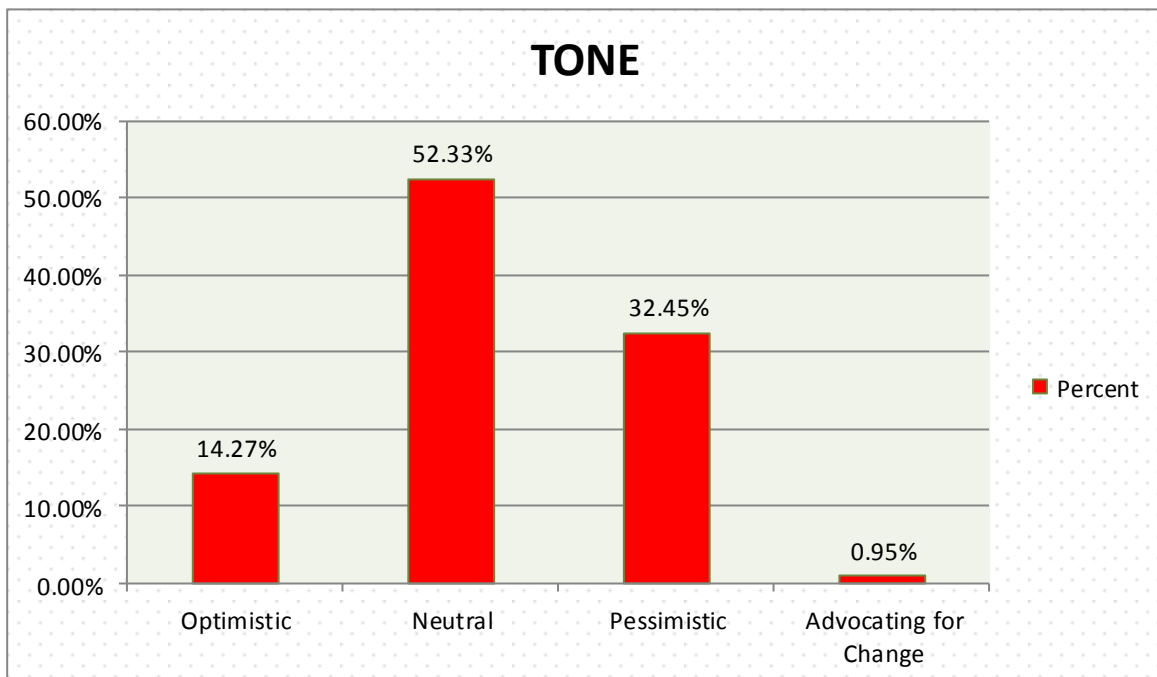


Figure 8. Tone used in the articles

4.1.10 Picture

The entire 946 stories were also analyzed whether they contained pictures or not. The

pictures could for County officials namely governor, senators, members of the county assembly, county assembly. Additionally, pictures of county buildings including county assembly, offices of the governor, residence of the governor among others were recorded. Table 8 shows the summary of the number of articles with pictures or no pictures.

Table 8. The Presence of Pictures		
Picture	Frequency (F)	Percent (%)
Yes	758	80.13%
No	188	19.87%
Total	946	100.00%

There were a total of 758 (80.13%) stories with pictures while 188 (19.87%) stories lacked the pictures. Figure 8 shows the distribution of the pictures together with frequencies and percentages.

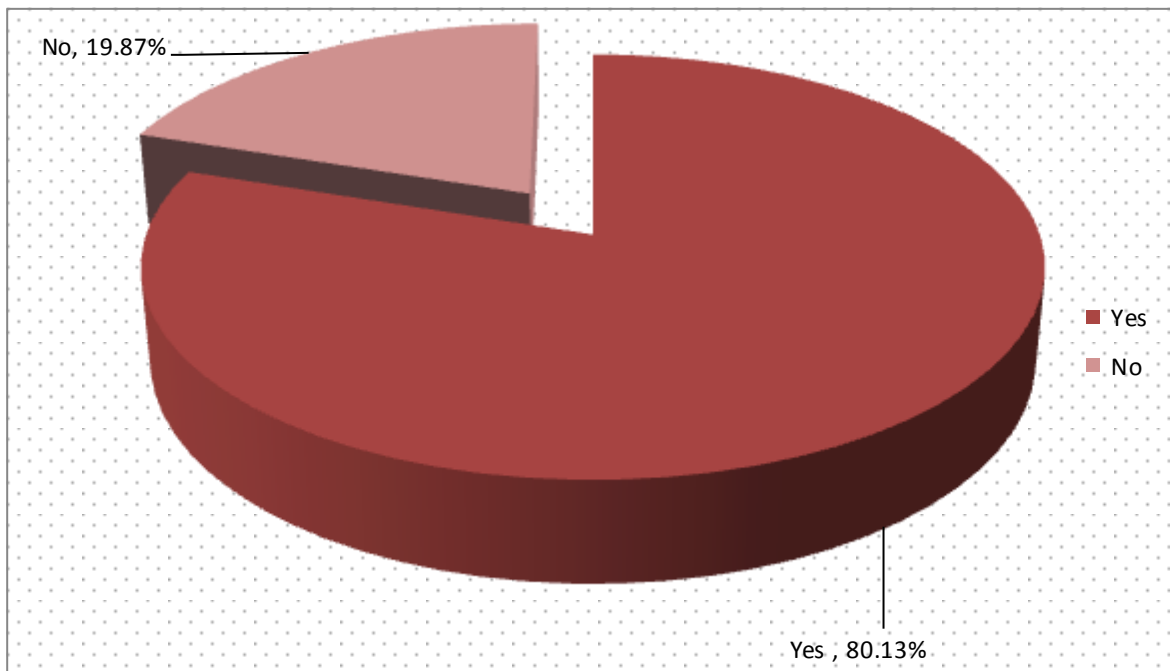


Figure 9. The presence or absence of picture

4.1.11 Type of picture

Similarly, the 946 stories from both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* were analyzed in terms of the type of pictures used. In this case, the researcher came up with two types of pictures: Sensationalist Picture and Symbolic picture. Of the 946 stories analyzed, 19 (2.01%) stories

were found to contain Sensationalist pictures while 927 (97.99%) stories contained symbolic pictures. In this case symbolic refers to those pictures that merely represented an aspect of a county, or governor. For instance, an article could contain pictures of the County Assembly, a portrait of the governor, MCAs, senator or any other thing that is associated with county government. On the other hand, Sensationalist picture referred to those pictures that are stimulating and provocative. For instance, the picture of an MCA alongside that of the governor and the article details the wrangles between the MCA and the governor. Others included pictures of figures in the government who are purportedly against county governments and alongside a governor or governors. Table 8 shows the distribution of the stories with regards to the pictures.

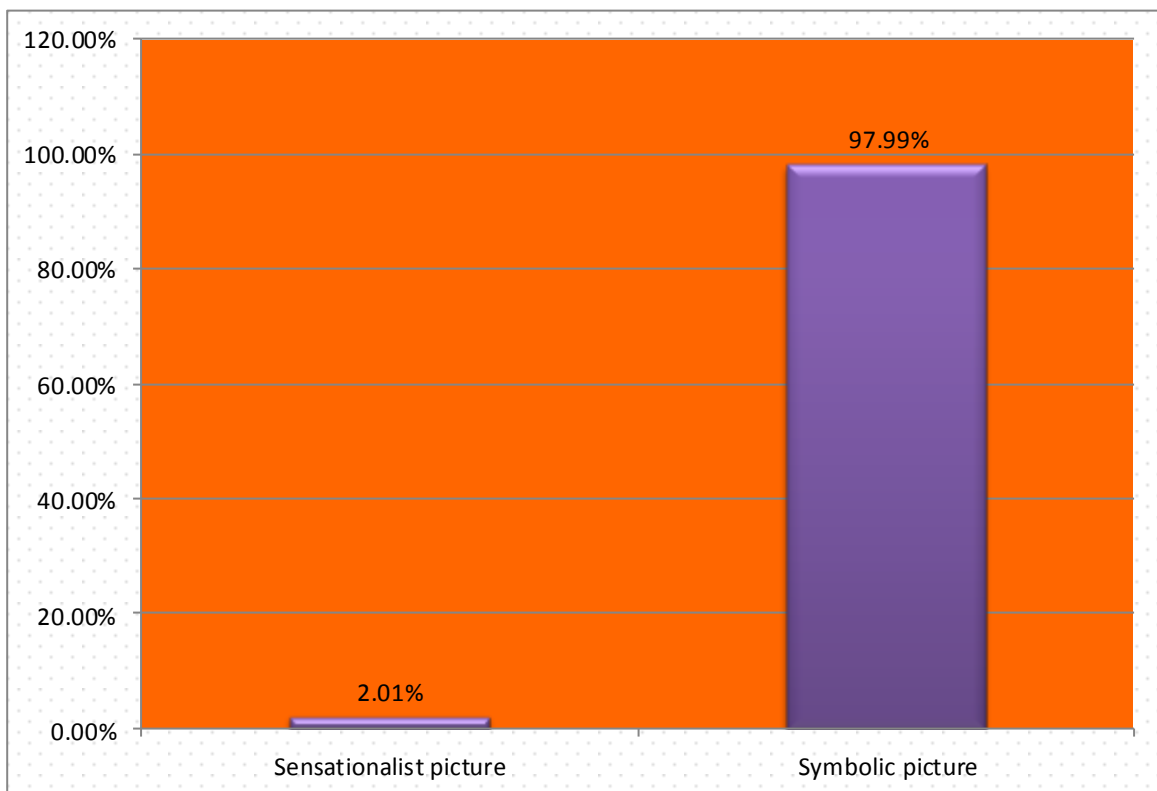


Figure 10. Symbolic or Sensationalist

4.2 Discussion and Analysis

Good governance has been a key concept for democratic development in many countries around the world during the past few decades. Kenya is one of those which have embraced the idea. Based on the concept of good governance, one significant development that took place in 2010 in Kenya was the promulgation of the new constitution that contained a new aspect of governance; Devolution. It has taken quite some time before the public, or even the government officials who are in possession of information, could adequately understand how county governance work or are run. Therefore, it was expected from the beginning that it would be the duty of the media to bring this new concept to the attention of the fabric of Kenya. Therefore, the research was focused on the media coverage of county governments in Kenya.

This research was a content analysis of County Government coverage focusing on two leading dailies; *Daily Nation and Standard*. Agenda setting theory, Framing Theory as well as Public Sphere theories were used as the theoretical foundation. The analysis examined the two newspapers from May 2013 to April 2014. More specifically, the content analysis meant to examine the extent the print media has covered the County Governance in Kenya. Second, it sought to establish the most dominant aspects of county governance were covered by the print media.

As anticipated, results indicated that indeed there were various aspects of county government covered by both *Daily Nation and Standard*. *Standard* newspaper had more stories apparently because there was a section dedicated to county issues known as *From the Counties*. *Daily Nation* on the other hand did not have any section dedicated solely on county government

issues and thus the principle reason why it had lesser stories on county government. Nonetheless, *Daily Nation* later adopted the *Standard* model and introduced a section titled *The Counties*. In this respect, it is imperative to note that the print media is a carrier of significant information; it stands for all the agencies which are focused on presenting the information to the people and hence empower them with vital information. Case in point, the role of the press is very important for the proper functioning of county governments. Consequently, *Daily Nation*, for a larger part of 2013 did not significantly contribute towards the formation of public opinion around the important topics of county governance, hence did not use its role to enhance good governance. Owing to its massive distribution across the country every day, *Daily Nation* is very essential for the better governance and more importantly county governance.

In order to promote a much better comprehension of county government aspects, the media ought to focus on important areas of these aspects. Undeniably, in most of the headlines of the 946 articles, the term “County or County Government,” appeared more than any other word indicating that many articles focused on the county. The term “governors” followed closely. In essence, most of the issues about County Governance revolved around Governors and Counties. The print media in Kenya is extremely powerful. It not only reports on various pertinent issues, but also shapes the events. This reflects the influence of the newspapers and their ability to determine the course of important events. Thus, their focus on county governance cannot be underestimated.

In essence, the mass media ought to inform the mass people about different decisions and governance functions, and thereby enhance their knowledge. A free, accountable and vibrant mass media disseminates information, informs the public and policy maker alike,

creates space for diverse views regarding socio-economic and political processes, and increases people scope for democratic participation as well as enhance good governance that will lead to national development. Irrefutably, the two leading newspapers have performed its role of informing and disseminating important information regarding governance in Kenya. The second research question sought to establish the aspects of governance covered by the two dailies. Consequently, there were a total of sixteen dominant topics covered by both *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Salaries, Revenue Allocation, Central Government Relations, County Hiring, Corruption at County Government, County Government Spending, Governors' powers, Senators' powers, Members of the County Assembly, County Governance, Members of the County Assembly salaries and Allowances, County Security, County Administration, County Funding, County Resources, Transition Authority and others. Of all the stated issues, County Governance was the most dominant topic followed closely by Revenue Allocation and County Administration. County Governance encompassed those issues that touched on governing of the county. In most articles, the governor and members of the county assemblies were mentioned numerous times. They involved all that pertains with the governance of the county, for instance, use of resources, legislation apropos to county governance, financial accountability and management, leadership issues including conflict, ethical issues with regards to county officials, appointment of county executive members and other officials among others. County Administration posted the third highest dominant topic. County Administration in this research entailed running of the county including how the members of the county assembly drew their budget, the interaction between the county assembly and the governor and the overall organization and management of the county. Indeed, the print media focused on apposite issues that the public wanted to know or important for development of their counties. Of note, most of the articles that touched on members of the county assembly mainly concerned their salaries and allowances. As

such, the articles published did not in any way contribute towards good governance of the counties.

How a story or article is written in newspapers matters a lot particularly when the issue is very important to the society. The society is made up of innumerable individuals and thus the need to consider the level of lexis and the over-all language to be used. This refers to the style of journalism which places the most important facts at the beginning and works "down" from there. Ideally, the first paragraph should contain enough information to give the reader a good overview of the entire story. The rest of the article explains and expands on the beginning. A good approach is to assume that the story might be cut off at any point due to space limitations. A bulk of the news stories sampled contained General News about county governance issues. This means that most of the stories sampled were a mere reporting of County Governance issues. Of note, for the media to effectively and sufficiently acquaint the public with vital information that can lead to good governance, then they must give an in-depth analysis of articles. Issues about the Governor, Members of the County Assembly, County Executives and Revenue allocation were adversely mentioned or reported. Nevertheless, most of the articles detailed what these officials have done without making an attempt to establish the intentions as well as the truth behind their words or actions. Will this contribute towards good governance and national development? The answer can be presented in two perspectives. First, the main function of the press is to report or inform the public on key events that take place within and beyond Kenya. On this front, the dailies can be said to have delivered owing to the number of articles presented. However, the manner in which these articles are written is critical towards making a decision whether indeed they contributed to good governance. Unfortunately, the articles were barren and devoid of 'meat' essential to the running of the counties.

Reflective news articles were a distant second posting only 17.65% of all articles. It is imperative to note that news articles pertaining important phenomenon such as County Governance ought to be written in a reflective and succinct way so as to pass the message commendably. Reflective referred to the longer, more perceptive tone and covered County Governance issue profoundly or told a story rather than just presenting a series of facts. There were only 167 stories out of the 946 sampled written in an insightful tone, more in-depth analysis as well as in an enlightening way. This data means that the public were denied the chance to understand county governance issues more profoundly and concisely. Commentary or Criticism stories were only 79 and this comprised of any story that offered a first-person opinion or a stated opinion of the newspaper. Again, this is a very low number considering the novelty of Devolution in Kenya. County Governance, which is an aspect of devolution, is relatively new in Kenya. Consequently, the mass media needs to do more than just reporting on this phenomenon and incorporate more insightful and profound articles written in clear and succinct way.

88.27% (835) of the stories sampled came from reporters. The data shows that most of the stories were actually about the occurrence of events with regards to County Governance. The articles or news stories did not include in-depth analysis of the issues but merely reported their occurrence. For instance, on 2nd September, 2013, the *Daily Nation* only reported on the intentions of the governor and the proceedings at an event in Laikipia County on the article titled “Governors target game parks cash: Counties seek lion’s share of the revenue generated from natural resources in their areas” (see appendix). There were no intentions of providing the public with sufficient information with regards to the issue of the resources, administration and the person in charge. Another article on the same page, “Assembly

team's Uganda trip sparks outcry" (see appendix) only reported on the issue of Members of the County Assembly's intention to visit Uganda as well as the colossal amount of money to be used to facilitate the trip.

A measly 19 articles were from devolution experts while 13 came from elected leaders. Apart from articles being reflective and insightful, articles ought to be drawn from experts so that they can give a more perceptive, sensible and rational perspective of pertinent issues, case in point, County Governance. Expert in devolution matters such as those participated in the drafting of the new constitution and Commission of Experts (CoE), constitutional lawyers and other important stakeholders should have been invited to present their views on the process of devolution and county governance and administration. Instead, a bulk of the space in both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers were reserved for reporters whose main work is to report about the activities on the ground and not an exhaustive analysis of the same.

Another important aspect that was scrutinized is the tone of the news stories or articles. Most of the articles were 'neutral' in their orientation and followed closely by 'pessimistic.' The main point of concern in this case is the number of articles that were pessimistic in their tone. The researcher found out that most of the stories were negative about the County Governance issues. Certainly, most of the stories had issues that were not progressive oriented but instead were retrogressive. For instance, there were numerous stories about members of the county assembly extortionate allowances and salaries, foreign trips, county resources wrangles, governor versus members of the county assembly, senators or members of parliament among others. The data shows that the public or even the county officials are still in the dark with regards to county governance.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Conclusions

County Governance is an aspect of devolution and it is a relatively new phenomenon in Kenya. County governments are facilitated by reliable sources of revenue to enable them govern and deliver services effectively. Despite these bold provisions, most Kenyans and other learners are still struggling to understand what *Ugatuji wa mamlaka* (Devolution of power) really means. The objective of the research was to establish the extent the print media (*Daily Nation* and *Standard*) has covered County Governance issues in Kenya. Secondly, to establish the aspects of County Governance that were covered by the two dailies.

In order to effusively and sufficiently understand how County Governments work, the media both print and electronic ought to be vibrant and up to date with matters Devolution in Kenya. According to agenda setting theory, the stories the media choose to cover can influence which issues the public considers important. Public sphere and framing theories also indicate the need to adequately inform the general public on how the county governments work and consequently contribute towards good governance. A content analysis of two leading daily newspapers (*Daily Nation* and *Standard*) was performed using a constructed month sample (see appendix) of articles published from May 2013 to April 2014. A total of 182 publications were analyzed for each paper at alternate days for a period of 12 months (May 2013 to April 2014). This means that every day of the week had an equal chance of being sampled.

Among the major findings, this research found out that the publications of articles regarding County Governance were evenly distributed across the twelve months for each newspaper. There were more news stories or articles published by the *Standard* (623) as opposed to *Daily Nation's* 323 because it had a section devoted exclusively on County Government matters. The most dominant issues or topics according to the data obtained from the field were County Governance, County Administration, County Government Spending, and Revenue Allocation, Members of the County Assembly's salaries and Allowances, Governor's powers and Senator's powers.

Another major finding is that most of the stories (835) in the two papers were written by reporters. The news articles were plain with a mere presentation of news without any regard to exhaustive analysis and enquiry. This aspect raises a number of concerns key among them the role of the print media in enlightening the public with regards to County Governments. County governments, being a new phenomenon, need to be amply explained so as the public gets informed. One of the aims of the mass media is to inform people about the government functionaries and how they operate. The mass media should aim at putting to an end inconsistent government practices and help in establishing a responsive state. Good governance requires that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society. Case in point, the print media has not lived to this function owing to the lack of information in the public arena. A similar finding points to the fact that most of the news articles were written from a general perspective. Basically, they were events and comments made by politicians and other actors. Regrettably, the information relayed was not accompanied by the truth of the matter. These points to mastery level of the reporters with regards to devolution. The journalists themselves are not well informed about

County Governments and other functionaries which in turn affect the quality of the pieces written on the newspapers. The print media is essential for democracy and good governance particularly for a young nation such as Kenya. In a word, therefore, the role of mass media plays in Kenya in promoting County Governance is not satisfactory for the purposes of ensuring good governance.

5.1 Recommendations

Reporters may be truthful, hard-working, good citizens and take part in molding the views of other people, but they cannot play their part efficaciously unless they keep their eyes open and mind attuned to the present, future as well as the past. Reporters should be thoroughly informed with a newfangled marvel like devolution in Kenya. Reporters and the rest of the mass media actors are leaders of men in many senses of the word. Everything that the reporter writes must and reflect the truth of the matter especially in a volatile country like Kenya. Therefore, journalists should move to more analytical and encourage entrenched journalism where they engage materials and experts before putting pen to paper. They should not only report about policies made but also investigate about the implementation or non-implementation of the policies particularly with regards to County Governments. In many cases, too much subjectivity cannot bring any good result. Therefore, in order to produce a good crop of reporters, every media house should come with ways of ensuring that the reporters are well-informed on matters devolution. For instance, the media houses can up with workshops and seminars meant to appraise their staffs on current events.

It is also imperative for regulatory bodies such as the Media Council of Kenya and Communication Authority of Kenya to delve into the issue of reportage by journalists in Kenya. The main mandate of the Media Council of Kenya is to register and accredit

journalists, register media establishments, handle complaints from the public and create and publish yearly media audit on the Media Freedom in Kenya. They should, consequently, utilize these powers to ensure there is lucidity and quality in the sphere of journalism in Kenya. They ought to ensure that there is quality reporting in addition to analysis of important issues such as those pertaining to the devolution process in Kenya. Whilst Communication Authority of Kenya does not deal directly with journalists, it should use its powers to ensure that media outlets produce quality especially with regards to a new phenomenon such as devolution.

There are several actors and as many viewpoints in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community which is promoted by the media. Therefore, the Kenyan print media needs to adequately train reporters on various issues particularly political issues that led to the overhaul of the old constitution. From this point, they will understand the fundamental truths and objects of devolution in Kenya.

Results of this study indicate inadequate voice of Devolution professionals as sources. While this could suggest limited investigations in the area of Devolution in Kenya by journalists, it could also suggest disinclination of devolution experts or lack of print media space for them to disseminate useful information to guide the reporters and editors in their work. Therefore, the print media management especially, the leading publications such as *Daily Nation*

and *The Standard* ought to designate a space in their newspapers to devolution and county governance experts so as to enlighten the public about this phenomenon.

5.1.1 Recommendations for Further Research

The print media are aware of their primary responsibility: to inform the public of the issues that concern them, in this case, the issues of devolution and more so county governance or governments. Astonishingly, the findings of this study reveal that Devolution issues were covered quite poorly principally relating to the quality of the articles on the stated issues. While many people can blame it on profit making motive of the media, there is need for further research to investigate reasons for this phenomenon.

While the scope of this study was limited to investigation of the Agenda-Setting, Framing theory and Public Sphere in explaining the coverage of county government aspects in Kenya, future studies ought to embrace the contributions of other channels of communication along this line. For instance, the role of the television, radio and the internet need to be studied comprehensively in order to find the interplay among the many communication channels that can be used in an effort to enlighten the public about devolution in Kenya.

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Appendices

Summary of Months analyzed: *Daily Nation*

May	2013	16
June	2013	15
July	2013	15
August	2013	16
September	2013	15
October	2013	15
November	2013	15
December	2013	16
January	2014	15
February	2014	14
March	2014	15
April	2014	15
	N	182

Summary of Months analyzed: *The Standard*

May	2013	16
June	2013	15
July	2013	15
August	2013	16

September	2013	15
October	2013	15
November	2013	15
December	2013	16
January	2014	15
February	2014	14
March	2014	15
April	2014	15
	N	182

ANALYSIS CRITERIA

	Criteria	Details	Codes
1.	Source of the story	Indicates where the article was published	<i>Daily Nation</i> -DN- 1 The Standard- ST- 2
2.	Dates	The Month when the article of published	Date Format DD.MM. Code 1-12 starting with May as 1 and April as 12
3.	Number	Number of County Governance stories in the newspaper- ordinary Number	1,2,3,4,5 etc
4.	Day of the week	Indicate the day of the week when the story was published	Monday=1 Tuesday=2 Wednesday=3 Thursday=4 Friday=5 Saturday=6 Sunday=7

5.	Keyword	Indicate the keyword which was used in the analysis	Devolution (in Kenya) DD-1 County Government CG-2 Members of the county Assembly MC-3 Governors GV-4 Senator SN-5 County Financing CF-6 County Resources CR-7 Revenue Allocation RA-8 County Security CS-9
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6.	Focus	<p>Indicates the level of importance accorded to the story in a newspaper. Three focus levels: high, medium and low will be used.</p> <p><i>High focus stories</i> are those stories (1) on the front or back page (2) had a headline that mentions the keywords (3) devoted more than twenty lines to a County Governance-specific issue (4) had a graphic devoted to County Governance with an issue in discussion and (5) was an editorial story.</p> <p><i>Medium focus stories</i> had a (1) graphic that integrates a County Governance related issue with another issue (2) graphic that include a County Governance-related issue (3) a section of an integrated story that devoted 10-20 lines of the story to County Governance-specific issue (4) a section of an integrated story that devoted 20 lines of the story to County Governance issue;</p> <p><i>Low Focus stories</i> had (1) a single mention of five to ten lines devoted to County Governance specific story, (2) a section of an integrated story that devotes 10-20 lines of the story to County Governance issue and (3) no graphic.</p>	<p>High Focus= F1</p> <p>Front Page =FS</p> <p>Back Page= BS</p> <p>Headline Keyword= HS</p> <p>Graphic devoted to County Governance Issue= G1</p> <p>Editorial Story=ES</p> <p>Medium Focus= F2</p> <p>Graphic integrates County Governance with another issue= G2</p> <p>Graphic include County Governance issue=G3</p> <p>Section of integrated specific story devotes 10-20 lines= L1</p> <p>Section of integrated related story devotes 20+ lines= L2</p> <p>Low Focus F3</p> <p>Section of integrated specific story devotes 5-10lines= L3</p> <p>Section of integrated related story devotes 10-20 lines= L2</p>
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7.	Dominant topic	<p>Indicate What is the dominant topic within the story:</p> <p>Salaries</p> <p>Revenue Allocation</p> <p>Central Government Relations</p> <p>County Hiring</p> <p>Corruption at County Government</p> <p>County Government Spending</p> <p>Council of Governors</p> <p>Governors' powers</p> <p>Senators' powers</p> <p>Members of the County Assembly</p> <p>County Governance</p> <p>MCA salaries</p> <p>County Security</p> <p>Transitional Authority</p> <p>Commission of Implementation of the Constitution</p> <p>County Assembly</p> <p>County Administration</p>	<p>Salaries =T1</p> <p>Revenue Allocation=T2</p> <p>Central Government Relations =T3</p> <p>County Hiring=T4</p> <p>Corruption at County Government=T5</p> <p>County Government Spending =T6</p> <p>Council of Governors=T7</p> <p>Governors' powers=T8</p> <p>Senators' powers=T9</p> <p>Members of the County Assembly=T10</p> <p>County Governance=T11</p> <p>MCA salaries=T12</p> <p>County Security=T13</p> <p>Transition Authority=T14</p> <p>Commission of Implementation of the Constitution =T15</p> <p>County Assembly=T16</p> <p>County administration=T17</p> <p>County Funding=T18</p> <p>County Resources=T19</p> <p>County Health=T120</p>
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8.	Treatment	<p>Indicate the way that the story is written, not to be confused with the subject of the story</p> <p><i>General News:</i> any story that emphasizes facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing.</p> <p><i>Reflective:</i> longer, more insightful tone; covers County Governance issue in more depth, tell a story rather than just regurgitate a series of facts.</p> <p><i>Commentary/Criticism:</i> any story that offers a first-person opinion or is a stated opinion of the newspaper.</p>	<p>General News= NG= 1</p> <p>Reflective= NR=2</p> <p>Commentary/Criticism= NC=3</p>
9.	Story source	<p>Indicate whether the story was drawn from</p> <p>(1) A wire service</p> <p>(2) An editor</p> <p>(3) Reporter</p> <p>(4) Devolution Expert</p> <p>(5) Elected Leaders</p> <p>(6) Others</p>	<p>Wire Service= SW=1</p> <p>Editor=SE=2</p> <p>Reporter=SR=3</p> <p>Devolution expert=SD=4</p> <p>Elected Leaders=SL=5</p> <p>Others=SU=6</p>
10.	Statistics	<p>Indicate whether the story uses any statistics (1) Yes (2) No</p>	<p>Yes= 1</p> <p>No= 2</p>

11.	Tone	Define if the tone of the news is optimistic Neutral/ambiguous Pessimistic, Advocating for change.	Optimistic Tone= E1 Neutral= E2 Pessimistic=E3 Advocating for change= E4
12.	Graphics	Define the type of graphic used	Picture- G1 Graph- G2 Illustration= G3 Cartoon=G4 Side bar list= G5 Pie Chart= G6
13.	Picture	Define the picture sensationalistic, symbolic	Sensationalist picture= P1 Symbolic picture=P2

Appendix

File Home Advanced Help

Hand Zoom Fit Width Fit Page Rotate View

Select Add Note Markup Text Type Text QuickSign

Create Convert Extract from File To Text Images

Do More With Pro Upgrade to Pro

Combine Files Edit Text Convert to Word

View Tools Create/Convert Upgrade to Pro

Pages

DEVOLUTION | County chiefs claim they are being short-changed

Governors target game parks cash

Counties seek lion's share of the revenue generated from natural resources in their areas

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County governments in Mount Kenya and Aberdares are seeking a lion's share of revenue generated from national parks in the region.

The governors of Nyeri, Murang'a, Laikipia, Meru, Tharaka Nithi, Nyandarua, Embu and Kirinyaga counties said at the weekend that they wanted better mechanisms to manage and generate revenue from their eco-systems.

Chairman of the region's Governors Forum Laikipia Governor Joshua Irungu said the counties felt they were not getting an adequate share of the

revenue generated.

"We know we have the best national parks — the Aberdares National Park, Mt Kenya National Park, Meru National Park, and Samburu National Park — but we don't get enough revenue compared to other regions like Narok county," Mr Irungu said.

He noted that Narok controlled revenue from its game reserves.

The governors were speaking at a meeting in Nyeri Town attended by Environment, Water and Natural Resources ministry Principal Secretary Richard Lesiyampe and officials of the Kenya Wildlife Service and the

Kenya Forest Service.

Mr Lesiyampe said natural resources had to be used to create wealth and jobs.

He urged the governors to efficiently use natural resources for economic and social development while conserving them for future generations.

Murang'a Governor Mwangi Wa Iria said proper management of natural resources will create revenue in the region.

"Natural resources will be the basis of our development revenue, and the way we manage those resources will

be key to development," he said.

Meanwhile, Sh32.2 million has been set aside for environmental conservation in Kirinyaga County.

The money will be used to create a forest at the South Ngariama ranching scheme and to plant trees at public schools, government institutions, towns, roadsides and fight soil erosion.

About Sh8 million will be used to buy land for waste and sewerage management, County Governor Joseph Ndathi said.

Some of the money will be used for training to ensure environmental conservation, he told the *Nation* at the Kutus county headquarters.



“We know we have the best national parks, but we don't get enough revenue compared to other regions like Narok county”

Laikipia Governor Joshua Irungu

Sewage in the streets

Mr Ndathi said that his government would not spare those caught discharging raw sewage in the streets and those who encroached on wetlands.

The governor reiterated that his government would fight to ensure that all the wetlands that had been grabbed were repossessed and gazetted.

"Swamps are vital as water reservoirs and as habitats for various organisms and birds. They also have

NANDI Damages call will hit jobs, say tea bosses

BY NATION CORRESPONDENT

Multinational tea companies have opposed suggestions by some politicians that Britain compensates communities whose land is occupied by the firms.

The companies are also worried that the utterances could scare away potential investors and lead to loss of jobs.

A group of 12 MPs from the North Rift allegedly led by Alfred Ketter (Nandi East) and Senator Stephen Sang are said to have demanded that the British government compensate the Nandi over the White Highlands and loss of lives during the colonial era.

Crisis meeting

In a bid to address the crisis, Nandi Governor Cleophas Lagat held a meeting with tea company bosses to discuss the threat by some of the politicians to invade the firms unless they pay the county government 30 per cent of their profits.

The meeting also discussed the rising cases of insecurity in