

**MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE TEACHERS'
STRIKE IN JANUARY 2015 IN KENYA: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF THE NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS**

BY

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K50/73448/2012

**A research project report submitted to the School of Journalism and Mass
Communication, University of Nairobi, in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of a Master of Arts degree in Communication Studies**

OCTOBER 2015

DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been submitted for award of any degree at the University of Nairobi or any other university.

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

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Jeniffer and children; Kibichii, Jebiwott, Jelagat, Kiplimo and Jepkosge
Kibet for their love and laughter throughout this academic journey.

To my father, Joseph Moi, siste Dorcus Moi and friend-cum-mentor, Daniel Kandie
who fanned the embers of my intellectual curiosity but won't join me at the podium.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This has been an epic journey that could not have been accomplished without the timely and valuable support of the following people: My supervisor Dr Mwangi Kamau who advised and guided me all through with remarkable patience and understanding. His profound insight and attention to details made such a humbling and learning experience for me that profoundly changed my perception of and attitude towards research. I am also indebted to my employer, the Jomo Kenyatta Foundation for granting me the opportunity to attend studies and access to academic resources such as the Internet and the library resources. I am particularly grateful to colleagues Geoffrey Ombaba, the librarian, and Ms Anne Barng'etuny for the material support during the compilation and of this report.

ABSTRACT

The education sector is experiencing frequent labour conflicts between the teachers' trade unions and the government raising questions about the quality and standards of the teaching and learning achievements in line with both national and international educational goals. There have emerged concerns that in the recent past, teachers' strikes have become too many and too frequent for meaningful learning in public primary and secondary schools. The net losers, it is feared, are the innocent children whose learning time and process is frequently disrupted. Often, the industrial dispute plays out to the public through the media thus making the media a key player in setting the agenda. This research, therefore, aimed to investigate how the mainstream print media in Kenya covered the teachers' strike of 5th to 16th January 2014 that paralysed learning in primary and secondary schools. It was a comparative content analysis of the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers meant to examine how the print media reported the issues in the industrial action and to what extent the mainstream print media set the agenda during the strike period. A total of 58 newspapers were reviewed, through a census survey, for all the stories concerning the strike. Quantitative data was analysed and tallied to establish frequency of occurrence, percentages, averages, medians and mode. Similarly, placement of the stories about the teachers' strike was assessed to determine the prominence and salience that each newspaper under study allocated the stories. Qualitative data was analysed to establish the framing of issues and strike messages in the mainstream media. The study then made appropriate recommendation in a bid to address the issue.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreement
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
KUPPET	Kenya Union of Post-Primary Education Teachers
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission
SRC	Salaries and Remunerations Commission
MOEST	Ministry of education Science and Technology
PSC	Public Service Commission

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the background of the study and on the problem statement which indicates the existing gap/contradiction being explored in the study. Research objectives and questions, limitation and scope of the study and its significance are also highlighted in this section. There are also operational definitions of various terms as used in the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Provision of quality education to Kenyan learners is a central theme in the Kenya Vision 2030. The Ministry of Education further recognizes the key role of the Kenyan teachers in the attainment of national and international goals such as the Education for All (EFA). In pursuit of the same, however, Kenya is experiencing various challenges and is one of the many countries that have failed to meet the global target of Education for All (EFA). It was a target set by 164 states that signed the commitment to achieve it by 2015 at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000.

One of the challenges hindering effective teaching and attainment of the goal is the high prevalence of teacher absenteeism in Kenyan schools (Unesco, 2015). Muthoni-Ouko (Elimu Yetu Coalition, 2014) said that studies have consistently shown the gaps in service delivery, learning outcomes and high levels of teacher absenteeism that is worsened by labour unrest within the sector.

The purpose of this study is to assess the media coverage of the teachers' issues and industrial protests. It focuses on the strike called early this year over salary and

allowances demands and their unions' demand for the transfer of teachers in North Eastern region following the terrorists' attack in Mandera in November and December 2014.

It is a content analysis of the newspapers' reports in a bid to examine the role of the print media; whether or not their reporting escalated the disputes. The researcher will sample copies of the daily and weekend editions of both Nation and Standard newspapers to collect quantitative and qualitative data.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Industrial disputes between the Kenya government and teachers' unions have captured the public attention as they openly disagree over one issue or the other. Thus, the education sector has suffered numerous teachers' strikes, in the recent past, over remuneration and other welfare issues. Often the strikes take long to be resolved causing disruption to school programmes. For example, in 2010 the teachers went on strike for one month causing the Ministry of Education to extend first term and second terms by two weeks each in a bid to compensate for the time lost during the strike. This affected the normal school holiday periods of April and August the same year. However, Kazeem & Ige (2010) contend that even after the strikes end and teachers resume duties, they do not give students the opportunity to make up for lost times. These have elicited public concerns on the impact of such stoppages on quality and efficiency of the education system.

In January 2015, the teachers went on a two-week strike thereby disrupting the opening of schools for the first term of the schools calendar. This was the latest industrial action in what has become an almost regular phenomenon in the public school programme.

According to Education Cabinet Secretary, Prof. Jacob Kaimenyi (2015), Kenyan teachers have gone on strike on 12 times since independence. Moreover, three quarters of the strike actions have occurred just in the last decade, raising the frequency to an almost yearly ritual. Teachers went on strike in 1997, 1998, 2002, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015 (Kaimenyi, 2015).

The October 2013 strike was, perhaps, the most outstanding given that it not only disrupted learning for a whole month, but also caused the postponement of the crucial national examinations. The Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) had to reschedule the KCSE and KCPE timetables to begin in November and December of the same year respectively. The ripple effect extended to the Form One selection and admission processes that were to take place in January 2014 but moved to February 2014.

Edinyang and Ubi (2013) point that frequent teacher strikes disrupt academic programmes in schools and greatly hamper the students learning capabilities and motivation. Kaimenyi (2015) argues that besides lowering the quality and standards of education, teachers' strikes were impacting negatively on the attainment of UN MDG goals like that of the realization of universal primary education by 2015.

The government has cited agitation for salary increases by trade unions as one of the major emerging challenges facing the education sector. This has led to budget cuts affecting implementation of priority projects/programmes (MoE, 2014).

Though the actual effect of teachers' strike on economic and educational productivity has not been quantified, there are widespread fears that innocent school children lose many hours of learning as the teachers picket on the streets. Edinyang & Ubi (2013) observe that the effect of these repeated closures of schools and academic programmes on students' learning effectiveness can better be imagined than described.

Several studies have shown that standards of education have fallen in our learning institutions due to poor syllabus coverage. Effective learning or an enhanced academic performance is achieved by successful coverage of the subjects' syllabuses timely before examinations. This is rarely achieved with strike action in place (Odubela, 2012, in Edinyang & Ubi, 2013). Similarly, Muthoni-Ouko (2014) attributed the poor learning outcomes and dwindling service delivery in the education sector to high levels of teacher absenteeism and frequent labour unrest.

This study therefore seeks to examine how the print media covered "the unrest." It will identify and describe the issues surrounding the strike and sources of information in qualitative and quantitative terms.

According to Baran, (2004) Newspapers tell readers what is significant and meaningful through their placement of stories in and on their pages and place the stories they think are most important on the earliest pages.

1.4 Research Objectives

The main aim of this study is to explore how the print media covered the industrial strike by the teachers of Kenya in January 2015.

Specific objective

- i. Compare and contrast the coverage of the teachers' strike by the Nation and Standard newspapers.
- ii. Quantitatively describe the coverage by the mainstream print media.
- iii. Qualitatively describe the message framing and narrative forms in the coverage of the teachers' strike by the Nation and Standard.
- iv. Determine the extent to which the print media set the agenda on industrial issues.
- v. Establish the audience responses to the coverage.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. How did the Nation and Standard cover the cover the teachers' strike of January 2015?
- ii. How much space and frequency did the print media give to stories about the strike?
- iii. How did the media frame the messages and narrative about the strike?
- iv. To what extent did the print media set the agenda during the strike period?
- v. What was the audience response to the coverage?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is a comparative content analysis of the coverage of the January 2015 teachers' strike by the print media in Kenya. It comes at a time when there is increased attention on the education sector and demands for teacher accountability by parents

NGOs and other lobby groups. Studies by various groups have shown that a large number of school children lack basic literacy and numeracy skills, a factor that has been attributed to teacher absenteeism. According to Uwezo (2013) 11 out of 100 class eight pupils cannot do a simple class two division while seven out of 100 cannot read a simple English and Kiswahili story. Teachers' strikes in Kenya have become common and could impact negatively on the national education sector goals. The government has listed the frequent teachers' strikes as one of the challenges it faces in implementation of educational policy and achievement of goals (MoE, 2014). Meanwhile Unesco (2014) says Kenya is one of the countries that has failed to meet the EFA target of 2015.

An emerging perspective arises from the Kenya Constitution (2010). Striking teachers often invoke the Constitution as granting them the right to picket. Similarly concerned parents child rights advocates cite the Constitution as making education a basic human right and granting every child the right to education.

Ratteree (2004) suggests that failure to achieve consensus in collective bargaining is often an indication and/or result of poor negotiation skills, confrontational politics and serious governance issues.

This study is significant in that it will raise awareness on the agenda-setting role of the print media on the strike issues. It will help redirect focus on the attainment of national educational goals and how strikes issues can be handled in future. The study will provide basis for further research on media coverage of labour issues.

1.7 Scope and limitation of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the print media reported the teachers' strike that took place in January 2015. The strike began on 5th January 2015 over the non-implementation of the teachers' CBA with the government and ended on 16th January 2015 when the industrial court took over the matter and offered to arbitrate. The researcher will, therefore, study daily and weekend editions of the **Nation** and **The Standard** newspapers for the period covering the strike from 23rd December 2014, when the KNUT's National Executive Council (NEC) issued the seven days strike notice to the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) followed by KUPPET, to 31st January 2015 when parties to the dispute were expected to have submitted their memoranda to the Court.

1.8 Operational definition of terms

- i. **Strike** – Teachers' refusal to attend school render their services over inadequate treatment and disagreement with government.
- ii. **Strike notice** – Formal declaration of an intention to strike on a specified date served on the employer.
- iii. **Story** – Any article published in the newspaper in textual or pictorial form.
- iv. **Source** – Origin of a story; the person or institution giving it for publication.
- v. **Nation** – Daily and weekend editions of the Nation newspaper.
- vi. **Standard** – Daily and weekend editions of the Standard newspaper.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter entails review of related literature. It provides an overview of teacher strikes and their effects on learning as well as the struggle. It also explores the role of public perceptions in the tussle between teachers' unions and government as well as how this could play out in the media. Finally, it looks at media framing and priming theories that will help to show how and which aspects of the conflicts are portrayed in the print media.

2.2 National and international educational goals

Kenya's independence government recognised, from the onset, the central role of education in the country's social and economic development. At independence, the government declared poverty, ignorance and disease the greatest enemies of society and set to confront them immediately. Thus it set out various educational sector development projects to improve the quality of and access to education by its citizens.

In 2003, the Kenya government, just weeks after President Mwai Kibaki's the Narc administration assumed office, launched the all ambitious Free Primary Education (FPE) in order to attract more school-going age children who were out of school for due to poverty and exorbitant levies charged by the schools. The first year of FPE managed to raise enrolment rates in primary school from 8.8 million in 2010 to 9.86 million pupils in 2011. Interestingly the programme did not only attract thousands of children eager to learn but also pulled in elderly learners, among them Mzee Kimani Maruge who showed up in full school uniform at Kapkenduiywa Primary School in Eldoret one morning in

2003 and joined Class One. The 80 year old former Mau Mau veteran got into the Guinness Book of World records as the first such old man to be enrolled in Standard One.

The Kenya government recognizes education as education as a basic human right and a powerful tool for human and national development. Thus it allocates a large portion of the national budget to the education sector. According to MoE 2008, the government channels nearly 73 per cent of social sector spending and about 40 per cent of the national recurrent expenditure to education.

The government has also ratified a number of international treaties and convention to achieve specific educational objectives and programmes for an all inclusive quality education and training. Some of these are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Dakar Framework of Action on Education for All (EFA) (2000).

The Ministry of Education in line with the Kenya Vision 2030, seeks to attain a “globally competitive education, training and research for Kenya’s sustainable development.

2.3 Teachers’ unions and strikes

Kenya’s public education sector has seen turbulent moments owing to increased teachers’ picketing in the country. Teachers in both primary and secondary schools have in recent years stepped up their agitation for higher salaries and other industrial grievances quite to the discomfort of other stakeholders in the education sector such as parents, school sponsors, policy makers and NGOs.

Since independence in 1963, Kenya teachers have gone on strike more than 12 times, 9 of whose times are concentrated in the last one-and-a-half decade. A major strike, called by

the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), took place in September 1997 that seemed to, thenceforth, set the pace for more frequent industrial conflicts with the government over salary matters. The teachers' union was then demanding a salary increase for teachers of between 150 – 300 per cent.

The strike ended when the union leaders signed a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) and a return-to-work formula with senior government officials, among them the ministers of Education, Finance and Labour as well the Attorney General. This CBA was to be the subject confrontational relationship between government and KNUT immediately after the December 1997 general elections.

The government reneged on the deal and declined to implement the second phase of the agreement due on 1st July 1998. The government said the economy could not support the agreement and called on the teachers to renegotiate with government. Besides, the new minister for education then, Hon. Kalonzo Musyoka, charged that the government had signed the 1997 deal “under duress” and therefore was not tenable.

This led to another strike in October 1998 called by KNUT to compel government to honour the agreement. The strike was called off after three weeks without meaningful results for teachers. The teachers went on strike again in 2002 to force the then outgoing administration to complete the 1997 deal. There was a lull of sorts in the first term of the Narc government (2003 – 2007) as teachers slowed down on industrial actions.

After the failed strike of 1998, the government keen to split and weaken the forceful KNUT membership register a rival union, Kenya Union of Post-Primary Education Teachers (KUPPET). KNUT was deemed to be dominated by primary school teachers

and the new union was established specifically to cater for teachers in secondary schools as well as those in teachers colleges and technical training and vocational institutes.

However, the teachers under KNUT dismissed KUPPET as a spoiler soldiered on with demands for the implementation of the 1997 agreement. They were back to picketing again in January 2009 when they refused to reopen schools after the December holidays. This was to mark the beginning of a five-year strike ritual as follows: March 2010, September 2011, September 2012 and October 2013 (Kaimenyi, 2015).

The latest strike (and the subject of this study) was in January 2015 that “paralysed” learning in public schools for nearly one month. The teachers, through their trade unions, KNUT and KUPPET, downed their tools over pay agreements with the government. The strike had initially been scheduled to for October 2014 but was postponed to January 2014 to allow students prepare for the KCPE and KCSE examination.

The unions called the strike after SRC gave an advisory to the government against entering any pay rise agreement with KNUT until after a comprehensive job evaluation of all public servants was carried out. The union leadership was then engaged in various negotiations with the TSC and the Ministry of Labour with the prospects of signing another CBA with the government but the process was scuttled by the SRC advisory. KNUT and KUPPET insist that the SRC has no role whatsoever on salary negotiations and that such deliberations can only be between the teachers represented by their unions and the employer.

Meanwhile as the teachers’ unions prepared for the industrial action in late 2014, a parents lobby, Kenya National Association of Parents (KNAP), went to court seeking

temporary orders restraining KNUT Secretary General, Mr. Wilson Sossion and other union officials from calling the strike (Standard, 2014). The court issued the orders sought by the parents' body, but the unions still went on with the strike; KNUT's commencing on 5th January and KUPPET's beginning on 8th January 2015.

In the second week of the strike, the Industrial Court took over the matter and offered to arbitrate. Justice Nduma Nderi summoned the parties to the disputes, ordered the unions to call off the strike submit their complaints to the court within one week. The other parties; the government and KNAP were asked to file their responses one week after the teachers' unions.

2.4 Enter the SRC: Meddler or wage bill guardian?

In their long-running pay disputes and negotiations of CBAs, KNUT and KUPPET have been engaging solely with the teachers' employer, TSC, the ministries of Education, Labour and the Treasury (formerly Ministry of Finance). That was all so well until 2012 when the Salaries and Remuneration Commission (SRC) entered the salary negotiation tables of all public sector officers.

The SRC was founded in 2012, after the new constitution established the office under Chapter 15, Article 248; Commissions and Independent offices (Kenya Constitution, 2010). The commission was established with a view to harmonise the salaries and allowances of State officers in the context of fairness. It is expected to minimise disharmony in the public sector and encourage orderly wage and benefits negotiations (Nguru, 2012).

But soon after its formation and commissioners appointed, the commission ran into a collision course with various public sector employees' groups. The commission raised the alarm over what it considered the rising wage bill burden on the economy set to bring it under control. It argued that the rate at which public sector remuneration was rising and negotiations for higher pay was on-going was unsustainable under the prevailing economic conditions. In March 2013, the SRC Chairperson, Mrs Sarah Serem, warned that the public wage was taking more than Ksh 400 billion. She began a crusade against astronomical pay packages of public officers saying this was untenable.

The first group to clash with the SRC were Members of Parliament who rejected the commission's newly gazetted salary rates for State officers, including MPs in March 2013. As soon as the 11th Parliament was sworn-in after the March 4th 2013 elections, the legislators disowned the gazette notice of the salary package published by the SRC on 1st March 2013. They criticised the commission and threatened to disband it unless it revised their salaries to be at par with the previous Parliament. Later the MPs attempted to pass a law that excludes them from the category of State office so as to extricate themselves from the jurisdiction of SRC. The attempt however failed due to great public pressure. (Nguru, 2013).

After the MPs came the Members of the County Assembly (MCAs) who demanded more money for their salaries and allowances. They threatened to boycott their legislative duties in the counties in a bid to for SRC to approve higher pay for them.

Matters came to a head for teachers when in August 2013, the commission pointed out that all pending CBAs would lapse with the third anniversary of the new constitution.

There was also a requirement that all other public service salary pacts would be guided by the SRC. KNUT accelerated demands for the implementation of their 1997 agreement with the government. It accused SRC of overstepping its mandate saying it had no role in the teachers' salary affair. KNUT officials argued that, as TSC was an independent commission, teachers did not fall within the purview of SRC hence could not be subject to the requirement.

The teachers' unions view SRC as a late intruder into their pay negotiation table with government. When the unions and the government came closer to signing an agreement in September last year, SRC got into their way and blocked a pay rise of 50 to 60 per cent that the TSC had offered the teachers. The SRC wrote a letter to the TSC warning that the offer was unsustainable. It also asked government to freeze all salary negotiation agreements until the job evaluation exercise of all public sector employment was complete. This did not go down well with the teachers' unions who demanded that they be given salary increment first before job evaluation modalities were agreed upon.

Another subject of conflict between KNUT and SRC was the circular issued by the latter detailing new allowances for all public servants. In the circular, SRC sought to have teachers' allowances reviewed and harmonised with those of civil servants to minimise disparities (Business Daily, 2014).

KNUT Secretary General, Wilson Sossion accused the commission of reviewing its members' allowances consulting them. "... we have no responsibility, commuter, medical and special school allowances. We fought for these allowances and no one can take them away from us," warned Sossion (Business Daily, 2014).

2.5 Effects of teachers' strikes?

There have not been enough research done to ascertain the effects of strikes on learning achievement in Kenyan schools. Hence it is not easy to quantify as to how much has really lost during a particular strike action. What can, however, easily enumerated of a strike is its time extent such how many days it took and translated to how many hours and number of lessons lost in the strike period.

Edinyang & Ubi (2013) state that the effects of repeated closures of schools and academic programmes on students' learning effectiveness can better be imagined than described. This means that such effects on learning are easier implied and manifested in other indicators such as teacher absenteeism, academic performance and students' attitudes than assigned to the strikes alone.

Various studies have pointed out gaps in the sector and learners' acquisition of critical skills that could loosely be linked to the teachers' frequent and prolonged strikes. Unesco (2015) has blamed the rampant teacher absenteeism in Kenyan school for the country's failure to attain EFA targets. Most of the teachers' strikes have been stretching three to four weeks to resolve resulting in 15 to 20 days of continuous absenteeism. The consistent gaps in service delivery, learning outcomes and high levels of teacher absenteeism are worsened by labour unrest within the sector (Muthoni-Ouko, 2014).

The most obvious effect of teachers' strike is its disruption of the learning programme in school. Whenever a strike begins children are forced to stay at home or go to school and fail to be taught. Most of the strikes have been called in October when students are

preparing for national examinations. The one of 2013 even affected the KCPE and KCSE timetables forcing the government to adjust it to December 2013.

Other strike actions, like in 2009 and 2013, have occurred in January thus disrupting reopening of schools after the long holidays and the crucial Form One selection and admission processes. Kaimeny (2015) termed the recent strike an unnecessary and highly disruptive action to the learning of our children and the education sector in general.

Kazeem & Ige (2010) explains that disruption in academic programme resulting from strike leads to closure of schools for a period of time during which no academic activity takes place in the schools. They also note that upon resumption students are in most times denied the opportunity to make up for lost times. According to Murillo and Roncon who did a study in Argentina, the number of days lost to strike affects student learning and, consequently has policy implications for the performance of the system as a whole (Murillo & Roncon, 2002).

Edinyang & Ubi (2013) suggest that this causes psychological trauma to students saying “this has always subjected the students to pitiable conditions, poor academic concentration and poor student-teacher relationships.” Beside the declining academic performance, various forms of examinations malpractices have increased and the trend could transit with the affected students to higher institutions of learning.

Teachers’ strikes have also been linked to the country’s failure to meet national and global educational goals. Kaimenyi (2015) states that besides lowering the quality and standards of education, the strikes were also impacting negatively on the attainment of UN MDG goals such as that of the realisation of universal primary education (UPE). This

is also reflected by Unesco (2015) that attributes non-achievement of EFA targets to frequent teacher absenteeism.

Another emerging view is that teachers' strikes entails latent elements of corruption and other social vices. Edinyang & Ubi (2013) posit that strike is a social ill not different from corruption because it eats into students' time and makes it difficult for students to be 'baked' within the designated educational timeframe. This, they charge, results in 'products' that are ill equipped in both character and learning turned out to the society.

World Bank (2010) (in Wills, 2014) seems to agree with this and argues that in the developing world, unions and especially teacher unions contribute to 'quiet corruption' undermining efficiency in the production of education as they alter the rules of the game and capture gains at the expense of the intended beneficiary.

2.6 Scramble for public perception

The media plays a major role in the success or failure of a teachers' strike as it covers the events surrounding and leading to the strike action carrying sentiments of both government officials and the union leaders.

Due to their large membership numbers and spread across the country, and buoyed by the militant disposition of their leaders, teachers' issues easily catch the attention of the media and the general public.

Murillo and Ronconi (2002) suggests that underlying the teachers' militant demands and government's hardline stance in any industrial dispute is a subtle fight for public perception and support. The success or failure of a teachers' strike could lie on how the

public perceive the dispute and its effects. Whereas the teachers resort to strike actions in pursuit of their grievances with government, students and parents are the primary losers.

“When public service providers (like teachers) go on strike, the costs of lost classes are internalised by the consumers of their services (families) rather than by their employer (the government). Therefore, unions pay attention to public perceptions about the legitimacy of their demands because the consumers who suffer the cost of strikes can exercise pressure on their employers (Murillo and Roncon, 2002).

Murillo and Roncon (2002) argue that “because teachers provide a public service, their militancy is associated with public perceptions of the system, which serve to legitimise grievances within the population and large.

2.7 Rent-seeking versus efficiency-enhancing

The disruptive trends of teachers’ strikes in the country have elicited questions as to whether the unions are agitating for better terms in order to improve service delivery in the education sector or merely pursuing their own goals. During previous strikes, some parents are often heard pleading with the striking teachers to be mindful of the children’s plight and end the strikes. Union leaders in turn argue that the very essence of going on strike is to compel government to improve the teachers’ salaries and working conditions to enable them render quality, uninterrupted educational services to the same children.

The accusations and counter accusations become a ping-pong of sorts as parents, NGOs and civil society groups blame the teachers’ union officials for pursuing their own material interests at the expense of the children’s education. The teachers in turn blame

the government for the strike, saying they would not have boycotted lessons if the government had listened to their grievances in the first place.

Gabrielle Wills introduced the concept of “rent-seeking” vis-a-vis “efficiency-enhancing” in evaluating effects of teachers’ strikes on student learning in South Africa and said, “...how the levels and allocation of inputs translates into student achievement gains or losses depends on whether unionised teachers are rent-seeking or efficiency-enhancing in their behaviour (Wills, 2014).

She describes efficiency-enhancing teachers as those seen to have the same objective function as parents, desiring to maximise student learning. They have expert knowledge about those inputs and are likely to produce higher student achievement.

Kenyan primary school pupils have been recording lower achievement rates in national exams (KCPE) than their private school counterparts despite regular wage increases to their teachers. The Cabinet Secretary for education, Prof. Jacob Kaimenyi, says the frequent strikes have undermined other education policy and development projects in the country besides lowering the public’s view of public school sector education (Kaimenyi, 2015). More concerned parents, Prof Kaimeny says, were opting for private school which are more stable. Candidates score high marks and proceed to take more places in the country’s national secondary and top county schools. This has led the government to introduce quota system in the admission of Form One students from public and private schools.

Conversely, rent-seeking teachers are assumed to have a different objective function from the students and parents or their employer. They agitate for school inputs that maximise their own objectives rather than those of students and parents.

Rent-seeking teachers may lobby for higher salaries at the expense of policies that directly benefit student achievement. In the process, they engage in industrial action, reducing their levels of teaching efforts and efficiency which results in lower expected student achievement (Wills, 2014).

2.8 Content Analysis

Content analysis refers to the method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for purposes of measuring variables Kerlinger (2000). It is an evaluation of the symbols in a text(s) that helps to establish patterns and meanings of various elements in the communication.

According to Dominick & Wimmer (2011) content analysis has become popular research topic in the recent past within the academic and private sectors. The aim of content analysis in media research is to examine how news, drama, advertising and entertainment output reflect the social and cultural issues, values and phenomena. Its purpose is to identify and count the occurrences of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts (Hansen et al, 1996, in Maweu, 2006). This enables one to interpret and describe the messages, images and representations of the texts.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This study will be guided by agenda-setting theory developed by Maxwell E. McCombs and David Shaw. Agenda setting refers to the media's power to influence the public agenda. It will also be explored through framing and priming theories of communication that have been closely linked to agenda-setting theory by a number of scholars. Both theories are concerned with how media can influence audience perception and interpretation of texts based on presentation of the same.

2.9.1 Agenda setting

It is not uncommon in Kenyan newsstands to find groups of people huddled in heated arguments every morning over what is in the newspaper. The situation is replicated in many other public places like matatu termini, hotels, bars and offices among others, where one or two stories in the newspaper is the centre of discussion and animated exchanges.

The question, "Have you seen the newspaper today?" is a usual starter of morning banter in social places. In many occasions a story in the newspaper becomes forms the subject of social chatter and debate in other media as well. For instance the story of Dr. Patrick Ngugi Njoroge, President Uhuru Kenatta's nominee for Central Bank Governor, on *Daily Nation* headline of 16th June 2015, became the topic of discussion on Classic 105 FM radio that morning. It also featured on other radio segments.

The story headlined, "*MPs shun policy issues, offer bank governor a wife*" reported that the nominee had stunned the Parliamentary committee vetting him for the job after revealing that he was 54 years old and single. The discussion on the radio centred mainly

on Dr. Njoroge's marital status (bachelorhood) and whether marital status could affect a person's suitability for a job. Such is the agenda setting power of the media. It sets the people talking, even strangers, and gives them something to talk about.

Agenda setting is one of the communication theories that look at the relationship between audiences and media. The theory was propounded by Maxwell McCombs and David Shaw in 1972 after conducting various experiments. They followed earlier suggestions by Bernard Cohen who in 1963, had opined that, the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Cohen (1963) pointed out that the press may not be successful in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling them what to think about. Hence the people reading the newspaper this morning at their regular newsstands, in their homes or offices are likely to be thinking and talking about the stories in the newspapers. One can conclude that to many people, at least the morning newspaper comes with a morsel of some food for thought.

McCombs & Davis (1972) explained that the media plays a major role in setting the agenda among its audiences. "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality... The mass media may well determine the important issues – that is, the media may set the 'agenda' of the campaign" (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Later McCombs expanded the theory beyond the "what to think about" capacity and said that the media can also tell us "how to think about" objects. He called this the **second-order agenda setting theory**. This was further stretched to incorporate other related

theories such as framing and even priming theories. McCombs argues that second-order agenda setting and framing theories share common concerns for attributes and their integration may help clarify concepts of framing theory (Baran & Davis, 2012).

If something appears in the media more regularly, readers may deem it more important and give it corresponding attention and thought. For instance, the regular coverage of corrupt practices in public service has heightened public alertness to the same and increased government action in the war against terror. In March 2015, after persistent claims of corruption and failure to prosecute cases, the Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission (EACC) gave a list of high profile case it was investigating to the president.

President Kenyatta then presented the list to the Speakers of both National Assembly and the Senate during his significant State-of-the-Nation address to Parliament. To underscore the government's seriousness in the anti-graft war, the president asked all those named in the list to step aside for investigation regardless of the public or political positions in the country. Four cabinet secretaries and several principal secretaries among other heads of state corporations resigned from their positions pending investigation and conclusion of their cases.

It is thought that the government would not have acted so drastically had the media not set the agenda on corruption by highlighting perceived cases of corruption.

This research therefor will study how the mainstream print media set the agenda in the two weeks that the teachers went on strike. It will identify the important issues raised in the newspapers.

2.9.2 Framing

We all have not seen God and Satan, at least, in their physical forms; but we know they exist and their looks as well. Through ages of religious narratives, human beings have formed not just the idea of God's and His opponent-in-chief, Satan's presence but the vivid image of their physical appearances. Religious texts have fashioned the image of God among believers with the favourable attributes of "good." According to Christian literature, including the Bible, God is loving, kind, generous, merciful etc. On the other hand Satan's image is sculpted with negative attributes of "bad" such as mean, selfish, evil, wicked, jealous, cruel etc. Physically, we imagine and therefore belief, God is beautiful and charming while Satan is ugly and grotesque.

It is through such frames of good and evil that we have conceived God and Satan in our minds respectively. Images created and instilled upon us by religious stories in the media. Therefore, people's perception and view of the two entities is a result of the frames used by ancient pioneer religious narrators. It is an example of framing theory of communication that people interpret information according to contextual frames in their minds.

Framing was first proposed by Ervin Goffman who defined it as "a schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences of life experiences (Goffman, 1974, in Cissel, 2012).

Entman (1993) elaborates that "to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a perceived reality and make them more salient as to endorse a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment

recommendation. A common narrative among teachers agitating for a strike is that they are demanding their rights and that government reneged on their agreement to implement a previous deal. Thus they cannot trust, let alone negotiate with a dishonest employer.

According to Smith (2011), framing provides a rhetorical analysis of the text to identify perceptions or interpretation and involves use of metaphor, spin, story telling, word choice and other narrative elements. The media may, through initial reporting, present the facts of a story in a way that gives the audience a specific point of view or frame of reference and interpretation. During the constitution referendum campaigns in 2010, messages in support of the new Constitution were crafted to depict it as the most progressive and democratic constitution in the world. Those leading the campaign were thus shown as progressive thinkers and champions of democracy. They propagated the new Constitution as an embodiment of a new dawn and therefore better lives.

Conversely, those on the “NO” presented as undemocratic forces, afraid of change and therefore beholden to the dark past. Those that were perceived to be neither “Green” supporting (YES) nor opposing it outright were labelled the water melons. This was in reference to the fruit that bears the two colours of the referendum symbols - green on the outside and red inside.

Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991) have described a media frame as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.”

Since framing involves a selection of which issues and facets thereof to highlight in the media, questions about its relationship with objectivity in news stories may arise. The reporter filing the story or the editor choosing it may be influenced by his own subjective reality and personal thoughts about an issue. Baran & Davis (2012) studied Goffman's frame analysis and thought "it challenges a long accepted and cherished tenet of journalism – the notion that news stories can or should be objective."

Looking at agenda-setting, priming and framing theories, Dietram Scheufele observed that agenda setting and priming are easily compatible theories given that they entail mainly placement and prioritization of individual objects and attributes. But framing involves activation of interpretive schemas. It is based on the assumption that subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation might affect how audience members interpret such a situation (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Along with this is the concept of "frame violation" as explained by Goffman (1979). He describes most news as about frame violations and that what makes news newsworthy is its deviation from "normality." Goffman asserts that when journalists report framing violations, they are implicitly serving as protectors of status quo. Some of the most important frame violations involve events that severely disrupt the status quo. (Baran & Davis, 2012).

The likely, and even implied, danger here is that sometimes the media may frame news to suit the subjective needs of either the audience or the sources.

2.9.3 Priming

How would you know that something exists and is important if not by its appearance and attraction of your attention? Often it is difficult to get nice item from a heap of second-hand clothes unless the dealer selects and displays them prominently in his stall. Such selection and placement of items for easier attention over others constitutes priming. Media priming is another variation of agenda-setting theory that regards the positioning of news stories in such a way as to draw the audience's attention. According to Smith (2011), media priming provides "a context for public discussion of an issue, setting the stage for audience understanding."

It is concerned with the amount of time and space that media devote to an issue that makes the audience receptive and alert to particular themes (Smith, 2011). Iyenger & Kinder (1987) said priming news had an agenda-setting effect on audience. They observed that as far as position of a story is concerned, the lead stories had greater effect because:

- i. People paid more attention to stories at the beginning of news because they were less susceptible to interruptions.
- ii. People accepted the news programme's implicit designation of a lead story as most newsworthy.

While agenda setting reflects the impact of news coverage on the perceived importance (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Through their placement of stories in and on the pages, newspapers tell readers what is significant and meaningful. Baran (2004) states that within newspaper sections, readers almost invariably read pages in order; pages 1, 2, 3, and so on. Consequently, papers place the stories they consider most important on the earliest pages (Baran, 2004).

Even on a particular page, Baran adds that English readers read from top to bottom, and from right to left. Hence, newspapers tend to place the stories on the pages in order of their importance from top to bottom and from left to right.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter focused on the following key areas; research design, data collection methods, population of study, data collection instruments, procedures of analysing the data.

A comparative content analysis of the daily and weekend editions of the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers during the teachers' strike period was conducted. The two-week strike began on 5th January 2015 and ended on 17th January 2015. However in this research, it was conceptualised to have begun on 29th December 2014 when KNUT gave the seven-day notice of strike to the TSC and ended on 26th January 2015 by when all parties to the strike should have filed their memoranda and officially surrendered the matter to the Employment and Labour Relations Court for arbitration.

3.2 Study population

Population refers to an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

For this research, the population included all copies of the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers published between 29th December 2014 and 26th January 2015. This was because the notice for the strike was given on 29th December 2014 thus setting off the strike action. Similarly the strike ended on 16th January 2015 but industrial court judge, Justice Nduma Nderi gave the teachers' unions three days (19th January 2015) to file their case and the TSC ten days (26th January 2015) to do the same.

This period covered 29 days which made the total number of newspapers to be studied to be 58 as shown below:

Name of Newspaper	No. of publications		
	Dec. 2014	Jan. 2015	Total
Nation	3	26	29
Standard	3	26	29
Total	6	52	58

3.3 Data collection

The researcher considered the 58 newspapers under the study to be a small universe or population and therefore decided to use a census survey. Kothari (2004) recommends a census over a sample survey when the universe is a small one. Moreover, since the research was content analysis in which only secondary data was used, not much time and financial resources was required.

All the 58 newspapers was analysed and from which only stories about the strike was studied.

3.4 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this study was the story concerning the teachers' strike published in the two newspapers within the study period. This included news, commentaries, pictures, cartoons as well as letters to the editor. In written content, the unit of analysis

might be a single word or symbol (Dominick & Wimmer, 2011). The unit was then classified into different types such as news, opinions, analyses, commentaries and special reports using a code sheet.

The key variables of the coding unit included:

- a. ***Name of newspaper;*** Nation and Standard
- b. ***Story types;*** News, news analysis, editorial, features, commentaries, columns, letters to the editor, pictures and illustrations.
- c. ***Frequency;*** the number of story occurrence in the newspaper. The more frequent a story appears the greater its salience and the more people will talk about it. Frequency was tallied to establish the number of times a story appeared.
- d. ***Placement;*** Front page (lead story), front page (sub-story), back page story, page 3 and inside stories. Placement a factor of priming and agenda setting. It reflects the importance that media attaches to a story. Stories are placed on the newspaper in order of their perceived importance from front page/lead story, front page/sub-story, back page, page 3 and inside stories.
- e. ***Size;*** column length in cm². Measurement was taken to examine the amount of space allocated to story in the newspaper.
- f. ***Directional;*** Positive, negative and neutral. Different words and phrases were analysed to determine their directionality in terms of the above adjectives.

Word or phrases such as *agree, solve, resume, call off strike, find solution, best option* etc, were deemed to be positive.

Conversely, negative stories were thought to comprise words such as *will strike, stay put, paralyse, anguish, agony, threat, sack, no end in sight, stormy, walk out, charge* etc.

Words that indicated neutral directionality included *likely, flexible, moderate, amicable, further discussion, compromise, give and take, promise* etc.

- g. **Themes:** These were the main issues raised in the story such as disruption of learning, right to picket, constitutional/legal issues, child/human rights, economic and social effects, political effects etc.
- h. **Sources:** These were the people or institutions that originated the stories or to whom the stories concerning the strike were attributed. They included:
 - i. KNUT - Secretary General
Chairman
NEC members
Other officials.
 - ii. KUPPET – Secretary General
Chairman
Other officials.

iii. Ministry of Education – Cabinet Secretary

Principal Secretary

Other officials.

iv. Ministry of Labour – Cabinet Secretary

Other officials.

v. TSC – Secretary (CEO)

Chairperson

Other commissioners and officials

vi. The Presidency – President

Deputy President

Head of the Public Service

Other officials

vii. Parliament - National Assembly

Senate.

viii. County Governments – Governors

County Assemblies

viii. The Judiciary – Chief Justice

Judges

Magistrates

ix. SRC – Chairperson

Other officials

x. KNAP – Chairman, Secretary and other officials.

xi. Religious organizations/ leaders.

xii. Interest groups – NGOs

Civil society groups.

xiii. Ordinary citizens.

3.5 Data Analysis

The study analysed data using descriptive statistics and graphic representations such as graphs, charts and tables. The purpose of descriptive statistics is to enable the researcher to meaningfully describe a distribution of scores or measurements using a few indices or statistics (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

Quantitative data was analysed to show descriptive tendencies such as per centage, frequency, mean, median and totals. This was done by running the data through SPSS programme.

Similarly, qualitative data was examined to identify the dominant imagery and figures of speech used in the content. These include idioms, phrasal verbs, similes or metaphors that

create mental pictures and therefore frame the messages in the audience's minds.

Examples of these are *mother of all strikes*, *the axe will fall*, *dig in*, *up in arms* etc.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Overview

This chapter shows the analysis of data and presentation of the same during the study. Quantitative data was collected and analysed in terms of frequency of stories, placement and size. The data was then presented in form of tables, bar graphs and pie charts.

4.2 Frequency by story

The *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers gave the teachers' strike a combined coverage of 165 stories during the study period. However both split the coverage almost equally between them; *Nation* had the higher frequency of 83 stories (50.30%) compared to the *Standard's* 82 stories that translate to 49.69%. This means that there was not much difference in frequency of stories about the teachers' strike by the two media houses.

In terms of story types, news stories about the teachers' strike got the highest frequency in the two newspapers contributing 98 stories (59.39%) of the total stories. In this category, *Nation* had more news stories than the *Standard*. *Nation* published 51 news stories which accounts for 30.90% compared to the *Standard's* 47 news stories (28.48%).

Letters to the Editor category had the second largest frequency with a total of 29 stories (17.57%). These were largely readers' views in reaction to the news stories. The *Nation* published 17 letters (10.30%) while the *Standard* did 12 (7.27%). This means that the *Nation's* news stories elicited more responses from the audience than the *Standard*.

Features and analysis stories received the least coverage in the two newspapers. *The Standard* had one (0.60%) feature appearing in the Sunday Magazine while the *Nation*

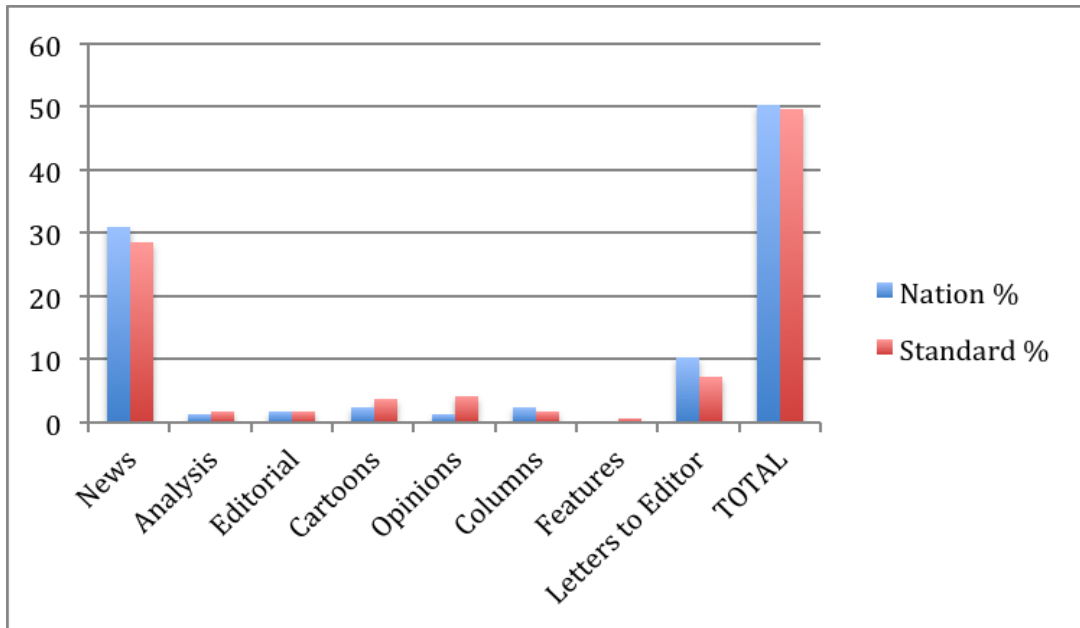
had none (0). *The Standard* also had more analysis stories (3) than the *Nation* (2). This signifies that two newspapers offered the readers less indepth information about the strike. The absence of such detailed stories means that both newspapers relied solely on the news sources to set their own agenda. The general public may not have got sufficient information to participate in the discussion.

In terms of opinion stories and catoons concerning the teachers' strike, the *Standard* had more of the same than the *Nation*. The *Standard* published 7 opinion (4.24%) and 6 cartoon stories (3.63%) while the *Nation* had 4 (2. 42%) cartoon stories and 2 (1.21 %) opinion stories. However, each of the two newspapers had 3 editorial stories concerning the strike.

Table 4.1: Frequency by story

Story type	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
News	51		47		98	59.39
Analysis	2		3		5	3.03
Editorial	3		3		6	3.63
Cartoons	4		6		10	6.06
Opinions	2		7		9	5.45
Columns	4		3		7	4.24
Features	0		1		1	0.60
Letters to Editor	17		12		29	17.57
TOTAL	83		82		165	

Figure 4.1: Frequency of story type by media (% Number of stories)



4.3 Placement

The study also analysed the stories about the strike in terms of placement on the newspapers. Placement of the stories is a component of priming and reflects the prominence with which newspapers treat stories, whether on the front page lead story, front page sub story, page two, page three, back page or inside pages.

In the period under the study the two newspapers placed a total of 24 strike news stories on the front page. Fourteen stories (20.28%) were accorded front page lead placement while 10 of them (14.49%) were front page sub- stories.

The *Nation* had more front page lead stories about the strike than the *Standard*. It was leading with 8 stories (11.59%) compared to the *Standard's* 6 (8.69%) front page lead stories. However, in the front page sub-story category, the standard led with 6 stories

(8.69%) while *Nation* had 4 stories (5.79%). The majority of the stories, 69, were on the inside pages. The *Standard* had more stories (37) on the inside pages than the *Nation* (32 stories). Neither of the newspapers had any story about the strike on the back page.

Table 4.2: Placement of stories

	F/Pg Lead		F/pg Sub		Pg 2		Pg 3		Inside	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%
Nation	8	11.59	4	5.79	11	15.94	5	7.24	32	46.38
Standard	6	8.69	6	1.69	5	7.24	2	2.89	37	53.62
Total	14	20.28	10	14.49	16	23.18	7	10.14	69	100.00

Figure 4.2: Placement count by media

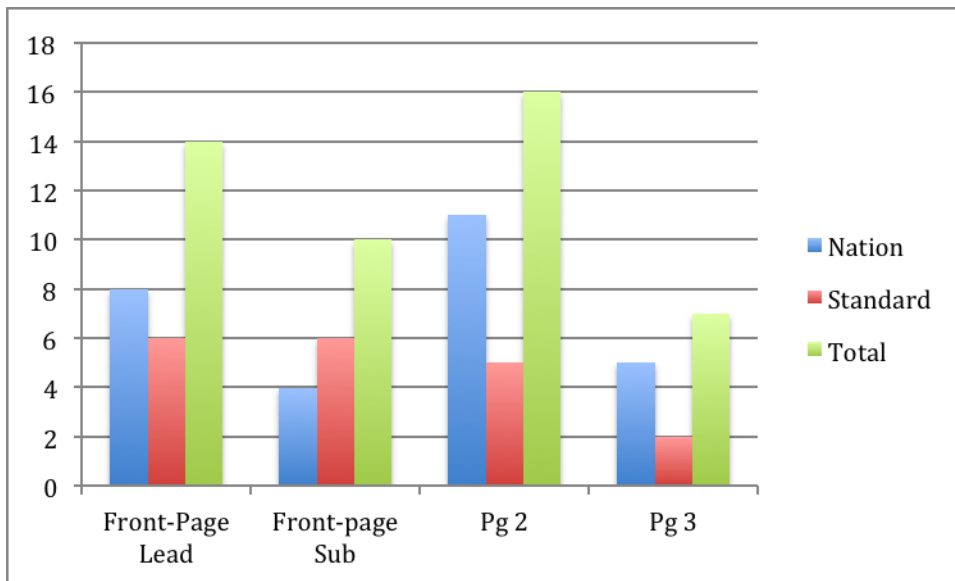
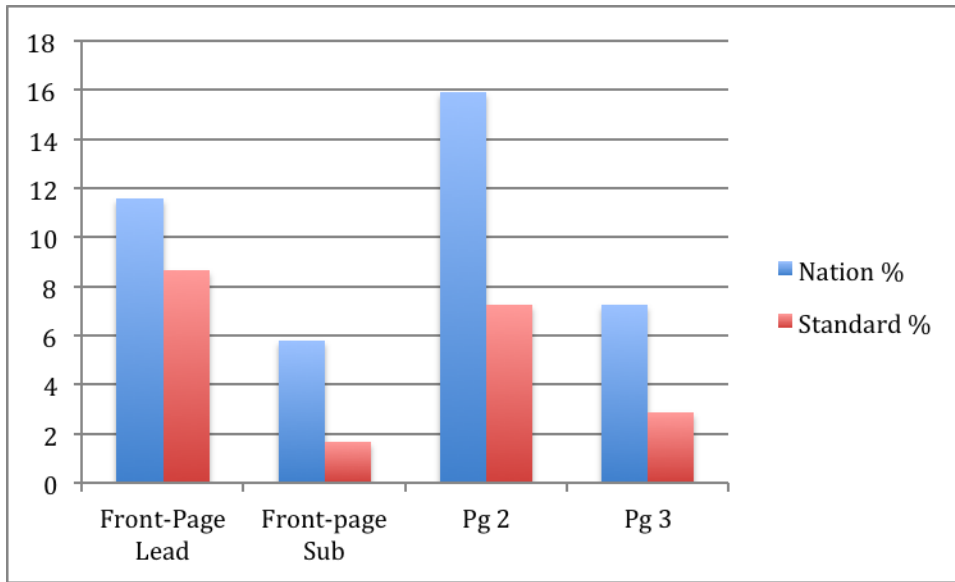


Figure 4.3: Placement count %



4.4 Size

Stories concerning the teachers' strike were analysed in terms of their publication sizes in cm^2 . The *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers are printed on A3-sized papers with a print space of 918 cm^2 per page.

In the period under study stories concerning the strike took a combined space of 29850 cm^2 in the two newspapers which translated to 32.51 newspaper pages. This is a significant space allocation given that an ordinary daily newspaper ranges between 48 and 64 pages long. Taken cumulatively, the stories about the teachers' strike could constitute 59.25% of the average daily newspaper.

The *Standard* gave the stories a slightly bigger space of 14906 cm^2 which constituted 49.92% of the total story size compared to the *Nation* that dedicated a coverage size of 14511 cm^2 (48.61%). The *Standard* was the more generous of the two newspapers in

size allocation to individual stories about the strike. Its smallest story was 64cm² and the biggest one was 988cm². On the other hand, story sizes in the *Nation* ranged of from 20cm² to 924cm².

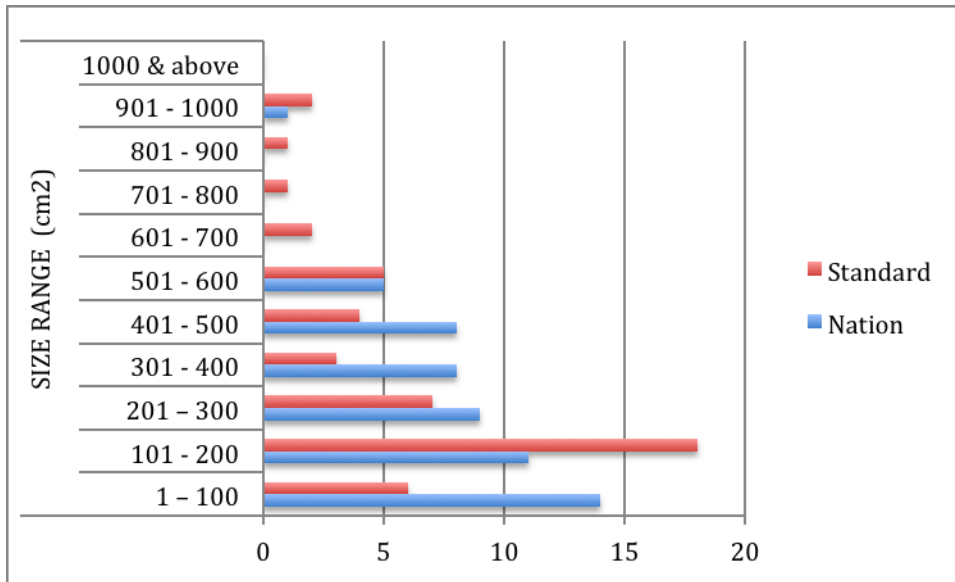
When clustered according to sizes, the *Nation* offered the stories the smaller sizes as it had 14 of its stories below 100 cm² while the *Standard* had only 6 stories not exceeding 100 cm². The *Nation* had only one story measuring over 600 cm². Indeed it had no story in the three clusters between 601 cm² and 900 cm² while the standard has four stories in the same range. Still, the *Standard* has two stories in the 901-1000 cm² cluster compared to the *Nation*'s single story.

The largest number of stories falls in the range of 101 cm² to 200 cm² in which the *Nation* had 11 stories and the *Standard* 18. None of the newspapers had any stories occurring in the 1000 cm² and above category.

Table 4.3: Range of story sizes (in cm²)

	1 – 100	101 - 200	201 - 300	301 - 400	401 - 500	501 - 600	601 - 700	701 - 800	801 - 900	901 - 1000	1000 & above
Nation	14	11	9	8	8	5	0	0	0	1	0
Standard	6	18	7	3	4	5	2	1	1	2	0
Total	20	29	16	11	12	10	0	1	1	3	0

Figure 4.4: Range of story sizes



4.5 Directionality

The study also analysed the stories about the strike on their directionality. They were classified as “positive,” “negative” or “neutral.” This revealed that both newspapers accorded much bigger space to the negative stories than they did to positive and neutral stories combine.

Out of 53 news stories published by the *Nation* about the teachers’ strike 30 of them were negative and 15 were neutral. This translated to 50.60% and 28.30% of all the news stories in the *Nation* respectively. There were only 8 positive news stories, which constituted 15.15%, in the *Nation*. The *Standard* published 26 (54.17%) negative and 7 (14.58%) positive stories out of the total 48 news stories. Like the *Nation*, the *Standard* too had 15 neutral stories which made up 31.25% of the news stories.

When all stories are analysed on directionality both newspapers carried a significant number of negative news stories than any other category. *Nation*'s negative news stories made up 36.14% of all the stories it carried about the strike while the *Standard* published 31.71% negative news stories. Both newspapers had minimal differences in the neutral and positive directionality of their news stories about the teachers' strike. *Nation* had 18.30% neutral new stories and 9.64% positive news stories on the strike.

The *Nation* was the more neutral in the analysis and columns categories than the *Standard*. It had 2 analyses and 4 columns about the teachers' strike, all of them neutral. On the other hand the *Standard* had 1 neutral analysis story and 2 neutral columns as well.

Regarding the editorial and cartoon types of stories, the *Nation* had 2 editorials, both of them negative and 2 cartoons, 1 neutral and another negative. the *Standard* had 3 editorial stories; 2 neutral and 1 negative. It also had 5 cartoons; 2 neutral and 3 negative.

Table 4.4: Directionality by story type

	Positive (%)		Neutral (%)		Negative (%)	
	Nation	Standard	Nation	Standard	Nation	Standard
News	9.64	8.54	18.07	18.30	36.14	31.71
Analysis	0	0	2.41	1.22	0	2.44
Editorial	0	0	0	2.44	2.41	1.22
Cartoon	0	0	1.20	2.44	1.20	3.66
Columns	0	0	4	2.44	0	1.22
Features	0	0	0	0	0	1.22
Opinion	0	1.22	0	2.44	3.61	3.66
Letters to Editor	10.84	6.32	2.41	2.44	7.23	4.88

Figure 4.5: Positive directionality (%)

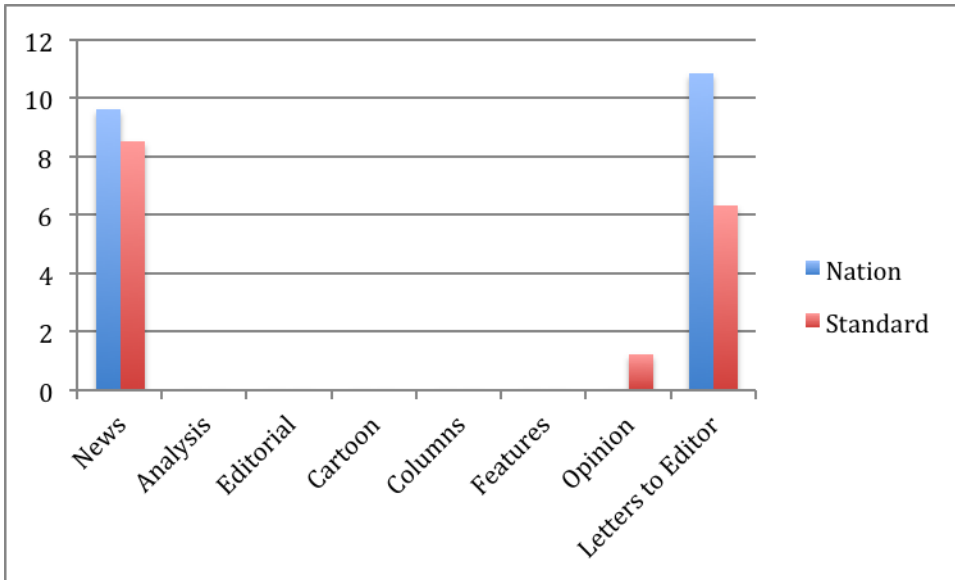


Figure 4.6: Neutral directionality (%)

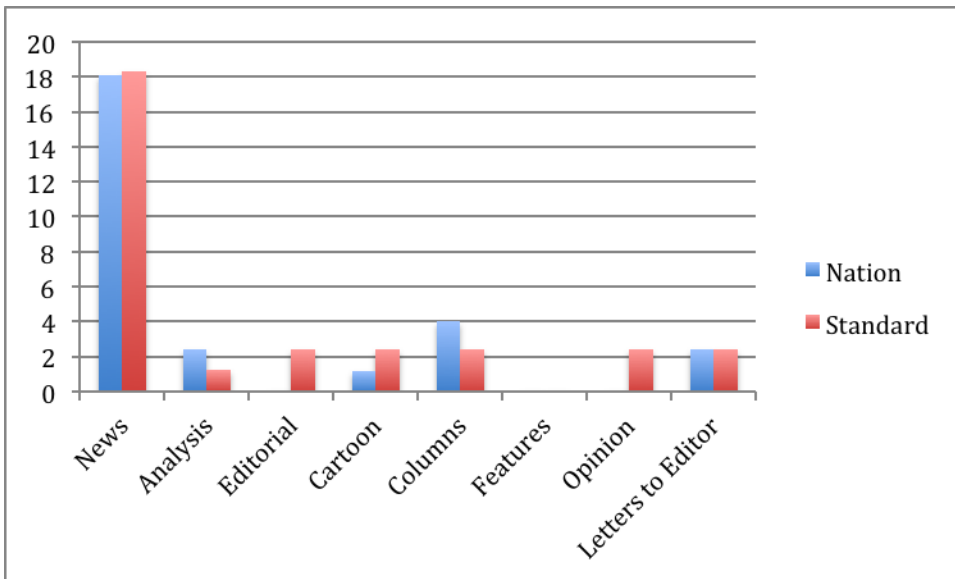
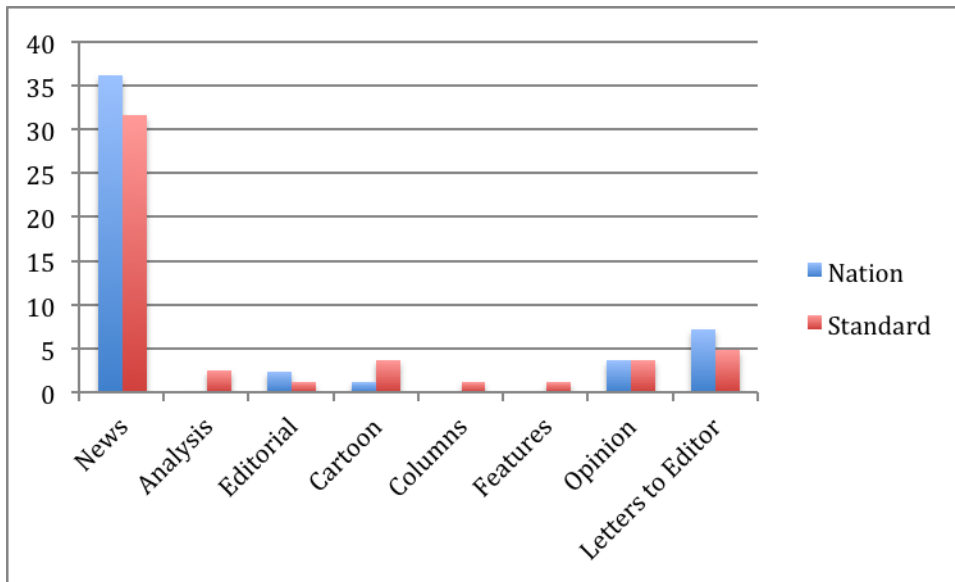


Figure 4.7: Negative directionality (%)



4.6 Sources

The teachers unions and their leaders were the main source of the news stories during the strike period. They were followed by the Cabinet Secretary for Education, Prof. Jacob Kaimenyi, and the TSC Secretary, Mr Gabriel Lengoiboni.

A total of 62 news stories about the strike were attributed to KNUT officials; 34 in the *Nation* and 28 in the *Standard*. KUPPET was the source of a combined 31 stories in both newspapers. Its officials had 18 stories in the *Nation* and 13 stories in the *Standard* attributed to them.

Individually, Knut Secretary General, Wilson Sossion, was the leading source of the news stories in the two news papers followed by his Kuppet counterpart, Akelo Misori. The *Nation* cited Sossion in 17 stories, which represents 17.30%, while the *Standard* cited him in 18 (22.5%). Mr Misori followed with 12 stories (12.26%) in the *Nation* and

8 stories (11.25%) in the *Standard*. It would appear that the newspapers were more concerned with balancing sources between the teachers unions than addressing issues in the strike as the stories alternated largely between what the spokesmen of the two unions said.

Prof Kaimenyi and Mr Lengoiboni tied as sources in the *Nation* with 9 appearances, which constituted 9.18% each. In the *Standard*, Prof Kaimenyi contributed to 8 stories (10%) while Lengoiboni made 6 stories (7.5%). TSC Chairperson, Dr. Lydia Nzomo, appeared thrice in the *Nation* and twice in the *Standard*.

Other Cabinet sources included Labour CS Kazungu Kambi who sourced two stories in the *Nation* and four in the *Standard* and National Treasury CS, Henry Rotich who had two and one stories attributed to him in the *Nation* and the *Standard* respectively.

During the strike the two newspapers conducted spot-checks across the country and sourced several stories from ordinary citizens, particularly individual parents, teachers and students.

As the strike went on, other interested parties were drawn into the matter and became sources of stories as well. These include trade unions such as Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), Trade Unions Congress of Kenya (TUC-Ke), the Dock Workers Union of Kenya and the Kenya National Union of Nurses (KNUN) and the University Academic Staff Union (UASU). They pledged support for the teachers and contributed to at least a single story each in the two newspapers.

Also contributing to the stories were the Kenya National Association of Parents (KNAP) Chairman, Musau Ndunda, and the Kenya National Parents and Teachers Association (KNAPTA) Chairman, Nathan Barasa.

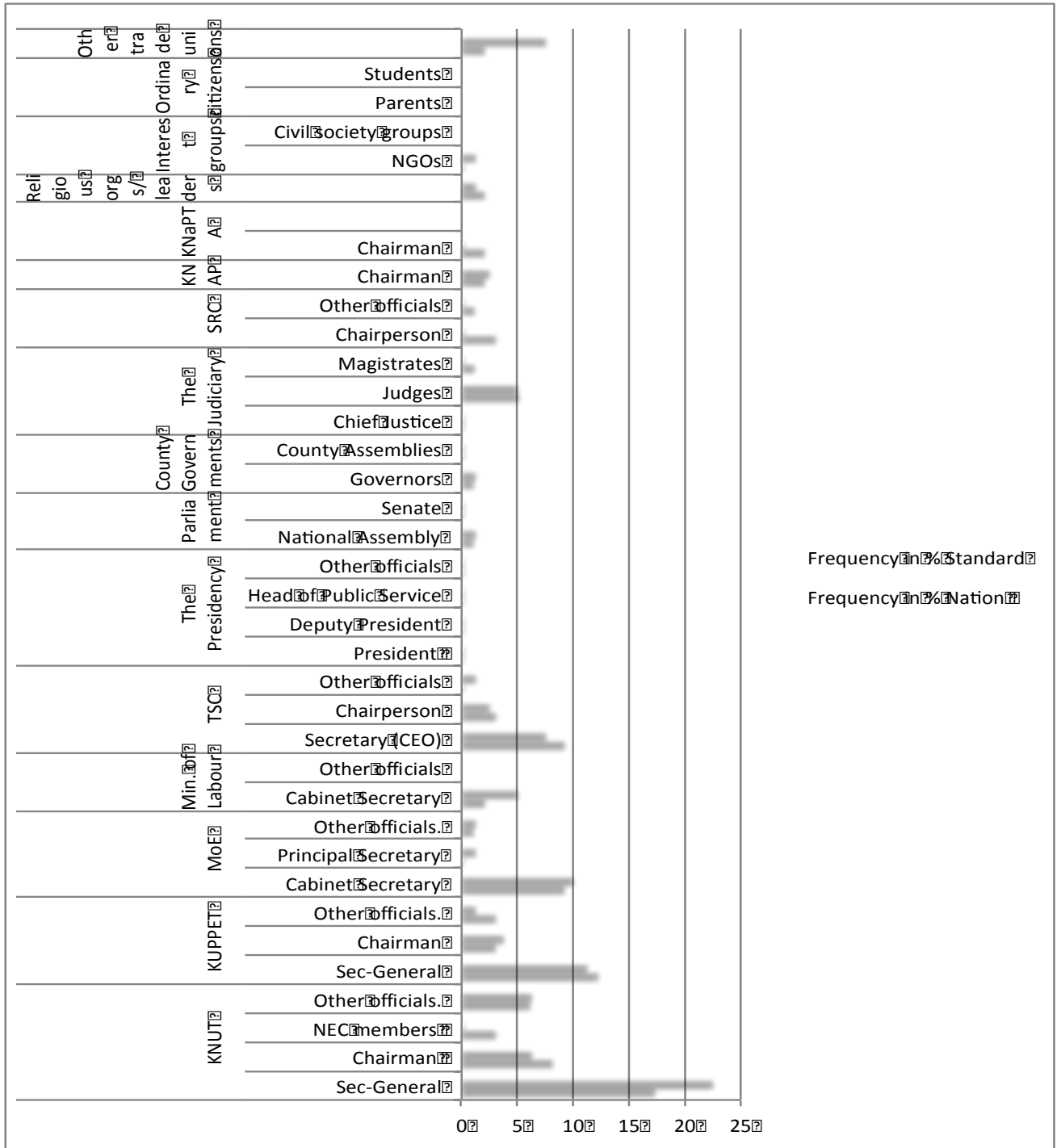
The strike also drew the attention of the Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE) and the Kenya Private Sector Association (KePSA) as well as Elimu Yetu Coalition – an NGO. Similarly, Bomet Governor, Isaac Ruto (then Council of Governors Chairman) contributed to one story in the *Nation* while his Kwale counterpart Salim Mvuria had one story in the *Standard*.

It appears, therefore, that the coverage of the teachers strike by the mainstream print media did not attract significant attention from other stakeholders outside the teachers' unions' leadership and the Ministry of Education as well as TSC officials. Notably, there was virtually no news attributed to political leaders except one member of the National Assembly who contributed 1.02 % of the news sources in the *Nation* and 1.25% in the *Standard*.

Table 4.5: News sources

	Institution	Official	Frequency in %	
			Nation	Standard
1.	KNUT	Sec-General	17.30	22.5
		Chairman	8.16	6.25
		NEC members	3.06	0
		Other officials.	6.12	6.25
2.	KUPPET	Sec-General	12.24	11.25
		Chairman	3.06	3.75
		Other officials.	3.06	1.25
3.	MoE	Cabinet Secretary	9.18	10
		Principal Secretary	0	1.25
		Other officials.	1.02	1.25
4.	Min. of Labour	Cabinet Secretary	2.04	5
		Other officials		
5.	TSC	Secretary (CEO)	9.18	7.5
		Chairperson	3.06	2.5
		Other officials	0	1.25
6.	The Presidency	President	0	0
		Deputy President	0	0
		Head of Public Service	0	0
		Other officials	0	0
7.	Parliament	National Assembly	1.02	1.25
		Senate	0	0
8.	County Governments	Governors	1.02	1.25
		County Assemblies	0	0
9.	The Judiciary	Chief Justice	0	0
		Judges	5.10	5

		Magistrates	1.12	0
10.	SRC	Chairperson	3.06	0
		Other officials	1.12	0
11.	KNAP	Chairman	2.04	2.5
	KNaPTA	Chairman	2.04	0
12.	Religious orgs/ leaders		2.04	1.25
13.	Interest groups	NGOs	0	1.25
		Civil society groups		
14.	Ordinary citizens	Parents		
		Students		
15.	Other trade unions	COTU, UASU, KNUN & Dock Workers Union	2.04	7.5



4.7 Metaphoric and idiomatic representation

The study analysed the stories about the teachers' strike for the imagery used particularly the metaphors and idioms that characterised them. This was meant to examine the way in which the media represented the strike and how the different parties choose their words to persuade their audiences.

As the unions served the teachers' employer with the strike notice and mobilised their members, the newspapers described the strike as "looming." This characterised the strike in the form of a storm cloud hanging heavily with all the threats of a destructive fall. Once the strike began and continued, the newspapers characterised its effects as "paralysing" and "biting." The news papers reported that the teachers' strike had paralysed learning in schools creating impressions of an animal or human being unable to move their limbs due to severe paralysis. Both newspapers also described strike as biting, a description that evokes feeling of physical pain that one get when bitten by an animal or insect.

Similarly, in mobilising the teachers for the strike, the union leaders described the strike as inevitable using the image of a train; they dismissed efforts to avert the strike saying "the train had already left the station." The train is a massive carriage that once it leaves the station it can only stop at the next station and cannot be stopped mid-way.

During the strike the unions described the first week of the strike as just a "rehearsal" implying that the worst had yet to be seen. They also declared the following week as "*wiki ya kufagilia*" (the week of clean sweeping) of schools to ensure no teacher attended them. This created the image of a broom used to sweep room.

In one editorial the *Nation* characterised learners as the “biggest casualties” of the perennial teachers strike. The term casualty easily brings to mind images of severe bodily injuries either from accidents or war and is often used in hospital environments where victims are taken.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of findings of the study in line with the objectives of the research. It also highlights the implications of the study as well as its limitations and offers suggestions for further research.

5.2 Key findings

The study found that the *Nation* and the *Standard* gave the teachers' strike an almost similar coverage in the period under study. Comparatively, there was little variation in their treatment of the stories concerning the teachers' strike, especially in terms of both size and placement of the stories.

However, much of their coverage of the strike was inform of news stories. Both newspapers merely reported the strike as it happened and what the sources said. To paraphrase (Baran, 2004), it appears that the mainstream print media covered the teachers' strike under study like horse races, concentrating mainly on "who's in front, who's running well..." There was little independent and indepth analysis of the strike that could set the agenda and guide the country's discourse into the underlying courses and factors of the frequent teachers' strike.

By just highlighting the paralysed learning in schools and the militant speeches of the union leaders only could as well have given the teachers impetus to fight on even for the sake of it. The drama and combative rhetoric accompanying the strike could have only heightened the public's interest in the spectacle than the substance of the strike.

There was very little or no interpretive coverage of the teachers' strike in form of features, editorial, columns and opinion stories that could provide wider and deeper perspectives into the matter. As Harrower (2007) states, feature stories often focus on issues that are less timely and more personal. They include topics, treatment styles and structures that you won't find in standard news stories.

Editorials and columns play an equally important role in not just informing but educating newspaper readers as well. Publications, according to Harrower, need editorials and columns to provide the personality and passion that news reporting doesn't allow.

Cartoon stories were more detailed and subtle than the textual stories. They caricatured the strike, captured the tensions between the Ministry of Education and the teachers unions leaders. They also summed up in graphic detail attendant hypocrisy of the teachers, the MoE's and TSC's haplessness in handling the matter and bewildered children caught up in the stand-off.

In one of the cartoons in the Nation, a striking teacher is portrayed displaying with one hand a placard to a pupil written "No increment, no work" while on the other hand hiding another placard inscribed "Available for private tuition." This depicts the teachers as practising double-speak. Another cartoon showed Mr Sossion (holding papers written "basic salary only") and Prof. Kaimenyi (holding papers written "Allowances and loans") seated on opposite sides of a table for dialogue. However Kaimenyi's side is set upside down signifying the impossibility of any understanding, let alone agreement, between them.

The Standard had one cartoon story of Sossion and Kaimenyi playing chess on a board written “Schools” and the pawns written “students.” Another one has a union official and a government official wrestling on a house of cards as terrified pupils cower underneath. This shows how the striking teachers and uncompromising government are playing games with the lives of innocent children.

5.3 Limitations of the study

The researcher noted various limitations in the study. First the study was confined to a comparative study of the mainstream print media in Kenya, specifically the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers only. This limits the generalisation of the results of this study to the two newspapers only.

Similarly the strike period lasted barely two weeks. This may have impacted on the duration of its agenda-setting and reaction from the audiences. It also resulted in a smaller population of study and sampling. However, the researcher mitigated this limitation by conducting a census on the population for wider generalisation.

The study was also confined to content analysis of the print media coverage of the teachers’ strike and not the influence of the coverage on the striking teachers and the education stakeholders.

It is also worth mention that teachers strike coincided with the sudden death of Fidel Odinga, the son of the former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga. This could have impacted on the prominence the newspapers accorded the strike issue, given the political stature of the Odinga family in the Kenya.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends that the mainstream print media should:

- a. Establish the cause of the apparent public apathy to the strike, that interrupted learning in public primary and secondary schools, as indicated few letters to the editors and opinion stories from readers and take remedial action.
- b. Allocate more space for interpretive stories as opposed to mere reportage of the teachers' strike events. This will be in line with Dominck (2005) who contends that the mass media do not supply just facts and data. They also provide information on the ultimate meaning and significance of events. Similarly Bernard Berelson argues that readers use the newspaper to get information about and interpretation of public affairs (Baran, 2004).
- c. Investigate fully the factors surrounding and leading to the perennial teachers' strike. This is in order to establish the real causes of the strike; whether the teachers' strike is motivated by "rent-seeking" or "efficiency-enhancing" interests. Wills (2014) described rent-seeking as the agitation by teachers for pay increase just for their own interest while efficiency-enhancing agitation is geared towards improving service delivery in schools.
- d. Provides more space for, and elicit, expert opinion and discussion on teachers' strike such educationists, from both public and private sectors, labour relations practitioners. They should also elicit constructive debate as to how such perennial learning disruptions can be avoided.

- e. Give balanced coverage to the sources of stories pertaining to the teachers' strike, but ensure that such coverage does not give publicity seeking sources undeserved means to frame the news and set their own agenda. Dominick (2005) warns that as media coverage confers status, many individuals and groups go to extreme measures to get coverage for themselves and their causes to achieve such a status. According to Domonick (2005), some of the tactics employed by sources to capture airtime or column inches include parades, demonstrations, publicity stunts and generally outlandish behaviour.

5.5 Suggestions for further research

The researcher offers the following suggestions for further research regarding the subject of this study.

- The media needs to increase its watchdog role by highlighting negative effects that the strike has on innocent victims such as the learners and parents.
- Research should be carried out to establish the influence that media coverage of teachers' strike may have on the union officials and the teachers' behaviour during the strike.
- Conduct research to explore the extent and impact of coverage of teachers' strike by other media outlets such as television, radio and social media.

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Appendices



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REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 3/11/2015 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

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SUPERVISOR

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