

**KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY (KIU)**  
**BACHELORS OF MASS COMMUNICATION**

**TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE MEDIA CONSIDERED A FOURTH ESTATE?**

*A case study of Kenyan media*

BY  
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## DECLARATION

Achoch Wendy M. Reg. No. BMC/6214/41/DF declares that, the work presented in this report is my own innovation and has never been presented in any University or Institution for the award of degree or its equivalent.

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my late brother Stephen Onyango Achoch (Rajah), for being a loving father and friend. You will forever be my guardian angel. May your soul rest in everlasting peace.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At this moment in time, I would like to give my appreciation to all the people who made this research paper success..

A special thanks goes to my supervisor Dr. Ongora Jerome the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences Kampala International University whose guidance, advice and effort made this research paper a success.

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To all of them I say thank you and be Blessed.

## ACRONYMS

STV	Stella Vision
NTV	Nation Television
KTN	Kenya Television Network
VCR	Video Camera Recorder
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
NBC	National Broadcasting Corporation

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## **ABSTRACT**

An investigation of to what extent the media is considered a fourth estate was carried out in the Kenyan media.

The variables considered include: identifying the importance of the media as a watchdog, to find out the effect of the media as a fourth estate and to determine if the Kenyan media is a fourth estate.

In order to investigate the above variables; a general survey design was used. Data collection tools include; interview schedule, observation checklists, literature review and questionnaire.

The study also revealed effects of the media as a fourth estate and as the researcher found out, the media has proven to be a remarkable flexible concept.

The study came up with recommendations to these effects whereby, journalists should make it their duty to shape news agendas and approaches because it's a matter of considerable interest.



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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the study

Kenya's media is noteworthy given the continent's history that has had a devastating effect on the industry. At independence most African states had media that could have been developed into vibrant institutions (de Beer, Kasoma, Megwa & Steyn, 1995). In most cases, however, African nations engineered systematic schemes that decimated the industry as G.B.N. Ayittey (1992, 1999) chronicles. What sets Kenya apart is her ability to travel this tortured path behaving like every other African media bullying nation, yet maintain one of the few, by African standards, vibrant media outlets

But circumstances are changing. Kenya emerged as a state a little over a century ago, suffered colonialism, then experimented with hardly defined ideologies for a generation, but is now set to enter another epoch—since the constitution barred The Former President Daniel arap Moi from standing for another electoral term when his last one ended in 2002. In Africa where government policies are subject to the whims of the leader, this new shift will be fundamental.

##### 1.1.1 Print Media

The print media can be divided into four sectors: the regular daily newspapers, the magazines, the regional newspapers, and the printed sheets that also seek to pass for newspapers in the urban centre streets.

Kenya has four daily national newspapers in English and one in Kiswahili all published in Nairobi with a combined daily circulation of almost 400,000. Relative to other nations, even those of Africa, the history of the press in Kenya is rather recent. Literacy started in Kenya following the arrival of Protestant missionaries nearly a century and a half ago (Church of the Province of Kenya). The missionaries embarked on teaching new converts how to read and write primarily so that the new converts could read biblical literature for themselves. The initial publications carried religious materials. To date, the church is still involved in some magazine publishing.

### 1.1.2 Broadcast Media

For a long time the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) dominated Kenya's electronic media scene. Formerly the Voice of Kenya, the station, founded in 1927, runs a nation-wide television service, two radio channels broadcasting throughout the country, in English and Kiswahili, and 16 regional ethnic language stations (Abuoga & Mutere 100). Today, it also has FM station covering the city and is planning another FM station for the Central Province, home to the populous Kikuyu community

The launching of other stations has nominally challenged KBC's reporting style. These stations, six in all, have not challenged KBC's dominance significantly. Other stations launched recently include KBC Channel II a subscriptions only cable network whose main shareholder is a South African firm, MultiChoice; Citizen TV, NTV, KTN, Family, and Stella vision (STV). These stations, except the NTV and KTN, due to constitutional, financial and logistical limitations, have not been able to compete appropriately in news coverage. While NTV and KTN, with their financial muscle, could offer the biggest challenge to the two stations it was licensed to broadcast only in Nairobi. Its application for a nation-wide broadcast had been pending government approval for nearly a dozen years.

Television has not made an impact in Kenya's countryside (Mytton; Ochieng; Bourgault; De Beer et al). To start with, the cost of a television set is prohibitive for rural people. A 21-inch colour television plus a VCR, for example, would cost at least five to 10 times the official average income of a primary school teacher. As a result television is a low priority for rural population that can ill afford it.

### 1.1.3 Economic Framework

De Beer et al (209) observed, "Africa's economic situation has declined significantly in the three decades of post-colonialism." While Kenya's economy grew steadily in the years following independence, the 1990s have been truly economically lost decade for Kenya. According to the Central Bank of Kenya after the economy contracted in the early 1990s it grew by 5 percent in 1995, by 4.6 percent in 1996 and recorded only a 2.7

percent growth rate in 1997. This fell further in 1998 to 1.6 percent before recovering minimally to 2 percent in 1999. In 2001 the economy grew by 0.8 percent.

#### 1.1.4 Unions

Most reporters in Kenya are members of the Kenya Union of Journalists. Reporters with the government associated media (*Kenya Times*, KBC, and the Kenya News Agency) are not allowed to join the union. The union has occasionally succeeded in negotiating better terms for its members. There are several organizations in the country that seek to bring journalists with common interests together. These would include the Kenya Education Writers' Association, the Kenya Professional Journalists' Association, the Association of Media Women in Kenya, the Network for the Defence of Independent Media in Africa, the Media Institute, the Association of Food and Agriculture Journalists, the Media Development Association, and the Kenya Correspondents' Association and Foreign Correspondence's Association. However, their effectiveness remains in question.

#### 1.1 .5 Press Laws

Strictly speaking Kenya does not have a press law. Even what passes for press law is a carry over from the colonial governments' regulations in respect of press freedom. Critics have argued that the law, even if it was not good for the operation of the media, served the new rulers well by giving them a tool with which to control the media. What passes for media law in Kenya is a general section 79 of the constitution that states:

Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence.

There is nothing in the constitution that refers explicitly to the media. The section that seems relevant to journalism would be the clause referring to "freedom to communicate ideas without interference." However, such freedom could be withdrawn "in the interests

of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health" according to Section 79 subsection (2) paragraph (a) of the constitution.

## 1.2 Research Problem

David Solomon (1994) quoted that somewhere along the line the Fourth Estate became just the media. For nearly two centuries the idea that the press plays a central role in the management and maintenance of a representative democracy has framed debates about the media. The eighteenth century claim, that the press was entitled to its own independent standing in the political system, as the Fourth Estate, has become an ideal which continues to influence the attitudes of those working in the 21<sup>st</sup> century news media, as well as politicians and citizens. It is in this context that the research problem arises, "To what extent is the media a Fourth Estate"

## 1.3 Scope and Purpose of the study

The study will be basically concerned with the extent of the media as a fourth estate. It will be conducted in Kenya between March 2007 to December 2007 using the qualitative and quantitative analysis and a sample of four media groups the researcher using questionnaires such as interviews and secondary data such as journals will collect the data.

The purpose of this study is to find out the extent at which the press in Kenya is termed as the Fourth Estate using qualitative survey with a view of improving the perception of the press in Kenya by the society at large

## 1.4 Significance of the Study

The press continues to provide views to Kenyan audience, they provide room for voices, and their existence is linked to the wave of multi party politics. In view of the of the

foregoing it is clear that the mass media can incite people against one another while it can also promote mutual benefaction understanding.

### 1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Determine the importance of the media as a watchdog.
2. Determine Governments loyalty to the media.
3. Determine the public perception of the media.
4. Determine if the Kenyan media is <sup>really</sup> a fourth estate.

### 1.6 General Objective

To asses the effects of the media as a fourth estate.

### 1.7 Specific Objective

To identify the importance of the media as a watchdog to the society.

### 1.8 Research Questions

The Study will be based upon the following background questions?

- To what extend does the media carryout its task as a watchdog to the society and the government?
- What is the media allowed to do and to what length?
- What is the role of the media?
- What is the relationship between the government and the media in carrying out this role?



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 The Mass Media as <sup>4</sup>Fourth Estate

Left-wing critics often attack the mass media: from within the broadly Marxist vein of critical theory they are criticized for reproducing the dominant bourgeois culture; from within the 'political economy' vein of research, they are attacked for representing the interests of those who own them.

However, from the perspective of those researchers who see the media as situated within the model of a pluralist liberal democracy, the mass media are often seen as fulfilling the vitally important role of *fourth estate*, the guardians of democracy, defenders of the public interest.

##### 2.1.1 Carlyle's definition of the fourth estate

The term fourth estate is frequently attributed to the nineteenth century historian Carlyle, though he himself seems to have attributed it to Edmund Burke:

Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact... Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable. ... Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law making, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he

has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is that he has a tongue that others will listen to; this and nothing more is requisite. Carlyle (1905)

Carlyle here was describing the newly found power of the man of letters, and, by extension, the newspaper reporter. In his account, it seems that the press are a new fourth estate added to the three existing estates (as they were conceived of at the time) running the country: priesthood, aristocracy and commons. Other modern commentators seem to interpret the term fourth estate as meaning the fourth 'power' which checks and counterbalance the three state 'powers' of executive, legislature and judiciary.

### 2.1.2 Habermas's public sphere

In recent years increasing attention has been paid by media theorists to the notion of the public sphere as developed by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Habermas, implacable opponent of postmodernist theorizing, argues that in eighteenth century England there was the emergence of a 'public sphere...', which mediates between society and state', in which 'the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion' (Habermas (1989)).

Simultaneously with the growth of urban culture, where there was the development of a new arena of public life (theatres, museums, opera houses, coffee houses, etc.), there was also the growth of a new infrastructure for social communication (the press, publishing houses, libraries), together with increased literacy and better transportation. These communication webs allowed discussion of matters, which branched out, from relatively small groups into affairs of the state and of politics. According to Habermas, these led to increased social intercourse.

Rather differently from Carlyle (above: 'it matters not what rank he has'), Habermas emphasizes that the public sphere was class-linked and therefore accessible only to members of the bourgeoisie. As Habermas sees it, any member of the bourgeoisie who had access to the technology (i.e. novels, journals, newspapers etc.) was able to

join in popular cultural debate based on a firm faith in the value of reasoned discussion. As Mark Poster succinctly summarizes the idea,

Although the public sphere never included everyone, and by itself did not determine the outcome of all parliamentary actions, it contributed to the spirit of dissent found in a healthy representative democracy. Poster (1995)

In fact perhaps the most evocative description of that kind of public sphere is to be found in Neil Postman's description of eighteenth century America, a society in which literacy was vastly more widespread and democratized than in the Britain of the time. Postman is also concerned to show how print literacy in itself encourages rational and ordered thinking, participation in contemporary debate and the ability to understand and follow detailed and complex argument. (Postman (1987): 45-64)

Incidentally, the similarity of Habermas's claimed development of a public sphere to the current development of the Internet is striking and probably accounts in part for the renewed interest in his idea, some thirty odd years after it was first aired. (For comment on the Internet as public sphere, see Internet: general discussion) It has also no doubt come to be seen as an increasingly important question as increasing globalization undermines the power of the nation-state and the legitimacy of national democracies. As our traditional forms of representative, democratic politics apparently decline in relevance, as participation in such politics declines and citizens turn towards identity-based 'single issues', how can we develop a meaningful concept of the public sphere?

### 2.1.3 The media as <sup>3</sup>watchdog

It probably doesn't matter a great deal what Carlyle originally meant; similarly, it's probably of no great importance that Habermas has been criticized for idealizing the supposed period of informed public debate (for example, there were certainly class, gender and race imbalances in any public sphere that might have existed; it is also pertinent to ask whose public sphere is it and in whose interest does it operate?). What is

important is that both writers paint a powerful picture of the media participating in the maintenance of the public sphere as a kind of neutral zone in which people organize and debate collectively and rationally for the benefit of the common good and contributing to the development of democratic debate.

Thus, the term 'fourth estate' is used today to refer to the mass media as a powerful watchdog in liberal democracy, revealing abuses of state authority and defending the democratic rights of citizens.

#### 2.1.4 Media independence from the state - the free market

Not surprisingly, since this view of the media's fourth estate function is rooted within the pluralist liberal democracy model, it is commonly accompanied by an assumption that the media, in order to act as fourth estate, must be independent of the state. In other words, the watchdog function can only be fulfilled by a free market organization of the media. It is assumed that, if the watchdog is subject to state regulation, then it will become the state's poodle.

This argument has been used to legitimate the increasing deregulation of American and British broadcasting over the last decade or so. The regulation of broadcasting (even in the USA) was originally tolerated because the relatively limited number of frequencies available meant that franchises had necessarily to be limited. Therefore, since some had to be excluded from obtaining a franchise (a restriction which did not apply to anyone wishing to launch a press title), there was a requirement in both countries of some measure of public service broadcasting (more especially in the UK), which to an extent would cater for the interests of those excluded from a franchise. However, the development of cable and satellite TV has meant that in the USA people can choose from more TV stations than newspapers and in Great Britain from at least as many. The deregulation of broadcasting, from this point of view, therefore becomes a legitimate goal, since, it can be argued, that will ensure broadcasting's independence of the state.

Whilst in Britain the deregulation of the media has continued apace, a move justified in part by the desirability of reducing the interference of the 'nanny-state', this has not been accompanied by any significant liberalization of the Official Secrets Act . Despite New Labour's professed intentions of introducing a Freedom of Information Act, nothing has yet been passed into law and the proposals so far made for such an Act could hardly be recognized as promoting freedom of information. At present (mid-2001) it remains unclear what will be the effect of the European Convention on Human Rights, now part of UK law. Article 10 of the Convention prescribes a basic right to freedom of expression, which should be restricted only for pressing reasons of the public interest.

#### 2.1.5 Media concern with rational debate .

However, whilst one can certainly find the media revealing abuses of state power - for example, the repeated exposures of 'sleaze' in parliament, especially within the ranks of the current (April 1997) Conservative majority in the UK parliament, we need to bear in mind that the prime function of most media organs today is to provide the public with entertainment. That naturally tends to negate any supposed fourth estate function, since there is not even much coverage of state practices in the first place, let alone any rational debate and criticism of them. As mentioned above, it is always pertinent to ask whose fourth estate is this and in whose interest does it operate? If we consider the current revelations of 'sleaze' on the part of Conservative MPs in *The Sun*, it could be argued that *The Sun* is performing a public service by making public the greed and sexual indiscretions of MPs, matters whose revelation is in the public interest. However, it should be borne in mind that these attacks on Conservative misdemeanors are within the context of *The Sun*'s switch of allegiance from the Conservatives to New Labour. *Rupert Murdoch owns The Sun*. In preparation for the 1997 election victory, Tony Blair, leader of New Labour was careful to court Rupert Murdoch, whose support he believes he needs in the election. One way of gaining Murdoch support is to propose more lenient legislation than the

Conservatives on cross-media ownership, which is indeed the position New Labour has adopted.

During the early months of 1998, US media organizations have repeatedly had to issue apologies for misreporting. *The New Republic* discovered that certain articles by one of its most favoured young reporters were fabrications; the *Boston Globe's* Patricia Smith resigned after admitting to inventing characters in four 1998 columns; *Time* magazine at the time of writing (July 1998) is investigating what it suspects is untrue reporting in its columns and on *CNN* regarding claims of US troops using nerve gas against other US troops in South-East Asia. A *New York Times* editor ascribed this current surge in misreporting to 'a massively increased sensitivity to all things financial'. This is in part due to the operation of the global free market as we see it operating in other spheres too: mergers into huge corporations, with the usual attendant reductions in staff and staff training in order to maximize shareholders' dividends, shareholders who are to a great extent composed of retirement funds and insurance companies who will soon shift their stock elsewhere if they can get a higher return. In part it is probably also due to the increased competition arising from the use of new technologies. Photos are transmitted digitally, stories are e-mailed from across the globe, and perhaps more importantly scoops are announced on Web sites by freelancers running their own fairly small and cheap set-ups; 'freebooters' might be a more accurate term as some of them don't seem overly scrupulous about checking their facts. In such circumstances, the conventional media can be easily scooped by a small Web organization. As a signal of the shift from hard to soft news, Neil Hickey of the Columbia Journalism Review examined the cover stories of *Time* and *Newsweek* in 1987 and 1997. In 1987, *Time* had eleven covers relating to foreign news; in 1997, only one. Domestic hard news covers reduced from twelve to nine. In other words, the overall total for straight news dropped from around 45% in 1987 to 20% in 1997. Obsession with ratings, says Hickey, is 'at an all-time high' in TV newsrooms, where, until recently, ratings were largely an irrelevance, the emphasis being on news coverage. The broadcasters and the press editors respond to criticism by saying that the US publics are currently not concerned with hard news as

the economy is prospering and are not concerned with foreign news since the collapse of the USSR. In giving the public soft news, the media are merely giving the public what they want. To some that may sound like the way a democracy should function, but in response to this argument Hickey quotes the former President of NBC News, Reuven Frank.

This business of giving people what they want is a dope-pusher's argument. News is something people don't know they're interested in until they hear about it. The job of a journalist is to take what's important and make it interesting.

#### 2.1.6 Media independence from their owners

Another factor, which needs to be borne in mind, is the increasing concentration of media ownership and the merger of media organizations with non-media corporations. It could be argued that, with the declining role of national state governments and the increasing power of transnational corporations, the media watchdog should pay more attention to abuses by global capitalist institutions than by the state. And here, of course, is the rub. The supporters of the free, deregulated media market argue vociferously that media institutions must be independent of the state otherwise they will be in some way beholden to it. The argument runs, for example, that such media will think twice before criticizing the government of the day for fear of losing subsidies or of provoking restrictive legislation. So newspaper editors in Britain have campaigned against the introduction of any kind of right to privacy. Pressure for such legislation has mounted as the press has become increasingly intrusive in their coverage of royalty, celebrities and MPs. The British press point to the example of France, where there is an established right to privacy and where, as a result - or so they claim - the press is the government's lapdog. (It is ironic, perhaps, that Diana Princess of Wales was killed in a car crash allegedly caused by pursuing press photographers in Paris) (For further comments on the right to privacy, see the section on the Press Complaints Commission. Note that the European Convention on Human Rights was incorporated into British law via the

Human Rights Act in 2000. Currently, early 2001, Michael Douglas and Catherine Zeta-Jones are about to sue for invasion of privacy, relying on the provisions of that Act. There has never before been a right to privacy in British law, so it remains to be seen how the courts interpret the Act, especially as it may conflict, particularly where the media are concerned, with the Act's guarantee of freedom of expression.) Similarly, Rupert Murdoch, owner of News Corp., for instance, claimed that the price paid by British broadcasters for their privileges was their freedom. From this argument, though, it surely follows logically that those media, which are owned by major corporations, must be beholden to those corporations, a corollary which Mr. Murdoch chooses to overlook.

The following issues are discussed in other sections of the Infobase:

- Possible effects of deregulation of broadcasting: Blumler
- Supposed advantages of public ownership: public service
- Ideal role of the press in a democracy: the Royal Commission on the Press
- Some of the possible influences newspaper owners may have had: newspaper ownership

#### 2.1.7 A revival of the public sphere

A recent study by the Harwood Group, *Citizens and Politics: A View from Main Street America* (sorry, I don't have a reference) revealed widespread dissatisfaction with news coverage. The factors we have discussed above (concentration on sound bites, focus on personalities in politics, sensationalism etc.) led people to feel that the newsmakers' agenda was not theirs.

It has been suggested that TV talk shows have to some extent supplanted the news media in addressing people's genuine concerns. One only needs to take a quick look at some talk shows to see that the distorted infotainment, which is presented there, would hardly satisfy Habermas's criteria. I don't suppose that we would want to see the Ricki Lake or Jerry Springer shows as model democratic forums, with their barely articulate guests,



their pop psychologists and their stacked audiences baying for blood. And yet... in the USA there has been an interesting development over the past few years, namely the use of Web-based message forums devoted to these talk shows. On these message forums the debates, which were aired on the show, continue to be discussed. They are not moderated as far as I know, so the content is not always as reasoned as Habermas might like to see in his public sphere, nor, to the best of my knowledge, is there any evidence that the producers take any notice of what is discussed. However, they look to me as if they offer potential for open and productive debate, especially as Web TV is just around the corner. Watch this space....

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

This chapter will be concerned with data collection.

#### 3.1 Research Design

The research design was qualitative survey this is because qualitative research overcame the unwillingness of respondents to reply and at the same time it overcomes the respondent's inability to reply to the questions asked.

A survey is a type of research where by the variables being study are observed for their behavior and relation to enable researcher come up with the required conclusion. The data to be used in this study will be primary data and the secondary data.

#### 3.2 The Population.

Population in this case refers to the number of individuals that was involved in realization of the research study. The Kenyan media is numerous and is as diverse as they are many. Analyzing all of them was not possible; the researcher concentrated on four major media groups in Kenya.

Data was collected from both the readers and journalists. The researcher also included the views of tabloid journalists and readers of tabloid newspapers on the perception of the media as a forth estate.

#### 3.3 Data Collection Methods

Data is a group of facts that it's critically analyses to come up with information. In the study, the researcher explored two types of data: -

- Primary data.
- Secondary data.

### 3.3.1 Primary Data.

This referred to data collected directly from the people interviewed the data was obtained by way of the researcher preparing a research tool in form of questionnaires and interview questions for respondent to be identified in the sampling frame. The data to be collected was first hand, never obtained from any other source. This data is crucial since it provided first hand information from the researcher and other forms of media.

### 3.3.2 Secondary Data.

This referred to information that has already been collected and analyses by another person. This included publications, textbooks, newspapers and journals. Journalism books were the major source of secondary data to the researcher. The researcher was also focused on reviews done on the media in developing country in the newspapers and periodicals. The source of this material was sourced from United States International University library, National library, ides library (journalism library) University of Nairobi.

Secondary data provided the following advantages.

- Secondary data cost less to collect.
- The materials diverse in nature.
- Acted as a big source for the literature review.

### 3.4 Sampling Media

Sampling method of data collection is as speculums or part of the whole population. After the identification, analysis to draw up a conclusion covering the whole population would be identified. This method of sampling was used for particular reasons, as it gave the target population equal chance to participate in the research and thereby increasing the accuracy of the research.

### 3.4.1 Systematic Sampling

The population of the journalism available in Kenya was listed and the popular media groups were picked at random from this list. This gave the researcher chance to work on any media group without biasness since each had an equal chance to participate.

### 3.4.2 Stratified sampling

The researcher employed this method of sampling when choosing the respondents for administering the questionnaires for readers and also writers/journalist of these publications. The target population included same number of sex (male and female) and identifies their age bracket and level of education. These three factors influenced a choice in press.

### 3.5 Case Study

This provided independent information. This is the type of research instrument that the researcher used to get information. This involved selection of a few media groups that practice standard journalism, ethics and professionalism on the question of research study.

This was cheaper since the selected groups are within Nairobi. Adequate and accurate data was obtained since the researcher chose the group, which gave out good information on the case in research study.

### 3.6 Data Analysis Techniques

These are techniques used for data interpretation for easy reading and interpretation. Analyzed data is simple to understand and used as reference. Bulk data was presented in a precise and readable form after analysis.

The researcher used two simple tabulations in data analysis: -

- Tables.
- Bar graphs.

The two chosen presented data in an easily digestible manner as: -

- i. They are easy to construct
- ii. Data is fixed and presented more accurately.

They help in predicting future trends.

### 3.7 Anticipated Problems During the Research Execution

Some of the problem may hinder the success of the research in the process of executing the study may include:

The area of the study is inaccessible due to the tough security put in most of the buildings in Kenya. The country has had many cases of insecurity so most of these buildings which some of the media houses are situated need identification.

Some media houses are situated in suburbs where you can only access using a personal automobile or a cab to be able to access information.

The process of conducting research study needs a lot of finances. It might be difficult for a researcher to obtain enough money for conducting the research. Some people may not assist the researcher in some funds. For a research process to take place, it needs some materials and this might be very difficult to purchase like papers, pens, and flash disc for saving your data.

The researcher may be faced with problems of unruly people. This is where the respondents do not want to give out information and sometimes they may turn into violence thinking that the researcher is spying on them.

Finally during the research, language barrier might be another problem. A researcher may ask some questions but the respondents may not be in a position to answer because they may not understand the researcher.

### 3.8 Research Instruments

The researcher developed a research tool that enabled the collection and capture of accurate data. Different types of research tools were employed as appropriate depending on the length of time the respondents have to answer the questionnaires.

### 3.8.1 Interviews.

This involved the researcher posing questions to the respondents aiming to get the required information. This was the best method to employ to get accurate information since you can see from the respondents face whether he is telling the truth or not and the respondent can be paraphrased for the question in case he will not understand the questions. This saved on time and the respondent probed further to answer more questions desired.

### 3.8.2 Questionnaires

This composed of a list of questions the research study is expected to answer. Questionnaires were administered in the form of face-to-face interview or being left to the respondent to fill independently. The researcher prepared a research tool comprising of questionnaires that distributed to the sampled population. This cut down time spent and saved time for other parts of the project.

This method offered invaluable information from the respondent who would be shy on face -face or would not feel free to discuss some issues openly.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 Data analysis and Presentation of Results

#### 4.1 Introduction to Data Analysis

The scope and the purpose of analysis is to find out about the media in Kenya and how it is a watchdog to the society.

This chapter discusses two parts

Analysis of data collected from the staff of the media groups. And analysis of data collected from citizens at large.

##### 4.1.0 Response

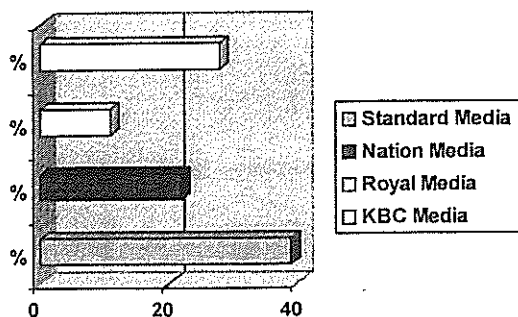
The response rate was good turnout; all questionnaires were averagely successfully filled and returned. Thus response was 60% as shown on the table below.

Table 1

Media Group	Planned number of response	Actual number of response	Response rate
Standard Media	10	7	39%
Nation Media	14	4	22%
Royal Media	10	2	11%
KBC Media	6	5	28%
Total	40	8	100%

Source author (2005)

Fig 1



Source: author (2005)

## 4.2 Quantitative Analysis

The questionnaires addressed to the staff members of the various media groups to state the age, sex, job title and profession.

### 4.2.1 Sex Correspondents

There were more females respondents with percentage of 67% as compared to male correspondents of 33%. Generally there was more female staff in media groups than male especially.

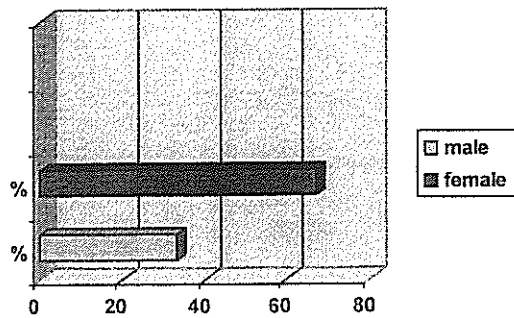
Table 2

Sex	Number of correspondents	Percentage
Male	3	33%
Female	6	67%
Total	9	100%

Source; author (2005)



Fig 2



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.2 Age Correspondents

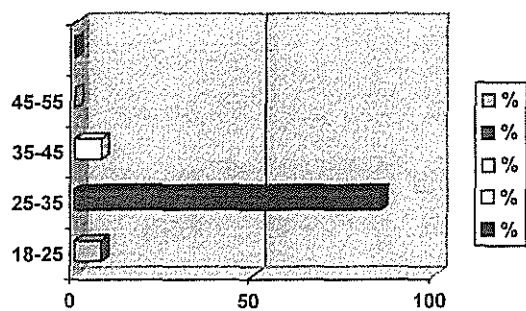
We find the highest bracket is 25-35 years followed by 36-45 years.

Table 3

Age bracket (years)	Number of respondents	Percentage
18-25	1	7.5
25-35	11	85
35-45	1	7.5
45-55	-	-
Over 56	-	-
Total	13	100

Source: author (2005)

Fig 3



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.3 Departmental Response

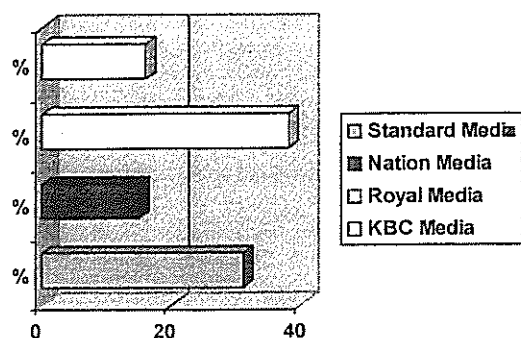
All respondents worked well within the media groups.

Table 4

Media Group	Number of respondents	Percentage
Standard Group	4	31%
Nation Media	2	15%
Royal Media	5	38%
KBC Media	3	16%
Total	14	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 4



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.4 Level of Education

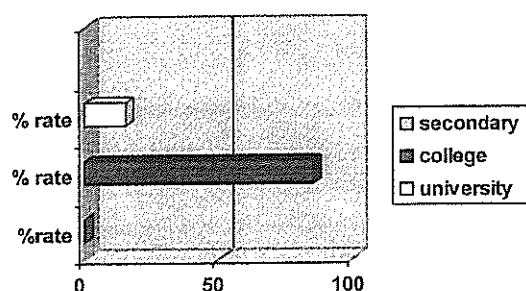
Most staff had acquired college level 85 percent while 15 percent were university graduates mainly departmental heads.

Table 5

Level of education	Number of response	Percentage
Secondary	-	-
College	11	85%
University	2	15%
Total	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 5



Source; author (2005)

#### 4.2.5 Duration of Service

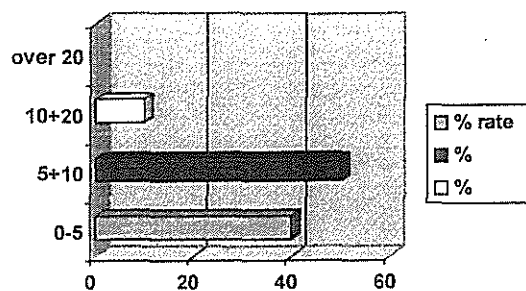
Most of respondents had worked for Media Groups for between 5-10 years i.e. 50 percent while other 40 percent had worked for between 0-5 years and 10 percent had worked for over 10 years

Table 6

Duration (years)	Number of respondents	Percentage
0-5	4	40%
5-10	6	50%
Over 10	3	10%
Total	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 6



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.6 Importance of Media as a Watchdog

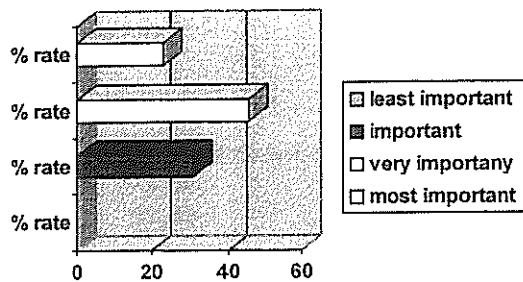
Most respondents of 70 percent agreed that the media is very important as a watchdog to the society, while 30 percent thought that the media as a watchdog is just but important for the society

Table 7

Perception	Number of respondents	Percentage
Least important	-	-
Important	2	31%
Very important	4	46%
Most important	7	23%
Total	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 7



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.7 Governments Loyalty to the Media

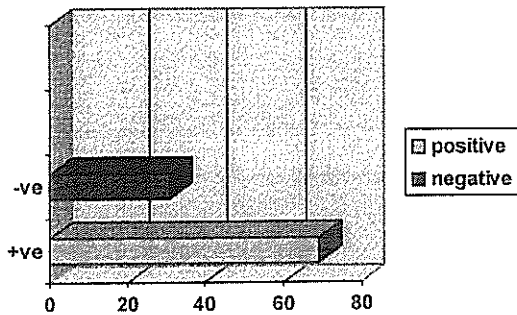
69 percent of the respondents supported that the government were loyal to the media, while 31 percent did not agree.

Table 8

Loyalty	No of respondents	Percentage
Positive	9	69%
Negative	4	31%
Total	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 8



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.8 Relationship between the Government and the Media Group

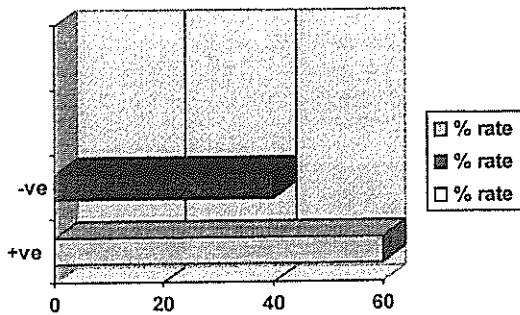
75 percent of the respondents believed that there is good relationship between the government and the media groups; while 25 percent believed that there is a bad relationship between the two.

Table 9

Relationship	No, of respondents	Percentage
Good Relationship	7	54%
Bad Relationship	6	46%
TOTAL	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 9



Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.9 Public Perception on the Media

Relatively most citizens of 60 percent agreed that the media is doing a commendable job, while 40 percent of respondents fairly believed that the media is doing a positive thing to the society.

Table 10

Customers perception	No. Of respondents	Percentage
Positive	3	60%
Negative	2	40%
Total	5	100%

Source: author (2005)

#### 4.2.10 Effectiveness of the Media as a Strategy to Improve the Image of Kenya

77 percent of respondents agreed that effective media coverage would improve the image of Kenya, while 23 percent believed it lied most on the government.

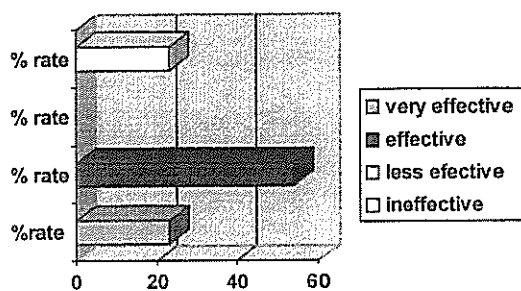


Table 11

Effectiveness	No of respondents	Percentage
Very effective	3	23%
Effective	7	54%
Less effective	-	-
Ineffective	3	23%
Total	13	100%

Source: author (2005)

Fig 10



Source: author (2005)

### 4.3 Qualitative Analysis

Some of respondents were honest enough and had humility to admit that the media affects the community either positively or negatively. Most of the citizens in Kenya rely and also are influenced by what the media airs out to the public. A summary of the factors that led to negative perception is Lack of support from the Government is the key issue.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.1 Summary

From the study therefore we find that the press plays a central role in the management and maintenance of a representative democracy in Kenya. The press continues to claim a place at the table of public life in the sense that it is now an enterprise central to national economic, social and political well being and one of the most important industries of the Kenyan economy.

### 5.2 Conclusion

The fourth Estate has proven to be a remarkably flexible concept.

The Kenyan media have been recourse against abuses of power within its society. It is not unusual for the three traditional areas of power - legislative, executive and judicial - to make mistakes and operate less perfectly than they might. This is more likely to happen under authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, where the political realm is mainly responsible for violations of human rights and attacks on liberties. But there are serious abuses of power in Kenya too, even when laws are the result of democratic votes, governments are elected through universal suffrage and justice is (at least in theory) independent of the executive.

In a Kenya the media have often seen it as a duty to denounce such violations of human rights. Sometimes journalists have paid the price - they have been physically attacked, murdered or have disappeared; this is still happening in Colombia, Guatemala, Turkey, Pakistan, the Philippines and elsewhere. This is why, in the phrase, journalism is the "fourth estate". Thanks to the civic responsibility of the media and the courage of individual journalists, this fourth estate has provided a fundamental and democratic means for people to criticize, reject and reverse decisions (unfair, unjust, illegal and sometimes even criminal) against innocent people. It is the voice of those who have no voice.

Over the past 15 years, with the acceleration of globalization, this fourth estate has been stripped of its potential, and has gradually ceased to function as a counter power. This is shockingly apparent when you look closely at the realities of globalization.

A new type of capitalism is on the rise, not just industrial, but financial, based on speculation. Kenya is witnessing a clash between the market and the state, the public services and the private sector, the individual and society, the personal and the collective, egoism and solidarity

Real power is now in the hands of a few global economic groupings and conglomerates that appear to wield more power in world politics than most governments. These are the new masters of the world who gather annually at the World Economic Forum in Davos and lay the groundwork for policy decisions by the globalizing trinity of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and World Trade Organization

### 5.3 Recommendations

The revival by journalist of the news media in Kenya as an ideal watchdog is linked to the growing public skepticism about political institutions. It is also bound to attempts by journalists to assert an idealized role while the institutional role of the news media as the fourth estate is challenged by structural and economic reality.

The Kenyan journalist should form a movement that will gain an impetus in Kenya, often as a reaction against the corporate pressures of a global media business. Kenyan journalist might be having a limited power but they can make not to be inconsequential. The journalist in this country should also make it their role to shape news agendas and approaches, because this has become a matter of considerable interest.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I

#### Work Schedule

Activities/Month	1	30	31	31	29	31	30	31	10
Temperature		Dec							
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## APPENDIX II

### Budget Estimates

The table below shows an estimated budget during which the research will be carried out.

The amounts are written in Kenyan shillings.

Activities	Costs	No. of weeks	Duration	Total
Transport	100 per day	6	1 hr per day	2520
Printing	15 per page	1	1 hr per day	400
Typing	50 per page	2	1 hr per day	700
Photocopying	2 per page(70)	1	1 hr per day	1120
Phone calls	20 per minute	2	1 hr per day	800
Surfing	10 per minute	2	1 hr per day	10500
TOTAL				16040

## APPENDIX III

### Questionnaire

What is your news organization's medium of communication?

1. Newspaper/?
2. Radio
3. Newspaper

What is your organization's form of ownership?

1. Public
2. Private, chain or group owned
3. Private, independently owned
4. Institutional (union, church)

What is the primary audience of the news you prepare?

1. A national audience
2. A state audience
3. A local audience

How do you regard the education level of your audience?

1. Tertiary educated
2. High school educated
3. Lower than average
4. Not known

What proportion of the news that you personally work on deals with politics and public affairs?

1. About half
2. Nearly all
3. Most
4. Some
5. Hardly any

How many years have you worked full-time in journalism?

1. 0-3years
2. 3-5years
3. 5-10years
4. Over 10years

Do you think you are appropriately paid for your work?

1. Yes
2. No

What proportion of the news about national politics and public affairs reported by your organization is provided by sources outside the organization, such as wire services?

1. Nearly all
2. Most
3. About half
4. Some
5. Hardly any



Each day, journalists must make difficult decisions about what news to cover and what to highlight. When making these decisions, please indicate how important each of the following sources of guidance is to you:

Why do you think that the public perception of journalists is so low?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Good news reporting makes clear which side in a political dispute has the better position.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

Journalists should have, upon request, immediate and full access to any government document is not restricted for bona fide reasons of national security or personal privacy

- 1 Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

A news source that is promised confidentiality should be able to sue for breach of promise if the journalist breaks the promise.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

Government officials should have the authority to stop the publication or broadcast of a news story they believe is a grave threat to national security

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

What do you think is the actual situation in Kenya today?

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

Does your organization fulfill a watchdog role?

1. Yes
2. No

Have you ever been put under any pressure to stop doing investigative journalism?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not that I'm aware of

Journalism and the public have similar vies on most issues

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Sort of agree
4. Neither
5. Sort of disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

Finally we would like to ask a few background questions

Your age:

Under 30

30-39

40-49

50+

Your sex

1. Female
2. Male

Have you ever worked full time in government or politics

1. Yes
2. No

What type was the last secondary school you attended?

1. Public
2. Private