

Images of Corruption as Framed by Kenya's Two Main Dailies 2003-2008

By

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AIDS	- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CJ	- Chief Justice
CDF	- Constituency Development Fund
ECK	- Electoral Commission of Kenya
GJLOS	- Governance, Justice, Law & Order Sector
KACA	- Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority
KACC	- Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KANU	- Kenya African National Union
KAPs	- Knowledge, Attitudes & Perceptions
KBC	- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KIPPRA	- Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research & Analysis
KNH	- Kenyatta National Hospital
KTN	- Kenya Television Network
MP	- Member of Parliament
NARC	- National Rainbow Coalition
NEMA	- National Environment Management Authority
NGO	- Non Governmental Organization
NMG	- Nation Media Group
NSSF	- National Social Security Fund
NTV	- Nation Television
ODM	- Orange Democratic Party
OECD	- Organization of Economic Cooperation & Development
PASW	- Predictive Analytics Software
PNU	- Party of National Unity
SODNET	- Social Development Network
SPSS	- Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TI	- Transparency International
UK	- United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

Kenya suffers a negative image with regard to its commitment in the fight against corruption. The change in political leadership in Kenya in 2003 on an anti-corruption platform provided the context for this study. This study set out to establish the images of corruption as framed by Kenya's two main dailies from 2003 to 2008. The researcher carried out a content analysis of the newspapers over the six-year period and found that corruption issues were largely unfavourably framed. It also established the presence of politics, public services, police, socio-economic, legal, regional/ethnic and civil society frames among others.

The results suggest that the media is not giving corruption issues adequate attention. This is seen in the relatively few editorials and front page appearances and that most of the corruption stories were placed in the inside pages of the newspapers. Further, the private sector was framed unfavourably, while police, Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission, and legal sector were favourably framed. However, editorials were largely unfavourable in respect of nearly all the frames. Another key result of this study was that the media view on the framing of regional/ethnic corruption was unfavourable.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Overview

Before the advent of multi-party democracy in Kenya, corruption and a culture of impunity had become a way of life. President Kibaki (2002) captured this during his first term inaugural speech when he said that “corruption shall cease to be a way of life in Kenya.” He may not have then realized the uphill task awaiting his administration.

Corruption as a socially, economically and politically undesirable issue has on a number of occasions caught media attention. For instance, media have exposed major corruption scandals such as Goldenberg, advertising rights during All Africa Games, and the collapse of the Kenya National Assurance Company Limited. These and many others were all brought to the media audience through investigations by the media while playing its adversarial role.

The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) came to power in early 2003 on a reform and anti-corruption agenda. In its manifesto, NARC (2002) it clearly spelled out the pillars upon which reform, governance and the fight against corruption would be anchored. This was a very attractive platform coming at a time when Kenyans were eager to embrace not only a multi-party system but also improved governance where among other things transparency would be the norm. For a while the media and the citizens were very enthusiastic to stop corrupt practices. Traffic police officers were for example arrested by the citizens and reported by the media. However, with time the status quo seemed to return and corrupt practice re-emerged.

Most Kenyans are aware about the existence of corruption and have encountered it as confirmed by Annual Perception Surveys carried out by the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) (2005, 2006, 2007, & 2008). Stapenhurst (2000) argues that civil society and the media are crucial in creating and maintaining in public life an atmosphere that discourages fraud and corruption thereby eliminating systemic corruption in public institutions. Further, Stapenhurst suggests that even mere inquiries by reporters about suspected corruption or wrong doing can elicit response from authorities eager to protect the public image of their institutions before these allegations are released to the public

Media's concern for corruption issues emanates from its adversarial role commonly referred to as the watch dog role. This role is played when media interpose themselves between society and government. Issues, which concern government and those of society, are brought out in the public domain thus becoming an agenda for discussion. On one hand the elected officials may get to know what their constituencies' need and on the other hand the voters may know what their officials are doing right or wrong.

Media as watchdog focus on news stories and topics which promote public good as they educate, inform, persuade and entertain. Some of these stories touch on corruption. However, in covering corruption they might provide a one-sided image of the issue and fail to provide linkages of likely effects corruption has on society. Media in Kenya and elsewhere have been accused of emphasizing political corruption through the images they frame as a wrong done by those in politics and often fail to highlight other issues in society. Obonyo (2007) argues that the political beat is the most preferred on the assumption that the audience is interested in politics. A free press in a sense provides a

searchlight on issues that affect the society. One of these issues is corruption and as Stapenhurst suggests focusing a searchlight on it could scare away corrupt persons.

It therefore follows that the more the searchlights are focused on the corrupt, the more the tendency to engage in it would diminish. In this regard, the researcher chose to find out how corruption was framed by the media in Kenya in recognition that there have been many efforts to address the problem of corruption locally, regionally and internationally. By what images has the corruption story been framed? Did the framing of corruption by the media create a positive image for those involved in politics, institutions, or government? The study findings show government and its institutions were portrayed unfavourably while others received favourable framing. It is noted that while image building and maintenance of reputations are essential to persons and organizations, no organization would wish to be associated with corruption unless it is in the positive sense of fighting it.

Background to the problem

Every organization and every person is concerned about their image and reputation before the external and internal publics. When it comes to corruption, it is a word that evokes fear and concern for those who are mentioned in the media stories. This is because such issues have an investigative angle to them which not only get the media excited but also interest the audience and may raise circulation, readership and viewership. When the focus is on politicians and politics or people in public service or other public figures, then coverage becomes more salient given the fact that such personalities and issues are of great public interest. The image of the subjects of the stories is tarnished. However, there appears to be a greater emphasis by the media on

political issues and when it comes to corruption which touches on the political class, the story takes centre stage. Obonyo (2007) points out that a political beat appears to be most appealing to journalists and he further suggests that even stories that have angles other than the political ones are framed by print and electronic media as if they were political.

Argenti and Forman (2003) suggest that the images the media create about an organization will influence public opinion towards them in a very subtle way. If individuals and institutions are framed as corrupt, the audience will have a very negative image of them. A negative image should worry individuals and organizations because for a company it might mean loss of clients and revenue while for politicians; it might mean not being re-elected.

Image building is key in cultivating the goodwill of government, politicians, companies and organizations among their publics. Fernandez (2004) suggests that public relations is the practice of creating, promoting, and maintaining goodwill and a favourable image towards an institution or public body. A positive image is built through communication or specifically through the framing of messages and by establishing common positive and favourable frames of reference about issues of mutual interest as suggested by Hallahan (1999) and Fernandez (2004). Unfortunately, the media in Kenya tend to frame government, the political class, public service organizations negatively in their coverage thereby ruining the reputation of such institutions. This is because media mainly frame corruption as a political and / or government related issue. However, by pointing only to the political side of the issue in their framing of corruption, media may tend to prevent the audience members from getting all sides of the issue. When the media

frame an issue, they do so by organizing ideas in ways that bring to the public eye an unfavourable or favourable image. The ordinary citizens then, whose only source of information is the media will form a limited image of what constitutes corruption.

Purely economic issues could be clouded in political rhetoric. For instance, it is evident that the Triton (oil import and distribution scam) and maize import and distribution scandals which occurred in early 2009 had economic and social implications, but the political frames were more apparent and highly emphasized. Yet, corruption is essentially multifaceted because it touches the economic, social, political and other spheres of people's lives. Examination cheating for instance involves fraud, bribery and also sends a social message to the learners that it is acceptable to cheat. Nevertheless the media appear to give a political image of the exams scandals by framing it only as a problem of the Ministry of Education and the Kenya National Examination Council. The media appear then not to be addressing corruption with fairness, which is one of the key tenets of journalism practice. It was therefore suspected that there was unbalanced coverage of issues affecting the society by the media.

Suggestions by Dominick (2002) and Severin and Tankard (2001) indicate that the media should provide a link between the issue at hand and broader concerns. In this case, it would be corruption and its existence in the various sectors of society. Unfortunately, this link is absent as confirmed by this study. The formats of hard news do not allow in-depth analysis and the editorials are too few to create any impact on media audience. Thus it is not enough to report the existence of corruption among the elites without linking it to poverty, human rights, crime, economic stagnation, bad leadership and the like. The issue of leadership for example, would be more meaningful if the

audiences were made to appreciate their responsibility in electing bad leaders. Ayithey (1992) blames African leaders for corruption and continued exploitation of the African people. Perhaps the role corruption plays in influencing elections of bad and corrupt leaders to public office has not been well articulated by the media. Such linkages and proportionate weighting of the issues would accordingly be reflected in the media audiences' interpretations and perceptions of corruption.

Statement of the Problem

A casual analysis of the print media in Kenya appears to indicate a heavy concentration in the coverage of politics, government and its institutions and in unfavourable image. The society is not about these three sectors and the media as a watchdog over the society is perhaps abdicating on some of its roles. In covering politics and government at the expense of all other societal concerns, the media could be suggesting to the audience that they have no role to play in fighting corruption. Yet, corruption touches on economics, social, political and other spheres of life. The link between corruption and these spheres is lacking. In this respect it became necessary to examine if indeed the media was not balancing its coverage by looking at the themes/frames corruption issues were covered and how they were presented. It was also felt necessary to find out the trends of corruption in recognition of the many legal and institutional initiatives put in place to address the problem of corruption.

This research was informed by the framing concept, where framing is understood as a way of organizing ideas in a certain way so as to bring to the attention of the public favourably or unfavourably the issues related to corruption. As Andreas and De Vreese,

(2006) suggest, news frames shape public opinion on important societal issues by drawing attention to those particular aspects of the message through salience.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to establish the images of corruption as framed by the two main Kenyan dailies-*The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* over a period of six years.

Objectives of the study

1. To find the dominant and prominent images of corruption as framed by the two dailies;
2. To establish the types of frames used in imaging corruption by the media;
3. To establish the trends in the framing of corruption in the media over a six year period 2003-2008;
4. To determine the frequency of the corruption stories in each of the two dailies during the years under study

Research Questions

1. What prominent images of corruption were framed in the two dailies?
2. What types of frames do media use to image corruption?
3. What trends were evident in the framing of corruption in the media over the six year period 2003-2008?
4. What was the frequency of corruption stories in each of the two dailies during the six year period?

Justification/rationale

There is endemic corruption in Kenya and since the media act as a watchdog of society among other roles, it becomes necessary to find out if corruption occurrences have caught their attention and if so how they frame it.

As a public official involved in corruption prevention initiatives, and working with the media as one of the sectors, the researcher was also interested in research based reference material to inform these interventions. Such materials were not readily available, and especially on images of corruption and framing. In this respect a content analysis on the framing of corruption by print media was a means of finding out if the media is actually covering corruption and with what sort of themes; and if so, how prominently was it discussed. In addition, this study may be used to inform the development of a media communications strategy for anti-corruption institutions and government generally in its effort to fight corruption in the country.

It was also suspected that there was a gap in framing studies on corruption in the region and indeed around the world and there may be gaps too on the part of journalists on how they frame the subject of corruption. The fact that the results show up to 75% of the corruption news content was hard news affirms that there is a gap in framing studies and lack of investment in investigative journalism. Lastly, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* were chosen because they are national newspapers and according to Steadman (2008), they have a combined newspaper readership of about 80%.

Significance of the study

The study will draw attention of journalists to the kind of frames they use in the coverage of corruption and whether or not corruption is given prominence. It will also

add to the scholarly body of knowledge of the framing concept/paradigm. In addition, it will enable institutions and other bodies in Kenya and elsewhere in the world involved in the fight against corruption to gauge how corruption is framed in the media and to discover the kinds of images in which these frames portray them.

Limitations of the Study

Campbell (2003) cites the limits of content analysis as not being able to measure the effects of the media, or explain why a particular media message gets produced in the first place. Content analysis also fails to tell exactly what the particular content mean to the audience. Content analysis as a method and owing to its design, does not allow the researcher to obtain feedback from the audience so as to determine how and in what ways the frames may have influenced them and whether or not the frames identified by the researcher concur with those found by the researcher.

Another limitation of content analysis is that it only analyzes content as a final product without examining the process news stories go through (newsgathering, reporting, writing, editing and content selection). It is recognized that substantial changes are likely to be made to news text by the media gatekeepers. The study was also looking at only two newspapers rather than the entire range of print media. The other newspapers in the market have little circulation nationally and therefore they are not likely to set any serious agenda among the media audience. Circulation figures are therefore the key determinant. In addition, another limitation of content analysis is that the researcher can only see what the data is and not the thinking behind it since news production is a process and involves many actors. Furthermore, related research on images of corruption as framed by the media in Kenya was not readily available. In this respect this study could

well be pioneer research.

Lastly, the researcher works at the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission. The knowledge he has of the problem under study could introduce some bias. However, the method provided some elements such as the categories for validity, reliability of coding and research assistants have previously been engaged in communication related research. All these mitigated against bias.

Delimitations

This study focused only on the corruption stories and covered the period 2003-2008, the five years when NARC was in power and one year of the Coalition Government. This period marked the time when Kenya government was perceived to seriously start the fight against graft by establishing structures to do so. It also covered only the two national main newspapers, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* (including their Sunday editions) because they are the two leading newspapers in terms of circulation and readership. The KACC Perception Surveys, (2008, 2007, 2006, & 2005), Steadman, (2008), Quarter 4; place the *Nation* between 44-56% and the *Standard* at 15-22% on a national sample of readership over a period of one week. Since the two newspapers account for about 59-78% of the entire newspaper market and were easily available to the researcher, they were selected for the study.

The study did not analyze pictures because they did not fit into the unit of analysis. However, captions were analyzed as they fitted the category of sentence, which was the unit of analysis. Further, the study did not cover the entire range of the media because usually electronic media content is not easily available for analysis and even if it were, it would have taken too long for the researcher to analyze all the data. The study

also did not cover the process of news gathering and transmission nor did it look at media house styles and socialization of journalists.

Assumptions

The study had assumed that there was a bias towards reporting of corruption in political images, which tended to be unfavourable towards institutions and other bodies involved in the fight against corruption. This assumption was largely positively answered by the findings of this study. In addition, the study had assumed that corrupt individuals with vast ill acquired wealth were not involved in influencing framing of corruption in political images in order to detract and trivialize an otherwise serious problem. The design of this study would not have allowed the researcher to confirm if indeed there was any external influence brought to bear on the journalists or media houses in respect to how they frame their stories. The print media in Kenya is also perhaps abdicating its power to set an agenda on issues of national importance like corruption which embrace everybody in society. This assumption was validated in that data showed unfavourable images were largely in government, legal sector, political class and public service related images.

Definition of terms

Images of corruption: Scholarship on images of corruption and media framing was not readily available. However, Øyvind and Erik (2007) suggest that images and allied constructs (identity, reputation, brand, etc) are defined and linked together in various ways. Øyvind and Erik looked at the interplay between images and related constructs. Corporate images refer to external stakeholders' perceptions of an organization, corporate identity to internal stakeholders perceptions, whereas corporate

reputation includes views of both internal and external stakeholders. Further, Øyvind and Erik argue that corporate reputation is interpreted as the overall perception of a company, what it stands for, what it is associated with and what individuals may expect when buying the products or using the company's services.

Corporate images as indeed other images are formed by various groups of stakeholders and as Øyvind and Erik suggest can be defined as their summary of the impressions or perceptions of a company. In the same way the image of the university college is influenced by the various study programs, as suggested in the Norwegian study.

Similarly, images of corruption as framed in the media are likely to influence media audiences in forming general opinions about corruption. These images may be political, economic, legal, health, etc. These images and many more were found in the newspapers under study. Images about a person, organization or an issue are formed over time or can be deliberately created. In the context of this study, images of corruption have been deliberately created by the media, with a bias towards politics. Therefore, an image is an opinion about an issue, person, or organization created in the minds of media audiences by use of frames that are purposeful. In the context of this study, image is the perception created by media about the institutions or sectors framed either negatively or positively. Images created by the media are capable of ruining reputations, and indeed the findings portray the government and its institutions as well as the political class in unfavourable terms.

Corruption: There are many definitions of corruption and scholars have not agreed as yet on one universal definition. Stapenhurst (2000) defines corruption, “as the

abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance” (p.1). Obasanjo (2005) suggests that corruption is “all forms of abuse of office and trust for private gain. It may be grand corruption, systematic corruption or petty corruption and that corruption is corruption and whatever form it takes, it entails high economic and social costs” (P.2); while Kaufmann (1997) suggest that “corruption is abuse of public office for private gain” (P.1). Consequently, a broad definition of corruption will be adopted for this study and this relates to abuse of authority for personal gain and includes activities like bribery, embezzlement, fraud, and nepotism among others. In this study corruption was understood to mean illegal enrichment and other morally unacceptable practices by virtue of holding a public office. No distinction was made between what is regarded as petty and grand corruption. Cumulatively, all forms of corruption yield similar effects.

Frame: A Frame according to Severin and Tankard (2001) is “a 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”(p.277). For an issue to be noticed, devices like headlines and leads are used. De Vreese (2004) also defines a frame in a similar way in that his suggestion that the idea or story runs through the text weaving a connection agrees with Severin and Tankard’s idea of a context. Frames give the media content its salience because a subject like corruption has the elements to make it consistently to the front pages of most newspapers. This study therefore, sought to isolate the main ideas with which the notion of corruption is associated, otherwise called frames.

Framing: Debate on how framing should be defined has not been settled. However, what is acknowledged is that an issue can be viewed or presented in many

ways usually with an underlying suggestion of preferred interpretation. Further, frames in media discourse serve as anchors; they organize and shape thought about an issue (Richardson & Lancendorfer; 2004, De Vreese, 2004; Chong & Druckman, 2007). Richardson and Lancendorfer further suggest that an issue is a theme, a story line or label while Andreas and De Vreese (2006) suggest that “framing is the process by which a communication source constructs and defines a social or political issue for its audience” (p.6). This study took the suggestion that corruption issues are presented or framed in specific themes.

Kenya's dailies: In the context of this study the term will refer to the *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* as well as *The East African Standard*, now the *Standard* and its sister publication, *The Standard on Sunday*. These two newspapers nationally, account for between 59-78% of newspaper readership. The other print media publications are mostly distributed in Nairobi with insignificant readership.

Overview of method

The method used in this study was content analysis and produced largely quantitative and little qualitative data as per the study design. Content analysis has been used extensively in communication research where the focus has been on specific media content (Robson, 2002), although usually as part of mixed methods. However, it has also been used as a stand alone method in many studies over the last few decades. It is easily replicable and therefore empirically reliable as a method to yield credible results.

The researcher chose the unit of analysis, and used categories suggested by other researchers through a pre-study, and randomly sampled the 4380 newspapers over a six year period 2003-2008. Coders were trained to assist the researcher and reliability of

coding was carried out by recoding 10% of the coded material by the main researcher. The next chapter reviews literature on corruption, the media's role in reporting corruption, and framing paradigm as the theoretical framework. The chapter will also review literature on agenda setting theory as it is closely associated with framing paradigm.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of corruption locally and globally is a matter of immense concern and has lately been the subject of the United Nations and African Union conventions to underscore the importance of dealing with it as a global challenge. Available research locally by some NGOs (SODNET, 2000) and KACC (2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008) confirm that awareness and prevalence of corruption in Kenya is high. However, the researcher did not locate research material specifically looking at images of corruption as framed by the media. Presently there is a tendency to politicize virtually everything, which is not surprising as suggested by Obonyo (2007) that politics provides journalists an easy route to make up for their inadequate knowledge in specialty areas.

Hanlon (2002) citing the case for Mozambique, indicts development partners and the ruling party, *Frelimo*, for paying lip service to the subject of corruption and despite accolades from World Bank about how well his country was performing, “ordinary Mozambicans have yet to see any real changes in their daily lives, despite official World Bank figures,” (p. 2). Hanlon’s portrayal of the ruling elite in Mozambique compares to Kenya’s, which also enjoyed western support despite evidence of massive corruption. Calderisi (2006) also indicts judicial systems in Africa for rampant corruption and frustrating delivery of justice. This aptly describes Kenya in 2002, and Goldenberg related cases that were in courts for over 15 years with no hope of ever being concluded. A commission of inquiry had to be instituted in order to deal with Goldenberg cases and recommend a way forward.

Writing about governance and corruption 18 years ago, Ayittey (1992) blames African leaders for corruption and bad governance. The activities of political leaders and government officials in Kenya appear to fit this description, and this is where the media's role as a watchdog is in question. It is a known fact that Kenya like a number of African countries need budgetary support but it is also true that a lot of cash is stashed away in foreign capitals and the West does not appear to be in a hurry to ask questions about the true origins of such funds. However, some countries like Nigeria have been able to get some of the suspected loot back. Ayittey (1992) specifically observes that in the case for Kenya, corruption set foot in the country soon after independence and has got progressively worse with a past president institutionalizing it.

. Ayittey's suggestions mirror those of Schaeffer and Mangalwadi (1998) that corruption could transform public officials into a gang of public robbers. Perhaps this suggestion is too polite, reminiscent of how people are afraid to state the truth thereby forever living in denial. When business people and public officials divert maize meant for starving fellow citizens they should be treated like robbers. The framing should reflect this in appropriate images.

Ayittey (1998) revisits the issue of leadership and bad governance and suggests that African leaders and their western supporters perpetuate themselves in power, loot the national treasury and ruthlessly suppress any dissent. Further, many African countries face common problems, such as corruption, inefficient bureaucracies, inflation, and runaway government expenditures. Perhaps what Ayittey does not add here is that uncontrolled expenditure is one form of official corruption otherwise tight budget controls would easily put a stop to this. However, he further argues that Africans bear the

ultimate responsibility for solving their own problems. This is a new position not noticeable in his earlier book (1992).

Calderisi (2006) suggests that the problems of Africa are traceable to culture, corruption and political correctness. This suggestion explains why governance issues in Africa particularly are difficult to deal with. Calderisi equates present day African leaders with traditional chieftains, who have enormous power and it is assumed that the spoils of political office will trickle down to their fellow tribesmen. It is no wonder corruption more often than not gets ethnicized as well. Thus “if African culture keeps people firmly under control, corruption has woven a web that binds their ramshackle states together”, (p.86). This researcher finds the use of the words ‘ramshackle states’ unacceptable because it sounds racist and condescending. It is also regrettable that Calderisi views corruption in the West as a legitimate business cost while in Africa it has had no positive features at all. Corruption no matter where it is found and practiced should be seen for what it is- a crime against humanity.

A discussion paper by Evans (undated), suggests that corruption impacts adversely on the poor because they are the ones most likely to seek services from public institutions because they have fewer alternatives. Bearing in mind the focus of this study, Evan’s suggestion is the kind of link that is often missing in corruption news stories and he also notes that the World Bank has had a change of heart and now acknowledges existence of corruption in their programmes. Evans recognizes that despite many years of development assistance, there is little to show for it, falling short of stating where donor funds may have gone, even though this information is no secret to a discerning mind.

Theoretical framework

Analyzing media content lends itself to framing as an appropriate framework for this study. Framing since 1974 has invariably been described as a theory, a concept, second -level agenda setting or a paradigm: Goffman (1974), Scheufele (1999), Parker (2001), Severin and Tankard (2001), Luther and Miller (2005), Segvic (2005), and Smith (2007). For example, Hallahan (1999), Severin and Tankard (2001), suggest that framing has been used as a new paradigm for understanding and investigating communication and related behaviour in a wide range of disciplines. Smith (2007) suggests that framing is now used across an array of disciplines as a concept that refers to the cognitive schemas by which people organize information about the world, while others see it as forming a paradigm by which political actors operate. Despite lack of consensus as to what framing is, it has been extensively used as a stand-alone framework in many media studies since the 1970s.

Framing paradigm or concept has gained currency in media studies in the last 15 years. According to Scheufele (1999) citing studies by McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997), framing is regarded as second level agenda setting. Scheufele further argues that “the term second –level agenda –setting [was used] to describe the impact of salience of characteristics of media coverage on audiences’ interpretation of these news stories”, (p.103). McCombs et. al. also argues that due to the conceptual inconsistency associated with framing as a theory, “other studies have referred to agenda setting, priming and framing without differentiation”(p.103). Chyi and McCombs (2004) revisited the framing concept and suggest that there is a convergence of framing and agenda-setting in that since framing goes beyond the salience of an issue, both could move the two theories

forward. According to the study by Chyi and McCombs (2004) “this theoretical convergence is particularly helpful because [it shows how] the media build a news event’s salience by emphasizing different aspects of the event during its life. Salience is, of course, the central concept in agenda-setting theory,” (p.24). Since framing is linked to agenda setting, it becomes necessary to trace the evolution of the agenda- setting theory of mass communication.

Agenda setting theory of mass media

Agenda Setting is one of the media effects theories. It argues that the media has the ability to make their audience discuss and regard what media recommends as important. Media practitioners do this by their choice of what stories they consider newsworthy and how much prominence and space they give them. Agenda setting theory’s main idea is really to make news content noticeable and therefore create an agenda for the public to discuss. It’s predictive of the direction the discourses elicited by the media will follow. Eoff (2002), define “agenda setting as a relational concept that specifies a transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (consumers)” (p.1). Miller (2004) defines agenda setting “as the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues”, (p. 271).

Agenda setting in general terms argues that what the media highlight will be picked by the audience and given the same prominence. This in turn translates to formation of opinions and the discussions which attend to those opinions about particular issues. Eoff and Lecken also suggest that agenda setting moves away from the realm of present attitudes and opinions and becomes embedded in the audience’s cognitions. To be

able to engage each other, members of an audience ought to have internalized the issues, which may have been placed before them a while back. The kind of images in which corruption is presented to the audience will therefore get them talking. If the agenda, as framed by the media restricts the audience to a political menu, then the audience will only discuss politics and will fail to link it with other broader socio-economic issues.

Agenda setting as a theory can be indirectly traced to Cohen (1963) through his famous line that the media, “may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”, (p. 270). Thus we see public information is actually mediated by the media and its editors. However, it was not till 1972, when McCombs and Shaw (1972) laid claim to it as a theory following their 1968 research on media role and presidential campaign. McCombs and Shaw research found that the media was influential in suggesting to the readers and viewers what they should think about. That is how they coined the term-“agenda setting to describe this process,”(p. 270).

Agenda setting comes from a scientific perspective and predicts that if an audience is exposed to a certain issue over a time; they will place importance on those issues. The media is a powerful institution which influences national discourse on any issue they may focus on. Theorists McCombs and Shaw (1972) citing writings of Cohen, (1963), suggest that the print media is indeed, successful in setting the public agenda. This suggestion is however partially true because not all media consumers buy into what they read/listen/watch. McCombs (2007) suggest that “news media can set the agenda for the public’s attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms”,

(p.1). This scenario together with cues, placement of news items and repetition all have immense influence on the audience over time.

Public agenda is usually assessed through opinion polls using the question, “what is the most important problem facing the country today?” When media agenda is compared in the preceding weeks before the poll, the results have yielded significant evidence in support of the agenda-setting role of media. Using the 1968 American presidential election opinion poll, McCombs (2007) claims over 300 studies were conducted, and “have documented this influence of news media”(p.3), over a decade or so. These studies have been duplicated elsewhere in the world with similar results.

Drawing from the discussion above, if media were to focus and highlight corruption issues prominently over time and in various images, public opinion would tilt towards its eradication and behaviour change. The case for Kenya which continues to compete for top positions of most corrupt countries casts doubts as to whether media agenda setting in respect of corruption is bearing any significant fruits. This position is supported by Obonyo (2007) whose study suggests that contrary to previous scholarship on agenda setting by journalists, Kenyan journalists may be setting agenda without a conscious knowledge of the consequences of their actions. Furthermore, the fact that the journalists are not sure of their role in agenda setting suggests a serious lack of appreciation of what problems ail the country and casts doubts as to whether media is really playing its role of educating, informing, persuading and entertaining.

Difference between agenda setting and framing

According to Wolf (2007), framing is different from agenda setting and recognizes that media content will have an effect on the audience based on existing

frames that such audiences hold. This means public opinion will not shift purely on the basis of the media content alone but interplay of the two frames-media frame and audience existing frames. This is what Scheufele (1999) calls “construction of reality built from personal experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from the mass media” (p. 105). The manner in which a news story is framed may make the audience buy what is proposed or influence in some way audience’s existing frames.

The framing concept can be traced to Goffman (1974) and according to Parker (2001) the framing concept took off from where agenda setting left. As a stand-alone concept, many framing studies have been done around the world. Another important theory closely associated with agenda setting, and framing is priming effects theory, which is briefly discussed below.

Priming

Priming suggests that media effects are experienced immediately there is exposure to communications content and that the effect is transitory. McQuail (2002), citing Berkowitz suggests that when people watch television violence it activates or primes other related thoughts, which may make the individual to engage in violence. Further, Fairhurst (2005) observes that priming only stimulates a recall of stored information in our minds, which in turn determines how we respond to information before us. Priming public opinion through agenda setting means the public is invited to focus attention on something rather than the other. Thus, according to Hwang, Botlieb, Nah and Mclead (2007) “citizens rely upon the agenda of salient objects and attributes in their minds, the agenda that is shaped to a considerable degree by the mass media” (p.12).

Audiences are therefore exposed to many stimuli simultaneously and the stimulus, which carries the day, is the one made most visible through framing

The debate as to whether agenda setting is a theory or not is still evolving. Kosicki (1993) suggests, that agenda setting is a model, while others categorize it as a post-positivist theory due to “its general explanations and causal relationships” (p. 276). However, owing to the huge body of research available on agenda setting, those who regard it as theory are many. In a sense, both agenda setting and framing achieve the same results. In this respect framing and agenda setting will augment each other, rather than divide. Framing for now appears settled as a concept or paradigm (Hallahan, 1999; Severin & Tankard, 2001), a settlement adopted by this study.

Frames and framing

Severin and Tankard (2001) define a frame as “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, exclusion and elaboration”(p.277). Audiences/consumers of media content are all ‘wired’ and socialized differently. The communicator and the reader have pre-existing frames of mind. However, the communicator through selection, exclusion, framing and reframing attempts to influence the reader in some way-usually to buy in whatever perspective is being proposed thereby changing existing frames.

The idea of existing frames in audience’s minds is supported by McQuail, (2002), when he suggests that “analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer of information from one location (such as a speech, utterance, news report or novel) to that consciousness”,(p.391). Other studies by Wolf (2007), Scheufele (1999), Shoemaker and Reese (1996) have also argued

that audiences have existing frames, which media attempts to tilt. They call these pre-existing frames schemas.

In addition, according to Wolf (207) therefore, “framing refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience” (p.2). This suggestion implies that the media can deliberately influence public discussion of certain issues through framing in a bid to influence existing positions.

Severin and Tankard (2001) further reinforce the idea of “frames” by demonstrating that one idea can be presented in different ways. They cite the debate on abortion, which invariably take two sides- the right of the unborn child on one hand and proponents of the rights of a woman to choose what to do with her body. Thus, “to a certain extent, the advocates that succeed in making others accept their framing of the debate have already won the battle”(p.277). This is particularly useful in health and marketing communication, where recommended behaviour is coached in desirable outcomes (Donovan & Jalleh , 2000; Taversky & Kahneman, 1981; 1987).

According to Chong and Druckman (2007) framing helps audiences to think in certain ways or change their positions on the basis of what is being proposed. Ordinarily, according to these scholars, a consumer of communication content may have one frame of mind or a mixture of frames in varying degrees of clarity or vagueness. It is these ‘frames’ existing in the minds of the audience that the media target and influence. Media “cynicism on the war against corruption” is an example of a frame that can be deduced from the content in the print media. Gan, Teo and Detenber (2005), support the suggestion that media has certain enduring frames which they invoke while writing their

stories. Thus, “dominant news frames can be seen as journalism as usual,” (p. 449) by non media literate audiences. Chyi and McCombs (2004) also argue that journalists decide what to write or not. Therefore, a single news event can be framed in various ways, producing different versions containing different attributes. The motivation behind the story finds its way through framing. In the case of corruption news, journalists may introduce extraneous issues like ethnicity in order to divert public attention from real issues at stake.

According to McQuail (2002) frames are to be found across social sciences and humanities, and more importantly, they become part of the journalists’ frame of reference and manifest themselves in what they write. Conversely, audiences too have existing frames and media attacks those frames or recommends how they should think. Indeed, McQuail argues that “what journalists cover and how they cover it are not spur of the moment decisions but rather the news process is governed by predetermined organizational routines, among which is the use of pre-existing frames to cover news events,” (p.449). McQuail further adds that framing is at work when media selects, and uses highlights of certain aspects to “construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and or solution,” (p.392). Those parts of the frame, which are selected and highlighted, create noticeability, which has been described as salience. Salience is the central concept in both agenda setting and framing.

Reporting corruption in socially undesirable terms especially when its effects are dramatized through use of testimonies of the poor in society could bring about a change of attitude and corrupt behaviour. According to Donovan & Jalleh (2000), framing an issue from both positive and negative points of view produces different outcomes or

responses. Further, it suggests that if a message is framed as having negative consequences if not adopted, compliance by the target audience is higher. Besides, the “reported superiority of negative framing is consistent with information integration studies showing that negative information receives greater weight than positive information,” (p.392). Thus an issue packaged/framed differently produces different sets of outcomes.

Taversky and Kahneman (1981, 1987) also found that framing of an issue from a public safety angle helps individuals make choices as recommended by the media. Their widely cited experiment proved that respondents would make risk averse choices as opposed to risk seeking choices depending on how the issue was framed. In addition they further suggest that “by emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations, a speaker [or a text] can lead individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions,” (p.230). While acknowledging that there is evidence to support isolated cases of incompetence of citizens in use of media frames, Druckman’s (2001) study suggests that citizens generally will respond to frames in the media content in a competent and well-reasoned manner. However, according to Hallahan (1999), what is clear is that framing operates by biasing the cognitive processing of information by individuals and by providing contextual cues that guide decision making and inferences drawn by message audiences.

Research has demonstrated that cues, which propose positive and socially desirable outcomes, receive favourable appraisals. Agenda setting looks at which issues are trafficking in the press, while framing looks at how these issues are presented.

Looking at the Kenyan media and how it operates, the role it can play in creating a hostile environment to corruption has perhaps not been fully exploited.

Recent framing studies

Previous framing studies have concentrated on various issues, for example:

Segvic (2005), and Gan et al.; (2005), politics; Barnet (2008), rape; Smith (2007), Same-sex marriages; Peng (2008), Anti-war Protests; Richardson & Lancendorfer (2004), Affirmative Action; Fairhurst (2005), Leadership; Dimitrova & Stromback (2008), Religion; Lee, McLeod & Shah (2008), Policy Debates; Donovan & Jalleh (2000), Health; etc. However, none of these studies have addressed images of corruption as framed by the media except Steenkamp (2002) who focused on media reports on corruption, agencies or bodies responsible for bringing the corruption into the public limelight, and also sought to find out which agencies were called upon to take action on the allegations. The researcher in the South African study therefore, did not concern himself with images of corruption and framing. Steenkamp's study was concerned with corruption reporting by the media and the extent to which such reports influenced investigations. Below is a review of some of the framing studies in recent times. These studies were important in that they suggested some of the frames used during this study.

Suggestions for frames/ themes

The De Vreese (2004) study on framing of political issues in television news suggests that frames influence public opinion on an important societal issue. Hence frames in television news have the ability to direct viewers' thoughts when conceiving of a contemporary issue may it be politics, environmental concerns or corruption, and to prime them to evaluate the issues being proposed. Furthermore, news can encourage

particular trains of thought which citizens may make use of in subsequent judgments. This clearly demonstrates that frames help to influence decisions of the audience and by extension set an agenda for public discourse on an issue due to the media salience. For instance like the case for corruption news, media provides the audience a context in which to compare their thoughts with those being proposed. De Vreese chose to investigate effects of two frames: conflict and economic consequences frames since news about politics and the economy tend to appeal to the audience more compared to any other type of news.

De Vreese suggests that headlines and leads are used as framing devices (manipulation frame), while the news story is used as the frame and further argues that the who, when, what, and which constitute core news facts. Media ordinarily will go beyond the story frame and inform the reader the profile of the personality involved, where the action was and when it occurred. Framing devices are used for salience. Further, news frames affect attitudes by stressing specific values, facts, or other considerations and endowing them with greater relevance to an issue than would an alternative frame.

In another study on news framing by Andreas and De Vreese (2006), it was found that the European Union (EU) enlargement was portrayed by the media as a controversial issue. These two authors analyzed risk and opportunity frames and found that those in opportunity frame were supportive of EU enlargement than those in the risk frame. This study demonstrated that “negative and positive frames have an effect on people’s judgments” (p.8).

Besides, frames shape public opinion in that news frames are important in shaping public opinion on an issue. Thus, according to Andreas & De Vreese (2006),

news frames have been seen as a powerful tool in constructing meaning in public debate and in shaping understanding of political issues. The potential impact of news frames on public opinion becomes crucial when we assume public opinion to be influential in affecting real policy decisions (p.6).

This suggestion is particularly relevant for the Kenyan situation and the current study sought not only to establish what sort of images of corruption were framed by the media, but also what linkages, if any, with broader societal concerns were made.

In yet another study in Croatia, Segvic (2005) argues that the media played a key role in framing relations between the government and the new countries which seceded from the former Yugoslavia. The study found that most of the framing bordered on propaganda and did not give the audience a chance to compare and evaluate their own issues. Further, news papers were heavily controlled by the new regimes. For instance one paper was found to be favourable to the government and another unfavourable in their framing of their government. The study suggests that only the privatized media exercised the ideology of free press despite fines, threats and unfair legislations. The point to note is that the environment remained the same yet two newspapers framed their stories on government performance differently, with state media being less critical of government yet claiming media independence.

Drawing from the Croatian study above, comparison can be made of the Kenyan political environment in 2003, 2005 and 2008 which was characterized by images of optimism, betrayal and the quest for peace after the contested elections respectively. The

degree of negativity and positivity in the history of a country is reflected through the media activity in images which capture the mood. The media as Segvic (2005) has demonstrated is not likely to frame those events in the same way.

Gan, Teo and Detenber (2005) in a study on the race to the White House observes that journalistic frames are determined in part by professional training, socialization and the ideological stand of their media houses, which imposes a sort of routine on news processing. A delayed presidential election result was a new situation, which called for new innovative news reporting supporting the argument that frames persist until an overwhelming amount of discrepant information forces them to change. This researcher assumed that the subject of corruption was being inadequately addressed by the media and the tendency to politicize corruption would appear misguided as suggested by Obonyo (2007) in that “there is no strong agreement as to whether the audiences are interested in politics” (p. 20) This notwithstanding Kenyan papers still feature politics in their headlines probably more than any other subject. Obonyo further suggests that journalists are ill equipped to handle specialized topics and would rather focus on politics in which nearly everyone has an opinion. This lack of knowledge in specialty areas may perhaps be the single contributing factor to paucity of news on environment, science, corruption etc rather than the desire “to appeal to the mass media” (p. 20)

Further, Gan et al. (2005) observe that journalists also tend to frame news from the perspective of their region, as their study on American Presidential elections found. In the case of this study, region was taken as the equivalent to ethnic group, province and political patronage, a presence this study established.

Vliegenthart and Roggeband (2007) suggest that while conceptually agenda setting and framing are different, both try to influence agendas and make them as favourable as possible in either problem salience or problem definition. These researchers appear to have been partly influenced by Entman (1993), whose argument as presented by Severin and Tankard (2001), is that frames define the problem; diagnose the causes of it, pass moral judgment about the issue and suggest remedies. The Vliegenthart and Roggeband (2007) study used issue-specific frames in respect to parliamentary documents because generic news frames would be unavailable. However, this current study suggests that framing of an issue by the media is not constant and is determined by unusual events. The case for Netherlands clearly demonstrated a correlation between the September 11th attacks in the United States and Parliamentary debate on immigration and integration. Similarly in Kenya, a number of corruption related scandals surfaced over the six year period of study, and therefore in analyzing the trends of corruption reporting, certain years reflected such events, at least by attribution.

Further, Vliegenthart and Roggeband (2007) find that in some frames, framing in the media arena positively influences the parliamentary arena. This finding is instructive because it suggests that media can influence parliamentary debate on certain issues. Debates which lead to legislations could therefore have negative consequences if the framing was not meant to bring about objectivity or grossly divide the House.

The Barnett (2008) study explored how Duke University responded through a public relations strategy to a rape case involving three of its white male students. The University during the trial period framed its discussion in terms of reason versus emotion and positioned itself as a calm voice and as a victim of unfair media reports. The

university was aware its reputation was at stake. The Barnet study suggests framing is an important tool for public relations and that framing on the whole “provides information for publics, interprets facts and events, and positions the organization as an expert “(p.186).

Barnet further suggests that actors may achieve frame alignment by linking their frames to enduring values in society. If a country wants to promote integrity and honesty as a basis of fighting corruption, then this suggestion of enduring values should find itself in media frames that promote appropriate images. Duke University, although facing allegations of sexual assault by its students, framed their response in the ideals of fairness and justice. This framing suggests that the media does not have to dwell solely on the dirty side of corruption but should find something positive about the actors involved in fighting graft and broadening the images of corruption for the media audience to have a fuller picture. Duke University ignored the subject of rape entirely, which was not a good strategy either because it could suggest that the University was insensitive to the rights of the rape victim.

Summary

Media play a critical role in influencing public opinion by carefully selecting media content through agenda setting, framing and priming. Particularly through framing, the salience obtained indicates to the audience what they should regard as important.

Corruption has continued to flourish in Kenya and media audience may not link it with crime, human rights abuses, bad governance, dilapidated infrastructure, non - performing economy, unemployment among others unless they are primed. Presently, as this study confirms, there is a bias towards political /government images of corruption.

When such is the case then it would reflect only in political corruption being addressed and this would inevitably deprive the society of the opportunity to take responsibility of fighting corruption directly. Indeed, such a suggestion is made by Lyengar cited by Severin & Tankard (2001) in that “research indicates much television news[and by extension print media], by focusing on discrete events out of context, causes viewers [and readers] to assign responsibility for social problems to individuals rather than to society as a whole” (p.279). This present study sought to establish the images of corruption as framed by the two dailies and how these frames changed over time. It is acknowledged that when media raise red flags on an issue, the public attention is galvanized. The content analysis method was used to carry out this study. The next chapter presents the methodology.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of research and is organized as follows: approaches to research and sampling techniques, content analysis, unit of analysis; frames identification, construction of categories, coding of content, training of coders; reliability of coding; population; sample, sampling design and data treatment.

Approaches to Research

To research is to inquire into something in order to assist in planning and decision making. Mouly, cited by Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), defines research as a process of arriving at effective solutions to problems through systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data. Mugenda and Mugenda further suggest research is a critical examination of a given phenomenon. In addition, Watson (2003) also argues that research is all forms of mass communication [which] rely on research findings either to continue the way they are or to change to cater for new expectations and tastes.

Different authors have classified research in different ways. Some have done so on the basis of analysis, purpose or method used to collect data. Basically, there are two broad approaches to research. The choice of a research approach depends on the problem, purpose, theory, research questions and methods of data collection as well as the sampling strategy a researcher wants to use. A researcher may opt for either qualitative or quantitative research approaches, each with its own range of methodologies. Some researchers like Robson (2002) see qualitative research as falling in flexible design while quantitative approaches are seen as fixed design. However, social sciences research

cannot strictly follow one approach and usually mixed methods are preferred. Robson suggests that the debate about either approach being scientific or not is not useful. He argues for social scientists to also satisfy themselves that the research they are doing is systematically, skeptically, and ethically carried out. However, the researchers' philosophical assumptions and orientations will incline them to use either approach. The qualitative approach is based on the naturalist/interpretive paradigm, whereas the quantitative approach is based on the positivist paradigm (Robson, 2002).

Method of research for the study

The method for this study was content analysis. Multiple studies have used content analysis as a stand alone method. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) citing Kerlinger define content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Content analysis can use both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. This study largely used the quantitative approach though the qualitative approach was also used in analyzing the cartoons. The textual input in the cartoons was analyzed as sentences, while the visual aspect was captured in form of a narrative. Future research may use both approaches even though the qualitative approach tends to be subjective and cannot be replicated and therefore its results cannot be generalized to the entire population. This study intends to generalize the findings and this is the main determinant of the research approach. The data needed for this study was readily available in libraries. The study focused on the manifest content of the two dailies.

Unit of analysis

According to Stempel III and Westly (1981), a unit of analysis can be a word, a

phrase, statement, sentences, paragraphs or entire articles. The unit of analysis for this study was the sentence because framing is about ideas and a sentence usually completes an idea or thought. The corruption stories whose sentences were included as units of analysis were identified as referring to corruption by denotation or connotation. The headline was an identifier of a corruption story and once identified the coders coded the sentences in the appropriate categories.

Visuals according to Stempel III and Westly (1989) increase impact. The captions therefore provide the essence of the story and were analyzed as part of the textual input and not the pictures themselves. Cartoons on the other hand were analyzed on their own through quantitative and qualitative approaches: quantitative in that all cartoons had some text or sentences that described the essence of the phenomenon being graphically depicted. There was a provision for a narrative explaining the cartoons further. Cartoons and editorials were included because they both represent the newspapers' stand on issues, while guest columns and letters to the editor do not and therefore were excluded from the analysis.

Frames identification

Vliegenthart and Roggeband (2007), suggest that there is little consensus about how to identify frames in news. They suggest an inductive process where frames emerge in the course of the analysis and the "second is deductive in nature and texts are analyzed using predefined and operationalized frames" (p.300). This study used both processes in picking out the frames and the researcher constructed others. Suggestions by De Vreese's (2004), Gan et al. (2005), Richardson & Lancendorfer (2004) and Severin & Tankard (2001) were particularly useful.

Category Construction

The researcher considered the suggestions by scholars that the categories have to be functional, manageable in proportion to the study, and mutually in-exclusive. Thus materials coded into one had no chance of being included in another. For a sentence to be categorized in a specific frame, it had to be the dominant idea expressed in it.

In order to find out the images of corruption as framed by Kenya's Dailies, the researcher used the following categories, which were constructed based on the literature review, pretest of the two dailies in the months of January to April 2009, and the dictates of the theoretical framework. The following are the categories:

1. Type of story: This meant the kind of story from which the sentences were drawn and included hard news, features, and editorials.
2. Placement of corruption stories: This meant the place where the story was located within the newspaper pages. A front or back page placement indicated the highest or higher prominence given to the corruption story, while a story placed in the inside pages had less prominence.
3. Police corruption frame: This meant sentences that identified the police as taking bribes, or protecting a corrupt suspect in which case it meant unfavourable or taking suspects to court in which case it was a favourable image.
4. Government corruption frame: This meant sentences, which mentioned the executive, a minister or higher official, a government official in a suspected act of corruption or saying words against corruption. This meant it was favourable if the official was seen to be fighting corruption or unfavourable if he was encouraging/involved in corruption.

5. Public services and Parastatal corruption frame: This meant sentences which mentioned government services such as health, education, security, environment in any suspected act of corruption or saying words against corruption. This meant it was favourable if the official was fighting corruption or unfavourable if he was encouraging/involved in corruption.
6. KACC frame: This meant any sentence which showed KACC fighting corruption by action or saying something against or being accused of doing nothing, in which case it was favourable and unfavourable respectively.
7. Other anti-corruption institutions frame: This meant any sentence which showed other agencies fighting corruption by action or saying something against or being accused of doing nothing, in which case it was favourable and unfavourable respectively. Such institutions would include National Anti-Corruption Campaign Steering Committee, Efficiency Monitoring Unit, Department of Governance and Ethics and the Standing Committee on Public Complaints.
8. Political frame of corruption: This meant any sentence which showed an MP, a politician, political party fighting corruption or suspected to be involved in corruption, thus was coded as favourable or unfavourable.
9. The socio-economic frames of corruption: This meant any sentence, which showed different ways in which corruption affects the people and the economy in general in terms like; jobs, economic growth, poverty escalation/alleviation, investor confidence, infrastructure development among others.
10. Legal frame of corruption: This meant any sentences which showed Judiciary, courts, court cases, laws, regulations, other law enforcers such as municipal and

city councils, immigration officials, Revenue officers, National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) officials among others as either facilitating corruption or fighting it through administration of justice. Delays in determination of cases meant aiding corruption, while expeditious disposal meant support for the fight against corruption. Any of the above, which appear as either impediments or allies to the fight, was treated as unfavourable or favourable as the case was.

11. Private sector corruption frames: This meant any sentence which showed private corporations and businesses involved in corruption or fighting it, in which case it was unfavourable or favourable.
12. Region/ethnic corruption frame: This meant any sentence which mentioned a person, his region, religion or ethnic group in favourable or unfavourable terms.
13. Civil Society frames of corruption: This meant any sentence, caption or cartoon indicating civil society participation in fighting or involved in corruption
14. Other corruption frame: This meant any other sentence, caption, or cartoon touching on corruption and was difficult to place.
15. Other type: This represented sentences, captions and cartoons

Coding of content

Category	Attributes
Type of story	1. Hard news 2. Feature 3. Editorials
Placement of corruption stories	1. Front 2. Back page 3. Inside page
Police corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Government corruption frame	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Public services and Parastatal corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
KACC corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Other Anti-corruption institutions corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Political corruption frame	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
The socio-economic corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Legal sector corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Region/ethnic corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Civil Society corruption frames	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Corruption frames of private sector	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Other corruption frame	1. Favourable 2. Unfavourable 3. Neutral
Other type	1. Sentences 2. Captions 3. Cartoons

Population

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), a population is the entire group of individuals or objects bearing common observable characteristics. Studying a whole universe or an entire group is often not practical in terms of time and costs. In any case, since the population has common characteristics, it is in order to take a representative

sample and be able to generalize the results to the target population or the universe (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999; Kothari, 2004; Hansen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold, 2004).

This study focused on print media and specifically two national newspapers. The *Daily Nation*, a flagship of the Nation Media Group (NMG), published since 3rd October 1960. It is a tabloid. With its sister publication *Sunday Nation* they have a circulation in excess of 250,000 issues daily (Steadman, 2008). NMG has other titles including the regional weekly *The East African*, *The Advertiser*, *Coast Weekly*, *Taifa Leo*, *Taifa Jumapili*, and the *Business Daily*. The group is also associated with the publication of *True Love* and *Drum* magazines. Except for *Coast Weekly*, which is based in the coastal town of Mombasa, most of their publications are dailies and have a national reach with varying degrees of circulation. NMG also has *NTV*, *Easy* and *Q Fm* in the electronic platform. The second is *The Standard* newspaper owned by the Standard Group. It is a daily tabloid published since 1902 and its sister publication *The Standard on Sunday*. The *Standard* Group also owns a television station, *KTN*, the country's oldest commercial television station outside the state owned broadcaster, KBC.

The focus of this study was on print media and since according to Steadman (2008), the *Nation* and *the Standard* newspapers accounted for nearly 80% of the newspaper readership in the country, the researcher chose to pick these two. Other publications were mainly in major towns and were too insignificant in terms of circulation to set any serious agenda for public discussion. The total number of newspapers (population) was 4380 arrived at by multiplying two newspapers per day by 365 days over the six year period under study.

Sample and sampling

According to Robson (2002), there are many factors which determine sample size which include design method, homogeneity, scope, nature of study and even the theoretical framework. A larger sample yields a higher level of confidence in that it truly reflects the population. Kothari (2004) argues that the sample size should neither be excessively large nor too small. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) suggest a large sample if time and resources allow. However, as Robson points out if the population is not heterogeneous, there is no justification for a very large sample size. In this respect, the population was fairly large at 4380 newspapers (i.e. two daily newspapers in 365 days in six years) newspapers and homogeneous. Accordingly, a sample size of 20% was picked. Robson further adds that a homogeneous population allows the researcher to generalize the findings to the entire population from which the sample is drawn and this is what this study has done.

The sample size was therefore 876 (20% of 4380). The interval was obtained by dividing the population over the sample. The sampling interval therefore was five. The first five days of the first year were therefore written down on pieces of paper and put in a container after which a number was picked randomly. Once the start was determined, the rest of the days followed in that order with the 5th newspaper being picked for analysis and in this manner, all leap years were accommodated in the sample. However, 9th of December is the International Anti-Corruption Day and therefore media coverage on the subject was expected to rise during the 8th, 9th and 10th of December. In this regard, all the six newspapers (both the *Nation* and the *Standard*) covering the three days were purposively selected and analyzed automatically. The additional six newspapers in each

year, and those which did not fall on the interval together with 876 randomly selected newspapers pushed the total sample to 906 or 20.7%. After the data was collected, 417 newspapers were found to have corruption content out of 906 newspapers sampled.

Training of coders

Training is essential if the coders are to get usable data. Two coders with relevant training in mass communication research and prior knowledge of content analysis research were trained and hired for three weeks. The first two days were used for training. Stempel III and Westly (1981) argue that training is important in order to provide a common perspective and to develop a common frame of reference. Training enabled the coders to understand the theoretical framework underlying the study and the meaning behind each constructed category. The researcher for use developed a coding sheet for each category during the training and in the actual coding exercise.

Reliability of coding

Reliability of coding demonstrates agreement of the coded material among independent coders. Reliability of data is important if it has to satisfy the requirements of objectivity. Stempel III and Westly (1981), suggest that reliability concerns itself with how consistent two data coders are in recording the phenomenon under examination. In others, although it is recognized that total agreement is not possible, a high level of agreement among coders makes the study more reliable. However, 85% is recommended for the data to be declared reliable. In order to ensure inter and intra-coder agreement, each coder took 10% of the coded content and re-coded it. The main coder repeated 10% of the coded material and obtained 86% agreement with other coders.

Data treatment

The researcher used Predictive Analytics Software (PASW) formerly Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Stata (a data analysis and statistical software) to analyze the data. The results are presented in percentages and visual communication tools such as tables, line graphs, pie charts, and bar graphs.

Validity

Validity was ensured by using categories already used by other scholars. Other categories relevant to the Kenyan situation and the subject of the study were created by the researcher.

Summary

This chapter looked at content analysis as the methodology for this study, general approaches to research and sampling techniques, unit of analysis; frames identification, construction of categories, coding of content, training of coders; reliability of coding; population; sample, sampling design and data treatment. The next chapter presents data, analysis and interpretation of findings.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This study was carried out using content analysis as the method of research and covered a period of six years from 2003 to 2008. A total of 4,380 newspapers from the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers formed the population under study. A sample of 906 newspapers was randomly selected from both newspapers which constituted 20.7% of the population. The unit of analysis was the sentence. The cartoons too were content - analyzed in two ways. One way was by using the texts within the cartoons, which were analyzed as sentences. Secondly, a narrative describing the phenomenon being depicted in the cartoons was obtained, whose summary appears at the end of this chapter. In addition, picture captions connected with corruption stories as found in the sample were also analyzed as sentences. Corruption story was any news item appearing in the two newspapers, which had corruption related news content easily identified by denotation (bribe, graft etc) or connotation (fat cats, eating etc)

Findings

A frame in the context of the study was understood to mean a central organizing idea which runs through a text. Image was how these sentences depicted the specific corruption frames whether favourable meaning a positive image, or unfavourable in which case it would mean a negative image. Out of the sample of 906 newspapers content analyzed, 417 of them were found to have corruption stories. This means the newspapers carrying corruption- related news content in the sample were below half at

about 46% over the study period. Of these, *the Nation* had 42.9% while the *Standard* had 57.1% over the six-year period.

Frequency of sentences, captions, and cartoons

Table 1

Number of sentences, captions and cartoons

Newspaper	Sentences	Captions	Cartoons
<i>Nation</i>	1,591	243	45
<i>Standard</i>	2,382	301	43
Total	3,973	544	88

A sentence was the unit of analysis and in total, there were 3,973 sentences in the sample. These sentences were derived from texts in news stories as well as captions and textual illustrations, which accompanied cartoons. The sample had 88 cartoons and 544 pictures/captions that focused on corruption-related issues. Further, the *Standard* had more sentences (2,382) framing corruption as compared to the *Nation* which 1,591. However, both publications had about the same number of cartoons.

Overall frames of corruption

Table 2

<i>Frequency of sentences, captions and cartoons in percentages per year</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	78.37	18.67	2.96	81.95	16.02	1.13
2004	77.88	21.02	1.11	78.32	10.46	2.22
2005	95.54	1.79	2.68	94.59	4.25	1.16
2006	92.71	4.66	2.62	91.80	6.42	1.78
2007	91.33	6.67	2.00	90.39	7.47	2.14
2008	86.39	10.06	3.55	95.50	4.50	0
Average	87.04	10.48	2.49	88.75	8.19	1.41
<i>N= 1,879 Nation</i>				<i>N= 2,726 Standard</i>		

Overall, the data indicate that the *Nation* had the highest percentage (95.54%) of sentences framing corruption in 2005 and the lowest 77.88% in 2004. But the *Standard* had its highest percentage (95.50%) of sentences framing corruption in 2008 and lowest 78.32% in 2004. What is notable is the fact that over the period of six years, the majority of sentences in both newspapers framed corruption. This suggests that both newspapers focused their attention on corruption as an important issue.

When it comes to pictures portraying corruption, most (18.67%) of them appeared in 2003 and 21.02% in 2004 in the *Nation* and in 2003 the *Standard* had 16%. The cartoons texts on corruption (3.6%) appeared mostly in 2008 in the *Nation*. In 2004, the *Standard* had 2.2% and 2.1% in 2007. It is noted that in 2008, the *Standard* did not carry any cartoons depicting corruption yet that same period the *Nation* carried the highest percentage of cartoons depicting corruption.

Figure 1 illustrates how the two newspapers framed corruption stories by news type. Type of story meant the kind of story from which the sentences were drawn and these were hard news, features, and editorials

Corruption frames by news type

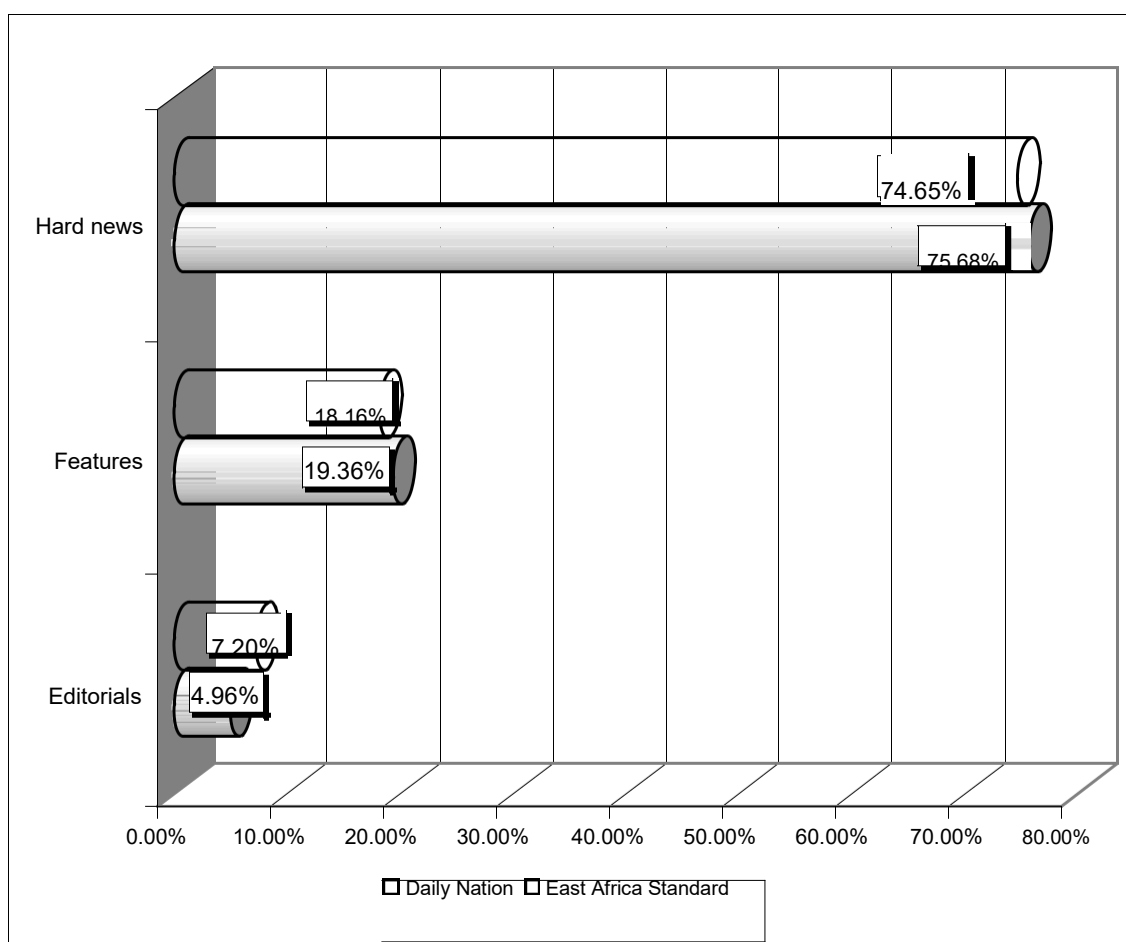


Figure1: Framing of sentences by news type in the Nation and Standard.

Data indicate that across all types of news, both newspapers had almost an equal percentage of sentences on corruption. However, when it comes to editorials, the *Standard* had more editorials (7.2%) on corruption than the *Nation's* 4.96%. Further, data

show that the majority of sentences framing corruption were in the form of hard news at about 75% average for both newspapers.

Story placement

Figure 2 illustrates how the sentences framing corruption were placed in both newspapers over six years. Story placement meant the place where the story was located within the newspaper pages. A front or back page placement indicated the highest or higher prominence given to the corruption story; while a story placed in the inside pages had low prominence.

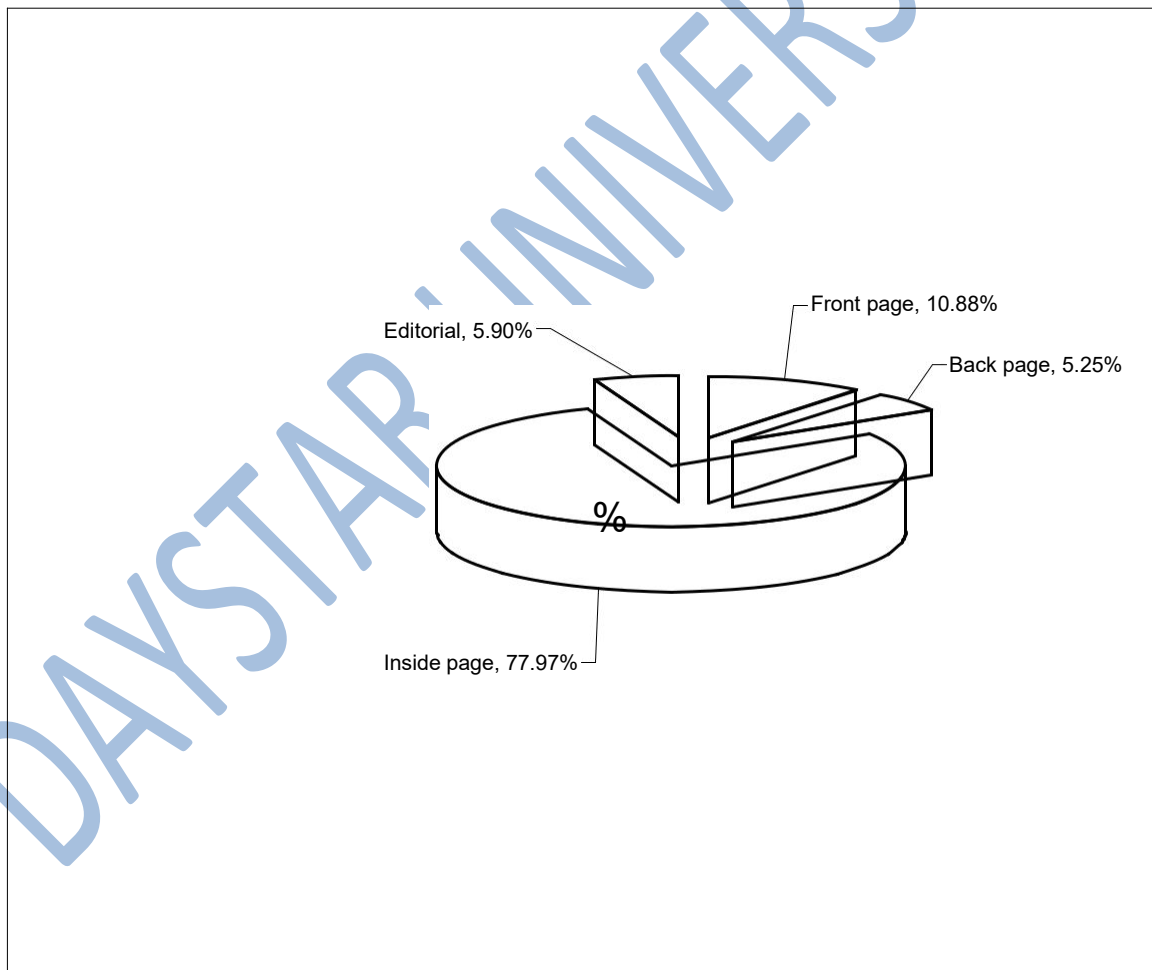


Figure 2: Overall placement of sentences in stories framing corruption

When it comes to placement, the data show that the majority of sentences framing corruption (77.97%), were placed in the inside pages, front pages had 10.88%, back pages had 5.9% and editorials had 5.25%. These findings would suggest that corruption was not necessarily seen as a prominent issue by editors who selected what was to be placed where, because, if it were, most stories would be on the front pages, back pages or discussed in the editorials. Therefore, the data have indicated that by placing corruption news stories largely in the inside pages, the two newspapers were not giving prominence to corruption issues. They were thus, through framing, portraying an image that corruption was not an issue of importance. Severin and Tankard (2001) argue that a communicator attempts to influence audience to buy whatever is being proposed by influencing and changing existing frames of mind. So in this case the two newspapers seemed to be telling the readers that corruption is not an important issue so as to become an agenda for public discussion.

Placement of sentences framing corruption in the 2 newspapers per year

Table 3

<i>Placement of sentences framing corruption</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	16.98	6.11	72.71	4.20	11.79	6.65
2004	11.99	6.11	78.73	3.17	11.67	3.24
2005	15.74	10.65	69.44	4.17	8.79	6.25
2006	14.59	6.69	73.56	5.17	7.08	3.99
2007	5.59	9.79	78.32	6.29	3.27	0.00
2008	10.83	5.73	82.80	0.64	6.50	0.00
Average	13.75	7.05	75.26	3.98	8.95	4.06
<i>N=1,811 Nation</i>				<i>N=2,681 Standard.</i>		

The data indicate that the highest percentage (16.98%) of sentences depicting corruption appeared on the front pages of the *Nation* in 2003 and 15.74% in 2005 while the lowest was 6% in 2007. The *Standard* had the highest percentage (11.79%) of sentences depicting corruption which appeared on the front pages in 2003 and 11.67% in 2004 while the lowest 3.27% appeared in 2007.

Both newspapers may not have agreed on when corruption would appear most on the front pages. However, both newspapers had the lowest percentages in 2007 for the front pages. It is also observed that the *Nation* had the second and third highest percentages of sentences depicting corruption appearing in 2005 and 2006. This prominence may be attributed to the re-emergence of corruption scandals during these two years, most notable among them Anglo-leasing, which faced NARC administration

involving security contracts. Thus, this issue was bound to be placed prominently on the front pages.

Placement of the sentences depicting corruption in the back pages of the *Nation* was highest (10.65%) in 2005 and lowest (5.73%) in 2008. On the other hand the *Standard* had the highest percentage of sentences (6.65%) depicting corruption in 2003 and lowest (3.99%) in 2006 appearing in the back pages. It is noted that the *Standard* re-branded in 2007 and dedicated the back pages to sports news since then. When it comes to sentences depicting corruption in the inside pages of both newspapers, again it would appear they both agreed and as data indicate, inside pages were the most preferred (generally over 70%) except in 2005 when the two newspapers had the lowest percentage: *Nation* (69.44%) and the *Standard* (74.61%).

The *Standard* had more editorials on corruption with the highest percentage (10.35%) appearing in 2005 and 11.64% in 2007 while the lowest percentage (2%) of editorials framing corruption appeared in 2008. The *Nation*'s highest percentage (6.29%) of editorials framing corruption appeared in 2007 and the lowest (at just under 1%) in 2008. Data also show the number of editorials in both newspapers from 2005 to 2007 was relatively high compared to other years.

Sentences framing corruption in the police

Police corruption frame meant sentences that portrayed the police unfavourably or favourably in such acts like taking bribes, protecting a corrupt suspect or taking suspects to court.

Table 4

Sentences framing corruption in the police in percentages

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	61.19	28.36	10.45	55.81	34.88	9.30
2004	47.50	47.50	5.00	50.00	45.00	5.00
2005	47.06	47.06	5.88	36.67	53.33	10.00
2006	56.52	39.13	4.35	47.50	35.00	17.50
2007	33.33	58.33	8.33	30.00	70.00	0.00
2008	16.67	77.78	5.56	70.00	30.00	0.00
Average	49.72	42.94	7.34	48.55	42.20	9.25
<i>N= 87 Nation</i>				<i>N=163 Standard</i>		

The majority of sentences (61.19%) in the *Nation* framing corruption in the police were favourable in the years 2003 and 56.52% in 2006. The highest percentage (78%) of sentences that carried unfavourable frames about the police appeared in 2008 and 58% in 2007 in the *Nation*, while in the *Standard* the majority (70%) of sentences carrying unfavourable frames appeared in 2007. The *Standard* also had higher (70%) number of favourable sentences framing police corruption in 2008. Both newspapers framed corruption in the police unfavourably in 2007. However, in 2008 the framing was opposite with the 77.78% unfavourable for the *Nation*, while the *Standard* had 70% favourable.

Table 5

Placement of sentences framing corruption in the police

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	57.78	26.32	52.53	18.18
Unfavourable	33.33	47.37	40.08	72.73
Neutral	8.89	26.32	7.39	9.09
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 313

When it comes to newspaper placement of sentences framing of corruption in the police, front and inside pages had about the same percentage of sentences favourable to the police while a majority of 72.7% editorials in both newspapers were unfavourable. Editorials are particularly important in shaping public opinion as suggested by McCombs (2007), thus, “the salience of objects in the mass media is linked to the formation of opinions by the audience.....more people move away from a neutral position and form an opinion about the persons [news makers],” (p. 11). Also, according to Encyclopedia of the New American Nation (2010), editorials are important in shaping public opinion. Thus,

editorial writers and columnists affect the public discussion of foreign affairs that gradually works its way down to many average voters..... [indeed] the serious questions that were being raised about the U.S. involvement in Vietnam on the editorial pages of numerous newspapers beginning in the mid-1960s helped to create the climate of opinion in which the continuation of the war

by the Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon administrations became increasingly difficult (P. 4).

Being informed by the above, it is therefore clear that editorials have a powerful agenda setting role and the message is that media houses are clearly unhappy with corruption in the police.

Sentences framing government corruption

Government corruption frame meant sentences which mentioned the executive, a minister or high government official in a suspected act of corruption or saying words against corruption. This meant it was favourable if the official was seen to be fighting corruption or unfavourable if he was involved in or encouraging corruption.

Table 6 indicates that the sentences framing government corruption in both newspapers' coverage was unfavourable. The majority of sentences (59.6%) in the *Nation* framing government corruption in an unfavourable manner appeared in 2004, (63.2%) in 2005, (52.2%) in 2006 and 57.6% in 2008. In the *Standard*, the majority of sentences framing government corruption as unfavourable were 55.3% in 2006 and 55.6% in 2007. The *Nation* in 2003 stood out with the most favourable sentences (56.52%) to government corruption. Overall, the two newspapers did not convey a favourable image with regard to government corruption. In the *Nation* the image was largely that of a corrupt government, while in the *Standard* the two images appear to be cautiously almost balancing each other, for example in 2004 and 2008.

Table 6

Sentences framing corruption in government in percentages

Year	Nation			Standard		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	56.52	39.13	4.35	45.86	48.07	6.08
2004	34.40	59.63	5.96	46.47	46.47	7.05
2005	28.80	63.20	8.00	37.45	46.91	15.45
2006	28.66	52.23	19.11	34.07	55.31	10.62
2007	38.60	43.86	17.54	40.37	55.96	3.67
2008	37.93	57.47	4.60	45.92	44.90	9.18
Average	39.46	51.84	8.70	41.13	49.50	9.37
N= 897 Nation			N=1,099 Standard			

Table 7

Placement of sentences framing corruption in government

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	40.00	51.30	42.73	16.55
Unfavourable	53.33	40.00	47.51	74.82
Neutral	6.67	8.70	9.77	8.63
Total	100	100	100	100
N= 1,947				

In terms of placement, data indicate that the front pages carried the majority of unfavourable sentences framing corruption in government, while back pages had most of the favourable sentences. However, editorials were overwhelmingly unfavourable in respect of government corruption frame. McCombs (2007) suggests that media can set

the agenda for public attention through cues and placement of news items. This data therefore suggests the media has created salience around corruption issues in government.

Sentences framing corruption in public Services and parastatals

Public services and parastatal corruption frame meant sentences which mentioned government services such as health, education, security, environment in any suspected act of corruption or saying words against corruption. This meant it was favourable if the official/government agency was fighting corruption or unfavourable if he was involved in or encouraging corruption.

Table 8

<i>Sentences framing corruption in public services and parastatals</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	22.66	76.56	0.78	19.79	69.79	10.42
2004	19.63	78.50	1.87	31.90	60.34	7.76
2005	22.64	73.58	3.77	36.00	53.00	11.00
2006	21.95	68.29	9.76	24.32	59.46	16.22
2007	37.50	43.75	18.75	51.61	38.71	9.68
2008	19.51	68.29	12.20	25.64	64.10	10.26
Average	22.02	73.58	4.40	30.31	59.43	10.26
<i>N= 386 Nation</i>				<i>N=419 Standard</i>		

Data show that most of the sentences framing corruption in public services and parastatal were unfavourable in both newspapers. Such sentences ranged from a majority of about 78.5% and a minority of 43.75% in the *Nation*, and from a majority of 69.9% to a minority of 38.7% in the *Standard*. When it comes to 2007, the *Standard* framed public services and parastatals corruption favourably (51.61%) Thus the *Standard* had more

favourable coverage of corruption sentences in respect of this frame in 2007, the year of the general elections.

Table 9

Placement of sentences framing corruption in public services and parastatals

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	21.90	24.32	28.34	16.22
Unfavourable	73.33	64.86	64.17	75.68
Neutral	4.76	10.81	7.49	8.11
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 793

Data indicate that sentences framing corruption in public services and parastatals were overwhelmingly unfavourable and a majority of them were placed in front pages (73.33%) and back pages (64.86%) respectively. The newspapers were giving an image of corruption to the public, thus setting an agenda that public service was corrupt. This is endorsed in the editorials by a majority of 75.6% editorials that had unfavourable sentences. Editorials are usually the way newspapers indicate their stand on issues which they wanted to bring to the attention of the public.

Sentences framing Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission

KACC frame meant any sentence which showed KACC fighting corruption by action or saying something against or being accused of doing nothing, in which case it was favourable and unfavourable respectively.

Table 10

<i>Sentences framing Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	96.00	0	4.00	86.67	0	13.33
2004	64.44	26.67	8.89	61.90	19.05	19.05
2005	72.00	20.00	8.00	40.00	25.71	34.29
2006	51.11	32.22	16.67	67.23	24.37	8.40
2007	62.75	23.53	13.73	67.65	20.59	11.76
2008	47.06	50.00	2.94	78.26	8.70	13.04
Average	62.03	27.12	10.85	64.93	20.52	14.55
<i>N= 295 Nation</i>				<i>N=268 Standard</i>		

Data show that the majority of sentences framing the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission were favourable in all years ranging from 96% in 2003 to 62.75% in 2007 in the *Nation*, while the *Standard* had 86.67% highest favourable in 2003 and lowest favourable in 2005 (40%). Both newspapers appear to be in agreement over the study period except for the year 2008 when the *Nation* had 50% sentences unfavourable to the KACC, while the *Standard* carried 8.70% unfavourable sentences in the same year. Both newspapers had no unfavourable data in 2003. This could be attributed to the fact that the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission had not been set up then. The favourable data by both newspapers in 2003 may be attributed to the massive goodwill the NARC government enjoyed in its first year in office and also the defunct KACA is reputed to have been effective before it was shut down in 2000. To date, many people still remember KACA and do not appear aware that KACC is a different institution.

Table 11

Placement of sentences framing Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	56.86	65.71	67.45	35.56
Unfavourable	27.45	28.57	20.28	46.67
Neutral	15.69	5.71	12.26	17.78
Total	100	100	100	100

N=555

Table 11 indicates that the majority of sentences framing the Anti-Corruption Commission on the front, back and inside pages had a favourable frame. However, the sentences in the editorials were leaning more on the unfavourable side.

Sentences framing corruption in other Anti-Corruption Institutions

Other anti-corruption institutions frame meant any sentence which showed other agencies fighting corruption by action or saying something against or being accused of doing nothing, in which case it was favourable and unfavourable respectively. Such institutions would include National Anti-Corruption Campaign Steering Committee, Efficiency Monitoring Unit, Department of Governance and Ethics and the Standing Committee on Public Complaints.

Table 12

Sentences framing corruption in other Anti-Corruption Institutions

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	91.23	8.77	0.00	84.00	8.00	8.00
2004	83.33	16.67	0.00	84.62	11.54	3.85
2005	66.67	28.57	4.76	56.52	17.39	26.09
2006	68.18	9.09	22.73	80.95	19.05	0.00
2007	33.33	50.00	16.67	44.44	44.44	11.11
2008	63.64	36.36	0	93.33	6.67	0
Average	78.23	17.01	4.76	76.47	15.13	8.40
<i>N= 147 Nation</i>			<i>N=119 Standard</i>			

Overall data indicate that sentences framing corruption in other Anti-corruption Institutions were over the years favourable ranging from 91.23% to 68.18% in the *Nation*. Further, data show that from 2003-2006 and in 2008 sentences framing other Anti-Corruption Institutions were overwhelmingly favourable and unfavourable in 2007 (50.00%). 2007 was the only year when other Anti-Corruption Institutions were unfavourably framed by the *Nation*. Equally, the *Standard* overwhelmingly carried favourable sentences framing corruption in the other Anti-Corruption Institutions. These sentences favourably framing other anti-corruption institutions in the *Standard* ranged from 84% -56.5% in 2003 - 2006 and 93.33% in 2008.

Table 13

Placement of sentences framing corruption in other Anti-Corruption Institutions

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	82.76	86.67	81.15	38.46
Unfavourable	13.79	6.67	13.61	42.31
Neutral	3.45	6.67	5.24	19.23
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 261

Sentences framing other Anti-Corruption Institutions were given a favourable image by both newspapers by placing them prominently on front and back pages. A front page placement is always given to stories that deserve quick and immediate attention of the reader. However, the majority of editorial sentences were unfavourable. This could be an indication that newspapers were not convinced that other Anti-Corruption Institutions deserved a favourable image.

Sentences framing political corruption

Political frame of corruption meant any sentence which showed an MP, a politician, or a political party fighting corruption or suspected to be involved in corruption, thus was treated as favourable or unfavourable.

Table 14

Sentences framing political corruption per year

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	27.35	69.23	3.42	51.72	44.83	3.45
2004	38.13	56.83	5.06	41.28	54.13	4.59
2005	33.33	66.67	0.00	49.46	41.94	8.60
2006	50.56	35.96	13.48	60.47	37.21	2.33
2007	30.77	59.62	9.62	48.33	48.33	3.33
2008	59.38	40.63	0.00	60.47	34.88	4.65
Average	37.97	56.12	5.91	51.63	43.90	4.47
<i>N=474 Nation</i>			<i>N=492 Standard</i>			

Sentences framing persons involved in politics by the media were more unfavourable than favourable in both the *Nation* and the *Standard*. The majority of unfavourable sentences on political corruption appeared in 2003 (69.23%) and in 2005 (66.67%) in the *Nation*, while the *Standard's* highest unfavourable percentage occurred in 2004 (54.13%). The *Nation* favourably framed political corruption in the years 2006 (50.56%) and 2008 (59.4%), while the majority of sentences unfavourably framing political corruption appeared during 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2007 (69.2%, 56.8%, 66.7% and 59.6%) respectively. In addition, data show that most frames in the *Nation* ranged between 69% and 36% unfavourable, while the favourable sentences ranged between 59% and 27%. The same pattern is not repeated in the *Standard*, where favourable sentences framing political corruption ranged from a high of 60% in 2006 and to a low of 41% in 2004, while unfavourable frames ranged from a high of 54% in 2004 to a low of 35% in 2008.

Further, it is noted that the *Standard* was favourable ahead of the *Nation* in all the six years and the *Nation* was unfavourable ahead of the *Standard* in the same period except in 2006. This data could perhaps be explained by the nature of politics the country was going through over the study period with a more robust opposition finding sympathy in the *Standard* and the *Nation* choosing the opposite. It was in February 13, 2006 which also saw the sacking of cabinet ministers over the Goldenberg and Anglo-leasing affairs following what the *Standard* February 14, 2006 described as, “unrelenting pressure on President Kibaki to sack ministers implicated in corruption.” This development may account for the 50% favourable framing of political corruption by the *Nation*. Table 15

Placement of sentences framing political corruption

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	35.25	31.82	48.90	30.43
Unfavourable	59.84	61.36	45.73	67.39
Neutral	4.92	6.82	5.37	2.17
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 928

Table 15 indicates that the majority of unfavourable sentences framing political corruption were placed in the front and back pages, while the majority of editorials also tended to frame corruption in the political circles unfavourably. Thus, the news aspect of the newspapers agrees with editorials by unfavourably framing political corruption. The only exception, although marginal was in the inside pages, where a majority of sentences favourably framed political corruption.

Sentences framing socio-economic corruption

The socio-economic frames of corruption meant any sentence which showed different ways in which corruption affects the people and the economy in general in terms of jobs, economic growth, poverty escalation/alleviation, investor confidence and infrastructure development among others.

Table 16

<i>Sentences framing socio-economic corruption</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	35.42	64.58	0.00	4.55	90.91	4.55
2004	22.12	77.88	0.00	27.08	72.92	0.00
2005	19.44	80.56	0.00	11.36	81.82	6.82
2006	18.52	77.78	3.70	6.45	90.32	3.23
2007	16.67	80.00	3.33	30.77	69.23	0.00
2008	19.35	80.65	0.00	33.33	66.67	0.00
Average	25.56	73.68	0.75	16.46	80.49	3.05
<i>N= 369 Nation</i>			<i>N=164 Standard</i>			

Data indicate that the majority of sentences framing socio-economic corruption were unfavourable in both newspapers. The *Standard* had 90.91% highest unfavourable sentences in 2003, while the *Nation's* highest unfavourable framing was in 2008 (80.65%), a year in which post election violence was witnessed in the country. During the year 2008, the majority of unfavourable sentences framing socio-economic corruption in the *Standard* were still the majority but at the lowest percentage in six years. Thus this data suggests that the *Nation* appears to have been concerned about the socio-economic corruption more than the *Standard* (*Nation* 81%, *Standard* 67%). Further, in 2006,

following news of fresh corruption scandals, the *Standard* had 90% unfavourable data, while the *Nation* had 78%.

Table 17

Placement of sentences framing socio-economic corruption

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	27.87	29.03	23.87	10.87
Unfavourable	72.13	67.74	74.87	84.78
Neutral	0.00	3.23	1.26	4.35
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 539

Data show that the sentences framing socio-economic corruption were unfavourable irrespective of whether on front, back or inside pages. The majority of editorials also tended to frame socio-economic corruption unfavourably. The fact that editorial pages followed the trends of hard news and soft news content affirms that both newspapers were strongly against a declining business environment.

Sentences framing corruption in the legal sector

Legal sector corruption frames meant any sentences which showed Judiciary, courts, court cases, laws, regulations, other law enforcers such as municipal and city councils, immigration officials, revenue officers, National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) officials, among others, as either facilitating corruption or fighting it through administration of justice. Delays in determination of cases meant aiding corruption, while expeditious disposal meant support for the fight against corruption. Any

of the above, which appear as either impediments or allies to the fight, were treated as unfavourable or favourable as the case was.

Table 18

Sentences framing corruption in the legal sector

Year	Nation			Standard		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	64.21	33.78	2.01	62.89	30.93	6.19
2004	68.21	28.72	3.08	69.27	27.08	3.65
2005	57.45	31.91	10.64	39.29	42.86	17.86
2006	52.00	29.00	19.00	55.45	31.68	12.87
2007	51.61	32.26	16.13	40.00	54.00	6.00
2008	51.16	37.21	11.63	45.45	45.45	9.09
Average	61.82	31.75	6.43	57.95	33.94	8.10
<i>N= 715 Nation</i>				<i>N= 654 Standard</i>		

The majority of sentences in the *Nation* framing corruption in the legal sector over the six years were favourable with the highest percentage of 68.2% occurring in 2004 and the lowest (51.2%) in 2008. However, the *Standard's* framing of corruption in the legal sector did not follow the same pattern and sentences favourably framing corruption in this sector appeared in three years with the highest in 2004 (69.27%) and lowest in 2005 (39.29%). It is noted that the highest unfavourable sentences (54%). framing corruption in the legal sector appeared in the *Standard* in 2007. This data therefore point to the fact that the image portrayed by the two newspapers with regard to corruption in the legal sector is positive/favourable.

Table 19

Placement of sentences framing corruption in the legal sector

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	69.23	57.63	61.43	26.23
Unfavourable	24.62	37.29	31.35	60.66
Neutral	6.15	5.08	7.22	13.11
Total	100	100	100	100
N= 1,344				

Table 19 indicates that the majority of sentences on the legal sector in the front, back and inside pages had a favourable frame, while the majority of editorials tended to frame corruption in the legal sector unfavourably. Thus, even though the hard and soft news portrayed a favourable and therefore a positive image with regard to corruption in the legal sector, editorials were of a different view.

Sentences framing corruption in the private Sector

Private sector corruption frames meant any sentence which showed private corporations and businesses involved in corruption or fighting it, in which case it was unfavourable or favourable.

Table 20

Sentences framing corruption in the private Sector

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	27.01	70.11	2.87	40.79	54.61	4.61
2004	36.07	61.20	2.73	42.17	50.60	7.23
2005	47.50	50.00	2.50	30.26	57.89	11.84
2006	34.45	44.54	21.01	41.38	44.83	13.79
2007	34.69	55.10	10.20	47.37	42.11	10.53
2008	30.56	63.89	5.56	59.26	25.93	14.81
Average	33.44	59.40	7.15	41.22	49.74	9.04
<i>N= 601 Nation</i>			<i>N=575 Standard</i>			

The data indicate that sentences framing corruption in the private sector were largely unfavourable throughout the study period. The *Nation* had the highest percentage (70.11%) of unfavourable sentences appearing in 2003 and the lowest (44.54%) in 2006, while the *Standard* also portrayed an unfavourable image in all the years except 2008 which was 59.26% favourable. The *Standard* showed a decline in sentences framing private sector corruption from 57.9% in 2005 to 25.9% in 2008.

Table 21

Placement of Sentences framing corruption in the private Sector

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	25	38.60	38.73	41.94
Unfavourable	69.29	56.14	53.29	35.48
Neutral	5.71	5.26	7.98	22.58
Total	100	100	100	100
<i>N=1,155</i>				

The majority of sentences framing corruption in the private sector in the front, back and inside pages were unfavourably framed, while the majority of sentences in the editorials framing corruption in this sector were favourable. It would appear that this time round editorials are not agreeing with hard and soft news that private sector is involved in corruption. The newspapers opinion on this frame would appear to override the front and back page coverage which indicated unfavourable data of 69.3% and 56.2% respectively.

Sentences framing region/ethnic corruption

Region/ethnic corruption frame meant any sentence which mentioned a person, his region, religion or ethnic group in favourable or unfavourable terms in their engagement or fight against corruption.

Table 22

<i>Sentences framing region/ethnic corruption</i>						
Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	24.24	72.73	3.03	66.67	33.33	0.00
2004	25.00	68.75	6.25	16.67	83.33	0.00
2005	46.15	53.85	0.00	42.11	57.89	0.00
2006	31.25	62.50	6.25	53.33	40.00	6.67
2007	100.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	87.50	0.00
2008	50.00	50.00	0.00	50.50	50.50	0.00
Average	31.43	64.76	3.81	38.55	60.24	1.20
<i>N=105 Nation</i>				<i>N=83 Standard</i>		

The data indicate that in both newspapers, the sentences framing corruption in the region/ethnic frame were largely unfavourable from 2003-2006 in the *Nation*, while the *Standard* appeared to have a pattern of switching from favourable to unfavourable

sentences in all the years except in 2008 when the percentages balanced out (50%). Further, the *Nation* had the highest percentage (72.73%) of sentences framing region/ethnic corruption unfavourably in 2003 and the *Standard* 87.50% in 2007. It is noted that when the *Nation's* sentences framing corruption in the region/ethnic frame were 100% favourable in 2007, the *Standard* framed it unfavourably at about 88%. This shows that the newspapers were completely on opposite sides in their framing of this region/ethnic corruption. However, in 2008 both newspapers had an equal number of sentences either favourable or unfavourable

Table 23

Placement of sentences framing region/ethnic corruption

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	27.78	33.33	39.85	15.38
Unfavourable	66.67	66.67	57.14	84.62
Neutral	5.56	0.00	3.01	0.00
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 176

The above data indicate that the majority of sentences framing region/ethnic corruption on the front, back and inside pages as well as editorials were unfavourably framed. In most of the frames presented so far, editorials have differed with hard and soft news except this one. However, despite the unfavourable framing of region/ethnic corruption, the number of observations (N=176) were relatively few which may suggest corruption news about the regions or persons from these regions were still low. A study by Gan et al. (2000), found that journalists tend to frame news from an ethnic/regional

angle. However, the current study was not designed to look at journalists per se but framing of corruption issues emanating from the regions/ethnicity. It is this researcher's view that the divide between the news makers/regions they come from and journalists' environment of socialization may often be blurred.

Sentences framing corruption in civil society

Civil Society corruption frames meant any sentence, caption or cartoon indicating civil society participation in fighting or involved in corruption

Table 24

Sentences framing corruption in civil society

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	73.08	23.08	3.85	72.00	24.00	4.00
2004	84.62	7.69	7.69	80.00	13.33	6.67
2005	80.00	20.00	0.00	86.84	7.89	5.26
2006	60.53	28.95	10.53	71.79	20.51	7.69
2007	82.61	17.39	0.00	87.50	6.25	6.25
2008	89.47	10.53	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Average	75.54	20.14	4.32	80.95	13.61	5.44
<i>N= 139 Nation</i>			<i>147 Standard</i>			

Table 24 indicates that sentences framing corruption in civil society in both newspapers were overwhelmingly favourable. The highest favourable percentage for the *Nation* was 89.5% in 2008 and the lowest was 60.53% in 2006. The *Standard's* highest favourable percentage was 100% in 2008 and the lowest was 71.79% in 2006. Thus, both newspapers do come close over the study period when using sentences that framed civil society corruption.

Table 25

Placement of sentences framing corruption in civil society

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	70.59	84.62	79.57	78.57
Unfavourable	29.41	15.38	14.89	14.29
Neutral	0.00	0.00	5.53	7.14
Total	100	100	100	100

N= 279

The above table indicates that the majority of sentences framing corruption in civil society on the front, back and inside pages were favourable, while the majority of editorials too framed corruption in the civil society sector favourably. It is noted that editorials for the second time were favourable in respect of this frame as they did for the private sector corruption frame.

Sentences framing other issues of corruption

Other corruption frame meant any other sentence, caption, or cartoon touching on corruption and was difficult to place and was regarded as favourable or unfavourable with regard to fighting corruption or engaging in it.

Table 26

Sentences framing of other issues of corruption

Year	<i>Nation</i>			<i>Standard</i>		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
2003	43.93	55.14	0.93	85.00	15.00	0.00
2004	62.50	31.25	6.25	74.39	19.51	6.10
2005	90.32	9.68	0.00	67.16	22.39	10.45
2006	81.82	9.09	9.09	75.86	13.79	10.34
2007	75.00	25.00	0.00	82.61	13.04	4.35
2008	60.00	40.00	0.00	45.45	45.45	9.09
Average	59.45	37.79	2.76	72.84	19.83	7.33
<i>N= 217 Nation</i>			<i>N=232 Standard</i>			

Data indicate that both newspapers portrayed a favourable image of this frame in all the six years except the *Nation* in 2003 only. The *Nation* had the highest favourable percentage of 90.3% in 2005 and the lowest in 2003 (43.9%), while the *Standard's* highest favourable percentage was 85% in 2003 and the lowest was 45.45% in 2008.

Table 27

Placement of sentences framing of other issues of corruption

Placement	Front page	Back page	Inside pages	Editorials
Favourable	50	73.08	70.72	50
Unfavourable	50	19.23	23.68	39.29
Neutral	0.00	7.69	5.61	10.71
Total	100	100	100	100
N= 437				

Data show that sentences framing other issues of corruption by both newspapers were favourable irrespective of where the sentences were placed. Editorials were also favourable in respect of this frame.

*Cartoons**Narrative summary of cartoons from 2003-2008*

The sample had 88 cartoons in the two newspapers that framed corruption. The *Nation* had 45 cartoons while the *Standard* had 43. They were analyzed through two methods. One was the textual method in which the text used to describe the phenomenon in the cartoon was treated as a sentence, which was the unit of analysis. The textual component has already been reported. The second method was to qualitatively analyze the visual component. These cartoons portrayed the following types of frames of corruption: Socio-economic, legal sector corruption, government, public services and parastatals corruption, regional/ethnicity, and police corruption frames. To some extent these categories are similar to those which the researcher constructed or borrowed from other scholars. The data point to the fact that cartoonists tended to be negative and

therefore the majority of them were unfavourable of the various corruption frames listed above.

Framing of Socio-economic corruption

A sample of cartoons framed various socio-economic aspects of corruption. One illustration showed demolitions of houses built on a road reserve portraying an image of individuals who do not care for the common good of the majority. A road is a common resource, which should not be privatized or allocated to individuals. Another illustrated the sale of Grand Regency Hotel (now Laico Regency), a property suspected to have been built through corrupt proceeds from alleged gold exports compensation in the 90s (commonly referred to as Goldenberg). The sale of this hotel realized Ksh 3.1b back to the public coffers.

Further, the grabbing of public land and the individuals involved were portrayed through an image of a beast. This imagery points to the fact that a beast does not fear anyone. Goldenberg was also portrayed as a monster which had gained roots in all spheres and those probing it are likely to be intimidated. All these images suggest that fighting corruption is not an easy task. Lastly, another cartoon shows how the ordinary tax payer equates cabinet ministers, politicians, and local government with criminals who have violated them with equal measure. This violation points to the fact that ordinary citizens are greatly affected by corruption and by extension it implies that citizens ought not to allow themselves to be violated when they can resist.

Framing of political corruption

Another sample of cartoons showed hypocrisy of politicians who claimed to be fighting corruption, yet when it was not in their interest, they retreated or stuck to power.

This was illustrated aptly by a minister, reported in the media that he “would rather die than resign”. The use of cash to buy votes thereby defeating the whole objective of elections was also confirmed by the ECK who confirmed voting was done on the basis of willing seller –willing buyer. This confirmation points to a flawed electoral process where those with money get elected irrespective of their social standing. A sample of another cartoon cast the image of a college tutor when NARC was shown being tutored into corrupt ways by experienced KANU officials signifying the reemergence of corruption. In some cartoons this was symbolized by sharing a bed (artistic expression of consummating a marriage).

An international aspect on the need for a combined effort in fighting corruption was brought out through a visa ban for public officials suspected to be involved in corruption as a Kenyan minister got his visa to UK cancelled. This sort of action suggests that shaming an official in this manner might send a strong message to others involved in graft to stop. The sample of the visa ban cartoon was similar to Githongo’s (a one time Permanent Secretary for Ethics and Governance) who drew the Director of KACC, Justice Ringera’s name into the Anglo-leasing scandal. Githongo described Ringera as, “the once clean, focused and celebrated” (*Standard*, September 20, 2006). By alleging that Ringera asked him to go slow with investigations, Githongo dragged his name in the mud. Anglo-leasing scandal sucked in more government officials, including a sitting Vice President.

Framing of corruption in the legal sector

In a case of dramatic irony, a sample of cartoons depicted the futility of the Chief Justice claiming that he was holding the beast of corruption by its head yet litigants were

telling a different story-‘Justice on sale’ tee-shirts were everywhere. Shortly after, the Chief Justice was forced to resign due to public pressure and did not wait for a tribunal as required by law. Another sample exposed the contradictions in law application as the Attorney General pardoned a big fish and sought sentencing of a chicken thief.

Framing of government corruption

A sample of cartoons under this frame showed the imagery of a tree whose roots kept growing even after they had been cut portraying the daunting task of fighting corruption. This was a cynical comment by the cartoonists that fighting corruption could be an exercise in futility. Indeed, a related cartoon showed that corruption had become a way of life as the task force on eradication of *harambees* (a term commonly used to describe pooling resources together) found themselves in instances where they had to contribute money towards some cause before people could give their views. The hopelessness and irony of the war on graft is further heightened by President Kibaki’s assertion that he was fighting corruption, while his cabinet was portrayed as being busy covering remains of dead citizens killed by corrupt practices by the same cabinet.

Region/ethnic corruption frame

A sample of cartoons suggest that the media appeared to have bought into the ethnic overtones in the sacking of Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) Director over corruption allegations and also in the alleged nepotism in the appointment of TI Director by board members. The fact that the focus shifted from the real issues facing these two officials to their ethnic background shows how corruption was being ethnicized.

Police corruption frames

Despite the favourable framing of corruption in the police in the hard news, a sample of cartoons in respect of police corruption portrayed how dehumanized police officers can be by showing them arresting Santa Claus (goodwill person) for failure to wear a seat belt. The threat of arrest was a method of extorting bribes from all – goodwill or not was immaterial. Further, the cartoonists depicted a *Matatu* strike as adversely affecting the welfare of traffic police more than the commuters. Another sample showed the smoking ban as opening more avenues for police to demand bribes rather than the benefits which accrued from a smoke free environment.

Public Service and parastatal corruption

A sample of cartoons portrayed images of looting public resources through false claims by leading lawyers who were alleged to have rendered services to NSSF and yet another depicted corrupt people stealing from AIDS patients through the National AIDS Control Council. This showed corruption doesn't care neither is it compassionate.

Trend analysis

Objective three of the study was to establish the trends in the framing of corruption in the media. The raw data upon scrutiny indicate trends in some of the frames of corruption/categories. Accordingly, a trend analysis was carried out of sentences favourably and unfavourably framing corruption by select institutions/sectors such as government, KACC, private sector, public service/parastatal, socio-economic and regional/ethnic frames of corruption. In addition, a trend analysis was also carried out by news type and placement of sentences framing corruption (figures 3 & 10).

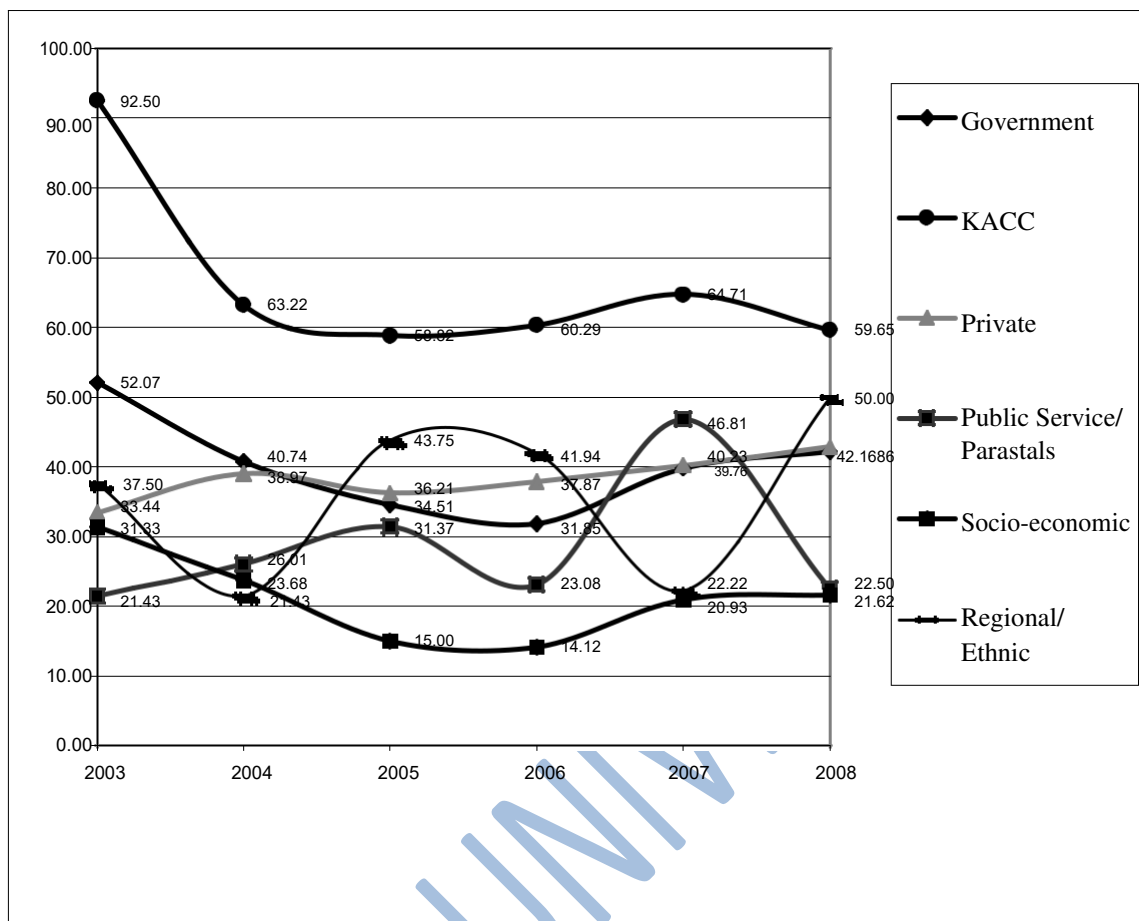


Figure 3: Trends of sentences favourably framing corruption in select institutions/sectors

The analyses indicate that there was a general decline from 2003 to 2006 of the sentences favourably framing corruption in the media in the selected institutions/sectors. However, there were notable exceptions in regional/ethnic frames which began to rise sharply from 2004-2005 before declining in 2006 and rising again sharply in 2007 – 2008. Favourable government corruption frame declined from 2003 to 2005 and rose moderately through to 2008. Sentences framing private sector corruption favourably rose slightly from 2003 – 2004, fell slightly in 2005 and moderately rose again through to 2008. Sentences favourably framing public service and parastatal corruption frames indicate a mixed trend but rose sharply from 2006 to 2007 before declining by 2008.

Socio-economic frame indicates a gradual decline from 2003 to 2005 and moderately rising through to 2008. Favourable framing for KACC generally declined substantially over the six years with a slight rise in 2007 before a further decline. The decline for favourable framing of government and KACC could suggest that the media was becoming increasingly skeptical on these two institutions' ability to tackle corruption.

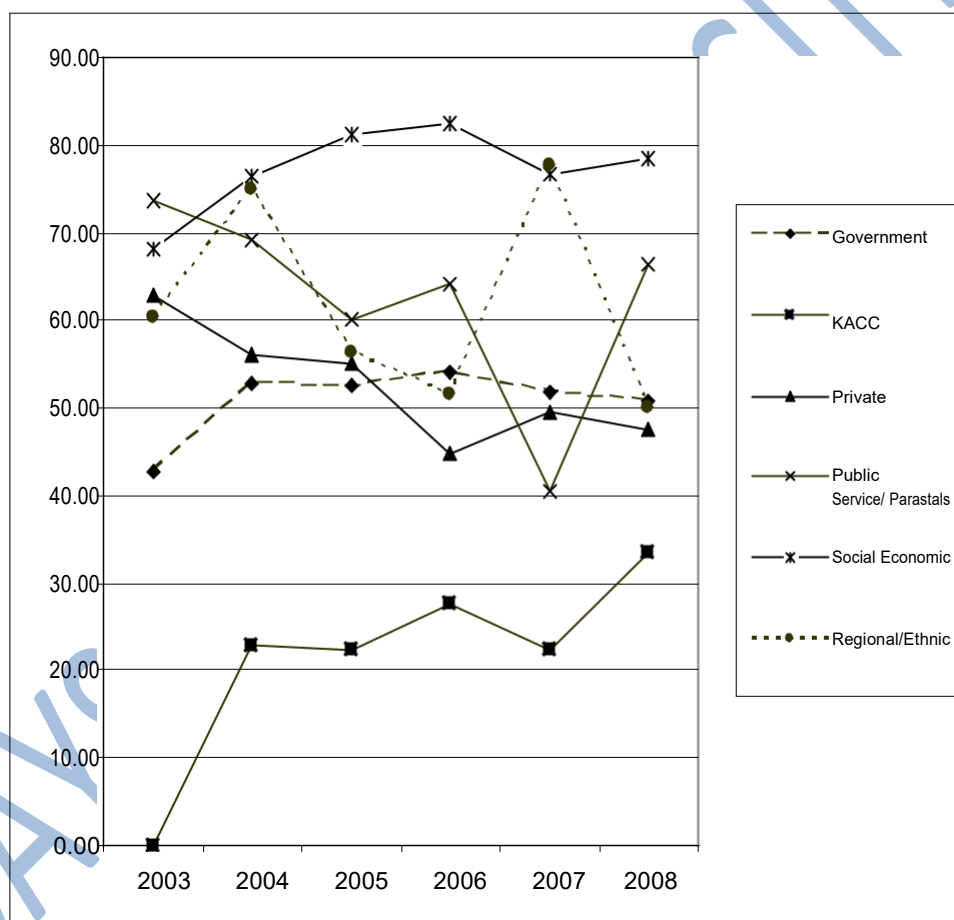


Figure 4: Trends of sentences unfavourably framing corruption in select institutions/sectors

Trends on sentences unfavourably framing corruption in select institutions/sectors indicate that public service and parastatals corruption stood out by 91

showing a mixed pattern. It declined from 2003 – 2005, rose in 2006, fell sharply in 2007 and rose sharply again in 2008. The unfavourable framing of corruption in the private sector declined generally, although it rose slightly from 2006 – 2007 before further decline. The socio-economic unfavourable framing generally rose in the six years with a slight drop from 2006 to 2007. Region/ethnic framing of corruption rose steeply in 2003 – 2004 before gradually declining through to 2006 and sharply rising in 2007 before declining further in 2008. When it comes to KACC, the unfavourable framing rose throughout the six years. Thus, where the media may have given credit to the Commission, they also appeared to be consistently unfavourable, which may suggest that the media was not convinced the Commission was delivering on its mandate as expected.

Trend analysis by news type

News type meant the kind of story from which the sentences were drawn and these were hard news, features and editorials

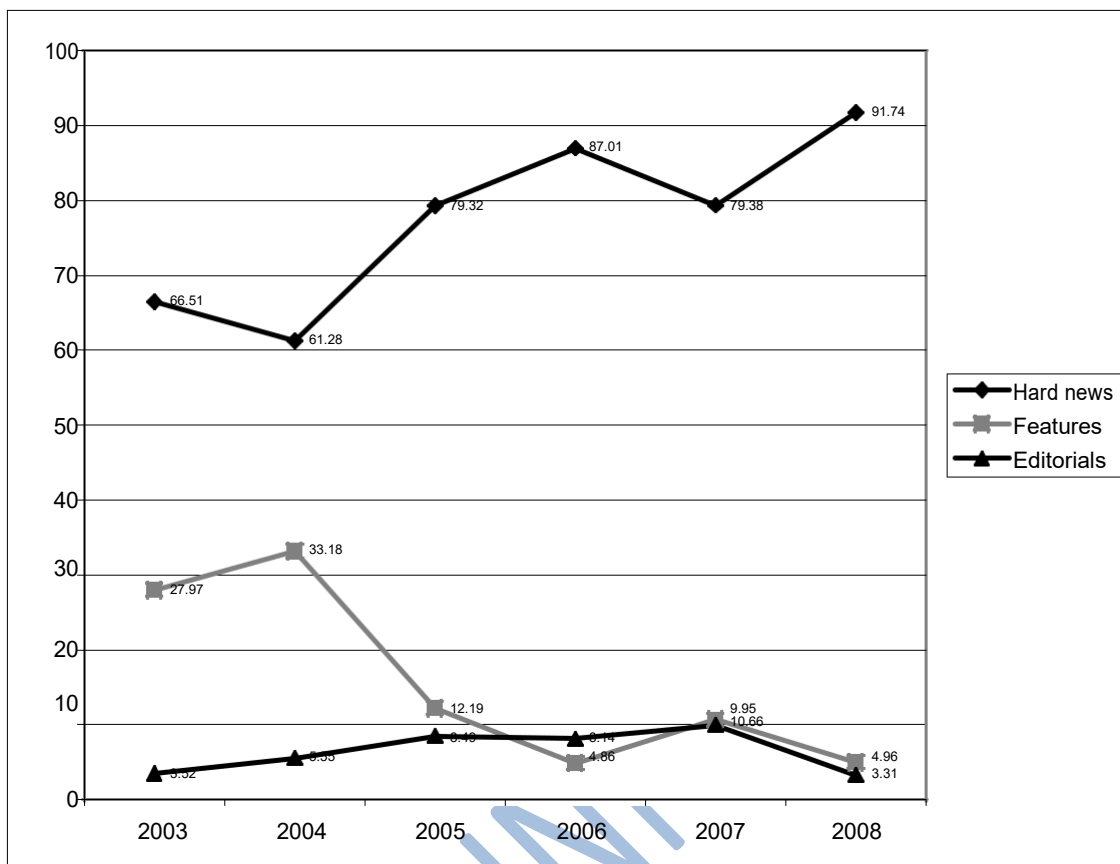


Fig 5: Trend analysis by news type

A trend analysis by news type overwhelmingly indicate that sentences framing corruption appearing in hard news fell slightly in 2003 – 2004 and steadily rose through to 2008 with a slight decline in 2006. When it came to features, the graph indicates a slight rise from 2003 – 2004 and thereafter declined throughout the study period. On the other hand, the number of sentences from editorials generally remained below 10% throughout the period.

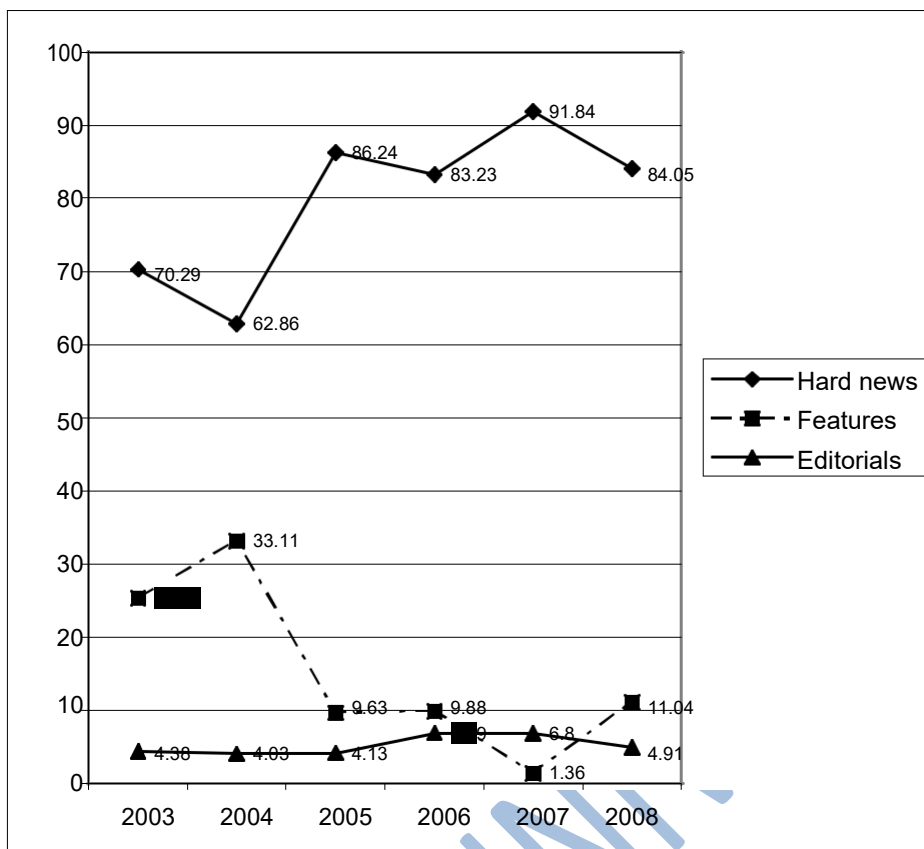


Figure 6: Trend analysis by news type in the Nation

A trend analysis by news type for the *Nation* indicate that hard news were the majority and generally increased in percentage over the study period with slight drops in 2004, 2006 and 2008. The number of sentences in features increased marginally in 2003 – 2004 before sharply declining in 2005 and thereafter remained below 11%. Features are well researched formats and a decline suggests the *Nation* did not invest more on this format choosing the easier and less costly hard news option. Also the number of sentences in editorials remained under six percent through out the study period.

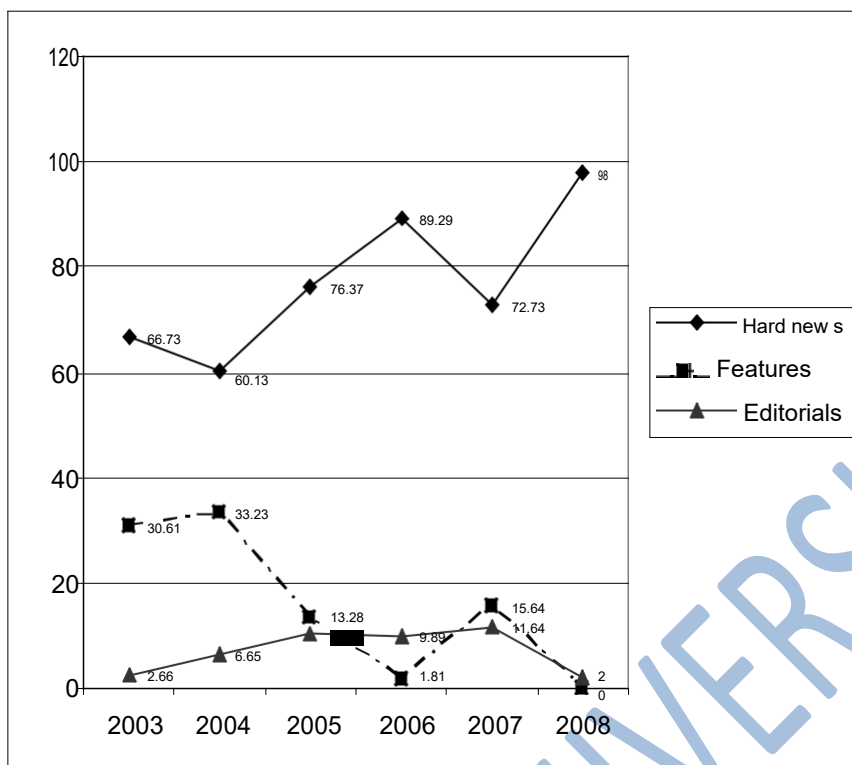


Figure 7: Trend analysis by news type in the Standard

A trend analysis by news type for the *Standard* also indicates that hard news sentences were the majority and generally increased in percentage over the study period with slight drops in 2004, 2007 before sharply rising again. Like the *Nation*, the data suggests that this was the most preferred format. The number of sentences in features largely declined from 2003 to 2006 before slightly rising in 2007 and falling further by 2008. Sentences in editorials rose very slightly from 2003 – 2005, remained constant through to 2007 and fell sharply to about two percent in 2008.

Placement of corruption stories

Placement meant the position in the newspapers where the story was located. A front or back page placement indicated the highest or higher prominence given to the story, while a story placed in the inside pages had less prominence.

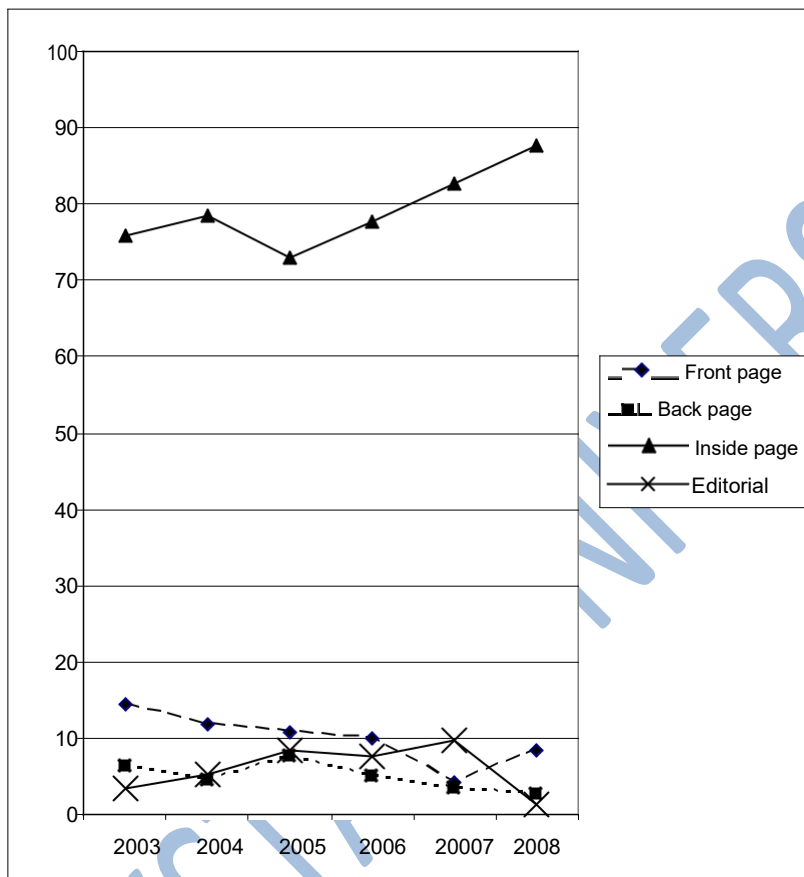


Figure 8: Trend analysis on overall placement of sentence framing corruption by both newspapers

A trend analysis for both newspapers in terms of placement of sentences framing corruption show that a majority of such sentences appeared in the inside pages and rose throughout the six years with a slight drop in 2005. The number of sentences making it to the front pages were few and declined largely throughout the period and rose slightly in 2008. The number of sentences which appeared on the back pages were also few and

generally declined throughout the period. The number of editorials in respect of sentences framing corruption rose slightly from 2003 – 2007 before falling to about two percent in 2008.

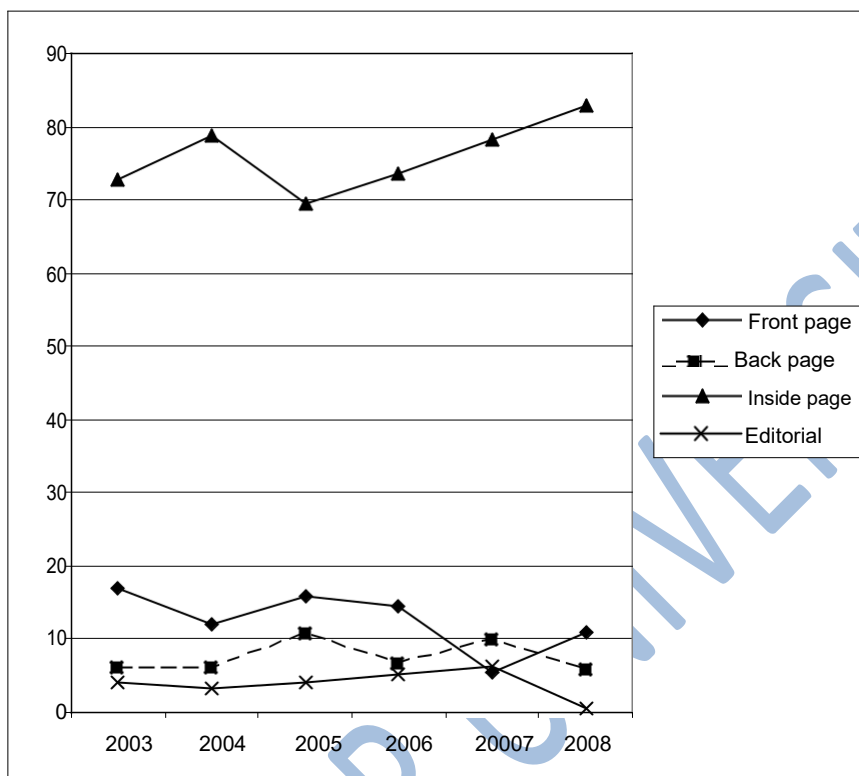


Figure 9: *Trend analysis on overall placement of sentences framing corruption by the Nation*

A trend analysis for the *Nation* on placement of sentences framing corruption also indicates that a majority of such sentences appeared in the inside pages and rose throughout the six years with a slight drop in 2005. The number of sentences appearing in the front pages declined throughout the study period with a slight increase from 2007 – 2008. The number of sentences on the back pages rose and fell over the six years and showed a marginal increase up to 2007 before a drop in 2008.

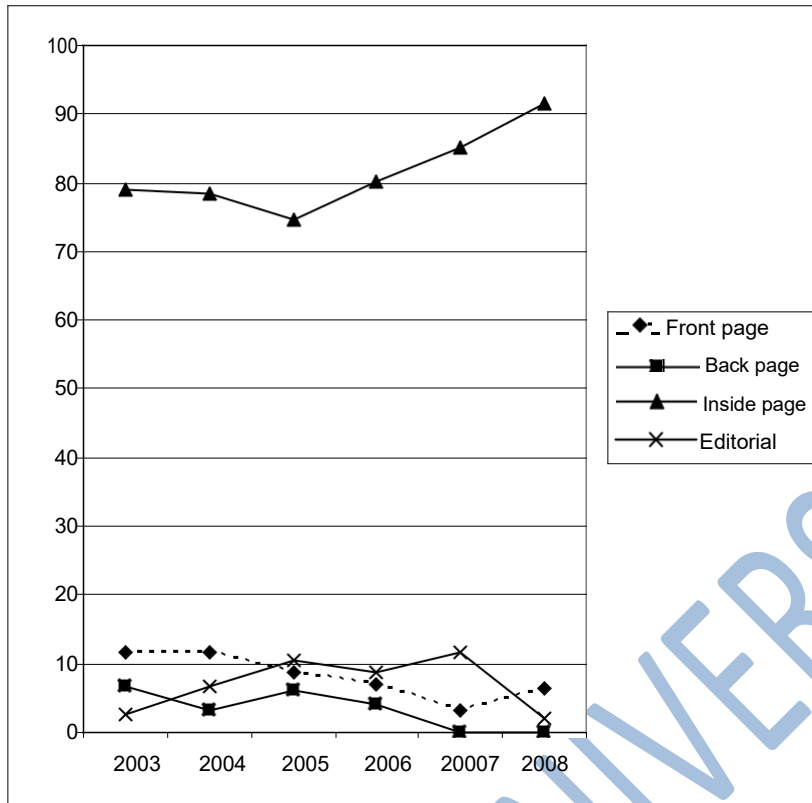


Figure 10: Trend analysis on overall placement of sentences framing corruption by the Standard

A trend analysis for the *Standard* on placement of sentences framing corruption also indicates that a majority of such sentences appeared in the inside pages and declined slightly from 2003 – 2005 before rising through to 2008. The number of sentences appearing on the front pages declined throughout the study period with a slight increase from 2007-2008 as was the case with the *Nation*. The number of sentences on the back pages declined from 2003 – 2004 before a slight rise in 2005 and falling again by 2007 to almost under 1%. The number of sentences in editorials for the *Standard* rose slightly in the period 2003 – 2007 before a sharp drop in 2008.

Dominant/prominent images

Figure 11 shows the frequencies of both unfavourable and favourable sentences framing the various categories in the two newspapers over six years.

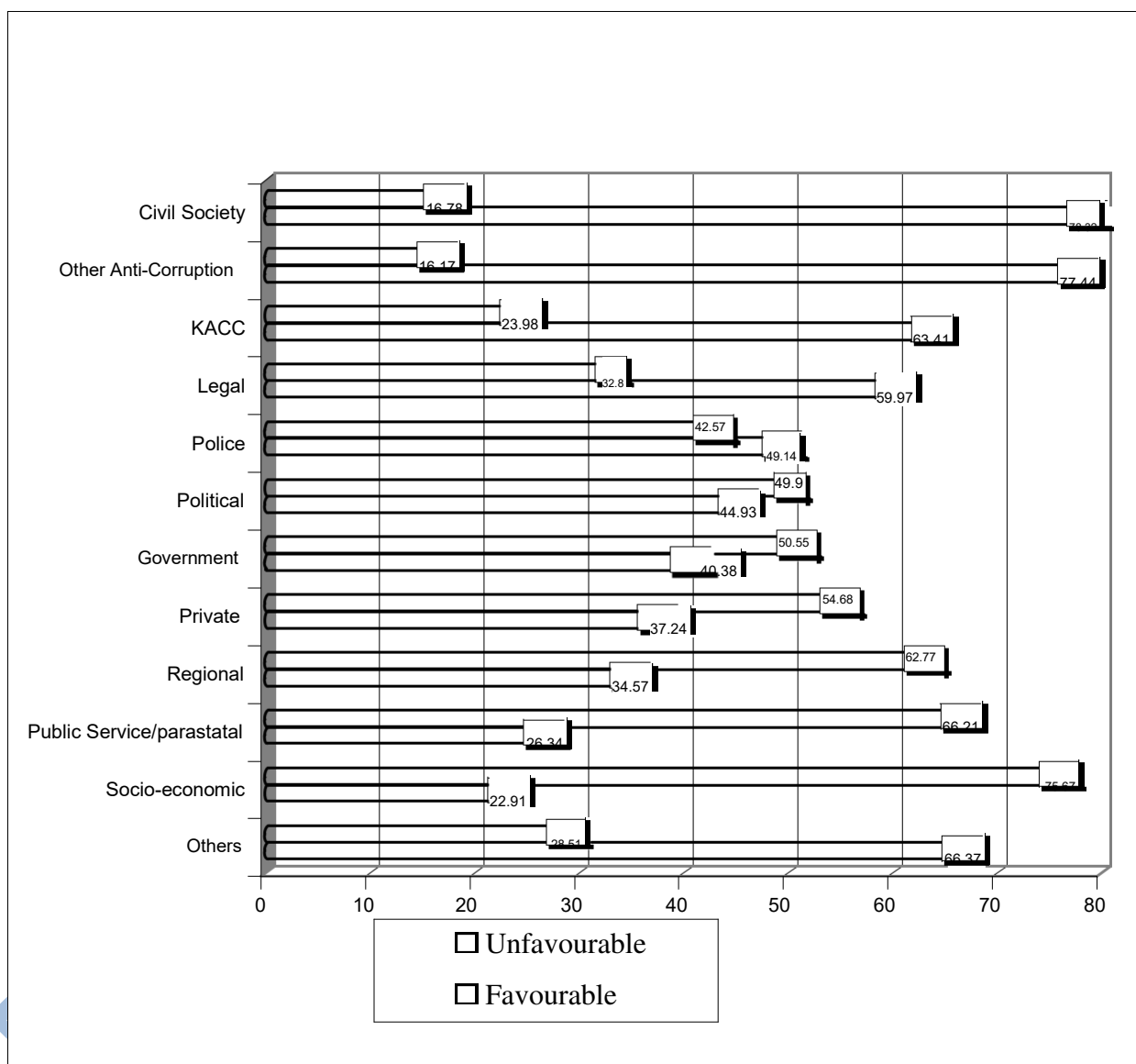


Figure 11: Favourable & unfavourable sentences framing corruption by category in percentages

The most notable data by percentages indicate civil society was favourably portrayed over the study period closely followed by other anti-corruption institutions. On the other hand, socio-economic frames of corruption were unfavorably portrayed 99

followed by public service and regional/ethnic framing of corruption. Generally, all frames related to politics and government were unfavourably portrayed. Such an overwhelming data point to an agenda setting role by the media about government and public service corruption. Indeed, Ferguson (1999) suggests that “media influence the standards by which the public judges governments and corporations. Media ‘prime the public to evaluate the performance of politicians and others on the issues it accords importance”, (p. 183). Ferguson further argues that if certain issues capture the headlines, such issues become the standard by which the public judges performance of politicians and bureaucrats. Priming and framing is what makes the difference as to whether an issue will become important public agenda or not. The frames presented above are dominant. This view supports McCallum and Blood (2005) who suggest that news framing analyses attempt to identify the dominant ways in which news discourse is presented and made understandable to audiences.

The next chapter discusses the findings and draws conclusions. It will also present recommendations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to establish the images of corruption as framed by the two main Kenyan dailies – *The Nation* and the *Standard* from 2003 – 2008. The objectives of the study were to determine the prominent images of corruption as framed in the two dailies and establish the types of frames used by media to image corruption; establish the trends evident in the framing of corruption in the media over the study period, and lastly determine the frequency of corruption stories in each of the two dailies. This chapter discusses the findings in relation to the objectives, concludes, makes recommendations and suggestions for future research.

The theoretical framework was the framing concept or paradigm described by Severin and Tankard (2001) as a central organizing idea for news content which supplies a context and goes on to suggest what the issue is through various techniques like selection, exclusion and elaboration. The central idea creates salience or makes a text noticeable in order that it catches the readers' attention, and by extension it is expected to elicit public discussions on the issue being proposed by the media. In analyzing the findings of this study, effort is made to establish where this salience occurs and how it is brought out.

The first objective of this study was to determine the dominant and prominent images of corruption. Dominant and prominent images were understood to mean sentences framing corruption which were placed on the front and back pages. Top on the making it unfavourably to the front pages were public services, socio-economic, private sector, region/ethnic frame and last government framing of corruption made. When it

came to favourable framing of corruption on the front page, legal sector topped followed by the police. Favourable placement in the back page, other anti-corruption institutions led followed by civil society and KACC in that order. Unfavourable framing of corruption appearing on the back pages saw region/ethnic leading followed by political framing of corruption. Those sectors making it favourably to front and back pages enjoyed a positive image while those unfavourably framed and making it on the front and back pages enjoyed a negative image in the eyes of the media audience.

Prominence and dominance in terms of frequency result indicate that various frames had more observations than the others and in this sense they too stood out in terms of how favourably or unfavourably they were covered. The study findings show that the dominant images portraying corruption were in the sectors of government, legal sector, private sector, political and government services and parastatals in ascending order. Sentences framing these sectors were largely unfavourable, while civil society, other anti-corruption institutions, KACC, legal and police were favourably portrayed. Andreas et al. (2006) have established that news frames shape public opinion on important societal issues by drawing attention (through highlighting) to those particular aspects of the message through salience. In this case the sectors that were framed unfavourably should be concerned for they are likely to be perceived by the public as corrupt, while those that were framed positively have a challenge to maintain that positive image.

Dominance and prominence were also understood to mean salience or noticeability as suggested by Hwang et al. (2007) and Fairhurst (2005) in that media audience rely upon the agenda of salient objects in their minds as shaped by the media and that the stimuli which wins among competing frames is the one made most visible

through framing. Media suggest to the audience what they should think about and regard as important in order to elicit discussion about the issue.

Drawing from Gan et al. (2005) and Chong & Druckman (2007), it is clear that the media seek to influence or modify pre-existing frames in the minds of its audience. Chong and Druckman (2007) further suggest that framing assists audiences to think in certain ways or modify their pre-existing thoughts based on what is being proposed by the media. For this reason, dominant and prominent frames get noticed and taken as suggestions from the media as important issues to discuss or take notice. Without dominant frames the media agenda would not become the public agenda. Further, according to Chong & Druckman (2007), media have certain enduring frames which they use to guide understanding, and that dominant news frames ordinarily can be seen as journalism as usual, particularly by non media literate audience. Data therefore concur with these suggestions in that unfavourable images of public service, government, private sector, ethnicity/regional framing of corruption issues remain in the public agenda as long as the undesirable situations remain unresolved. Indeed, McCallum and Blood (2005) also suggest that news frames help to reflect “broader cultural themes and narratives that help to define ideas available to audiences as they talk about and think about an issue” (p.3). It is therefore, these news frames that bring out prominent/dominant issues of the day as determined by the media as gatekeepers.

A surprise finding was that of the police who were framed favourably from 2003 – 2004 and unfavourably in 2007 – 2008. This is contrary to the generally held view that the police are corrupt and also going by the TI Annual Perception Barometers (Kenya Section), which placed police corruption high on the perception index and KACC Annual

Perception Surveys from 2005-2008, which also rated police among top corrupt public institutions. This finding suggest that either the police have stopped engaging in corruption, or the method of engaging in corruption may have changed or the media no longer regards corruption in the police as news worthy, in which case it would further suggest corruption is being seen by the media as normal.

The findings on sentences framing of government corruption were largely unfavourable, therefore giving a dominant image of a corrupt government and its institutions. This might suggest that the media were unhappy with government's effort in fighting corruption and by extension the media audience (public) was equally unhappy with public services and parastatals, government, and political class. This observation is consistent with Ferguson (1999) in that media influence the standards by which the public judge governments and institutions. Further, Ferguson suggests that the media also "prime the public to evaluate the performance of politicians and others to which it accords importance" (p.183). In the case of Kenyan media, the study shows a paucity of features and editorials which would have strengthened the few sentences framing corruption that found their way to the front pages.

Further, the findings on government corruption frame were consistent with the findings of a National Enterprise Survey conducted by KACC in 2007, in which 54% of the respondents said that corruption was common in the public sector. The findings of this current study therefore, support the above survey, suggesting that corruption was considered a serious problem by the media and its audience as it impacted negatively on service delivery. A slight decline in sentences unfavorably framing government corruption in 2007 (table 6) by the *Nation* suggests that the country was preoccupied with

election related activities and media focus may have shifted. It doesn't suggest that corruption had gone down.

The results also indicate the *Standard* had more sentences framing government-related corruption than the *Nation*. The *Standard* appeared to have focused a lot on government corruption over the six years. The data for 2003 which were favourable for the government could have been expected because this was soon after the 2002 general elections, which were largely fought on an anti-corruption and reform platform. In 2003, NARC administration enjoyed enormous support from all sectors. This support, however as the data show, was short-lived. Further, the positioning of corruption stories was in favour of inside pages. This suggests that such positioning enjoyed less prominence, and therefore it may have escaped the readers' attention. In addition, data show front page coverage in respect of government corruption frame was unfavourable. Front page appearance of any matter creates maximum salience and this finding suggests that the unfavourable image of government and parastatals received attention from the audience, albeit negatively.

Sentences framing of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) were favourable especially in 2003 even though there was no anti-corruption commission at this time since KACA was shut down in 2000. The general mood of the period beginning 2003 was favourable due to the anticipation and optimism that corruption was finally going to be dwelt with by the new government. To some extent, the favourable portrayal of KACC by the media is also a surprise finding because there has been a perception in the public domain that the institution was doing little to combat corruption. However, as the trend analysis on unfavourable framing of KACC show, it is clear that the media were

not entirely painting a positive image of the Commission. The unfavourable image rose throughout the study period, while the favourable trend equally declined over the same period.

Editorials were unfavourable in respect to KACC. Editorial format is very influential in shaping public opinion on an issue. The Commission should therefore be concerned about this finding and a programme to target editorial staff of media houses may help to tilt this image to favourable and more than the Commission should put more effort in discharging its mandate so that media support becomes genuine. Also it is likely the Commission may be underselling its performance going by the trends discussed above.

Sentences framing other anti-corruption institutions corruption were favourable and this was surprising because other anti-corruption institutions do not have enabling legislation to carry out anti-corruption work compared to KACC. Media managers in anti-corruption institutions need to be aware of this finding so that their communication strategy reflects this reality, and especially KACC, as the leading agency in the fight against corruption. This suggestion is in line with Barnett's (2008) argument that "public relations professionals also engage in framing which becomes a tool for sharing information but also a means to advance an organization's interests and shape public debate"(p.186). This means an organization which succeeds in making the media interested in their business have a good chance of sustaining a favourable image about its affairs or products.

Sentences framing political corruption were unfavourable throughout the six years with a slight variance on inside news. This finding suggests that media tended to

concentrate more on political and government related corruption at the expense of other societal issues (these two frames accounted for about 64% of the total number of observations). This finding is also supported by Obonyo (2007) who suggests that political discourse seems to override human rights, civil liberties, corruption and political freedoms. On corruption reporting, Obonyo argues that “it may well be possible that the respondents understood it [corruption] as part of the political coverage” (p.65). The number of sentences framing government and political corruption further supports the argument advanced by Obonyo.

A good part of 2006 was dominated by Githongo’s exposures. With the negative publicity Githongo gave to NARC, it is surprising that sentences framing political corruption in 2006 were favourable (table 14) – this researcher earlier on attributed this to the sacking of some cabinet ministers in February 2006. However, 2008 was largely the first year of coalition government and favourable data could imply media endorsement on the coalition’s governance agenda.

Sentences framing the socio-economic corruption in both newspapers were unfavourable. Further, data indicate that it was unfavourable irrespective of where the story was placed. This data therefore suggests the newspapers appreciate that corruption affects the economy adversely and this frame enjoyed maximum prominence in as far as placement was concerned. However, the number of sentences framing corruption in the socio-economic category were relatively few in comparison to framing of political or government corruption. This suggests that there was a higher propensity to report more on government and political corruption than the socio – economic concerns. This does not reflect the seriousness with which economic consequences should have been addressed.

Data also show that the *Nation* had more on the socio-economic frame, which may point to the concerns of the business community in the country.

On the other hand, sentences framing corruption in the legal sector were favourable in both newspapers. The favourable data may be attributed to the Justice Ringera purge in 2003 (Justice Ringera was the Chairman of the Judiciary Integrity Committee), which saw over 80 magistrates and about 23 high court judges dismissed on allegations of corruption. The effects of this purge continued to be felt from 2004 onwards.

Sentences framing the private sector corruption were unfavourable throughout the study period. This study opens new grounds in that data show the private sector is not free from corruption. This finding suggests that anti-corruption efforts also need to target the private sector in the same vein as the public or indeed all sectors of the economy. Studies elsewhere have established that indeed the private sector fuels corruption in the public sector. This was the spirit in which the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) set up an anti-bribery convention in 1987. KACC (2007) confirms that enterprises incur almost 7.5% to 10% of the total tender value in unofficial payments/kickbacks. The construction sector, for example incurs even higher costs of up to 14.32% in securing tenders from the government (KACC, 2007). This finding therefore suggests anti-corruption initiatives should focus on the private sector as well.

Sentences framing region/ethnic corruption were unfavourable and this indicates that the background of newsmakers and corruption matters touching on their regions is finding a place in the media through framing. In Kenya, it is common to find politicians suspected of corruption invoking the protection of their communities. Gan et al. (2005)

while studying the American presidential elections of 2000 found that framing of the election had a regional angle. To some extent, this researcher agrees with Gan et al. (2005) because journalists are part of an environment in which they operate. Indeed, the environment imposes upon them certain values, demands, perceptions, and ethical challenges. All these find expression in the manner in which they frame their news content. The findings of the current study therefore suggest that ethnicity/regionalism is beginning to influence framing of corruption issues in Kenya. Unfortunately, it also means that corruption has acquired tribal overtones and those involved will be portrayed through the tribal prism, often painted as victims. This finding could be interpreted against the ethical issue of whether journalists can divorce themselves from the social environment in which they are socialized in pursuit of journalistic objectivity.

This study, just like Gan et al. (2005), clearly shows that journalists also tend to frame the news from the perspective of their own region, socio-economic and ideological factors. However, it is not entirely true that some of the journalists on the beat in certain regions neither come from those regions nor are they tribesmen of the newsmakers. But it is necessary to appreciate that framing is at work from news gathering and processing and therefore editors may also impose their own frames different from the reporters' angle.

The policy makers and anti-graft agencies will need to address this new reality of educating Kenyans that corruption is a crime and no corrupt person engages in it for the benefit of that person's community. Change of leadership in any country does not make corrupt behaviour by new officials any less serious because they come from this or that region. Indeed, *Nation's* (August 3, 2006) editorial headline "how Aids money is eaten" captures this in a satirical manner through personification of corruption. It further states

that evidence is emerging that some organizations are no more than paper entities registered purely to siphon taxpayers funds,”(*Nation*, August 3, 2006)

Sentences framing civil society corruption were overwhelmingly favourable. While the study was not designed to examine the presence of corruption in any sector, positive framing of civil society in such a prominent manner may be explained by planned and deliberate focus of their activities by the media especially after 2003 creating a perception in the media that civil society is fighting corruption. This was the first year of the NARC administration and key personalities from civil society joined the government in various capacities. However, a positive endorsement by media does not mean that civil society is free from corruption. Indeed, the editorial comment cited above (*Nation*, August 3, 2006) suggests that there is corruption by civil society organizations. Perhaps the ‘noise’ they make has helped to create an impression that they are ‘clean’ and have largely avoided media glare on some of their activities and programmes which may have probity issues.

The second objective was to establish the types of frames used in imaging corruption. Findings show that the types of frames were expressed in the various categories. These categories were framed either favourably or unfavourably and include the police, government, public services and parastatals, Kenya Anti-corruption Commission, other anti-corruption institutions, political corruption, legal, private sector, region/ethnic, and civil society. This study established the presence of all these with varying degrees of prominence but the most outstanding were government, legal sector political, public services, civil society, other anti-corruption institutions, socio-economic

and public services/parastatals corruption in terms of frequencies in sentences framing corruption..

Framing of government, public services and parastatals, political corruption, private sector and region/ethnic corruption unfavourably portrays a negative image of these institutions and sectors. Argenti and Forman (2003) argue that organizations, including governments have a duty to improve society. Thus, “people believe companies [and governments] have a moral responsibility to improve society” (p.197). It is this researcher’s view that widespread corruption in a country would be inimical to any improvement in society. A negative image undermines the goodwill an organization enjoys from its publics. Further, Fernandez (2004) suggests that “image building , through public relations is one guaranteed way of improving business, both in terms of market share and goodwill,”(p.132). The data therefore point to the fact this goodwill has been squandered. Indeed, editorials were mainly unfavourable with regard to these institutions therefore fortifying the negative image. In addition, Fernadez (2004) argues that organizations, and indeed governments as well should be proactive and sees “ public relations initiatives as a barometer of public opinion, sensitizing management through research, measurement and evaluation, to the concerns and expectations of the organizations publics”(p.127).

On the other hand the media mostly framed Police, Kenya Anti-corruption Commission, other anti-corruption institutions, legal sector and civil society favourably thus portraying a positive image with regard to their perceived participation in the fight against corruption. This positive image is essentially a creation of the media through framing. The majority of sentences framing corruption in either of these institutions were

however in the hard and soft news formats, except for few editorials that appeared in the six years.

The third objective was to establish the trends in the framing of corruption in the media. Trends were in the favourable/unfavourable sentences framing corruption, placement, news type and newspapers themselves. Data show that the period 2003 and 2008 generally showed a decline in sentences favourably framing corruption in a number of select institutions. There was a slight increase in 2006, which according to media reports may be attributed to the disclosures of the Githongo (former Permanent Secretary in-charge of Ethics and Governance) dossier. The researcher also suggests that the referendum held in 2005 on the proposed new constitution may have shifted the media focus from corruption issues to the constitutional debate which pitted NARC against ODM. There were notable exceptions though with region/ethnic framing of corruption rising in 2005 and again in 2007 which the researcher suggests may have been triggered by the general election.

A previous framing study by Andreas et al. (2006) established that public opinion shifts if one or the other frame receives more emphasis within news coverage. The findings of this study suggest such a possibility in line with the trends of ethnic and socio-economic framing. Indeed Andreas et al. (2006) established that negative and positive framing or unfavourable and favourable framing have an effect on people's judgment, and especially in health communication.

Sentences unfavourably framing corruption in select institutions also indicate a decline initially for private sector, public services and parastatals corruption before rising again. According to this research a striking trend was in the framing of government and

its institutions and the political class, which not only made it to the media but also accounted for about 82% of the total number of observations. Another notable trend was on KACC whose unfavourable framing consistently rose from 2003 to 2008, while favourable framing generally declined over the same period. This result clearly shows that the media did not perceive the Commission positively.

On framing by news type, figure 5 indicates that hard news fell slightly in 2003 – 2004 and rose for the rest of the four years. Sentences framing features on the other hand rose slightly in 2004 before consistently declining through to 2008. The number of editorials remained just under 10% throughout the six years with marginal variations. This data therefore points to the fact that the general trend was on hard news. Hard news beat appear most popular among journalists, some of whom are stringers and correspondents. Obonyo (2007) argues that due to limited resources, “there has been, over the years, little investigative reporting in Kenyan newspapers” (p.38). Corruption stories render themselves to writing features, but as Obonyo suggests, investigative stories are hard to do because of factors like inability to obtain government information, legal hurdles and huge fines by courts arising from libel suits. The researcher agrees with Obonyo that obtaining information and especially any to do with corruption is a difficult and risky task.

Trends on news type by each newspaper show that hard news generally increased over the six years, while features declined and editorials remained few with slight increases and declines. Hard news as said earlier do not allow in – depth analysis of news and often most of them were placed on the inside pages of the newspapers.

Further, the majority of sentences framing corruption were placed in the inside pages and continued to rise over the six years with slight declines in 2005. In terms of prominence, data indicate that inside pages are less visible to the reader and therefore media to some extent failed to create salience by putting fewer sentences on the front and back pages. When it came to front pages, there was a decline from 2003 – 2007 and a marginal rise in 2008.

Sentences framing editorials (although few in number) rose from 2003 to 2007 and declined in 2008. But most notable trend on editorials and cartoons was that they were unfavourable. The *Nation* carried more hard news, features and cartoons than the *Standard*. However, the *Standard* had the highest number of sentences framing corruption.

The fourth objective was to determine the frequency of sentences framing corruption in each of the two dailies during the years under study. Data show that the *Standard* carried more sentences framing corruption than the *Nation*. The frequency per frame (in descending order) show the government, legal sector, Private Sector, Political, public Services and Parastatals, KACC, Socio- economic, Civil Society, Region/ethnic and Police. Andreas et al. (2006) suggest that if an issue appears in press coverage more frequently, it will shift public opinion about the issue.

Overall data indicate government, legal sector, private sector, political and public service had higher frequencies of sentences framing corruption compared to the other categories (ranging between N= 1996 – 805). High frequency of any issue in the press over time makes such issues noticed by the media audience and therefore becoming an agenda for public discussion. Previous studies (Andreas et al., 2006, Gan et al., 2005,

Esser & D'angelo, 2003, Dimitrova & Stromback, 2008) support this suggestion. The findings of this study therefore indicate that in the public sphere, these issues were considered important. It is not surprising therefore government; its institutions, socio-economic regional/ethnic and private sector were portrayed unfavourably ranging between 50% – 75.67%.

Data also indicate that most sentences framing corruption were placed in the inside pages and were mainly in hard news. Hard news, especially when placed in the inside pages of a newspaper miss an opportunity to create noticeability or salience. According to Severin and Tankard (2001), as mentioned elsewhere in this study, a frame is a central organizing idea for news content which supplies a context and highlights what the issue is through the use of selection, exclusion and elaboration. When an issue is highlighted, it becomes visible or noticeable. This is the phenomenon described as salience. Salience therefore is the central idea in the framing paradigm. Other studies (De Vreese, 2004; Chyi & McCombs, 2004) have also demonstrated that salience is important because it makes the audiences notice the issue (s) thereby triggering a public debate.

This finding therefore suggests that even though corruption was reported by the media, it may not have elicited much debate owing to the hard news format they were presented in and where the news were placed in the newspapers. This is supported by Nguru, Kizito, Mbugus, Nyaga and Achoka (2004) who suggest that hard news by its nature lends itself to presenting factual information without deep analysis. Hard news also fall short of Entman's (cited in Severin & Tankard, 2001) suggestions that news frames should not only diagnose the problem, but also state the consequences as well as

suggest remedies to the problem. Entman's suggestion would have been met by more feature stories, which in this case consistently declined during the study period.

Therefore the overall picture on all frames is that the sentences framing corruption in various frames lacked prominence because they were placed in the inside pages. This suggests that the media did not regard corruption stories as prominent enough to make the headlines or find space in the editorial columns. Indeed, except for private sector and civil society corruption frames, other frames were unfavourable in respect of editorials. Again this shows that the editors did not agree with hard and soft news.

The decline in the number of feature stories may suggest that media houses are not investing in investigative journalism and prefer hard news which does not afford the reading audience a chance to get the deeper picture of what corruption involves. Hard news beat is also the easiest and less involving but unfortunately, hard news lack depth. Hard news cannot allow a multi-faceted treatment of an issue such as corruption. This idea is also supported by Severin and Tankard (2001) and Obonyo (2007) who argue that hard news tend to be political on the assumption that readers want to read politics. News frames influence public opinion on important issues facing the society and an over concentration of hard news does not allow the public a balanced view of the world around them.

Further, editorials and cartoons were largely unfavourable across all frames and more in respect to framing of government and parastatals corruption. This is also consistent with Gan et al. (2005), in that the editors' decision to put them (frame/news story) in the paper reflects the organizations' norms and journalist ideology. Journalists orientation to their work is influenced by their own training, experience, media house

style among others all of which find expression in the way they frame news content. The editorial page is particularly more suited as a platform for editors to put their case forward. Borrowing from Peng (2008), editorials represent the media house's statement in support or lack of it about an issue and Peng's study reflects how Chinese and American newspapers framed the Iraq war protests in different and opposing ways. Peng adds, "this can be explained by the political and ideological biases of the newspaper" (p.374).

Editorials further propagate media house's policy on an issue and in doing so propose an agenda for public consumption. Further, Soroka (2010) argues that the media is the public's chief source of information on what policymakers are doing. The politicians therefore use the media to shift public opinion on opponents or the issues they want the public to support. When it comes to sentences framing political corruption, irrespective of where the sentence was placed, results show unfavourable image throughout the period except the inside pages. Hallahan (1999) suggests strong framing (and more so through editorial voice) biases audiences' decision making and inferences.

Conclusion

The Kenyan dailies during the period studied tended to depict corruption in its rightful image by showing that corruption was unfavourable to society's common good through framing. The dailies did this through sentences framing corruption in the various sectors and institutions with the most prominent being government, legal and private sector, political and public services and parastatals. However, most sentences framing corruption were placed in the inside pages of the two newspapers, thus denying corruption issues prominence.

The study also shows that editorials were largely unfavourable and mostly differed with the images portrayed through the hard and soft news. Sentences framing editorials and features remained few throughout the six years in comparison to hard news, while the image of the cartoonists with regard to framing of corruption in various sectors and institutions was largely negative/unfavourable. This pointed to the fact that cartoonists are particularly critical most of the time.

The images of corruption that have emerged from this study are unfavourable for government, political class, public services and parastatals, private sector, socio-economic and region/ethnic, while the police, anti-graft agencies, legal and civil society sectors were favourably portrayed in their perceived positive effort in fighting corruption. In this case the institutions portrayed favourably had a positive image. Civil society around the world is a multi-billion shilling industry and it is not likely to be immune to corruption.

The trend with regard to sentences favourably framing corruption in select institutions showed a decline though with notable exceptions like region/ethnic frame, which generally rose. Sentences unfavourably framing corruption in select institutions showed a general decline for public services and parastatal corruption, private sector. Region/ethnic and KACC generally rose throughout the period

On news type, the trends indicate hard news were the majority in both newspapers and consistently rose, while features declined and editorials remained fairly constant. Placement on both newspapers was generally in favour of hard news, which rose throughout the period, while sentences framing corruption in the front pages declined with editorials rising slightly up to 2007.

Another finding of this study is the evidence that regional/ethnic influences are now through framing manifesting in the media in Kenya. The media view of region/ethnic frame of corruption was unfavourable. An ethnic/regional hue in news framing makes a strong case for de-tribalizing and de-politicing the war against corruption. One of the weaknesses of content analysis is that the researcher was not able to know what the journalists were thinking by reading what they write neither does content analysis take care of the dynamics of the news room and therefore merely looks at the end product. In this case the end products demonstrate influence by society through framing.

Recommendations

This study has brought out a number of issues in respect of images of corruption as framed in the print media in Kenya from 2003 – 2008 and the following are some of the recommendations and directions for future research.

This study adds to the scholarly body of knowledge on the framing concept or paradigm and may become an invaluable reference for many scholars. Framing studies in the region and around the world that have focused on corruption are scanty.

The study will also draw attention of journalists to know the kind of frames they are using in coverage of corruption issues and the extent to which the framing is skewed more on government/political /legal /private sector corruption. Journalists will need to cover other issues in a more analytical manner such as social consequences of corruption like crime, human rights derogation, and development outcomes that remain unfulfilled due to anti-people policies and priorities among others. This may require revisiting news values to determine if it may be worthwhile to deviate from traditional approaches in

news gathering, processing and dissemination. Framing is at play in any of these stages, albeit sometimes unconscious.

In-depth analysis of corruption news content requires more human and financial resources in order to venture into investigative journalism. Findings of this study have clearly demonstrated that over 75% of the news content in respect of corruption issues is largely hard news. This is too unbalanced. Besides, editorials which give the newspaper opinions were largely unfavourable. Media houses should balance their news formats and give the reader a variety in news coverage and attempt to interpret some of the news content for the audience. Carrying more features on corruption related issues would be ideal and therefore media houses should endeavour to invest more resources in this area.

Corruption in this country and around the world requires a consistent and concerted effort to reduce it by all sectors of society, and more importantly, the media. Editors and media house owners should consider mainstreaming corruption issues in a regular manner through a dedicated magazine every week with properly researched features. Fighting corruption is not an event but a process and the media can play a key role through a persistent and deliberate effort.

Government, public institutions and anti-graft agencies (KACC has a legal mandate over public institutions in issues to do with corruption) have something to learn from this study. In the light of the very negative /unfavourable framing of these institutions and sectors, there is need to address corruption concerns in public and private sectors and also for those to formulate a communications strategy to address this negative perception and practically improve service delivery.

The government communications office may also consider a dissemination strategy to inform the public about the governance dividends accrued from the government's reform efforts since 2003. More importantly, internal mechanisms across all government departments to reduce incidents of corruption are necessary if citizens are to receive timely and corrupt free services. The government has also promulgated many anti-graft related laws, set up new institutions and instituted many reforms in the fiscal and public sectors. These reforms remain largely uncommunicated to the public. It is not far fetched for the government to link the improved revenue streams generated from tax collections from Kshs. 198 billion in 2002 to about Kshs. 500 billion in six years to improved governance and declining corruption (Kenya Revenue Authority annual revenue returns). In short, the government needs to tell its story. Indeed, all service institutions in the public sector should seek to engage editorial staff more robustly and above all deliver on their mandate if editors are to be convinced.

Suggestions for further research

A number of recommendations for future research emerge. This study concentrated on print media only. Future research should include electronic media in order to be able to make a conclusive generalization about media framing.

Another possible area for future research is to focus on the extent to which framing affects the audience. It is not enough to argue that media agenda setting shifts public opinion without examining how this occurs.

Further, the extent to which Entman's suggestion cited in Severin and Tankard (2001) of requiring news to define the problem, diagnose it, pass moral judgment and propose remedies is met would appear to be a possible area for future research.

A study targeting journalists in Kenya would reveal the extent to which the press is aware of any reforms and initiatives by the government of Kenya to improve governance in the country. This would be in line with the press mandate of informing, and educating the public. Such a study could use a survey targeting media practitioners seeking their perception of corruption.

Future research could also focus on journalistic training and how it impacts on journalists' orientation to their work. Indeed such a suggestion has previously been made by Traber (1987), cited by James (1990), that there was need to re-conceptualize news determinants. While Obonyo (2007) suggests that curriculum for training journalists in government /state media institutions may have laid little emphasis on investigative aspects, it would appear appropriate to now focus on the curriculum globally since government no longer has monopoly in media/journalists training. Journalists will need to see newsworthiness in positive development efforts and discourage looking for bizarre happenings all the time.

Lastly, in particular with regard to civil society, another study using a different design in future could bring out the true picture of civil society in respect of their role in fighting corruption. The editorial comment appearing in the *Daily Nation* of August 3, 2006 suggests that there is corruption in this sector.

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Appendix 1

[illegible]

Appendix 2- Coding sheet for cartoons

1.O	2.Date	3.ID	4.YID	5.Narrative Summary	6.P o	7.G vt	8.PSP	9.KACC	10.ACI	11.Polt	12.SE	13.LC	14.PS	15.EC	16.CS	17.Othr

Appendix 3

A guide to the coding sheet

CODE	DESCRIPTION
1. O	- Observation (Sentence)
2. D	- Dates
3. ID	Newspaper ID (Nation 1, Standard 2)
4. YID	- Year (03-08) i.e-1-6
5. NT	- News Type- 1. Hard news 2. Features 3. Editorials
6. P	- Placement: 1. Front page, 2. Back page, 3. inside page, 4. Editorials
7. Po	- Police Corruption
8. Gvt	- Government Corruption
9. PSP	- Public Services and Parastatal Corruption
10. KACC	- Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
11. ACI	- Anti-Corruption Institutions
12. Polt	- Political Corruption
13. SE	- Socio-Economic Corruption
14. LC	- Legal Corruption
15. PS	- Private Sector corruption
16. EC	- Region/Ethnic Corruption
17. CS	- Civil Society
18. Other	- Other Frames
19. Other type	- Sentences (1), Captions (2), Cartoons (3)

Coding attributes: 1. Favourable,
2. Unfavourable
3. Neutral

Appendix 4


Research Authorization

PAGE 1


THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Prof. Dr. Mr. Mrs. Miss. PERSON
KAIRIHI MANIHA
of (Address) DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 4440 NAI
has been permitted to conduct research in _____
Location, _____
District, NAIROBI
Province, NAIROBI
on the topic IMPACT OF CORRUPTION
AS FRAMED BY SENATE TWO MAIN
DAILIES 2003-2008
for a period ending TENTH JUNE 30 10


Research Permit No. SCCT/RES/LJ/1/00/134
Date of issue 13/05/2010
Fee received USD 1,210




Applicant's
Signature


Secretary
National Council for
Science and Technology

Adm. NO. 07-0494
M. A. Com
CORPORATE

REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

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Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102
254-020-310571, 2213123.
Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249
When replying please quote

P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: NCST/RR1/12/1/SS/396/3

Date: 14th May 2010

Mr. Benson Kairichi Marimba
Daystar University
P. O. Box 44400-00100
NAIROBI


Dear Sir,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Images of corruption as framed by Kenya's two main Dailies 2003 – 2008*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake your research in *Nairobi Province* for a period ending 30th June 2010.

You are advised to report to the Director, Kenya Anti Corruption Commission, Nairobi before embarking on your research project.

Upon completion of your research project, you are expected to submit two copies of your research report/thesis to our office.


P. N. NYAKUNDI
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:
The Director
Kenya Anti Corruption Commission
NAIROBI

Appendix 5
Research Authorization



May 29, 2009

To Whom It May Concern

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: BENSON MARIMBA – STUDENT NO: 07-0494

Benson Marimba is a fully registered student in the Faculty of Postgraduate Studies at Daystar University. He has completed his course work towards a Master of Arts (MA) Communication degree. He is now working on the research for his thesis.

Benson's thesis topic is "*Images of corruption as framed by Kenya's main dailies 2003-2008.*"

The purpose of my writing is to request that you give Benson any necessary assistance to enable him to complete this important academic exercise.

We assure you that any information collected will be used strictly for academic purposes and will remain absolutely confidential. Upon completion of the research, Benson's thesis will be available at our library.

We appreciate your support for our student towards the successful completion of his thesis research.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Dr. Peter Mageto".

Dr. Peter Mageto
COORDINATOR, MA COMMUNICATION

DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY