Declaration

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature............................................................Date...........................................

Moses Mongai Kimencu

C50/CTY/PT/29170/2014

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

Signature............................................................Date...........................................

Edward Waswa Kising’ani (Ph.D)
DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to family and friends for their moral support during the entire period of the study.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My appreciation goes to Dr. Peter Wafula for guiding me throughout the research proposal stage and Edward Waswa Kising’ani (Ph.D) for his invaluable guidance through this research project.
ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Cold War in 1989 that witnessed the collapse of the Eastern Socialist bloc, thus leaving the United States of America as the sole super power, ideological considerations have ceased to be the points of reference in the formulation of foreign policies across nations. Moreover, international media have also upgraded their reportage by moving away from ideological framing of news to issues of human rights, democracy, economic development, security and technology. However, various Kenyan stakeholders have disputed the credibility of many news reports on Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues by the two leading Western media channels i.e. CNN and BBC. It is those disputes that inform the need for this study. The research, which is premised on the assumption that media information is a major power in shaping global opinions, interrogates the portrayal of Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues by CNN and BBC within the post Cold War dispensation. Among other objectives, this research seeks to examine the impact of the reports to the country’s image. This study applies agenda setting theory of media which posits that media may not tell you what to think but it could tell you what to think about, and realism theory of international relations which argues that states relate with other states for their own selfish interests. This research relies entirely on secondary literature and adopts qualitative data collection method. The study uses the explorative research design to explore media websites, review of documents, and use of audio visual materials. It uses critical discourse analysis and content analysis design to analyze various media content about Kenya. The findings of this study could be a crucial guide to the policy makers in the country on the most prudent method of engaging with the international media. Among other recommendations, this study highlights the need for Kenya and by extension Africa to establish a giant media channel with a global command, at the level of CNN and BBC, which will be able to adequately present both negative and positive issues about the African states.
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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Security: the state of being free from danger or harm

Governance: the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented

Economy: the wealth and resources of a country, or region especially in terms of production and consumption of goods and services.

Soft power: use of values by a country in world politics to entice other countries to admire and follow its example.

Twitter: an online news and social networking service where users post and interact with messages, "tweets", restricted to 280 characters.

Tweet: a message sent on Twitter

Hashtag: a word or phrase, in social media sites such as twitter, preceded by a hash or pound sign (#) and used to identify messages on a specific topic.

Terrorism: any act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.

Fake news: a neologism used to refer to fabricated news

Image: the total of all descriptive, inferential and informational beliefs one has about a particular country.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

There is no doubt that media influences people either positively or negatively. Media sets the agenda for the public on issues they regard as important. More so media with global reach has more ability to set agenda of global magnitude such as international trade and security. Recognizing this, several states tend to seek the support of some media houses in promoting well defined international images. Self interests are the main drivers of state actions. To this end, if a state uses media as a tool of influence, it would set an agenda about other countries with a view to enhance its self interests. The world is witnessing a trend where international media is gaining traction as compared to local media. According to researcher George Gerbner (as cited in Lyons, 2005) the most successful television programmes are no longer made for national consumption, but rather for international distribution.

Gilboa (2005) notes that events in one region affect events elsewhere and therefore are of interest to other states. It is through media that events that happen in one region are broadcast to other places. However, reporting about another society i.e. a society that is in a different country or continent from the country where the broadcaster originates from or is headquartered, poses a myriad of challenges. While discussing the media treatment of foreign affairs reporting, the foreign policy columnist for Los Angeles Times James Mann revealed that:

Reporters do not always get the story right; neither do their editors and publishers. This is especially the case when they report about distant lands and unfamiliar cultures...the readers, who are already conditioned by the prevalent stereotypes, accept the misleading stories as true and react
accordingly. The consequences can be disastrous; Media effects are enhanced when the information conveyed in stories are unfamiliar to the audience and cannot be readily verified through their personal experiences or competing stories. This is why foreign affairs reporting demand the attention of experience, highly skilled, and well informed reporters (Mann, 1999: 102).

Such challenges present a possibility of the media not getting the facts right, thus leading to misrepresentation of the reported societies which eventually cultivates wrong perceptions to the news consumers about those societies.

The way media reports various events in one region determines how audience in other places receive and process them. Accordingly, this means that states can manipulate media reports to attain or maintain power and influence across the world. McChensey (2002) criticized the United States of America (USA) media for supporting the U.S. government policies and interests. He says that the distorted coverage of other countries and the world events in U.S. media are a result of lack of professional journalism, control of major news media by a few very large and powerful profit-seeking corporations, and ownership regulations. The use of media by a state to promote its interests is mostly achieved indirectly even as a broadcaster may claim to be independent in terms of its editorial policy. For instance the United States of America has on various occasions used media to downplay the growing Chinese influence in the contemporary world. For example, The New York Times (letter to the editor, May 11, 1991) published a story that started the rumour that the Chinese not only export goods but also prisoners. The story stated:

The Chinese not only export goods made by prison labor, but they export prison workers too. While in West Africa a few years ago, I learned of the case of a Chinese construction company building a road in Benin using prison labor. 70 to 75 percent of the construction workers were known to be
prisoners. They were laboring on the Dassa-Parakou road in central Benin under a broiling sun and exposed to malaria and other tropical diseases. The company was the Jiangsu Construction Company, which also built a sports stadium in Cotonou, Benin’s capital, and won a $3.5 million contract to build a hospital and mosque in Porto Novo. The company was able to underbid all its competitors by a wide margin because its labor costs were so cheap (*The New York Times*, 1991, May 11, China has Used Prison Labor in Africa, para. 1).

Notably, the author of this letter to the editor was Roberta Cohen – a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights in the Carter Administration. Ashan (2008), while explaining how states could use media to downplay other states, quotes the same letter and argues that Cohen’s message could just pass as another footnote of American soft power through media since the author did not indicate any evidence. Nye (2004) defines soft power as a persuasive approach to international relations that involves use of economic or cultural influence. It is a situation where a country, in pursuit to obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics promotes its values and encourages other countries to emulate its example so that they reach to its level of prosperity. In pursuit of obtaining influence across the world, the US may want to make other countries admire its values, such as human rights, and emulate its way of doing things while encouraging them to reject those countries that do not respect such rights in the same manner. The *New York Times* is widely read across the world and the impact this letter had created had many citizens even in the Third World countries perceiving Chinese workers negatively as was noted by Li Ashan during a study on foreign workers in Africa by the Centre for African Studies Perking University. Ashan (2008) study notes that:

In 2008, during the question and answer of my public speech in Nairobi, somebody raised the question, ‘are all Chinese laborers in Kenya prison laborers?’ ...I realized the reason of the misunderstanding of the local African people (Ashan, 2008: 6).
The media, through the *New York Times*, succeeded in creating certain images to its readers, about China and its people. McCracken (1987) posited that the “images” of countries held by peoples of other countries have long been of interest to students of international affairs because they are generally acknowledged as having an important influence on the relations between nations. The mass media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs (Lipman, 1921). In support of this view, Saleem (2000) posits that the mass media play a key role in constructing the image of various societies and their peoples. To this end, what the world knows about Kenya is based on what has been reported about it through news sources such as books, internet, and television.

Media sets the agenda for the masses by highlighting issues prominently and frequently thus making the audience regard those issues more important. However, in a world that is characterized by trade, cultural and political supremacy battles among states, media can be used to set an agenda that is calculated to create a prism through which a country or a region is viewed through. Musa (2003) posits that in line with the game of globalization, the global media plays the role of disseminating the international ideology as well as diffusing western values and culture, which appears dominant in the world. Fredrick (1993) notes that the continual expansion and influence of the global society has led to the control of global information and communication by transnational corporations. He further states that there is increasing disparities between the world info-rich and info-poor populations. This means that the few powerful media channels based in the West remain the main sources of information about the poorer nations such as African states. Consequently, the information that these channels broadcasts is largely what is known about African countries by the rest of the world. For this study, we look at how such
channels, with specific reference to CNN and BBC, frame news about security, governance and economic situation in Kenya.

Gilboa (2005) notes that the growth and diversification of CNN, including the creation of CNN International, have affected many facets of global communications and international relations, such as technology, economics, law, public opinion, politics, and diplomacy, as well as warfare, terrorism, human rights, environmental degradation, refugees, and health. That means any analysis on CNN could have effect on some or all these. Based on this knowledge, this study analyzes Kenyan stories, as reported by CNN, which have impacted on the country’s social, political and economic status.

Said (2003) accuses big Western media houses of warmongering across the globe through manipulated reporting especially on issues to do with terrorism. Said posits:

> Today, bookstores in the US are filled with shabby screeds bearing screaming headlines about Islam and terror.... Accompanying such warmongering expertise have been the omnipresent CNNs and Foxs of this world, plus myriad numbers of evangelical and right-wing radio hosts, plus innumerable tabloids and even middle-brow journalists, all of them re-cycling the same unverifiable fictions and vast generalizations so as to stir up "America" against the foreign devil (Said, 2003: 7).

For example on the eve of the US president Barrack Obama’s visit to Kenya in July 2015, CNN aired ‘Breaking News’ in which it observed with surprise that the American leader had finally decided to visit a “hotbed of terror”. And on the CNN website, CNN Pentagon Correspondent Barbara Starr reported that “president Obama is not just heading to his father’s homeland, but a region that is a hotbed of terror” (CNN, 2015, July 22, para. 1) while arguing that Kenya is more
insecure than Iraq and Afghanistan. Records from Statista, (2014) show that Afghanistan lost about 4,000 people to terrorists’ attacks in 2014 while in Iraq 15,000 of its citizens perished as a result of terror related attacks. In this same period of 2014, there were reported casualties of about 500 people in Kenya as a result of terrorists’ attacks. This study explores these data comprehensively in the subsequent chapters.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which boasts of equal stature as the CNN on global reporting has also featured many Kenyan issues that are discussed in this study. For example on January 19th 2015, police in Kenya detonated tear gas canisters at primary school pupils in Nairobi’s Langata area. The pupils were demonstrating over the alleged grabbing of their school land which served as their playground. In its report on the incident, BBC (January 19, 2015) attempted to show the veracity of the issue by comparing the incident to the 1976 brutal shooting of over 600 students in Soweto South Africa. The all black children in South Africa were shot and killed for protesting the repressive apartheid regime. While the two incidents are remotely comparable, BBC decided to portray them as similar. According to the broadcast, neither did the difference in the contexts of the two situations nor the 39 year long duration difference (1976 – 2015) matter. Still, it didn’t matter the difference in perpetrators, intentions and the extent of damages of each of the two incidents. Based on the BBC report, the Kenyan child was framed by the international media as completely insecure even from the police just like the black South African child was in 1976 under apartheid rule. That was what was portrayed to the international audiences most of whom primary knowledge about Kenya is derived from media reports. This study using various examples strives to examine the framing of Kenyan news on security matters by CNN and BBC.
Entman (1993) posits that media provides audience with schemas for interpreting events which are selection and salience, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (52).

McCombs (2010) argues that specific content of mass media messages especially their tone provides a more detailed understanding of the pictures in our heads and subsequent attitudes and opinions grounded in those pictures. He explains that:

> Closer attention to the specific content of mass media messages – including the tone of those messages – provides a more detailed understanding of the pictures in our heads and subsequent attitudes and opinions grounded in those pictures (MacComs, 2010: 14).

It is in view of this background that this study explores the portrayal of Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues by BBC and CNN.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

On various occasions, news about the security, governance and economic situation in Kenya by CNN and BBC has been disputed in terms of facts, framing and tone of language by various stakeholders within and outside the country. The dissatisfied elements that include ordinary citizens have numerously channelled their objections through social media platforms such as twitter while the government has used official means by writing to these media houses through the Foreign Affairs office.

This research therefore, examines the framing of the disputed stories, the extent to which they have shaped the manner in which Kenya is viewed and the impact of the resulting perception to the country in aspects such as trade and economy.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study is guided by the following objectives:

i. To examine the factors that influence the framing of news on security, governance and economic situation in Kenya by CNN and BBC.

ii. To analyze trends in CNN and BBC reporting about Kenya’s security, governance and economy

iii. To examine the impact of the reports on Kenya’s international standing among nations

1.4 Research Questions

i. What are the factors that influence the framing of news on security, governance and economic situation in Kenya by BBC and CNN?

ii. What are the major characteristics of the reports that CNN and BBC file on Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues?

iii. What is the impact of the reports on Kenya’s international standing among nations?

1.5 Premises

This study is based on the following premises:

i. All media information is not necessarily true as it is often tailored to serve specific interests.

ii. Media information is a major power in shaping global opinions.

iii. Media information is a major factor in determining a nation’s standing on the global stage.
1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

From the literature review, it is clear that no research has so far been undertaken to investigate the portrayal of Kenya’s security, economic and governance by the two giant international media broadcasters i.e. BBC and CNN. This study has so far established that most of the researches about media in Kenya have focused on the impact of the local press on the local population in various aspects. For example among the researches related to media carried out in Kenya; Karani and Ochari (2015) undertook to study effects of mass media on the academic development of children in primary schools in Kenya, Njoroge (2011) did a research on the impact of social media among the youth on behaviour change, Karitu (2013) studied media and the construction of identity in Kenya while the Media Council of Kenya (2016) undertook to study the impact of digital technologies and internet.

No study has so far been carried out in Kenya to examine the extent to which international media reports have aided in creating perceptions about the country and how that perception has influenced various aspects of the society such as local and international trade, security and culture among others.

This is despite the fact that in the contemporary world, media is continually playing a bigger role in influencing people’s opinions and eventually how they come up with foreign policies for their countries. Without such a study, Kenya has not been able to find a way of ensuring a favourable representation of its issues in the reports of international broadcasters and how to deal with a media created perception.

The findings of the study will be important to Kenyans, the Kenyan government as well as other African governments, international research organizations, people pursuing careers in
international relations as well as those undertaking media careers, policy makers and the society as a whole bearing in mind that the mass media is a powerful tool whose messages can make or break a society.

In search for a long term solution to media effects, this research shall serve as a reference point which not only will it benefit news sources but also the society in general.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research will only focus on Kenya with regard to reportage by CNN and BBC on matters of security, governance and economy and will not deal with other issues. I focus on the two because, among other reasons, they are top broadcasters in the world. Further explanation how this study narrowed on CNN and BBC is given in chapter three under sampling techniques.

In regard to the time frame of the study, this research covers the period between 1989 and 2016. This period is informed by historical occurrences that have a significant impact on the topic under discussion. Years 1989 and 2016 represent major happenings in the world that marked significant changes in the global political order. During the Cold War which had begun after World War II (1945), the world order was characterized by a bi-polar system where on one side the Soviet Union led the Eastern Bloc while on the other side the United States of America led the Western Bloc. The two countries were considered to be the only super powers. In 1989, the cold war ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union. This left U.S. as the only superpower and the world order changed to unipolar. With the end of the cold war also came the end of communist or capitalist ideologies as the main ways of attracting a country in international power alignments. Other ways of enhancing influence by powerful nations emerged. Media,
which had hitherto played a peripheral role in promoting countries’ agenda internationally, became one of the main tools that could be used to spread states’ influence globally.

The decision to cap this study at year 2016 is informed by happenings at the International Criminal Court (ICC) regarding cases on crimes against humanity that were facing six Kenyans including president Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto. In 2016, the case against Kenya’s Deputy President William Ruto on crimes against humanity at the ICC collapsed. Earlier on in 2014, Kenya’s president Uhuru Kenyatta’s case at the ICC on similar charges had been dropped. The highly publicized cases against Kenya’s top leadership had come to an end. This marked the beginning of another major event in Kenya and the world where the powers of the international institutions, mainly backed by the West, were being questioned on their ability to deal with international matters. There were doubts about the strength of the world order created by the West after the Cold War and its sustainability. It also marked a major shift where a Global South country like Kenya mobilized some considerable support against the unipolarity of the West. Kenya mobilized support from many other countries to discredit ICC as a Western tool of oppressing other countries through cooked up charges against their leaders. Thus, this major challenge of the West’s influence on world matters and especially those regarding the Global South signified a disruption of the world order. To this end, it is the view of this study that most of the international media houses are likely to adjust their manner of reporting globally in line with what appears to be the emerging new world order. Thus, the reason to cap the period of this study at year 2016.

While exploring the portrayal of Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues by CNN and BBC, this study also compares how similar events have been reported in other countries such as the United States of America and France by CNN and BBC. The research compares and
contrasts the reportage of the two media houses on Kenya with other recorded information on the same issues from other sources such as local news channels like the *Daily Nation* and *the Standard* newspapers, reports from religious organizations, civil society groups and non-governmental organizations.

In regard to the data used for this research, the scope is determined by the platforms CNN and BBC use to disseminate their stories. Different means of communication through which media exists are intertwined due to convergence brought about by technological advancement in information and communication technology (ICT). Thus, for instance a newspaper will have a website which may have video clips and audio, a blog and even a cell phone alert. CNN and BBC websites for example have audio and video as well as articles on various news and analysis. Before the advent of digital media for instance, print was purely paper and television was just the screen. In the contemporary media however, a story is complemented by all the platforms of communication; these may include the internet, cell-phones, and online streaming. This means that one cannot research one means of communication and fail to touch on another may that be the website/internet or social media, broadcast, et cetera, since a message will reach its audience through all these means. Hence, the scope of this study is on how media as a convergent tool of disseminating information is used by CNN and BBC to portray Kenya on security, governance and economic matters.

### 1.8 Limitations of the Study

This being a secondary research, the study relies entirely on the available data in the written materials such as books and information on the internet. Thus, the researcher did not for example interview the specific journalists from CNN and BBC who compiled various stories on Kenya.
Also, the researcher did not interview Kenyan government officials who have handled foreign relations in the country between 1989 and 2016. However, this research overcomes these limitations by ensuring that all the data relied upon is verifiable in various websites and written materials as referenced at the last chapter of this study. The research also strives to make comparisons of how each highlighted news story was reported by different media broadcasters before drawing a conclusion.

1.9 Conclusion

From the background and premises of this study, it is clear that international media plays a major role in shaping the image of a country to the news consumers across the world. It is also evident from the statement of the problem that the media could create an image that is not the actual representation of the reported country. It is in view of this that this research, among other objectives, examines the factors that influence the framing of news on Kenya’s security, governance and economic situation by CNN and BBC.

The following chapter explores literature that has been put forth by various scholars on the power of media to create perceptions about societies. The chapter identifies knowledge gaps that such literature did not cover and which this study seeks to fill. The second chapter also identifies the theoretical framework that this study bases its arguments on.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores literature written by various scholars on the power of media to portray a subject, influence and change perceptions. It examines past researches and quotes by various world leaders on the ability of media to influence news consumers’ perceptions. The chapter highlights studies that have been undertaken in various parts of the world on perceptions that an audience develops as a result of consuming foreign media content vis-a-vis local media content regarding their own society or another society. It identifies knowledge gaps that previous studies (which are related to the topic of this research) did not cover which it seeks to fill. This chapter summarizes with the theoretical framework that guides the study.

2.1 Review of Related Literature

Saleem (2000) illustrates how US media play an important role in portraying other countries’ images thus creating a particular perception to the US citizens - purely based on media reports - regarding such foreign states. Saleem posits that:

Regardless of increasingly global economy, introduction of modern technology, majority of people in the world do not travel internationally; media plays an important role in portraying other countries in a striking way (Saleem, 2000: 131).

The study by Saleem (2000) on U.S. media framing of foreign countries images researched on how various American broadcasters reported on other countries and regions including China, Iraq, Japan, South America and Africa. He concludes that media organization’s ideological stance, government manipulation, corporate and ownership influence and media personnel
stereotypes and prejudices also play a vital role in shaping foreign countries images in the American media. Saleem’s study is related to this study in that it provides crucial insights into how media could aid in creating mental pictures to the audience. However, in addition to that, this study explores the impact of the perception created to an external audience by a foreign media (CNN and BBC) regarding another society (Kenya); that is, unlike Saleem’s study that only looks from the perspective of how a local media (American media in Saleem’s study) can influence the perception of the local audience (American audience) towards another society by the manner in which it portrays that other society.

In broad perspective therefore, the knowledge gap that this study fills in comparison to Saleem’s study is in seeking to explain how foreign media that serves global audience frames other countries images thus creating perceptions to their audiences spread across the world about the reported countries. This study looks at the role of foreign media, i.e. CNN and BBC, in determining how Kenya is perceived by audience spread across the world besides those in Kenya, and the impact that it has had to the country politically, socially and economically.

McCombs (2010) demonstrates the power of the news media in setting a nation’s agenda and in the shaping of public opinion. He emphasizes that not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers, but also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in news. He states that:

Newspapers provide a lot of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public’s attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms (McCombs, 2010: 1).
McCombs (2010) study, however, does not show the impact of news that may not be necessarily true and how that portrayal shapes perception of the reported society or country. This research therefore delves deeper into the benefits and or damages caused, as the case may be, to the reported society when journalism guidelines, for one reason or another, are sidelined thus leading to the stories broadcasted creating a perception that is not the actual representation of that society. This research provides the data on various comparisons used by CNN and BBC regarding various situations in Kenya on their reports; if for instance a broadcaster equates Kenya to Iraq on terrorism issues, we provide data on terrorism on both nations. This study narrows down to how this is reflected in the Kenyan situation on security, governance and economic matters as reported by CNN and BBC.

According to Ekeanyanwu (2005), cultural imperialism is the subtle manipulation of the mass media of developing countries using Western capitalist nations’ advanced and well developed media to control the behaviour, lifestyle and values of developing nations through the imposition of an alien culture on a local culture via programmes and media content. This research, just like Ekeanyanwu’s explores how Western advanced media broadcasters control the rhetoric concerning knowledge of issues in the developing countries such as Kenya. However, there is a gap this study fills, while Ekeanyanwu explains how the consumers of news from big Western media in developing countries are manipulated by the broadcasters’ style of messaging, this study explores how CNN and BBC through their reports creates perceptions to their audience across the world (including developed nations) about Kenya’s governance, security and economic issues.

Bennett (1982) argues that media creates ‘mass culture’ which in its pervasiveness, threatens to undermine the qualities of the moral and aesthetic excellence inscribed in the ‘high culture’ of
the educated elite. While Bennett looks at ‘mass culture’ as an influence brought about by the media consumption, this study does also delve on the possibility of ‘regional zoning’ i.e. the media enabling a ‘mass culture’ on a society regarding another society. This research explores how ‘mass culture’ in different societies may have been created by CNN and BBC about other societies; and in this case African society and particularly Kenya as a country.

In his scholarly piece Makunike (2011) explores how media stereotypes shape images, he cites a case where while studying in the US he was hungry for news from Africa. He narrates that the only news from Africa that found their way into publication were almost always negative even though he believed there were many positive stories, such as sports and cultural features, which could have been published. While Makunike highlights how international media sidelines positive news from Africa, he does not explore the authenticity of the negative stories that were published. Besides exploring the nature of stories published from Africa, this study highlights instances where CNN and BBC have aired fake news about Kenya. For example days to the Kenya’s 2013 general elections, CNN aired a story titled “Kenyans armed and ready to vote” (2013, February 28).

In the CNN (February 28, 2013) story, the reporter Nimir Elbagir alleged that tribes had formed militias ready to face each other during elections. CNN showed masked men armed with crude weapons training inside a forest where the reporter also interviewed them. However, ordinary Kenyans reacted angrily on social media and other forums claiming CNN may have actually paid the men to enact the scenes which were published as real and that there were no militias that had been formed to cause chaos. Local media also disagreed with the CNN report about the existence of such militias. For example in response to that CNN story, Daily Nation (March 2, 2013) published a story titled “Foreign reporters armed and ready to attack Kenya” which basically
castigated reporters from big Western media houses of going out of their way to make up stories of insecurity in Kenya. The Kenya’s general election was held in 2013 and this research explores the security situation as reported in various news sources at that period in comparison to what was anticipated based on CNN and BBC reports.

Berger (2008) suggests the manner in which Africa is represented by Western media houses has something to do with the continent’s inability to compete in information dissemination. He states thus:

The African continent has historically and continues today to be misrepresented and stereotyped mainly by the Western media. Among the challenges that have contributed to this is the inability of local media to compete with giant Western international media organisations in terms of technological advancement, training and equipment, and financing (Berger, 2008: 2).

This study concurs with Berger (2008) on the inability of the African media companies to compete with their Western counterparts due to differences in technological advancement. However, this research explores Western reportage of Africa with a view to establish whether there is misrepresentation or what they broadcast is in fact the actual picture.

Puddephat (2006) posits that media often plays a key role in today’s conflict. A role which can take two different and opposed forms by either taking an active part in the conflict and has the responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of conflict thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence. While Puddephat’s report attempts to explain the role of the media in an ongoing conflict, this study in addition explores the role of the media in creating perceptions of conflict, exaggerating latent conflictual situations as well as blowing up the scope of the ongoing ones.
Latent conflictual situations refer to those conditions where proponents are known to take up arms against each other whenever there is some trigger. For example due to latent conflictual situations among some tribes in Kenya, election cycle provides a trigger to violence as various communities align themselves on opposing political affiliations and either side feels the competitor is up to no good. Consequently, violence of varying scales has erupted in most of the Kenya’s general elections periods.

This study explores the reports of CNN and BBC to establish whether their knowledge of these latent conditions in the country influenced their reporting of various general elections (within the period of study) thus jumping into conclusions instead of researching adequately and separately on a case by case basis. Exaggerating conflicts happens when media uses words that make the condition look worse than it actually is. In this regard, this study explores use of phrases, both positive and negative, that CNN and BBC uses in the description of Kenya’s security, economic and governance issues with a view to establishing the perceptions such descriptions cultivate to the international audience. Such descriptions include reference to Kenya as “Sub-Saharan economic powerhouse”, “island of peace”, and “hotbed of terror” among others.

Lyons (2005) posits that violent content attract more viewers across the world and hence broadcasters tend to emphasize on such compared to other news. He states that:

Content is affected by the desire to increase the marketability of international television programme distribution. Programmes that contain violent material are considered to “travel well” (Lyons, 2005: 3)

The terms ‘travel well’ here means that such content is likely to attract more audience from different cultures as compared to content that is not violent. For instance, comedies are culturally defined and a successful comedy in the US may in fact be offensive to another cultural group in
another part of the world. Lyons (2005) further argues that violent material has a very simple story line of good versus evil and it is universally understood. Lyons study attempts to explain why violent content travels easily; it does not explain why a media broadcaster may be more interested in discussing about violence in a certain state or region more than another state or instead of another topic. This study explores why a broadcaster may be more interested in discussing violence in a certain state or region more than another state or region and not just why violent content travels easily.

International media influencing a country’s perception abroad has had several other countries concerned. A case in point is Australia where various scholars have written about what they believe is a misrepresentation of the country by the international media. Duck, Lalonde and Weiss (2003) claimed that social commentators in Australia had expressed concerns that ―bad press‖ had damaged Australia’s international reputation as a country with a “spirit of tolerance and welcome embrace” (p. 1). Duck et al. (2003) notes that headlines in the overseas press such as “Ausie rules bring despair to refugees” (1) had sparked internal reflection on the image of Australia and Australians that was projected abroad.

There is reason to suspect that images of Australians in the international media may be influential, particularly because of the limited direct contact that people overseas have with Australians (Duck et al., 2003). As Duck et al. (2003) suggests, the predictions about the likely impact of media coverage on Australia’s image are informed by social psychological perspectives on stereotype formation and change and, more specifically, by mass communication perspectives that emphasize the central role of the media in the maintenance and development of social stereotypes and of indirect “media contact” as a means of stereotype change. The study on Australia highlights the many aspects that media can create an image of a country to the
audiences abroad. This study explores such aspects in respect to Kenya and seeks to find out the sort of image CNN and BBC have helped to create for the country on issues of security, economy and governance to their international audiences.

Gilboa (2005) undertook to study the global impact of CNN in a study titled “The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relation”. As Gilboa established, many world leaders had acknowledged the immense influence a media house with a global reach such as CNN wields. Former UN secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was quoted complaining “CNN is the sixteenth member of the Security Council” (28). The impact of television coverage on policy making has been acknowledged by other senior US officials. As Gilboa notes, former US Secretary of State James Baker III (1995) wrote in his memoir supporting the same view stating thus:

In Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, and Chechnya, among others, the real-time coverage of conflict by the electronic media has served to create a powerful new imperative for prompt action that was not present in less frenetic times (Gilboa, 2005: 28).

Other policy makers such as former British foreign secretaries Douglas Hurd and David Oven made similar observations (Gilboa, 2005). Underscoring the power of a huge broadcaster like CNN to influence international policies, former US Secretary of State Colin Powell noted that “live television coverage doesn’t change the policy, but it does create the environment in which the policy is made” (Gilboa, 2005, p.28). Gilboa’s study on CNN effect was generalized in terms of scope but it provides critical insights into how much effect its messages have on senior policy makers across the world. However, Gilboa’s study did not highlight CNN effect on Kenyan issues, thus, this study attempts to establish the impact of CNN reportage on Kenyan issues.
A study by the World Bank’s communication for governance and accountability program on media effect (2010) posits that most people accept the idea that media can influence people. The rising popularity of electronic media has led to what is called “bullet” or “hypodermic needle” theories which envisaged media messages as potent or strong drugs that would have powerful effects on a helpless audience (Lasswell, 1927, Lipmann, 1922). The audience may be rendered helpless by the fact that media can set the agenda. In its agenda setting role, the media may not affect what people think, but may affect what they think about, through the choice of which topics to cover and what to emphasize. This control of the flow of information is often referred to as gate keeping and is based not only on media professionals’ perceptions of what is important, but also on time and space limitations (Cohen, 1963; Lipmann, 1922). Closely related to this theory is framing which means the particular treatment or “spin” an individual or organization gives to a message (Gitlin, 1980).

In agenda-setting the media will choose which stories to tell while in framing they will choose how to tell them. For example CNN or BBC could set the agenda of what people think of Kenya by choosing to cover the country more on sports matters and not for example on music. In covering these stories, these broadcasters would choose the frame, that is, how to tell them. This framing could be in the choice of words: for example statements such as “Kenya an island of peace” and “Kenya a hotbed of terror” would create totally different perceptions to the viewers about Kenya. Frames “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993: 54). As media emphasizes on particular issues, heavy viewers of television may come to believe that the real world is similar to the television world – the heavy exposure cultivates this belief (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, & Morgan, 1980). Thus the consumers of CNN and BBC news, some of whom primary interaction
with Kenya is only through the two broadcasters, believe that the country looks the way the media portrays it. While the study by the World Bank generalizes on the media effects, this research explores these effects as created by reports of CNN and BBC on security, governance and economic situation in Kenya.

Kraidy (2002) poses, “without global media, according to the conventional wisdom, how would teenagers in India, Turkey, and Argentina embrace a Western lifestyle of Nike shoes, Coca-Cola, and rock music?” (2). He notes that this has been made possible by the strong influence of the mass media on the globalization of culture. In view of this, this study seeks to find out how much influence Western international broadcasters have on security, governance and economic matters that they report to their audiences about Kenya. The mass media has managed to create a great perception about the western culture across the world (Kraidy, 2002). This study explores the nature of perceptions CNN and BBC have created about Kenya to their global audiences as a result of the messages they broadcast about security, governance and economy of the country and how those perceptions have impacted on the country’s international relations.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Introduction

The topic of this study is concerned with how media messages impact on states’ affairs and consequently those countries’ stand on global stage. Following such considerations, this study bases its research on media theories and international relations theories. Factors that influence policies of any media house include, but not limited to, government regulations issued by the country where it originates from and the ownership structure of the broadcaster. For example BBC originates from the UK and so, among other factors that influence policies of the
broadcaster are regulations of media as set out by the British government. Also, social cultural issues such as religion and popular culture within the region where a media house is domiciled or the country of its origin, influence the agenda that a broadcaster promotes. To that end, global media channels like the CNN or BBC have their reports influenced by the social-cultural issues such as human rights and democracy that are highly regarded in their countries of origin, i.e. the US and the UK respectively.

Such social-cultural issues can influence the two broadcasters’ reportage thus shaping how they frame stories even from other countries that do not necessarily lay equal emphasis or even subscribe to such values. Also states try to use global broadcasters, located in their countries, to promote their interests in other countries. States can also use media broadcasters to aid them in helping to construct a world order that they aspire through manipulated messaging. While a country may ensure its interests are well promoted (across the world) by media houses that originate within its territory by use of various biased government regulations on broadcasting, this end becomes even easier to achieve where a broadcaster is state owned. CNN which is based in the US is privately owned while UK based BBC is state owned.

Thus, based on the above explanations, the theories that would define the manner a nation is portrayed by global news channels would be those that attempt to explain mass media effects to a society and those that explain the determinants of relations among countries in the international stage. Consequently, this research explores various theories of media and those of international relations, with a view to pick the two most appropriate ones for this kind of study i.e. a theory on international relations and one on media effects.
2.2.2 International Relations Theories

On matters of international relations, several theories have attempted to explain the factors that determine state engagements. For instance, constructivist theory posits that the environment in which states act is social and ideational as well as material (Holsti, 1985). This theory has been used to analyze origins, development, and consequences of norms and cultures in broad range of settings. However, it does not explain the drive behind actions of countries in relation to others. Thus constructivist theory may not conclusively explain the topic of this study as this research seeks to establish circumstances that would drive a country to use media to portray another country in a certain manner.

Marxism and world systems theories of international relations direct their attention to issues such as uneven development, poverty, and exploitation within and between nations (Cockroft, Frank & Johnson, 1972). These theories explain little on the influence of media messages among nations and hence may not adequately address the topic of this study. On the other hand, realism theory posits that states are unitary actors and that their actions are primarily a response to external actors rather than domestic political forces, inter alia. This theory recognizes the role played by external factors in determining a country’s survival and therefore can explain the extent to which international media can be used to aid such factors. Thus, owing to the above factors, realism theory of international relations adequately addresses issues that this study sets to establish and hence is one of the theories that this research bases its findings on.

2.2.3 Media Theories

On media front, many theories have attempted to explain media and the effect of its messages to the audience. Magic bullet theory for example was developed in the 1920s and concerns itself
with propaganda techniques used during war time as aided by channels of communication (Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011). Magic bullet theory, however, does not adequately explain the topic of this study since media portrayal in contemporarily world can also be used to achieve ends that do not involve war.

Social cognitive theory of media moved away from the magic bullet where consumers of media messages were assumed that they did not question the validity of the information to where people were seen as learners who could think about the content of the media (Bandura, 2009). Social cognitive theory however lacks the aspect of how one entity such as a nation may employ media for a certain outcome regarding another nation and thus the theory is not adequate for the topic of this study.

Agenda setting theory of media posits that media may not tell you what to think but it can tell you what to think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). To this end, if media portrays a region in a certain way it could influence the audience to think of such a region in a particular manner. Agenda setting theory can adequately explain the topic of this study because, as we have found out, the portrayal of a region such as Kenya emanates from the emphasis given to an issue affecting the country by the media. Thus, agenda setting theory of media is the second theory that this study uses to explain its findings.

Let us get to understand the two theories further i.e. realism theory of international relations and agenda setting theory of media, and why they concur with the topic of this study.

2.2.4 Realism Theory of International Relations

Niccolo Machiavelli, a 15th century Italian political philosopher, is considered to be the forefather of the realism theory. Machiavelli expressed his views in his writings The Prince and
The Discourses which have had a tremendous impact on international relations (Leung, 2000). Realist theory argues that states are in a race to dominate others in all aspects of life such as political, economical and social. With the end of direct physical invasions that characterised most of the 19th century where European powers colonized other territories in Americas, Africa and Asia, media has come in handy as a tool of choice for the powerful countries to entrench realism where messaging can be manipulated to promote certain self interests.

In realism, international relations are characterized by foreign states that are involved in a cutthroat game of power politics and self interests (Olemeinen, 2010). According to this school of thought, the international system is amoral and value-free environment in which the state is seen as a rational and unitary actor that finds itself in constant conflict with other states of the system due to lack of an overarching world government. To this end, any opportunity to enhance a country’s influence over others can be utilized. In using the realism theory of international relations this study attempts to establish whether CNN and BBC broadcasters have been employed as tools of soft power by any state. A country using soft power uses other means of influence besides coercive force to dominate other countries. Nye (2004) posits that:

A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it (Nye, 2004: 5).

In pursuit of wanting to have an edge in world influence, a country may exaggerate its values while downplaying other countries’ by use of messages mostly disseminated through the media. Most powerful countries have big media outlets with a global reach. These media channels can serve as convenient tools of spreading soft power. This research seeks to find out whether other
nations might have been manipulating CNN and BBC news reports framing in regard to Kenya’s security, governance and economic situation to maintain or gain superiority in any way.

2.2.5 Agenda Setting Theory of Media

The main proponent of agenda setting theory of media is Maxwell McCombs who has written many books and articles on the topic. For instance, McCombs and Shaw (1972) posit that not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers but also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the emphasis placed on it in the news. McCombs argues that the agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, or even an entire year. He says that over such a period of time, a few issues are emphasized, some receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned.

McCombs notes that the results of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public as elements prominent on the media become prominent in the public mind. Thus this research explores CNN and BBC reports on Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues with a view to establish what agenda, if any, the two media broadcasters might have deliberately or otherwise set for Kenya.

Realist tendencies can be aided by media in that a state can use broadcast messaging to set an agenda in other countries for selfish interests; that explains why this study has combined the two theories i.e. realist theory of international relations and agenda setting theory of media to explain its findings.
2.3 Conclusion

From the literature review, it is evident that very many scholars have attempted to explain how media messages influence the people’s perception of a reported subject. However, as noted in the chapter, there are many gaps that this study seeks to fill. Moreover, no study so far has been undertaken to explore the portrayal of Kenya by CNN and BBC reports. This chapter has also established agenda setting theory of media and realism theory of international relations as the most adequate theories to explain the study’s arguments.

In chapter three, the study sets out the research design and methodology by expounding on the study site, target population, sampling techniques and research instruments.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section provides the operational framework within which the data was collected and analyzed. This entails describing the sample size, sample selection, data collection method and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is a plan that describes how, when and where data is to be collected and analyzed (Parahoo, 2006). This study uses exploratory research design to review CNN and BBC reports on security, governance and economic issues in Kenya. According to Polit, Hungler, and Beck (2001) explorative research design is conducted to clarify and define the nature of a problem and may not provide conclusive evidence. It is used to investigate the full nature of the phenomenon and other factors related to it.

This research uses content analysis design to analyze content and attempt to interpret such things as possible behaviour, attitudes, values and characteristics. In order to understand the reports on CNN and BBC websites, the study uses the critical discourse analysis approach. This is a type of qualitative methodology that attempts to explain the processes whereby reality comes into being (Philips & Hardy, 2002). Jensen (1987) notes that discourse analysis has proven to have a particular relevance for media studies as it offers insights into the way in which newspaper articles become meaningful to their readers by examining the textual patterns that serve as the vehicle for communication.
3.2 Study site

This is an entirely secondary research and the information used to draw conclusions is sourced from CNN and BBC news stories from their websites as well as reading written materials such as books. Hence, there was no specific physical location save for the books and virtual sites through the internet. Such sites are credited within the research and referenced at the end of the project.

3.3 Target Population

Target population is the complete set of individual cases or objects with some common characteristics to which the researcher uses to generalize the results of the study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). This study draws its target population from the top international broadcasters. The most famous international news channels from number ten to number one are Geo News, MSNBC, Al Arabiya, ITN, Euro News, Sky News, Aljazeera, Fox News, CNN and BBC World News (Sophie, 2016). The research explores reports on security, governance and economic issues about Kenya from the broadcasters for the period between 1989 and 2016.

The post Cold War era that commenced in 1989 show change from ideologically driven international politics to the use of other instruments such as foreign aid and media by powerful nations such as the US to influence the world. 2016, the final year this research covers, show the international order challenged when Kenya’s cases at the International Criminal Court (ICC) involving the President and his deputy were dropped after the government led an intense global campaign of discrediting the court. The prosecution submitted that the Kenyan government, which belongs to the Global South, successfully interfered with the ICC cases thus leading to their collapse. ICC, which is supported by the United Nations, was set up to create a world order where war criminals could be tried.
13.4 Sampling Techniques

This study uses purposive sampling technique. This is a non-probability sampling technique where the sample selected is based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study (Palys, 2008). The samples for this study are drawn as per the ranking of the top ten international news channels starting from the highest to the least. The researcher bases the investigations on the two highest rated broadcasters out of the ten top broadcast channels in the world. Two out of ten represents 20 percent of the size which is good enough for this kind of research.

Figure 1: Percentage of media samples used
As indicated earlier, the top rated news channels in the world includes BBC at number one, followed by CNN, Fox news, Aljazeera, Sky News, Euro News, ITN, Al Arabiya, Geo News and MSNBC at number ten (Sophie, 2016).

### 3.5 Research Instruments

This is a secondary research. The research extracts information from news reports of CNN and BBC which can be accessed from the broadcasters’ websites. For comparison purposes, materials from other media houses such as Kenya’s *Daily Nation*, Aljazeera and *The New York Times*, among others, are also used and can as well be accessed from their websites.

### 3.6 Validity and Reliability of Data

This being an explorative research, all the data used in the study is evidential. It is data which can be found in CNN and BBC websites including video clips. Data from all the other mentioned news sources in this research can also be found in their respective websites as referenced at the end of this research. The exact dates of the news events are verifiable.

### 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the study has provided the operational framework within which the data was collected and analyzed. The chapter has further described the sample size, sample techniques, data collection method, study site, research instruments and reliability of data. This sets the stage for the subsequent chapters where the collected data shall be analyzed and interpreted.

The topic of this study encompasses several issues such as security, governance and economy; as reported by CNN and BBC in regard to Kenya. In the subsequent chapters, these issues are explored separately with each chapter analyzing one issue. To this end, chapter four discusses
findings and interpretation of secondary data collected from CNN and BBC news reports about Kenya’s security issues.
CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS ON SECURITY ISSUES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses findings, analysis and interpretations of data collected on security issues. It uses secondary data from CNN and BBC news reports on Kenya’s security issues and compares it with other news sources as well as other scholarly literature related to the topic. The analysis focuses on the ability of international media to influence perceptions of countries based on their method of interpreting and disseminating information on security matters. This research being explorative in nature uses critical discourse analysis to interrogate use of words, tone of language, the intended meaning and the framing adopted in the media reports.

To understand the chronology of events in the period of study (1989 – 2016), each of the three subsequent chapters i.e. security, governance and economic, commence with an introductory in-depth historical background analysis on each issue in the build-up to the news stories that form the basis of this research. Though the three issues i.e. security, governance and economic are discussed in separate chapters of this study, they are closely interconnected since a failure of either in a society impacts on the other. Thus, most data and thereof their findings on the three overlap.

4.1 Security Issues

The Human Development Report (HDR) (1994) describes human security as freedom from fear and freedom from want. The report further identified seven essential dimensions of human security i.e. economic, health, personal, political, food, environmental and community. All these dimensions are intertwined in one way or the other as each leads to the other or all of them. For
instance political instability would lead to insecurities in health, economic, food, etc. In view of this, this chapter explores data on security matters with all its inherent components.

During the Cold War period (1945 – 1989), insecurity in most of Africa was mainly characterized by proxy wars pitting Communist East against Capitalist West. The superpowers’ proxy wars achieved maximum destructiveness in the Horn and Southern Africa in the 1970s and 1980s (McMahon, 2013).

An example of such proxy war was Angolan crisis of 1970s and 80s. In the 1970s, Moscow supported Cuban leader Fidel Castro sent tens of thousands of troops to help Agostinho Neto’s Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) to fight off US-backed interventions by South Africa two rightwing liberation movements i.e. the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). This proxy war took many twists and turns but eventually the Eastern leaning Cuba claimed victory. Such proxy wars were replicated in the horn of Africa specifically in Somalia and Ethiopia in the 1970s and 80s.

In Kenya however, the East-West superpower rivalry did not lead to an all out war but there were many characteristics of their competition to gain a foothold in the East African nation. Jane Perlez, writing in the *New York Times* (May 17, 1992) noted as much, particularly on Kenya’s political happenings of the 1960s. She reports thus:

In capitalist-oriented Kenya, newly independent from Britain in 1963, the Soviets and their East European satellites rushed to open embassies. Washington quickly followed, offering exchange programs in America for Kenyan students to offset the offers from Moscow universities. A prominent politician, Oginga Odinga, was financed by Moscow in his political struggle with the first
President, Jomo Kenyatta, a tactic that served to reinforce
American enthusiasm for Mr. Kenyatta.
The superpowers' early interest in Kenya was not so much a
result of what Kenya had but of where it was located: on the
Indian Ocean with the port of Mombasa and near Zaire,
Africa's second largest country, rich with minerals in the
heart of the continent (Perlez, 1992, May 17, After the Cold
War, para. 24).

The East West rivalry tension could be felt in Kenya throughout to the end of Cold War in 1989
but it never led to major security breaches. However, the effects of its end brought in new
security threats in Kenya as the West’s push for democracy led to chaotic multi-party agitation
demonstrations and thereafter elections violence in the country.

With the end of the Cold War and with the capitalist West having emerged victorious, pro-
democracy groups became more emboldened in Kenya as well as across the world. The US had
supported governments that opposed communism even when those governments did not
subscribe to democratic ideals, but with the Eastern bloc now collapsed, Washington began to
push to increase democracy and human rights issues across nations. The US became more
forceful in pushing regimes to adopt its model of democracy. In Kenya, the US ambassador
Smith Hempstone was very outspoken in calling for multi-party democracy in the country as was
online version as compiled by the publication’s reporter Douglas Martin, notes that:

Mr. Hempstone fought to end the monopoly on power held
by President Daniel arap Moi, who in 1982 banned all
parties but his. Mr. Hempstone threatened to have aid cut
unless democracy blossomed, castigated economic
corruption, helped a leading dissident flee and invited
government opponents to Embassy parties (The New York
Times, 2006, November 30, para. 10).
Eventually, Kenya re-introduced party pluralism in 1991 with multi-party elections being held in 1992. Elections related violence was widely reported in that year. This kind of insecurity – covered adequately elsewhere in this study under the chapter on governance issues - would become the norm in almost every electioneering period in Kenya.

Also as the Cold War ended and with it many proxy wars, Islamist terrorism started becoming more rampant. During the Cold War, both the East and the West had trained Islamic rebels, in Muslim dominated areas, who would be left with no particular foreign super power’s agenda to serve. However, even as both sides had trained Islamic militants to fight their proxy wars, most of these militants turned their hate towards the US and its allies because the Soviets had managed to discredit the United States for supporting Israel (Tomiuc, 2013). Under the leadership of Yury Andropov, the Soviet helped sow the seeds of today’s anti-American and anti—Israel hatred in the Arab and Muslim world by initiating a sophisticated and covert campaign in the early 1970s. Tomiuc (2013) explains thus:

> Andropov, who led the Soviet spy agency from 1967 until he became Soviet leader in 1982, was the father of a new disinformation era which revived anti-Semitism and generated international terrorism against the United States and Israel, (Tomiuc, 2013: 2).

This terror was to be meted across the world to all perceived US and Israel allies. Eventually, Kenya became a target due to its perceived close relationship with the two countries. We start this chapter on terrorism security issues. Afterwards, this chapter shall analyze election related security issues and police violence.

4.1.1 Terrorism Security Issues

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994) provided a clause describing what constitutes terrorism. The clause described terrorism thus:
Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them (The UNGA Resolution 49/60, 1994: 1).

CNN and BBC have reported on security matters including terrorism across the world. However, the framing of reports and the tone of language used on such stories in Kenya has elicited varied reactions. Some stakeholders agree with the two media giants’ framing of such issues while others have criticized them citing bias and even in some instances accused them of airing fake news. The study uses critical discourse analysis and content analysis design to analyze the two broadcasters’ content about Kenya, and attempts to interpret such things as, attitudes, values and characteristics that emanate from such literature.

This research has collected data on various such controversial stories (within the period this study covers i.e. 1991 – 2016) and attempts to establish the reasons for criticism by comparing how the same news were reported by other news sources including foreign and local media channels. The study also compares the position of Kenya with other countries in regard to similar occurrences in terms of ranking using published comparative data and statistics.

4.1.1.1 1998 US Embassy Bombing in Nairobi and other Terror Related Issues

In the post Cold War era, the first terrorist attack in Kenya occurred on 7th August 1998 when Islamists allied to the then leader of Al-Qaeda Osama bin Laden bombed the US Embassy in Nairobi killing 250 people and injuring 5,600 others (Hornsby, 2012). In the same day and almost simultaneously, the American embassy in Dar Es Salam Tanzania was bombed reportedly by the same terrorists leaving 12 dead and over 100 injured. The 1998 Nairobi terrorist attack
ushered unprecedented security problem in the country as such attacks and in different forms would escalate in the subsequent years. CNN and BBC having not covered any other terrorist attack in Kenya before did not have any history to refer to or compare with in their reports and the immediate analysis of the incident. As such they had no established perceptions on issues surrounding terrorists’ attacks in Kenya and thus their initial reports did not adopt a frame that would lead to heavy criticism from their Kenyan news consumers. However, issues surrounding the arrest and deportation of the terror suspects as well as how the CNN (August 28, 1998) reported on the same raised some eyebrows in Kenya. The CNN report said:

Amid tight security, a second suspect in the deadly bombing of the United States embassy in Kenya was in federal court on Friday to be charged with murder. Mohammed Saddiq Odeh arrived in New York on Thursday, after being held by Kenyan authorities for about two weeks. The 34-year-old Palestinian engineer was being charged with 12 counts of murder, one count of conspiracy to commit murder, and one count of conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction. The murder counts represent the 12 U.S. citizens killed in the embassy bombing in Nairobi...The embassy bombings left 258 people dead and injured more than 5,000 others in the two capitals. Although the United States and Kenya have an extradition agreement, no formal extradition hearings were held for either suspect before they were flown out of Kenya (CNN, August 28, 1998, para. 1).

The CNN (August 28, 1998) report did not explain the reasons why the suspect would only be charged with the death of a dozen Americans even when he had allegedly aided killing of hundreds of Kenyans in the same attack. Subsequent analysis and reports on the attack started to exhibit a developing critical tone. A story appearing on the BBC (May 29, 2001) website reported that:

The Kenyan emergency services launched a rescue operation which was to continue uninterrupted for the
following days and nights....... The Kenyans were woefully ill-equipped to deal with such a huge disaster and it wasn't until an Israeli search and rescue team arrived that the last bodies were retrieved and the final death toll known (BBC, May 29, 2001, Flashback: Terror in Nairobi, para. 12).

Another major terrorist attack would occur on 28th November 2002 when an Israeli owned hotel was bombed in Kikambala Mombasa leaving 15 people dead and over 80 others injured (BBC, 2002). On the same day, the same attackers unsuccessfully tried to bring down an Israeli chartered plane using missiles. The about 270 Israeli citizens aboard the targeted plane had just left Kikambala Paradise Hotel – the facility that was bombed. The international media attempted to capture the state of preparedness of the local security apparatus and their cooperation with their foreign counterparts. The New York Times (November 30, 2002) carried a story compiled by their correspondent, Dexter Filkins, reporting that:

Visiting the ruins of the Paradise Hotel, Kenya's president, Daniel Arap Moi, pleaded with foreign tourists not to turn away from his country. "Kenya is safe, Israelis should feel safe, and all the other tourists should feel safe," he said. "We will protect them." But the Kenyan authorities seemed largely at a loss. Israeli investigators waded into the rubble of the hotel with grim determination, hauling out twisted hunks of metal, while the local police mostly stood by and watched (The New York Times, 2002, November 30, Terror in Africa, para. 6).

Major international broadcasters were now more focused on the Kenyan security situation regarding terrorism. The success of some terrorism attacks in Kenya and the eventual framing of such news portraying the inability of the local security forces to protect foreigners from the attacks started taking a toll on the economy. This was as a result of foreign countries issuing terror alerts on Kenya and thus scaring their nationals from visiting the country to trade or as tourists. In May 2003 for instance, the UK advised British based airlines not to travel to Kenya
due to a possibility of terrorist attacks. CNN (MAY 16, 2003) highlighted the story expressing Kenya’s concern that this could embolden the terrorists. CNN report stated thus:

The British Department for Transport has advised British-based airlines to stop flying to and from Kenya and said Britons in that nation should take care because of "a credible terrorist threat to Western interests."...... British Airways immediately suspended all flights to and from Kenya "until further notice", the airline said in a statement...But Kenya has hit back at the warning, calling it "extreme" and saying it represents a moral victory for the terrorists........ About 100,000 Britons holiday each year in Kenya (CNN, 2003, May 16, Kenya calls flight ban extreme, para. 1).

On June 2003, the U.S. Embassy in Kenya was closed down following advice from their country’s intelligence agencies that Al Qaeda terrorists would target the facility (CNN, June 21, 2003).

The situation in Somalia as a lawless state provided a fertile ground for terror groups to thrive. In 2007 Al Qaeda sympathizers formed a terror group called Al-Shabaab mainly based in Somalia but also recruited members from other countries especially the neighbouring Kenya. Recruitment of Al-Shabaab members in Kenya was made easy by the fact that besides the two countries sharing a long common border, there is a huge presence of people of Somali origin in the country including illegal immigrants. This terror group also engaged in hijacking of ships off the coast of Somalia where they abducted crew and held them for ransom. In 2009, Kenya rejected calls by Somalia government to send its troops inside their country to help fight Al-Shabaab. CNN (June 22, 2009) highlighted the story reporting how Somalia desperately pleaded for military aid from the unwilling Kenya. CNN reported thus:

Somali parliament speaker Sheikh Adan Madowe on Saturday called on Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Yemen to
send in their military forces to help government troops stop hardline Islamist militants from taking over. "Militants are wrestling the power from the government and so we call for military help from neighboring countries," the speaker said at a news conference in Mogadishu. "Please send your military to help in 24 hours' time." But Alfred Mutua, spokesman for the Kenyan government, told CNN that "Kenya doesn't engage in military support to our neighbors." He said that any such support would be under the umbrella of the African Union (CNN, 2009, June 22, Kenya rejects calls for military help in Somalia, para 1).

However, Kenyan authorities were already getting concerned of the increasing Al-Shabaab activities within its own territory. There were cases of tourists being abducted from Kenya and taken to Somalia by Al-Shabaab. In 2011, and in contrast to its earlier stand, Kenya reached a decision to send her military inside Somalia to help crush Al-Shabaab after a British tourist, Judith Tebutt, was abducted in Lamu by Al-Shabaab and her husband shot dead (BBC, October 17, 2011). Reports from various quotas projected very uncertain outcomes from the Kenya’s decision to send her troops to Somalia. BBC (October 17, 2011) reported that:

Reports say al-Shabab, which denies carrying out the abductions, has begun preparing militias to fight back. Al-Shabab spokesman Ali Mohamud Rage told the BBC Somali service: "We will defend ourselves. Kenya doesn't know war. We know war. The tall buildings in Nairobi will be destroyed....We have fought against governments older and stronger than Kenya and we have defeated them." (BBC, 2011, October 17, Kenya sends troops into Somalia to hit Al-shabab, para. 3)

An analytical report carried by CNN (November 3, 2011), compiled by the broadcaster’s correspondent Peter Wilkinson, also questioned Kenya’s preparedness to fight Al-Shabaab inside Somalia. The report noted that:

Any foreign intervention in Somalia is a big risk, say experts who point to recent history as proof, in particular America’s
ill-fated "Black Hawk Down" mission in 1993 when U.S. forces tried to capture a local warlord - resulting in many deaths on both sides..... Kenya's largely conventional army is being hampered by heavy rains and Al-Shabaab's ability to melt into the background. However officials say their operation should be over within months (CNN, 2011, November 3, Will Kenya's battle with Islamists in Somalia succeed?, para. 7).

In subsequent years, terrorist attacks escalated inside Kenya reportedly by Al-Shabaab, the same group Kenyan military was going after inside Somalia. International media, including CNN and BBC, were now more focused on Kenya’s security affairs. Terrorist attacks were also escalating across the world with the emergence of Islamic State (ISIS) in the Middle East which recruited fighters even from the Western countries. It was in such prevailing circumstances that the president of the United States of America, Barrack Obama, visited Kenya in 2015.

4.1.1.2. The ‘Hotbed of Terror’ Remark

On 23rd July 2015 on the eve of the united states president Barrack Obama’s visit to Kenya, CNN in its coverage of the tour aired a news flash: TERROR THREAT: SECURITY FEARS AS OBAMA HEADS TO A TERROR HOTBED. The show incorporated two security experts: a former secret service agent and a former Central Intelligence Agent (CIA). During the show, CNN (July 23, 2015) reported that Kenya was in fact more insecure than Iraq and Afghanistan. There was a lot of criticism by various stakeholders in Kenya regarding this portrayal of security situation of the country. Enraged, Kenyans took to twitter to condemn the CNN’s description of their country. The comments on twitter using the hash tag #SomeoneTellCNN were so many that it trend worldwide for several days. This was followed by official communication by Kenya’s interior cabinet secretary, Joseph Nkaisery, to CNN demanding an apology.
Was the CNN representation of Kenya okay? Were the critics of CNN justified? This being an explorative research, we interrogate this framing of the report. To come up with any conclusions the research compares the state of terrorism related security situation in Kenya with other countries across the world especially around the period when CNN aired that particular story.

**Terrorism Data:** In the US, the Department of State prepares yearly reports with elaborate information including statistics on terrorism across the world. The 2015 report *Country Reports on Terrorism 2015* issued on June 2016 contains detailed statistics on all occurrences of terrorism across the world. There are more than 20 countries that are mentioned in relation to terrorist attacks in the report. Below is a table detailing the ten countries that had the highest incidents of terrorists attacks in 2015 according to that report,

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>2418</td>
<td>6932</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>11856</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>3982</td>
<td>3370</td>
<td>9926</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>15137</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>265</td>
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<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>5292</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>6246</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1112</td>
<td>1594</td>
<td>4507</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>4700</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>719</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>1081</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1325</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>2836</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>879</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>305</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>4886</td>
<td>9.29</td>
<td>2777</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>1341</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>7531</td>
<td>12.81</td>
<td>2251</td>
<td>6.31</td>
<td>1298</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Exhibit</td>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>Fatalities</td>
<td>Injured</td>
<td>Killers</td>
<td>Perpetrators</td>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>Killers</td>
<td>Perpetrators</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Worldwide</td>
<td>11774</td>
<td>13482</td>
<td>28328</td>
<td>32763</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>35320</td>
<td>34785</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*Includes perpetrators

Source: Annex of Statistical Information – Country Reports on Terrorism 2015 (page 5)

From the table above, Iraq and Afghanistan occupy the first and second positions respectively. However, during the CNN (July 23, 2015) show, where Kenya was regarded as a hotbed of terror, the country was also said to be more dangerous than the two countries.

The table above also shows the top ten countries that reported most deaths as a result of terrorism except for Somalia, Yemen, Cameroon and Niger which had more terror related deaths than some of the countries with higher number of attacks. That means some single terror attacks might have resulted into more deaths in Somalia than for instance Egypt. Again according to these statistics Kenya was not among the top ten. In all categories on the report the most frequently mentioned countries are Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya, Syria and Nigeria. This study notes there was no mention of Kenya in the entire report.

**Reaction from Kenya:** Reporting for *Fortune International* (August 7, 2015), Geoffrey Smith noted that Kenyan government in retaliation of what it believed to be a deliberate
misrepresentation of their country pulled out government funded advertisements from CNN. The story states thus:

There’s never been a good time for TV companies to offend advertisers but, in a week in which media companies have seen Wall Street fears for their business model wipe tens of billions of dollars off their value, Time Warner Inc’s TWX – 0.17% CNN hardly needed this. Kenya is pulling out of a contract with the channel after taking offense at being called a ‘hotbed of terror’ during CNN’s coverage of President Barrack Obama’s recent visit to Africa (Smith, 2015, August 7, Kenya pulls ad dollars from CNN after hotbed of terror slur, para. 1).

The Apology: As Mfonobong Nsehe reporting for Forbes (August 14, 2015) noted, Tony Maddox, a CNN executive Vice President and managing director flew in the country to convey CNN’s apology in person to Kenya’s president Uhuru Kenyatta. Forbes captured Maddox’s statement to Kenyan people thus:

We acknowledge there is a widespread feeling that the report annoyed many, which is why we pulled down the report as soon as we noticed. It wasn’t a deliberate attempt to portray Kenya negatively, it is regrettable and we shouldn’t have done it. There is a world at war with extremists; we know what a hotbed of terror looks like, and Kenya isn’t one, (Forbes, 2015, August 14, CNN executive flies to Kenya to apologise for ‘hotbed of terror’ claim, para. 6).

4.1.2 Elections Security Issues

Kenya has seen varied levels of violence in every election cycle starting with the 1992 general elections. The 1992 general elections were the first multi-party elections since the repeal of section 2A in 1991 that allowed formation of other parties to compete with KANU for power. Election violence is adequately covered elsewhere in this study under governance issues. This is because, as this research found out, this kind of violence in Kenya has mostly been instigated by
the government of the day trying to use state forces to remain in power; thus making it a
governance issue.

In this chapter therefore, we only highlight controversial CNN and BBC broadcasts that have
featured security situation about Kenya during elections.

In the run-up to Kenya’s general elections in 2013, Nima Elbagir, reporting for CNN (February
28, 2013) compiled a story titled “Kenyans armed and ready to vote”. She alleged that tribes had
formed militias ready to face each other during elections. In the about three minutes clip, Elbagir
shows masked men armed with crude weapons training inside a forest in Rift Valley where she
also interviews them.

However, Kenyans reacted angrily on social media and other forums claiming that the CNN
reporter must have paid the men to stage-manage the scenes which were broadcasted as real and
that there were actually no militias that had been formed to cause chaos. Most Kenyans used the
hashtag #SomeoneTellCNN on twitter directing their displeasure to CNN on what they
believed to be fake news by the international broadcaster. Local media also disagreed with the
CNN report about the existence of such militias. For instance in response to the CNN story,
Daily Nation (March 2, 2013) published a story titled “Foreign reporters armed and ready to
attack Kenya” which basically castigated reporters from big Western media houses of going out
of their way to make up stories of insecurity in Kenya. In support of the same view, a reporter
Wambui Ndonga, compiled a story for Capital FM (March 1st, 2013) which appeared on the
broadcaster’s website stating that:

> Ironically the story was published on Thursday on the CNN
> website the same day political opponents put down their
campaign bids to jointly call for peace at Uhuru Park
>(Ndonga, 2013, March 1, Kenyans livid over CNN militia
>story, para. 8).
Ndongá’s Capital FM story (March 1, 2013) went on to claim that many Kenyans were complaining why international media was not reporting of how people were preaching peace in many forums. The hashtag #SomeoneTellCNN now trending worldwide for days also caught the attention of major global broadcasters with *Aljazeera* (March 1, 2013) reporting thus:

Kenyans on twitter are up in arms, but not in the way that some reports suggest. On Thursday, CNN aired a news package from Kenya’s Rift Valley showing a handful of residents performing exercises in the bush with machetes and homemade guns (*Aljazeera*, 2013, March 1, Kenyans say: #SomeoneTellCNN, para. 1).

Here, *Aljazeera* (March 1, 2013) appears to distance itself from reports of war in Kenya by indicating “not in the way some reports suggest,” (n.p.). *Aljazeera* further established that:

While the region experienced some of Kenya’s worst post-election violence in 2007, many online questioned the accuracy of the report. The government has ramped up security ahead of the vote and candidates have appeared in public service announcements urging Kenyans to allow courts to settle any election disputes (*Aljazeera*, 2013, March 1, Kenyans say: #SomeoneTellCNN, para. 2).

**Security Situation during the Elections:** The campaign period ended and elections were held on 4\textsuperscript{th} March, 2013. Many local and international news sources reported about the security situation that had prevailed during the election. A reporter, Jason Patinkin, writing for *The Guardian* (March 9, 2013) noted that:

Kenyans waited for nearly a week for its beleaguered electoral body, the independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, to announce the result. So far protests have remained peaceful in a country known for ethnic violence (Patinkin, 2013, March 9, Uhuru Kenyatta wins Kenyan election by a narrow margin, para. 2).

*The guardian* also quoted President Kenyatta’s acceptance speech saying, “We voted in peace, we upheld order and respect for the rule of law, and maintained the fabric of our society” (March

The Commonwealth team of observers issued their report on the security situation during the election period and reported thus:

> The election campaign was largely peaceful. Given the background to these polls, the high level of competition between political contestants and the fact that politics in Kenya retains a strong ethnic dimension, the peaceful campaign was both highly welcomed and commended."

......Campaign rights were provided for and candidates enjoyed freedom of movement and assembly (Commonwealth, 2013: 33).

### 4.1.3 Pupils Tear Gassed

In January 19th 2015, police in Kenya hurled tear gas canisters at primary school pupils in Nairobi’s Langata area who were demonstrating over the alleged grabbing of their school land which served as their playground. In its report, BBC (January 19, 2015) in trying to show the seriousness of the issue compared the incident to the 1976 shooting of students by the police during the Soweto uprising in South Africa. During the analysis BBC put images side by side of Kenyan school kids’ protests with those of the 1976 Soweto students uprising shootings.

Were the two incidents comparable? Why did BBC portray them as similar? To understand the portrayal of Kenya’s security issues by BBC based on this story, this study compares the two occurrences using the available data. Tasissa (2014) estimates that about 575 people died, with at least 134 of them under the age of 18, as a result of police brutality during the Soweto uprising that started on 18th June 1976 and lasted till late 1977. In comparison, none of the protesters died during the Langata primary incident in Kenya. Tasissa notes that the intense Soweto students’
protests lasted for three days and then sporadic protests engulfed the whole of South Africa for more than a year to late 1977. The Kenyan protest lasted a few hours. By the end of Soweto protests, almost all students in all regions of South Africa had joined in. In Kenya, it was only Langata primary school that was involved in protests.

Table 2: Comparing South Africa’s Soweto uprising of 1976 and Kenya’s Langata primary protests of 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Soweto Uprising – South Africa</th>
<th>Langata Primary Protests – Kenya</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of protesters Dead</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of protesters injured</td>
<td>thousands</td>
<td>about five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration of protests</td>
<td>more than a year</td>
<td>about 2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Schools involved in protests</td>
<td>most schools across South Africa</td>
<td>one primary school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The portrayal of a country by media is largely established by comparing events with supposedly similar events elsewhere. If the comparison is not particularly similar, the perception that a country earns from such media reports can be misleading. That is because a far audience i.e. for example an audience in another continent, simply consumes what is published and forms a perception based on it.

This research found out that despite the huge differences between apartheid South Africa’s Soweto uprising and Kenya’s Langata primary school protests, BBC decided to portray them as similar. According to the broadcast, neither did the difference in the contexts of the two situations nor the 39 year long duration difference (1976 – 2015) matter. Still, it didn’t matter the
difference in perpetrators, intentions and the extent of damages of each of the two incidents. Based on this incident the Kenyan child was framed by the international media as being completely insecure even from the police. That was what was portrayed to the international audience.

4.2 Conclusion

In agenda setting role of the media, McCombs (2010) posits that even when it may not be necessarily a formulated plan by a particular media house to portray a society in a certain light, what the broadcaster focuses on most will definitely define such a society to the audience. He explains that:

It should be noted that the use of term “agenda” here is purely descriptive. There is no pejorative implication that a news organization “has an agenda” that it relentlessly pursues as a premeditated goal. The media agenda presented to the public results from countless day-to-day decisions by many different journalists and their supervisors about the news of the moment (McCombs, 2010: 2).

Thus, the agenda set for Kenya by CNN and BBC reports on Kenya results from the many stories the two broadcasters airs and the topics they emphasized on and not necessarily as a result of a premeditated goal. For example, as highlighted in this chapter, the two broadcasters may have frequently and continuously compiled many stories on insecurity in Kenya while not compiling as much on security measures the state has put in place or even on other stories such as the Wildlife, the culture of any of the many communities in the country or any other story. Consequently, the agenda set for Kenya especially to CNN and BBC audiences in other countries is of a state that has completely lost control of security matters within its borders.
The next chapter focuses on findings and data analysis on CNN and BBC reports on Kenya’s governance issues.
CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS ON GOVERNANCE ISSUES

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses findings, analysis and interpretations on secondary data collected on Kenya’s governance issues. The act of exercising authority in an organization, institution or state can be termed as governance while government is the name given to the entity exercising that authority (Carino, 2000). This study concerns itself with state governance or the public administration and the governance of state institutions.

Governance can also be defined as a government’s ability to make and enforce rule, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that governance is democratic or not (Fukuyama, 2013).

In 1992 the World Bank defined good governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development. Governance and growth in a state are interlinked (Acemoglu, 2008). Asserting this argument, Acemoglu (2008) posits that:

Particularly important elements of governance, defined as such would include the political institutions of a society (the process of collective decision-making and the checks on politicians, and on politically and economically powerful interest groups), state capacity (the capability of the state to provide public goods in diverse parts of the country), and regulation of economic activity (how the state intervenes in encouraging economic activity by various different actors). Thus the interactions between governance and growth are intimately linked to the interactions between institutions (broadly construed) and economic growth (Acemoglu, 2008: 7).

Indeed the success or failure of almost every aspect of a society can be tied to how governance is practiced in a particular country. Bad governance has been cited as a major contributor to poor
service delivery in Africa (Mbai, 2003). Mismanagement and low levels of accountability by public officers has contributed to decline in Kenya’s economy. Supporting this view Mbai (2003) states that:

In Kenya, the level of accountability among public officials in the management of public affairs has consistently declined since independence. The rate of annual economic growth of the country has generally declined over the period. At the same time, the efficient and effective delivery of public services to the ordinary citizen have continuously deteriorated. A combination of these two factors has resulted in widespread unemployment and poverty in the country (Mbai, 2003: 2).

Before the fall of Berlin wall, there was little being reported on bad governance in various countries by the international media and castigation of leaders who presided over such governance was not encouraged by the major powers of the world then i.e. US and USSR. There was particularly very little written on the subject of democracy in Africa before the late 1980s since it was generally held in Europe and North America to be in bad taste to write in support of multi-party democracy in Africa explicitly (Ellis, 1996). This was because the West was careful not to fall off with the African governments thus giving a bigger chance for more infiltration of the continent by the Communist USSR.

With the Cold War gone, pro-democracy campaigns often supported by American government officials intensified and media no longer censored such stories. Smith Hempstone, the American ambassador to Kenya between 1989 and 1993 in a 1998 interview with Charles Stuart Kennedy confirmed the US stand on democracy issues at that period. In the interview, the American ambassador reportedly says:

We don’t just export Coca-Cola and blue jeans. We export democracy. Thomas Jefferson didn’t say that all Americans
These developments in the international arena had a huge impact on local governance. While describing the political environment in which governance issues have unfolded in Kenya, this study explores such issues in the country as recorded by media between 1989 to 2016 with specific reference to BBC and CNN.

5.1 Governance Issues in the Post Cold War KANU Era, 1989 - 2002

The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 signified the end of Cold War and a change in international political order where the US was left as the only super power. With that change, the West proclaimed a win for democracy and capitalism. Consequently, the West started to pressure other countries to adopt democratic ideals. Leaders such as Kenya’s president Moi who had hitherto enjoyed massive support from the West prior to the end of the Cold War, even when such leaders clumped on opposition, were no longer being tolerated. The ruling KANU regime was determined to remain as the only political party in Kenya despite the wind of change that was sweeping across the world. However, pressure was mounting from Western diplomats. In 1990, in a seemingly clear departure from diplomatic practice, the US ambassador to Kenya, Smith Hempstone, told a gathering of Nairobi Rotarians that the Kenyan leadership must read the sign of the times and go the multi-party way (Patel, 2001).

Multi-party politics meant other parties could compete with KANU and possibly get the mandate from the Kenyan voters through elections to take over power. President Moi was determined to ensure that never happened even if it meant using state resources to thwart that campaign. He resulted to governing by dictatorship. Opposition leaders were arrested and jailed whenever the
government viewed them as a threat to status quo. For example when opposition leaders led by Kenneth Matiba called for a political rally on July seventh 1990, the government arrested many of them even before the day of the rally (Hornsby, 2012). They were detained and accused of plotting, with the assistance of foreigners, to assassinate President Moi. Their followers vowed to continue with the *saba saba* (meaning 7th of July in Swahili) rally at Kamukunji grounds in Nairobi. On July seventh 1990, riots broke out as protesters tried to access the venue of the rally while the police resisted. As Hornsby reports in his book ‘Kenya a History Since Independence’ this clampdown on protesters by the police left between 30 to 100 people dead.

Meanwhile, the Western press was now emboldened to report about governance issues across the world. During cold war, even the Western press was keen not to upset their governments’ allies; however they governed, for fear of those allies turning East. As Smith Hempstone (an American journalist who later became the US ambassador to Kenya) affirmed, during the Cold War, even journalists, wrote stories that were framed to reflect their countries ideological leanings while avoiding stories that would put leaders allied to their side in bad light (Kennedy, 1998). That meant journalists from East leaning countries wrote stories framed to promote Communism while West leaning journalists wrote stories with a view to promote Capitalism.

However, with the Cold War gone, the Western press reported everything and even promoted respect for human rights and democracy. The local press was slowly taking queue and started reporting more boldly on the ills of the system. Seeing the ruthlessness the government had employed to deal with the protesters and now with most of their political leaders behind bars, the clergy started becoming more outspoken on governance issues. Reverend Njoya and Bishop Okullu openly called for a fresh general elections and resignation of the government (Hornsby, 2012). As Hornsby notes, when earlier the local press were afraid to publish critics of the
government, the BBC had broadcasted Reverend Alexander Muge’s sermon where he called it ungodly for the government to violate the rights of its citizens.

The government’s ruthless response to opposition in a bid to silence them achieved a reverse effect as the people’s resolve to agitate for change increased. The riots now became more frequent and human rights violations increased as police opted to use force to deal with the protesters. The Scandinavians, the US and even the Great Britain protested about the violence and detentions (Hornsby, 2012). Most Western donors froze aid to Kenya and Americans through their ambassador Smith Hempstone openly pushed for democracy and open governance. Amidst local and Western donors’ pressure, in December 1991 Moi allowed multi-party politics through the repeal of section 2A of the Kenya constitution. However, as Hornsby (2012) notes, this decision had been forced on him as he would confirm in a BBC interview in January 1992. Hornsby quotes president Moi in the BBC interview saying:

It is because of the Western media set against us, because of the economic setting today. The trend of the world economies are being controlled by developed countries, and I didn’t want my people to be hammered and bothered for a long time . . . Don’t you ever believe that in Africa with multi-partyism will produce stability in Africa. It will never (Hornsby, 2012: 487).

In the general elections that followed in December 1992, Moi was determined to win by any means necessary. Many governance issues were raised as the country geared towards the general elections. To ensure voters who were likely to vote for the opposition did not vote, KANU instigated ethnic violence in many areas across the country (Odhiamb-Mbai, Oyugi & Wanyande, 2003). Odhiambo-Mbai et al (2003) notes that the spate of well planned and executed orgy of inter-ethnic violence was designed not only to discredit multi-partyism as a system that stirs ethnic animosity but also to displace people from certain areas and thereby disenfranchise
certain groups of voters unlikely to support the instigators of violence in the elections. In the Rift Valley region about 350,000 people were displaced and approximately 1,500 others killed.

Other governance related issues recorded that KANU employed to ensure a win in the 1992 elections were economic malpractices. To finance election activities for the party, the KANU government pumped Kshs. 1.1 billion in new currency into the economy between September and December 1992 (Odhiambo-Mbai et al, 2003). The administration also intimidated and blackmailed opposition candidates with bankruptcy threats. There were also various ways employed to manipulate opposition parties and undermine their strength including bribing its top officials to ensure they don’t unite into a single party. This was achieved and the opposition fragmented into many small political parties all fielding separate candidates for presidency.

The elections were finally held in December 1992 and Moi retained his seat as the president of Kenya through his party KANU. The BBC (December 24, 1997) flashback documentation of the election outcome of 1992 states with a rather cautious tone that:

Multiparty presidential and legislative elections took place on 29 December 1992. President Moi won a fourth term of office. Although the election was widely viewed to be not free and fair, a Commonwealth monitoring group assessed that the election outcome "reflected the will of the people" (BBC, 1997, December 24, Kenya: a political history, para. 17).

With KANU back into power, the governance system did not change much. Moi retained most of the powers and privileges he had enjoyed in the single party era. Good governance remained an academic concept, corruption continued unabated, human rights record did not improve significantly and the rule of law remained a pipe dream (Odhiambo-Mbai et al, 2003). Consequently, there was a downward trend of direct foreign investment in the country. The
country also to a large extent continued to face foreign aid freeze as the West was not yet satisfied with the democratic space.

Moi’s first term under multi-party system was characterized by many governance challenges that also spread to almost all government parastatals. In mid-1990s the coffee under Kenya Planters Co-Operative Union (KPCU) was facing collapse, the government placed Kenya Creameries Co-Operative (KCC) under a taskforce after a nationwide outcry over huge losses and the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board collapsed leaving many farmers unpaid due to mismanagement (Hornsby, 2012).

Post-1992 elections also show weakening of opposition parties due to fragmentation. The loss of opposition to KANU for the presidency in 1992 was believed to be as a result of parties splitting and therefore failing to front a strong united opposition. It was expected the opposition would learn from that and unite ahead of the approaching 1997 general elections, but instead parties split even further and KANU appeared on course for an even easier victory (Hornsby, 2012).

After the death of official opposition leader and former FORD Kenya presidential candidate Oginga Odinga in 1994, disagreements arose within the party and as a result his son Raila Odinga left to form a new party named National Development Party (NDP) while former FORD Kenya deputy chairman, Paul Muite, also left and formed Safina Party. From the Eastern province emerged a new presidential contender, Charity Ngilu, on a Social Democratic Party (SDP) ticket and immediately gained a lot of support from her Ukambani community.

The KANU administration had not changed much on its governance style and when the opposition tried demonstrations to agitate for constitutional reforms before the elections, the police broke their gatherings down forcefully. Mis-use of public funds during campaigns were rampant as was captured by a BBC (December 29, 1997) report that stated:
This time round, there have been renewed reports of electoral engineering, bribery and corruption. The opposition remains divided along ethnic lines, and is badly organised. There are 24 parties, and 14 of them have put up presidential candidates. Their agendas are ill-defined, but they are united in wanting to oust President Moi (BBC, 1997, December 29, Kenya: candidates and issues, para. 6).

Eventually when the 1997 general elections were held, KANU sailed through to victory again and Moi won a second term in office as the president of Kenya. In the subsequent years however, a huge population did not believe the KANU administration was governing with their mandate and the state continued to weaken in all aspects. There was a decline in police capability, politicisation of violence, poverty, joblessness, inequality and lack of hope that emerged to create a culture of crime (Hornsby, 2012). This led to unwillingness of foreigners to invest in the country without physical security while local residents paid protection money to local militias such as the Taliban, Kamjesh, Sungu Sungu and Mungiki to help secure their estates. On the judicial front, a report by Institute for Economic affairs described the judicial system as inept, corrupt and partial (Kwach, 1998). Such state of governance issues persisted throughout Moi’s final term in office. That gave fodder to the opposition to viciously persuade the voters not to re-elect KANU administration in the forthcoming 2002 elections.

The political realignments for the 2002 general elections began to emerge as Moi’s final term approached its end. Having learnt from previous ballots, opposition parties were now willing to form a united front as the only way to have a real chance of taking over government from KANU. With Moi not allowed by law to vie for a third term, there were many politicians competing to run for president on a KANU ticket. Kibaki, Ngilu and Wamalwa joined to form National Alliance party of Kenya (NAK) while Moi invited Raila to dissolve his NDP to join KANU. Moi had promised Raila that he would let him vie for presidency on a KANU ticket on
the forthcoming 2002 general elections (Hornsby, 2012). However, in June 2002, around the period when NDP-KANU merger happened, CNN (June 29, 2002) reported that Moi was planning to extend his term in office against the constitution: The CNN report said:

Speaking at a dinner on Friday night to celebrate the merger of his ruling KANU party with the largest opposition party, Moi, 77, said he supported KANU legislators who wanted to extend the parliament's current session until the drafting of a new constitution (CNN, 2002, June 29, Kenya's Moi seeks to prolong rule, para. 3).

The CNN (June 29, 2002) story also captured reaction from the opposition and the international community insisting that the general elections must be held in 2002. The report said:

The British High Commission said Britain would not "sit quietly" if it appeared KANU was serious about its plan and not merely floating the proposal to test reaction. "The ruling party are provoking our worst fears," High Commission spokesman Mark Norton said. "We still want the elections held this year. We will not sit quietly if there is a serious proposal to amend the constitution." (CNN, 2002, June 29, Kenya’s Moi seeks to prolong rule, para. 13)

After the outcry, Moi did not pursue that idea any further and he was now left with the task of finding a suitable successor. Within KANU, besides Raila Odinga who had just joined, were other big politicians such as George Saitoti and Kalonzo Musyoka who were looking forward to getting the party presidential ticket. To the disappointment of them all including Odinga, Moi handpicked Uhuru Kenyatta, a nominated MP and a son of the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, to stand on a KANU ticket for president. This prompted dissatisfied KANU politicians led by Raila Odinga to leave the party and join NAK politicians to form a new bigger outfit known as National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) and agreed to front Mwai Kibaki as their presidential candidate.
For the first time KANU faced a united opposition which it feared could take away power. The government tried to use provincial administration to intimidate the opposition but even some administrators seeing the strong NARC wave were not as willing and enthusiastic to do the dirty work for the government as they had done in previous general elections (Hornsby, 2012).

The government now turned to state owned media Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), where they denied the opposition campaign coverage in both radio and television. Though, public broadcasters were required by law to give equal coverage to all parties, KBC gave 92 per cent of its political campaigns airtime to Kenyatta while Kibaki got seven percent and the rest did not get any (Hornsby, 2012). Private broadcasters such as KTN and Nation TV were only available in urban areas and offered an almost balanced coverage with a slight bias towards the opposition.

Eventually the elections were held and Kibaki won bringing to an end KANU’s 39 year rule since the country gained independence from Britain in 1963. Kibaki in his inaugural address promised to ensure better governance. CNN covered the event and reported thus:

"I, Mwai Kibaki, swear that I will be faithful to Kenya and serve it with my whole heart," ......But critics question how much real change the man who served Moi as vice president for a decade can deliver, pointing to recent defectors from the ruling party in his NARC grouping (CNN, 2002, December 30, Kenya’s joy as Kibaki sworn in, para. 1).


With the end of KANU rule, most Kenyans believed the new NARC administration would govern much better than their predecessor. For instance, as Kenyans looked forward to ushering in a new government where the opposition was poised to win, a survey done by Gallup International in December 2002 during the dying days of KANU ranked Kenyans as the most
optimistic people in the world (Gallup, 2002). The NARC government had a lot of goodwill both domestically and internationally, which show a return of donor aid in 2003 (Hornsby, 2012).

However, the honeymoon was short-lived when Kibaki reneged on many agreements he had signed with his NARC allies such as sharing of government posts. Kibaki also used his predecessor’s style of governance, a style he had criticised while in opposition, by awarding his former political allies with parastatal jobs instead of appointing professionals (Hornsby, 2012). The NARC’s uniting factor was to remove KANU from power and thereafter share positions in government. The coalition lacked a common ideology to keep the parties that had come together to stick for long. After reneging on power sharing agreements, Kibaki surrounded himself with tribesmen whom he believed would be more loyal to him and ignored those who had helped him win the presidency (Hornsby, 2012). As Hornsby explains, the media was awash with reports of Kibaki’s inner circle increasingly behaving the same way their predecessor had done: corrupt, intolerant and ethnically chauvinist.

The new administration also adopted corruption schemes inherited from the previous government to steal from the public coffers so as to enrich themselves as well as fund future election contests. Anglo-Leasing scheme (elaborated further in this study under the economic chapter) was one such scheme where more than 50 billion shillings was reportedly stolen by Kibaki allies (Hornby, 2012). Hornsby quotes a Daily Nation (January 18, 2004) report that highlighted how corruption had changed NARC ministers’ lifestyle. The report said:

> Those who, just a year ago, were living in some low-class hotels in Nairobi are now the proud owners of homes in plush residential estates . . . a year of Narc in power has changed the lifestyles of some Cabinet ministers beyond their wildest dreams (Daily Nation, 2004, January 18: 16).
Such bold media scrutiny of state affairs led to attempts by the government to use force to silence free press. Believing a section of the press was about to publish damning investigative corruption story involving government officials, in 2006 the regime ordered an attack on the Standard Group, the company that ran *Kenya Television Network* (KTN) and *The Standard* newspaper. The Kibaki administration appeared to have adopted full autocratic governance style as it confirmed to have ordered the media attack. BBC (March 2, 2006) reported on the attack thus:

> Armed and masked men stormed the HQ and printing presses of the Standard group, owner of the Standard newspaper and the Kenya Television Network.... The newspaper has been critical of President Mwai Kibaki’s handling of recent corruption scandals. The government has repeatedly accused the Standard of fabricating stories... The Kenyan government has confirmed it ordered police to raid the offices of a newspaper and its sister TV station (BBC, 2006, March 2, Kenya admits armed raids on paper, para. 1).

By 2005 Kibaki rarely consulted Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) ministers within the NARC coalition, with him and his allies determined to ensure that the ongoing constitution review does not clip their powers. When the constitution referendum of 2005 was held, the Kibaki side lost after the intense campaign by the LDP members against it. Consequently Kibaki sacked all the LDP ministers from government thus signalling the end of the NARC coalition government.

Most opinion polls towards the end of 2007 general elections campaigns projected Kibaki trailing Raila in the presidential contest. However, when elections were held, Kibaki was announced the winner, a victory that was contested by his main challenger Raila Odinga. Raila claimed that his victory had been stolen, an assertion supported by all observers who took seriously the ODM’s claim that at least 300,000 votes had been added to Kibaki’s total to give him a lead (Hornsby, 2012). Raila refused to concede defeat and called for mass action to force
Kibaki out of office. There were mass demonstrations across the country which soon metamorphosed into a tribal war. Kibaki refused to leave office and ordered police to deal firmly with the protesters even sending the army to quell chaos in some regions.

In the meantime, the international community intervened and convinced the protagonists to share power and form a coalition government. This was realized with Raila becoming the Prime Minister while Kibaki retained the presidency. By the time the protagonists had agreed to share power, more than 1200 people had died during the post election violence with more than a third of them, mostly Raila supporters, having been shot by the police (Hornby, 2012).

A report by Karen Allen which she compiled for BBC (March 9, 2009) portrayed governance in the coalition government as that of anarchy with both sides coalescing to fleece the tax payer. The report stated that:

The "eating" metaphor plays on the lips of Kenyans wherever you go. "They're eating together," is how they dismiss their leaders now....In recent weeks, Prime Minister Raila Odinga's ODM (Orange Democratic Movement) has been marred by an alleged maize scandal, whilst President Mwai Kibaki's PNU (Party of National Unity) stands accused of doing dodgy deals around oil....Two big political blocks sharing power and barely an opposition in parliament. It doesn't do much for public confidence.....No Kenyan leader has been found guilty of corruption and political parties often use allegations of graft to muddy their rivals' names (Allen, 2009, March 9, Has Kenya's power-sharing worked?, para. 6).

President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga worked at cross purposes most of the time. On February 2010, Odinga announced the sacking of Minister for Agriculture William Ruto and Minister for Education Samson Ongeri for their role in corruption in their respective ministries
only for President Kibaki to veto their sacking (Hornsby, 2012). This prompted Odinga to seek external intervention. CNN (Feb 16, 2010) reported of Raila’s call for intervention thus:

Kenya’s prime minister on Monday urged former U.N. chief Kofi Annan to intervene in a dispute with the nation’s president over the suspension of two Cabinet members. Odinga had suspended agriculture minister William Ruto and education minister Samuel Ongeri for three months after a corruption scandal in their ministries. The latest stand-off threatens to dismantle an already shaky coalition government, sparking fresh fears of renewed ethnic fighting that killed about 1,300 and left hundreds of thousands displaced in 2008. The violence started after Odinga accused Kibaki of rigging the results of the presidential election. Annan helped secure a power-sharing deal between the two rivals that helped end post-election violence (CNN, 2010, February 16, Annan urged to intervene in Kenyan dispute, para. 1).

The external intervention Odinga sought did not come and with time the matter fizzled out as him and Kibaki embarked on campaigning for a new constitution. The proponents of the new constitution won in a referendum and the document was ratified on August 2010. The news of the ratification of the new constitution in the international media was however overshadowed by the presence of the Sudanese president in the ceremony, Omar Bashir, whom the ICC had issued a warrant of arrest. BBC, (August 27, 2010) captured the story thus:

Tens of thousands of people watched as President Mwai Kibaki signed the document into law at a large ceremony in the capital, Nairobi. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir was present at the event, despite being wanted for war crimes. European Union foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton urged Kenya to arrest Mr Bashir and hand him over to the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC, which wants to put Mr Bashir on trial for alleged war crimes and genocide in the Darfur region, has reported his visit to the UN Security Council and asked council members "to take any
measure they may deem appropriate." Kenya has ratified the statute requiring it to co-operate with the ICC. However, last month the African Union instructed its members - which include Kenya - not to apprehend Mr Bashir (BBC, 2010, August 27, Kenya president ratifies new constitution, para. 1).

Kenya was itself under the radar of the ICC with the top presidential candidates for the approaching 2013 general elections, William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta, having been indicted by The Hague based court for their role in the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya.

The Jubilee party took over the government in 2013 with Uhuru Kenyatta as the president and William Ruto as his deputy, both of whom were facing crimes against humanity charges at the ICC. The two were reported to have used their ICC cases to galvanize support in their bases to win the presidency. When Uhuru and Ruto now president and deputy president respectively started appearing in the International Criminal Court, CNN and BBC consistently reported on the cases and how their indictment would influence their governance decisions including use of state resources for their ICC trials activities. A reporter, Gabriel Gatehouse, compiled a story for the BBC (September 9, 2013) expressing that:

Kenya’s Deputy President William Ruto has arrived at The Hague to stand trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC) on Tuesday, his lawyer has said.... High-ranking government officials saw off Mr Ruto at the airport in Nairobi.... Mr Ruto and President Uhuru Kenyatta have been charged with crimes against humanity, which they deny... The charges against the three stem from violence that broke out after disputed elections in 2007, in which more than 1,000 people were killed and 600,000 forced from their homes. Mr Kenyatta and Mr Ruto were on opposite sides during the 2007 election and are accused of orchestrating attacks on members of each other's ethnic groups but formed an alliance for elections in March this year. Analysts say the ICC prosecutions bolstered their campaign as they portrayed it as foreign interference in

When Uhuru, then a sitting president, agreed to appear at the ICC trials, there were allegations of misuse of state power as he was accompanied by a huge delegation of government employees and legislators, even though he had earlier said he was to face the prosecution as a private citizen and not as the head of state. BBC (October 8, 2014), through their correspondent Anna Holigan, published the report on the issue thus:

Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta has appeared before the International Criminal Court (ICC), where he faces charges of crimes against humanity... He is the first serving head of state to come before the court in The Hague.... The president temporarily relinquished power to come to The Hague. Nevertheless, his convoy received a presidential welcome. Flag-waving crowds surged as his police-escorted car pulled up. International TV crews jostled to get him in their frame.... Around 100 politicians flew to The Hague. One of them told me they had all paid their own air fares, a public demonstration of support for their president (Holigan, 2014, Kenyatta appears at ICC in Hague for landmark hearing, para.1).

The BBC (October 8, 2014) report went on to allege that Uhuru and Ruto reportedly used their powers as top government officials to interfere with evidence against them to win their ICC cases. The report noted that:

The trial has reached a deadlock. The prosecution accuse the Kenyan government of withholding vital evidence, the defence say without evidence there should be no trial.... The ICC wants Mr Kenyatta to explain allegations that evidence against him had been withheld by the Kenyan government - a claim rejected by Kenyan Attorney-General Githu Muigai, who appeared before the court on Tuesday (Holigan, 2014, Kenyatta appears at ICC in Hague for landmark hearing, para. 9).
Eventually the case against Uhuru collapsed in December 2014 and that of Ruto in April 2016. The prosecution blamed the collapse of the cases on the Kenyan government’s successful interference with the evidence including intimidating or killing the prosecution’s witnesses (Karimi & Leposo, 2014, Leithead, 2016).

5.3 Other Governance Issues

Away from events around ICC cases, there were several other reports by CNN and BBC that attempted to analyze governance issues in Kenya that this study explores. For example on 26th June 2014, after a terrorist attack which left 48 people dead in Mpeketoni area in Lamu located on Kenya’s coast, BBC (June 26, 2014) filed a story on the event. Besides featuring issues about the actual Lamu terrorist attack, the story went further to analyze the state of Kenya in terms of governance. The BBC report by Andrew Harding stated thus:

The country is wrestling with some huge - and increasingly pressing – challenges: deep ethnic divisions, an enduring culture of impunity, corruption, and growing threat posed by home-grown militants and by Islamist fighters from neighbouring Somalia (Harding, 2014, 26 June, Kenya’s wrestle with insecurity, para. 3).

The report did not justify that description of the country by elaborating the source of the information such as local testimonies, experts on governance or giving statistics on Kenya’s home grown militants.

5.4 Conclusion

States have remained the bedrock of the international political system since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. However, as realism theory of international relations establishes, states act in their own self interests. Thus, a state’s first priority when dealing with other states is to promote its own self interests. As part of this pursuit, a state proactively courts other states to
apply its ideals and values in their own countries. To realize such ends, a state may try to influence how another country is governed. This is for example seen in democracies where Western countries become quite vocal during elections of other countries giving views on why some leaders should or should not be elected. Since emerging victorious in the Second World War, Booth (2011) notes that the US perceives itself as a quintessentially settled social order and “a paramount embodiment of progress and modernity” (55). This could explain former US ambassador, Johnnie Carson’s, comment that “choices have consequences” (CNN, March 11, 2013) warning Kenyans against electing Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto as president and deputy respectively while the two were indicted suspects on crimes against humanity at the ICC. Ironically however, and in a seemingly strict adherence to the dictates of realism theory, the United States in a bid to protect its interests in the region congratulated Uhuru Kenyatta immediately he was announced the winner in the 2013 presidential elections. CNN’s Faith Karimi and Nimar Elbaigir (March 11, 2013) covered the story reporting that:

In a statement after the election, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry applauded the vote."Kenya has been one of America’s strongest and most enduring partners in Africa," Kerry said. "We will continue to be a strong friend and ally of the Kenyan people." ....The UK minister for Africa, Marks Simmonds, echoed his sentiment and called on candidates to address disputes in court to avoid violence (Karimi & Elbagir, 2013, Maarch 13, Uhuru Kenyatta wins Kenyan presidency; rival to challenge outcome in court, para. 24).

As the story “Uhuru Kenyatta wins Kenyan presidency” (CNN, March 11, 2013) noted, the US was keen to maintain cordial relations with Kenya so that the two countries could cooperate in fighting Islamist militants in the region. This was despite the US earlier stance against voting him in. Realistically, it seemed US self interests would better be served by retaining normal
relations with the country even with the leaders they had objected to at the helm, than cutting ties with Kenya.

In the following chapter six, this study analyses data on how CNN and BBC has reported on Kenya’s economic issues.
CHAPTER SIX
FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES

6.0 Introduction

Economy is a system by which people get living. It is a framework where all economic activities are carried out (Brown, 1959).

As the Cold War was coming to an end in the late 1980s, there was uncertainty in the direction African economies would take. This was because most countries’ economies in the continent had hitherto been heavily influenced by either the Capitalist West led by the United States of America or the Communist East led by the USSR, as the two competed to win allies in the region. As Jane Perlez reporting for the New York Times (Ma 17, 1992) noted, many third world countries in Africa were left in economic limbo during the initial years following the fall of the Berlin wall. The report notes thus:

Once avidly wooed by Washington and Moscow with large amounts of economic aid and modern armaments, the impoverished nations of Africa now find themselves desperate for friends. In the last three years, superpower rivalry has been replaced by international indifference (Perlez, 1992, May 17, After the Cold War, para. 1).

Kenyan economy was caught up in the ensuing international political order changes quagmire. After the fall of Berlin Wall which symbolized the collapse of the Soviet bloc and of Marxism, thus leaving the US as the sole superpower, free and fair multi-party elections began to be widely regarded as the test of the government’s legitimacy the world over. With no competitor, the US could now demand countries, which needed their financial aid, to either adopt its version of democracy or lose out. Donor aid, of which Kenya had hitherto been a big beneficiary, was being pegged on adoption of pro-democracy conditions such as multi-party politics and respect for
human rights. Smith Hempston, the American ambassador to Kenya between 1989 and 1993 confirmed in a 1998 interview with Charles Kennedy Stuart that a cable was sent to all American ambassadors in Africa by the then Assistant Secretary for Africa, Herman Cohen, expressing that now that the Cold War was over, the US had made it a policy to vigorously support those nations which shared its ideas and ideals for human rights, expansion of democracy, and the rule of law (Kennedy, 1998).

The Kenyan government led by President Daniel Moi was not quick to adopt these donor demands and now the country’s economy faced an uncertain future as most Western aid dried up. Ambassador Smith Hempstone pointed out in an interview with Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1998 that after the July 7th 1990 opposition riots (popularly known as saba saba) where serious violations of human rights by the KANU government were reported, including killing of more than 20 demonstrators, the US government started massive cutting of aid. In the interview, Ambassador Smith Hempstone is quoted saying:

    We started cutting aid, which was at that point about $80 million a year after Saba-Saba, the riots. We froze all military aid. We started cutting and now it's $27 million or something like that. It cost them millions of dollars (Kennedy, 1998: 35).

With the Cold War gone and foreign powers no longer afraid of upsetting allies, there was now a flood of literature both in popular and academic press about democracy and governance in Africa (Ellis, 1996). As Ellis points out, most of this literature advocated the belief that liberal democracy would open the way to an improvement in the continent’s fortunes. Now actions by the government that affected the Kenyan economy would be more scrutinized and broadcast by both international and local media.
As opposition politics became inevitable, governments in Africa desperate to cling to power devised corrupt ways of raising money to run campaigns against more popular Western supported opposition politicians. These mega scandals had far reaching ramifications on the already aid starved economies. However, corruption in governments could no longer be hidden from the media. It was in such circumstances that the Moi government in Kenya came up with what came to be known as the ‘Goldenberg Scandal’ (Hornby, 2012).

6.1 The Goldenberg Scandal

In early 1990s, a strong wind of change in governance was sweeping across Africa. African strongmen of the time found it hard to bar multi-party democracy from penetrating their territories. Zambia’s Kenneth Kaunda, became the first casualty when he lost presidency to the opposition in 1991 after ruling from 1964. To avoid such an ordeal and with no financial aid expected from Western donors, Kenya’s ruling elite crafted corruption schemes to raise campaign funds and ensure KANU retains power. However, this did not escape media attention as Daily Nation’s Kamau Ngotho (June 18, 2017) reports:

A senior official at the Treasury when Goldenberg happened would tell me years later that when President Kaunda made history as the first sitting African President to lose an election, President Moi, then under pressure for Kenya to have a multi-party system of government, and his allies panicked. They apparently decided to come up with a campaign to ensure they won the elections (Ngotho, 2017 June 18, Kaunda talked of Kenyatta's love for meat and why Moi hated Obote, para. 35).

The Goldenberg scheme started in 1991 when its architect; Kamlesh Pattni registered Goldenberg International, a company that was supposed to export gold and diamonds (BBC, 2006). Kenya’s foreign currency reserves had been depleted by aid donors’ reluctance to support
Mr. Moi’s autocratic administration. Consequently, the government put up schemes that involved export compensation to lure businessmen into earning hard currency. Since Kenya produces little gold and no diamond, Goldenberg International was supposed to buy these minerals from other countries such as Congo and re-export them.

Goldenberg International founder Kamlesh Pattni successfully negotiated with the government of Kenya for a monopoly to export gold and diamonds and for a 35 percent export compensation. Eventually Goldenberg International is estimated to have claimed over $600m in export compensation claims from the Central Bank of Kenya which was more than 10% of the country’s annual GDP (BBC, 2006). However, it was discovered that the company had not exported any gold or diamond and that it had colluded with many top government officials in various ministries as well as officials in the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) to forge documents to claim compensation.

By the time their cover was blown up and the details of the Goldenberg scandal became public in 1993, the 1992 elections were over and Mr. Moi had retained power as the president of Kenya on a KANU ticket. The whistle was blown by a junior clerk at the CBK by the name David Munyakei who passed on detailed evidence of theft of government funds that was going on through Goldenberg International to two members of parliament; Anyang’ Nyong’ and Paul Muite (Kahora, 2009). The two members of parliament presented the details of the scandal in parliament for discussion. The same details were widely publicized by the press.

However, even as the Goldenberg pilferage at the Central Bank stopped, the scheme had cost the Kenyan economy dearly. A report in *The East African* by Billy Kahora (August 3, 2009) highlights the former corruption czar John Githongo’s quote in the July 1993 issue of the Nairobi-based *Executive* magazine speaking about Goldenberg scheme stating that:
“To me, the Goldenberg saga marks a turning point in the development of corruption in Kenya. For the first time in this nation’s history, a single set of deals is having macroeconomic implications... it is shaking the very foundations of Kenya’s economy... The country has started to consume itself, like the Chinese serpent that is depicted as eating its own tail.” (Kahora, 2009, August 3, Goldenburg: Story of a whistleblower, para. 4)

Other corrupt schemes to fund election campaigns would be drafted under KANU and spill over to the succeeding NARC administration. One such scheme was the ‘Anglo-Leasing’.

6.2 The Anglo-Leasing scandal

The KANU regime had emerged victorious after the 1992 general elections but some of the means they had used to clinch victory were coming back to haunt their administration. The West was not only demanding competitive politics from other countries but also accountability in management of public resources – Kenya was no exception. Goldenberg scheme details were being published by the media which was increasingly becoming outspoken. Proceeds from the Goldenberg were said to have been used to fund the now victorious KANU regime. IMF and Bretton Woods first raised questions on the scandal based on an article by a Nation journalist, Sarah Elderkin, after which to pacify the two institutions, president Moi called for investigations (Kahora, 2009). However, due to the scandal, the much needed financial aid was frozen further and Moi remained in bad books of the West.

Determined to cling to power and run things the same way the regime had done before multi-party democracy and liberalized media, top government officials escalated corruption schemes that would raise funds to finance future political campaigns for the increasingly unpopular KANU regime. One such scheme that KANU officials started but was uncovered during the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) regime is the as the ‘Anglo-Leasing’ (Wrong, 2010).
Transactions involving anything that government categorized under national security, such as buying of military and police equipment were not subjected to parliamentary scrutiny. In 1997, the government initiated a project to install security equipment or accessories; with a simultaneous financing contract by which the government borrowed funds sourced by the suppliers to pay for the goods being bought under the first contract (Mati, 2014). Anglo-leasing and Finance company was eventually awarded 20 national security contracts, worthy hundreds of millions of dollars, for the acquisition of security related goods and services (Hornsby, 2012, Githongo, 2005, Mati, 2014).

The plunder of tax payers’ money through Anglo Leasing contracts went unnoticed until 2004 when KANU MP Maoka Maore exposed the first fraud (Hornsby, 2012). It was discovered that a Kenya shillings 3.4 billion passport deal between Home Affairs Ministry and a British lease finance company Anglo-Leasing had been signed in 2003. The contract was found to involve the violation of procurement process, tripled prices and the legal non-existence of the supplying company itself. Ironically, this fraud was being executed by the new NARC administration which had replaced KANU in the 2002 general elections. NARC had seemingly taken over KANU corruption schemes and was executing them itself.

The ownership of Anglo-Leasing, a company that was said to be incorporated in London, was shrouded in mystery as investigations into the company revealed. In 2004, John Githongo, the anti-corruption tsar accompanied by Kiraitu Murungi, a cabinet minister in the Kibaki administration, went to the UK to carry out a search for the company and found out that no such entity existed in Britain or had ever existed there (Githongo, 2005). Further investigations by Githongo found out that Anglo-Leasing was actually registered in Kenya by a Deepak Kamani in 1997. As Githongo (Graft Report, 2005) noted, for many years during the KANU administration,
Kamani was known to collude with government officials to steal public funds through shady deals.

The Anglo-Leasing deal turned out to be another of such schemes as Githongo started receiving threats from government ministers, some of whom he previously thought were committed to assisting him to fight corruption in the country. For example the then justice and constitutional affairs minister Kiraitu Murungi revealed to Githongo that Anglo-leasing involved many top government ministers and that he should stop investigating the deal all together.

Kiraitu tried to buy him out by promising that if he plays ball, the government would intervene in a court case Githongo’s father was facing and ensure a favourable outcome. However, Githongo had taped most of the communications he had with people associated with the scandal as part of the evidence. After receiving death threats from Anglo-Leasing suspects, Githongo fled to London and released the taped evidence to BBC. BBC (February 9, 2006) reported that:

> On the tape heard by the BBC, a man Mr Githongo says is the minister is heard telling him that the loan is owed to a businessman with links to powerful politicians and that if he goes slow on his investigation the businessman will also go slow..."The minister of justice was telling me that if I eased off my enquiries then my father's loan matter would be made to go away," Mr Githongo said (BBC, 2006, February 9, ‘Taped evidence’ in Kenya scandal, para. 5).

The then UK International Development Secretary Hilary Benn described Mr. Githongo as a very courageous man who had helped bring forward serious allegations of fraud in Kenya that must be investigated (BBC, February 9, 2006). According to the BBC report, Anglo-Leasing scandal was never concluded as the suspects, including four former cabinet ministers denied involvement i.e. Kiraitu Murungi, Chris Murugaru, David Mwiraria and Moody Awori. As Wrong (2010) noted, the top leaders in the new regime believed their turn to steal public
resources had come and they were determined to utilize the opportunity. While in exile in London John Githongo confirmed as much to a journalist Michela Wrong. Wrong, who was once the financial Times correspondent in East Africa, later wrote a book about corruption in Kenyan government where he quotes John Githongo confessing to him thus:

“They told me it was them,” he said pacing the floor. “These ministers, my closest colleagues, sat there and told me to my face, that they, they were the ones doing the stealing. Once they said that, I knew I had to go.” (Wrong, 2010: 9).

International arrest warrants for Bradley Beckenfield and Brian Mills; two foreigners connected with the scandal were issued but the suspects were not arrested. According to the BBC (February 9, 2006) report, Bradley Beckenfield was believed to reside in the US while Brian Mills whereabouts were unknown. The Anglo-leasing scheme was believed to have been executed to raise funds for the government, funds that would be used in campaigns for the 2005 constitution referendum and the approaching 2007 general elections (Hornby, 2012). Nevertheless, the government side lost in the 2005 constitution referendum and the 2007 general elections were disputed with both the biggest opposition party ODM and the president’s party PNU claiming victory. This led to a widespread violence in the country as the government forces clashed with opposition supporters.

Following country-wide violence that erupted after the disputed 2007 general elections, Kenya’s economy dipped. Tourists avoided the country as the violence was widely broadcast by global channels. A report by Katie Hunt for the BBC (January 2, 2008) indicated that:

Tourists arriving in Kenya hope to catch a glimpse of lion or elephant while on safari, or lounge on the country’s 300 miles of white, sandy beaches.....Instead, holidaymakers are finding themselves reluctant to venture from their hotels as violence has erupted across the country, killing around 300
people, after a disputed election (Hunt, 2008, January 2, Violence threatens Kenya’s economy, para. 1).

Kenya’s economic growth which had risen from 2% in 2002 to 7% in 2007 fell to 1.7% at the height of violence in 2008 (Hornby, 2012). Following such statistics, BBC (January 2, 2008) carried a report by Katie Hunt that claimed that it is not prudent to invest in emerging markets like Kenya. The report stated thus:

“There are not many countries in Africa with decent market infrastructure and Kenya happens to be one of them,” says Beat Siegenthaler, chief strategist at TD Securities in London. “This will serve to remind people that it is not straightforward to invest in emerging markets” (Hunt, 2008, January 2, Violence threatens Kenya’s economy, para. 27).

Eventually the opposition chief Raila Odinga and president Mwai Kibaki agreed to form a coalition government with the former as the prime minister while Kibaki retained the presidency thus bringing the violence to an end as well as stopping further dipping of the economy.

During the coalition government that show the opposition included in the government, there appeared to have less mega corruption schemes with any embezzlement of public resources becoming more visible as coalition partners indicted each other (Hornsby, 2012). Meanwhile, many ministers, including Attorney General Amos Wako, were banned from the UK or the US because of concerns over corruption or their role in protecting it.

In 2012, Kenya’s economic growth registered 4.7% in the third quarter amid gradual slowdown in investment as the 2013 general elections drew closer (Reuters, 2012). However, unlike many other previous general elections periods in the country where political turmoil stalled the economy, there were no upheavals accompanying the 2013 general elections. The World Bank (The World Bank, 2013, June 17) noted that:
“Kenyans are reaping gains from a smooth election process and sound macroeconomic conditions, but much more remains to be done to achieve the target growth rate of 10 percent envisaged in Vision 2030,” says Diarietou Gaye, World Bank Country Director for Kenya. “The government needs to create an enabling environment for private sector-led growth by continuing to invest in infrastructure, increasing domestic energy production, removing bottlenecks to doing business and sustaining sound monetary and fiscal policies.” (The World Bank, 2013, June 17, Time for Kenya to Shift Gears to Accelerate Growth and Reduce Poverty, para. 3)

The World Bank projected a growth of 5.7 percent in 2013 which was higher than the 4.7 percent of 2012. There were reports that this growth would not be achieved following the terrorist attack at the Westgate mall in September 2013 but the IMF contradicted this view saying Kenya could withstand a one-off attack by Islamist militants (BBC, 2013). The country reached the projected economic growth and registered a 5.5 percent in 2014 and 5.6 percent in 2015 rising to 5.8 percent in 2016 (Delloite, 2017, World Bank, 2016).

Other economic related issues reported during Jubilee administration by year 2016 include National Youth Service scandal where about Ksh. 1.8 billion was alleged to have been stolen by government officials and Eurobond scandal where over Ksh. 100 billion floated in European bond market were said to have been embezzled (Njagi, 2016, BBC, 2016).

In regard to Eurobond, the sale of government bonds, all the proceeds worth over a billion US dollars or Ksh. 100 billion were allegedly embezzled by top jubilee administration officials. When Kenyans in various forums petitioned the US government to help in repatriating the money, BBC (January 29, 2016) reported the story in a tone that trivialized the matter. The broadcaster reported that:

Now some exasperated Kenyans have reached out to the US Attorney General Loretta Lynch for help. A White House
petition entitled "Have US AG Loretta Lynch help Kenyans recover their looted Eurobond proceeds" has picked up thousands of signatures. And a Twitter hashtag #KenyansToLorettaLynch has been used thousands of times. Some seem to think President Obama’s Kenyan ancestry is good enough reason to get Lynch - a direct appointee of the US president - involved in their campaign. Part of the reason is that US banks have been accused of involvement - the funds raised by the bond sale were held in the US - and so Kenyan citizens think its government should intervene (BBC, 2016, January 29, Why do Kenyans want US help to solve a billion dollar mystery, para. 3).

6.3 Other Economic Issues Reported by BBC and CNN on Kenya

BBC and CNN have in some instances reported about the economy of Kenya by lumping it together with the prevailing African continent economic status or comparing it with the neighbouring countries. For example CNN (June 9, 2016) reported that all the top four African economies are in trouble. The report states thus:

Growth in Africa has outpaced most emerging markets in recent years, but that’s changing fast as a slew of problems beset its leading economies. Cheap oil, political uncertainty and weak banks are all to blame (CNN, 2016, June 9, Africa’s top 4 economies are in trouble, para. 1).

The four economies cited in the CNN (June 9, 2016) report were South Africa, Nigeria, Angola and Kenya. The report went on to describe Kenya’s economy as more resilient and diversified but with a weak banking sector. It expressed thus:

Three banks are being wound down by the central bank. Two of the banks failed last year, and a third was forced into the arms of the lender of last resort this month......The East African nation has 43 banks, most of which have overstated profits and are buckling under the weight of non-performing loans and a big fall in deposit. A dozen banks may end up under central bank control as it tries to clean up the sector. All this is weighing down on Kenya’s growth
prospects (CNN, 2016, June 9, Africa’s top 4 economies are in trouble, para. 18).

In 2016, Kenya’s Central Bank governor was voted best governor in the continent of Africa (Business Week, May 28, 2016). Shadrack Kavilu writing for the Business Week (May 28, 2016) on the awarding of Kenya’s Central Bank Governor reported that:

He was rewarded for managing to navigate a tough economic climate and credited with cleaning up the banking sector (Kavilu, May 28, 2016, Kenya’s Njoroge best Governor in Africa, para. 2).

In the media quotes above, the framing in the Business Week (May 28, 2016) seems to suggest that the banking sector in Kenya is being cleaned for the betterment of the economy while the CNN (2016, June 9) frame seems to suggest that Kenyan banks are failing which could lead to economic downfall.

The World Bank’s Kenya Economic Update (KEU) of March 2016 projected a 5.9 growth in 2016 rising to 6% in 2017. The growth according to the report was attributed to low oil prices, good agriculture performance, supportive monetary policy, and ongoing infrastructure investments. The World Bank review (October 25, 2016) reported that,

According to the latest Kenya National Bureau of statistics (KNBS) quarterly report, Kenya’s economy expanded by 6.2% in the second quarter compared to 5.9% in the same period in 2015. The growth was mainly supported by agriculture, forestry and fishing; transportation and storage; real estate; and wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing, construction, financial and insurance slowed during this quarter. (The World Bank review, 2016, October 25, para. 4).

The World Bank did not find the “weak banking sector in Kenya” (CNN, 2016, June 9, n.p) as having had any effect to the economy. Sunday Nation (May 3, 2015), through its correspondent
Paul Redfern, reported that the country had the third-largest financial sector in Africa: The report noted thus:

Kenya now has the third-largest financial sector in sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank has said (Redfern, 2015, May 3, Kenya has the third-largest financial sector in Africa, says World Bank, para. 1).

This study notes a contrast between CNN’s reporting of Kenya’s economic projections with other news sources such as World Bank.

BBC (June 7, 2016) reported that Tanzania is set to overtake Kenya economically. This according to the report is because Uganda had favoured Tanzania for two major projects which it was expected would partner with Kenya. First was Uganda’s intention of building its oil pipeline through Kenya but instead opted to construct it through Tanzania. Then a standard gauge railway line which Uganda also opted the Tanzania route. Uganda being a landlocked country needs to transport its oil through another country for shipment on the high seas. The World Bank on Gross Domestic Data (GDP) 2015 ranks Kenya at number 71 worldwide with 63, 398 billion dollars while Tanzania is ranked 84th with 45, 628 billion dollars. The Standard (February 17, 2016) reported that:

Today Kenya is ranked fifth largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa at a lower-middle income level, while Tanzania is yet to attain such status – and is not likely to attain it over the next five years (The Standard, 2016, February 17, Tanzania to overtake Kenya? Not really, para. 3).

The Standard (February 17, 2016) report went on to report that Kenya is on course to attaining middle-income status by 2025.
6.4 Conclusion

The governance, economy and security of a nation determine the overall wellbeing of its people and its relations with other countries across the world. A country’s wellbeing as represented in all these aspects is enhanced by associating with the rest of the world mainly through trade. However, the knowledge the rest of the world has about a country influences its interaction with it – the knowledge that to a large extent comes from the mass media. Media does not only impact on perceptions and biases of people but also on real economy (Kral, 2009). This assertion is buttressed in the agenda setting theory of media as noted by McCombs (2010) where he states that:

Negative newspaper headlines about the economy influence the public's perceptions about the health of the economy. In turn, these opinions become self-fulfilling prophecies as people adjust their behavior to fit their beliefs (McCombs, 2010: 15).

Powerful broadcasters with international command are the greatest purveyors of knowledge about countries to other countries. The portrayal of Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues by CNN and BBC therefore has significant impact to their audience across the world and thus the wellbeing of the country.

As a precursor to the study’s final conclusions and recommendations, the subsequent three chapters - using critical discourse analysis method - expound further on the data discussed so far and in line with the objectives of this research. To this end, the succeeding chapter seven examines the factors that influence the framing of news. The chapter analyzes the framing of some of the news reports about Kenya that have been highlighted in previous chapters.
CHAPTER SEVEN

EXAMINING THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE FRAMING OF NEWS ON SECURITY, GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC ISSUES IN KENYA BY CNN AND BBC

7.0 Introduction

A broadcaster may or may not broadcast a story depending on various considerations within a media house. Nevertheless, universally the newsworthiness of a news story is determined by factors such as prominence, proximity, and timeliness inter alia (Leigh, 2009). However, some of these factors may particularly not apply when it comes to international news reporting where the broadcaster is targeting a worldwide audience. Here, framing of the story defines the angle as the broadcaster may want to report in a way that will serve the informational needs of the diverse target audience and in line with the policies of the media house. Such policies may also be influenced by many other factors including the government of the origin of the media house i.e. the country where the mother company is domiciled. The overall effect of this is a news story of a far country that is framed to include elements that may not be representative of the actual event. This may sometimes bring into disrepute the credibility of the story from the perspective of the society that the report is contextualized on.

Article nine of The Declaration of Chapultec (1994) states thus:

The credibility of the press is linked to the commitment to the truth to the pursuit of accuracy, fairness and objectivity and to the clear distinction between news and advertising. The attainment of these goals and the respect for ethical and professional values may not be imposed. These are the exclusive responsibility of journalists and the media. In a free society, it is public opinion that rewards or punishes (The Declaration of Chapultec, 1994: 4).
Probably the above article states the ideal situation as envisioned by media professionals in a boardroom and possibly what journalists strive to achieve. However, that is not what has been necessarily happening in the actual practice.

Indeed, credibility issues have been raised by communities that have been reported about, with some people citing malice and international politics among other motivations that may have driven some international media houses to prepare certain reports. Based on the reports by CNN and BBC on Kenya as highlighted in earlier chapters of this study, this research further explores on the factors that influenced the two broadcasters in the framing of those stories.

### 7.1 Country of Origin Factors

The country of origin of any corporate body has some influence on its practice. Such a corporate may be influenced by the government regulations, professional bodies’ regulations within a country, dominant religion, politics and various ideological considerations among others. Any or all of these tend to influence most citizens over time thus shaping their perspectives that in turn influence their professional activities including journalism. Media houses, being informational based companies, tend to reflect most of the country of origin traits in their news trade. The individuals, who own, run or are employed by these corporations let traits of those influences percolate into the framing of broadcast stories. Foreign journalists, i.e. those that are not from the broadcaster’s country of origin, also appreciate the hiring companies’ organizational behaviour thus exhibiting the same in their professional work.

Above influences notwithstanding, the stature of CNN and BBC makes it possible for them to have a major impact on the reported communities based on the media portrayal as the two channels are routinely quoted around the world. Kral (2009) notes; “BBC is frequently quoted by
other media worldwide and therefore has the power to change the attitudes of the target audience towards a certain problem not only in its home country, but worldwide” (5). For Instance BBC (July 15, 2015) reported that Kenyans in the coastal area of Lamu were fleeing to a prison in the neighbourhood due to terrorism related security issues in the region.

BBC was quoted on this news widely across the world with some newscasters comically spicing up the story to mean that Kenyans were requesting to be jailed rather than stay free. Britain, the country of origin of BBC, was a colonial master in Kenya and the past history forms part of the culture and beliefs of the British citizens – elements that might be reflected in British owned companies including BBC. During the British colonial rule in Kenya, the status of the prisons was that of a torture camp manned by brutal guards where it could not be imagined a non-convict could seek refuge anywhere within the prison facility compound. That history could have compounded the framing of the story. Nevertheless, the external audiences were made to believe that Kenya was so insecure that people would rather live in squalid conditions in prison rather than stay free.

7.2 Business Interests

Commercial interests for both the media and the country of origin may influence how a media channel reports about a region. Both can lead to twisted stories that do not entirely represent the region that the story is based on. For example when in July 2015 CNN aired a story that portrayed Kenya as a “hotbed of terror”, the Kenyan government threatened to pull out all the scheduled tourism commercials with the broadcaster. This would have meant loss of revenue for the company. This forced CNN’s vice president, Tony Maddox, to fly to Kenya where he met the
Kenyan president and apologized. *The guardian* (August 14, 2015) reported on the issue quoting Tony Maddox apology thus:

“We acknowledge there is a widespread feeling that the report annoyed many, which is why we pulled down the report as soon as we noticed,” Maddox said (Guardian, 2015, August 14, CNN executive flies to Kenya to apologise for ‘hotbed of terror’ claim, par. 6).

In subsequent months in an apparent effort to appease Kenya and secure commercial deals, CNN compiled various “positive” stories about the country. One such story compiled by Kieron Monks for CNN (January 18, 2016) expressed that:

Kenya’s mega projects: What can $50 billion do for a country?......Kenya is already an infrastructure powerhouse of East Africa – leading the region for investment. But the next few years may see a quantum leap forward, with tens of billions of dollars to be spent on some of the world’s most spectacular transport, energy and technology projects – such as the new Mombasa rail station (Monks, 2016, January 18, Kenya’s megaprojects: What can $50 billion do for a country?, para. 7).

However such appeasement stories did not escape the curiosity of the local media channels with *Business Daily* (January 21, 2016) reporting that:

The Cable News Network (CNN) this week continued on its charm offensive aimed at appeasing the Kenya government after a row last year triggered by a story aired just before the visit of US president Barrack Obama (Business Daily, 2016, January 21, CNN steps up charm offensive with sh5 trillion Kenya infrastructure projects story, para. 1).

CNN’s commercial interests informed its decision to apologize to Kenya. However, the initial report by CNN referring to Kenya as a hotbed of terror could have as well been informed by among other factors its commercial interest albeit indirectly and especially in the American market. In pursuit of more viewers, media has taken into employing many unorthodox means
including sensational reporting and fear-based news stories. Serani (2011) posits that fear-based news programming is aimed at grabbing the viewers’ attention. She cites the use of headlines just like the “hotbed of terror” one as a common tactic noting that:

An additional practice that heightens anxiety and depression is the news station’s use of the crawl, the scrolling headline ticker that appears at the bottom of the television, communicating “breaking news”........The crawl often frequently contain fear-driven material, broad-siding an unsuspecting viewer (Serani, 2011, If it bleeda, it leads: understanding fear-based media, para. 6).

The long term effect of capturing American viewers who are more attracted to stories of suffering from Africa would mean more American companies wanting to advertise with CNN so as to reach to those viewers.

7.3 Conclusion

Notwithstanding factors determining newsworthiness of a story such as prominence, proximity, timeliness and oddity, commercial needs of a media house may determine the framing of a report. The influence of the countries, where the international broadcaster originates, trying to push their international agendas also influences the angle international news is given.

In its formative years CNN suffered from lack of profits due to viewer apathy in the US. In 1980s there was lack of patronage by the American audience as CNN was only patronized by just 20% of the US television households. This was not capable of generating profit (Balofin, Ogungbamigbe, Esiri & Olarinmoye, 2014). CNN was able to recover from this scenario by adopting viewer-capturing strategies. To retain home viewers within the US, sometimes international stories have to be framed in a way to promote the locally held stereotypes of far regions. Insecurity, bad governance and poor economies are some of these stereotypes.
However, CNN’s commercial interests are also served by those distant regions including Kenya through advertisements. Given the greater local revenue targets by the local market, CNN decides to frame content that will attract their attention more while trying not to completely ignore or irk foreign advertisers. Indeed, realism theory of international relations recognizes that no country can promote its self interests so much so that it completely ignores the consequences that may arise from other countries out of its pursuit of those self interests (Kortunov, 1988). Kortunov (1988) notes that:

The chain of interdependence does not consist of just one or two links: Therefore, economic decisions taken in one part of the world can have significant unforeseen consequences at other sites, near or remote. In the past when interactions were chiefly political and military, a high degree of economic independence was present. Foreign trade was totally dependent on politics and was only a minor aspect of any country’s overall economic structure. Today the reverse is true. The internationalization of world economic ties has reached such a high degree of interdependence that any steps to undermine trade brings enormous hardships to all participants, even those not directly associated with the changes (Kortunov, 1988: 4).

It is in view of such circumstances that informed CNN (July 23, 2015) to chose to use a phrase like “hotbed of terror” to create a frame that would purposely serve the US and Western audience who are already oriented to believe those are the kind of news they should expect from Africa. However, this had to be followed by the broadcaster’s efforts, including apologies, to appease Kenyan audience, (as noted in this chapter), so as not to lose the African market.

CNN and BBC are domiciled in the US and the UK respectively - countries that have an interest in influencing international politics with the latter channel being owned by the British government. Thus, the fundamental policies of these stations reflect their countries’ ideologies
such as democracy and they as well directly or indirectly frame stories to champion the western models of economy and governance.

In chapter eight, the study attempts to compare and contrast news reports by CNN and BBC vis a vis local news sources. The study examines how same events are portrayed by CNN and BBC vis a vis local news sources in terms of, among other story components, the details of the occurrences and the tone of language employed.
CHAPTER EIGHT

COMPARING THE KENYAN NEWS REPORTS BY CNN AND BBC VIS A VIS LOCAL NEWS SOURCES

8.0 Introduction

When a newsworthy event occurs in any part of the world, news or the message about the event is expected to be the same albeit written by different reporters, sometimes in different languages, and broadcast by their respective media houses.

The way reporters and editors characterize armed conflicts could have consequences in that it helps shape public opinion and set the agenda, thereby creating political pressure and influencing policymakers (Wihbey, 2013). The same can be said of other aspects that touch on societies such as economy and governance. International broadcasters at times give a very different picture of an event vis-a-vis local broadcasters in a particular region. International broadcasters have the ability to shape international relations among countries while local broadcasters are more likely to influence policy makers in their decision making within a country. Thus, the portrayals of countries by broadcasters have corresponding effects both locally and internationally. It is not the identity of the country that plays the crucial role in the perception of the product or brand but the perception and image of the country in the consumer’s mind (Kral, 2009).

Same events in a place are expected to be reported similarly in terms of the message by both international and local broadcasters. However, as has already been noted earlier in this study, various stakeholders in Kenya have raised issues in regard to significant differences between the two (international and local broadcasters reports) and blamed the former for misrepresenting the
country. This research delves into the factors that may determine foreign broadcasters (CNN and BBC) to report local happenings in divergent angles from their local counterparts.

8.1 Competition in the Modern Media Marketplace among the Western Broadcasters

The West has continued to set the trend across the world in many aspects and more so in media development. Sensational media driven by instant ratings seems to characterize the western media with little regard for the fact-sheet. The local media on the other hand have retained most of the ‘good old journalism’ i.e. to inform, educate and entertain.

The sensational reporting has been more pronounced in conflict situations. The old adage ‘if it bleeds it leads’ encourages reporters and editors into hyping stories using as much fear as possible (Serani, 2011). Fear based programming, as Serani (2011) posits, focuses on grabbing the viewer’s attention and then persuading him that the solution for reducing the identified fear will be in the news story. For example, let us cite a case highlighted earlier in this study where BBC (January 19, 2015) reports about the Kenya’s Langata primary school pupils demonstrations. To grab the viewers’ attention, BBC ran side by side pictures of the Kenyan pupils being tear-gassed by police with those of the infamous 1976 South Africa’s Soweto students uprising riots. In fear programming pattern, the breaking news story doesn’t go beyond a surface level as the need to break the story and to get the ratings causes reporters to bypass thorough fact-checking. This narrative is buttressed by Serani (2011) where she points out that:

The success of fear-based news relies on presenting dramatic anecdotes in place of scientific evidence, promoting isolated events as trends, depicting categories of people as dangerous and replacing optimism with fatalistic thinking. News conglomerates who want to achieve this use media logic, by tweaking the rhythm, grammar, and presentation format of news stories to elicit the greatest
impact (Serani, 2011, If it bleeda, it leads: understanding fear-based media, para. 3).

The Langata primary demos BBC (January 19, 2015) reports have such characteristics of the modern Western media. The huge differences between BBC and local broadcasters on the same story can be detected on the choice of comparisons. By BBC comparing the protest to Soweto uprising, thorough fact-checking was bypassed as noted in the data comparison table 2 earlier on in this research. In addition to verifying assertions of facts, journalists must seek out differing opinions in cases where the facts are in dispute (Potter, 2006).

8.2 Different Agendas

Media came into being as a solution to the need for man to keep abreast of what was happening around him. However, as media became more and more organized, its power became even more visible and the need for it diversified. It mutated into a propaganda tool and a business investment among other uses. Bolstridge (2008) posits that today’s media does not seek to serve the interests of the public but the interests of its funding sources.

Media will always serve some agenda whether practitioners manipulate it towards one or not. This is because as McCombs and Shaw (1972) noted, media may not tell you what to think but it can tell you what to think about. In-house media policies may also lead to promotion of a certain agenda. Some media houses also promote political governance agendas such as democracy mostly as a result of the owners being citizens of countries that advocate for such. In view of this, let us look at the agendas promoted by CNN and BBC from the perspective of their respective countries of origin. We also explore how these agendas influence the differences in the two broadcaster’s reports on Kenya’s security, economic and governance issues vis a vis reports from the local news sources.
It is imperative to note that although media in democracies are mostly independent from government influence, they do have their own biases such as newsworthiness criteria that emphasize novelty, conflict, proximity, and drama (Wihbey, 2015). These biases result in conflict coverage favouring anti-regime forces. Consequently, the self-preservation motives of authoritarian governments seek to influence or control their countries’ media coverage that underscores the legitimacy of the status quo.

In June 2015, Kenya hired a new central bank governor and months later effects of his policies were being felt in the economy. CNN (June 9, 2016) reported about the Kenya’s economic status thus:

Three banks are being wound down by the central bank. Two of the banks failed last year......A dozen banks may end up under central bank control as it tries to clean up the sector. All this is weighing down on Kenya’s growth prospects (CNN, 2016, June 9, Africa’s top 4 economies are in trouble, para. 15).

The above CNN (June 2, 2016) report portrays a situation where banks are collapsing due to bad economic environment in Kenya. However, the local media painted a different phenomenon based on the same happenings as *the Daily Nation* (June 12, 2016) reported:

In just three months after Dr Njoroge was appointed, banks began to feel the heat leading to two – Dubai Bank and Imperial Bank – being placed under receivership and a third one – Chase bank – was a month ago temporarily closed after an audit revealed it had cooked its financial books. ......His leadership has instilled discipline among financial institutions in Kenya, tamed inflation and stabilised the shilling.........His tough stance is sure enough paying dividends (*Daily Nation*, 2016, June 12, Njoroge receives praises for rescuing economy, para. 22).
The local media seems to suggest that the collapsed banks were hurting the economy by their continued operations since they did not meet proper banking procedures and that their closure was for the good of the economy.

It has been argued that Western journalists only cover Africa’s outbreaks of diseases, disasters and violence, while overlooking region’s many political and economic success stories (Baker, 2015). The banking case above is not just about overlooking economic success story but twisting facts to fit into what is expected to come out of Africa. Media from advanced countries portray African countries in the negative areas such as economic chaos, conflicts and hunger (Uche, 1996). To this end, the audience from those advanced countries have grown to expect such stories from Africa and probably positive ones might not excite them and could lead to viewer apathy. Thus, local media reports compared to CNN reports on various stories from Kenya may differ in delivery as either is serving different agendas.

8.3 Conclusion

There have been many stories on Kenya’s security, economic and governance issues, where comparison between local media reports vis a vis CNN and BBC reports differ significantly. Sometimes the difference is manifested in framing of the story. In a rather further explanation of his agenda setting role of media, McCombs (1992) posits than not only do media tell us what to think about but also tells us how to think about it. He explains that central to the news agenda and its set of objects such as issues, personalities, events, etc, are the perspectives that journalists and, subsequently members of the public employ to think about each object. Consequently, these perspectives direct attention towards certain attributes and away from others. Foreign media broadcasters may for example frame local news by picking the oddity aspect of its
newsworthiness and go ahead to ridicule for instance economic measures being undertaken in Kenya while the local media may report the same measures as a reflection of local realities which could work.

The comparison between local media reports vis-a-vis CNN and BBC have also been detected where the foreign media broadcasts a story which their local counterparts do not since the event never took place and in some cases even blame their foreign counterparts of airing fake news. In some occasions this has led to some form of media conflicts where the local media have joined citizenry as well as government officials to condemn foreign broadcasters for misrepresenting their country. Such was the case for example when Daily Nation (March 2, 2013) published a story Headlined Foreign reporters armed and ready to attack Kenya. This, as earlier noted, was after CNN did a report that claimed Kenyan rival communities were preparing for clashes during the 2013 general elections. The clip that CNN (February 28, 2013) aired showing young men training in a forest was found to have been enacted as no other media house, independent sources such as the civil society or the local community could confirm the presence of the militants. Due to nonexistence of the event, the local media could not have such a story albeit even in a different frame.

Consequently, this research has so far established data conflicts on reports published by local media channels vis-a-vis CNN and BBC. In chapter nine, this study explores the impact of the extent of the research on an event in determining how it is reported. We look at research levels of CNN and BBC reports on Kenya’s security, governance and economic situation.
CHAPTER NINE

RESEARCH LEVELS OF CNN AND BBC REPORTS ON KENYA’S SECURITY, GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

9.0 Introduction

The extent to which a story is researched determines how close to the actual event the details are presented by media for public consumption. However, this only happens when other factors determining how a story is executed do not compromise the framing and the details of the final report. The newsworthiness of a story is determined by timeliness, proximity, controversy, impact, prominence, currency and oddity (Potter, 2006). Nevertheless, there are other factors that may come into play that determine how a story is executed that include media house’s internal policies, commercial considerations in terms of advertisers’ influence, international politics and journalism ethics or lack of it, among others.

Besides all the other factors that can lead to misreporting of an event, at times an international media house may fail to carry out exhaustive research when it comes to far countries i.e. countries that are in different regions away from the headquarters of the channel’s mother company. Foreign reporters, as well as their editors and publishers, in most cases do not get the story right (Mann, 1999). Despite this knowledge, Mann (1999) explains that the readers, who are already conditioned by the prevalent stereotypes, accept the misleading stories as true and react accordingly. This chapter explores the levels of research and the factors surrounding it in regard to how CNN and BBC reports Kenya’s security, economic and governance issues.
9.1 Factors that may Influence the Research Levels by Media Channels

9.1.1 Regional Stereotypes

Widely held stereotypes about a region influence the frame given to a story from such a place. For a story to be newsworthy, it should at least contain one of the following characteristics: proximity, prominence, timeliness, human interest, oddity or consequence (Leigh, 2009). However, depending on stereotypes about a certain region that a report is based on, a reporter may take an angle that satisfies the already held view. For instance when BBC Africa Business (January 8, 2016) published a report by their correspondent Mathew Davies about economic problems facing Africa, the correspondent found it appropriate to consider oddity as the factor on which to anchor the newsworthiness of the story. He reported that in Malawi divine intervention through prayers is being employed to improve the situation, “In Zambia, a national day of prayer was even devoted to the struggling kwacha” (Davies, 2016, January 8).

Indeed as Lusaka Times (October 18, 2015) reported, president Lungu declared October 18th 2015 the day of national prayers where Christians were required to ask for God’s intervention in the affairs of the nation. However, CNN framed the story by taking an odd angle by claiming the day was set aside to pray for the struggling kwacha. The reporter decided to take such an angle likely to satisfy the widely held stereotype that African societies employ odd measures to deal with practical problems.

As this study has established in the previous chapters, Kenya has had election related violence in almost every electioneering period since the advent of multi-party politics in 1992. This has led to an expectation that there shall always be violence during elections thus creating a corresponding stereotype. This can explain CNN’s (February 28, 2013) story by Nima Elbagir
where she alleged communities were engaged in forming gangs that would be used to fight rival communities during the expected election related violence. As indicated earlier, the CNN story was widely disputed and said to be fake.

9.1.2 Drive to Keep Ratings High

In the era of cutthroat competition by media houses to keep the ratings high, word spinning and exaggeration at times tend to sideline research findings. Increased market pressure is sometimes associated with cutbacks in reporting and editorial quality (Zaller, 1999). Fierce economic competition also forces the media to produce entertaining stories that appeal to people’s emotions with preferred topics being danger, crime, and disaster which the media selects in ways that make the audience perceive the world as more dangerous than it is (Fog, 2013).

On the eve of the US President’s scheduled visit to Kenya in 2016, CNN and other major international broadcasters offered an extensive coverage of the event. They came up with eye catching headlines that would attract more viewers. A CNN (23 July, 2015) news flash described Kenya as a ‘hotbed of terror’ and opined that president Barrack Obama’s life would be in grave danger during the visit. This eventually backfired on the broadcaster as various stakeholders in Kenya and abroad sought for an apology saying such a description does not reflect Kenya’s security situation and should not have been used. A former CNN news reporter, Zain Vergee, citing her knowledge of the giant broadcaster waded into the debate and wrote an article on the issue in her blog, the akom (July 25th, 2015), stating that:

Words like “Hotbed” are catchy words that catch the viewer’s eye and drive up ratings. It’s the American TV business. Not just about Kenya. Africa is still perceived by the majority of US writers and producers as a dangerous
place, that it’s all pretty much the same (Vergee, 2015, July 25, A hot mess: the view from a CNN anchor, para. 4).

9.1.3 International Politics

Sometimes balanced research suffers as a media house may only dwell on getting what may satisfy some international political considerations. Besides a possible influence by states where international broadcasters from the west are domiciled, their reporters and editors have over the years been schooled to view the Western political ideologies as ideal and should be adopted in all countries. This leads to stories compiled regarding a country that takes frames that tend to exalt what diplomats or leaders from the West opined or proposed about another country in a different part of the world. International politics aided by what Glassner (1999) calls the power of the media to make us afraid of the wrong things provides a complete recipe for an international broadcaster to frame a story in a certain manner. The media blows minor dangers out of proportions while much more serious dangers in the society largely go unnoticed (Glassner, 1999). For example, as Kenya was gearing up to 2013 general elections CNN (March 11, 2013) quoted the then America’s ambassador to Kenya, John Carson, warning Kenyans against voting into the country’s leadership International Criminal Court suspects i.e. Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto. The two were running for president and deputy president respectively. CNN reported that:

Before the election, Johnnie Carson, the State Department's top diplomat for Africa, issued a stern warning, saying Kenyans can pick their own leaders, but "choices have consequences (CNN, 2013, March 11, Uhuru Kenyatta wins Kenyan presidency; rival to challenge outcome in court, para. 15).
The above statement by Carson was interpreted by Kenyans to mean that the US could take unspecified punitive action against Kenya would the warning be ignored. However, the prominence the statement was given by CNN lends credence to Glassner’s (1999) argument. There was anxiety among Kenyan’s as the extensive media analysis of Carson’s assertions made many to feel that the US has a lot more powers on Kenyan affairs than it actually does.

9.2 Conclusion

A large number of people get to know of an event through media. The information that is broadcast could for example be about the number of people killed in a terror attack, a government’s response to end tribal clashes, corruption by government officials, or a sports event among others. The details of any of these events always depend on how much the reporters dig to get information on all sides of the story. Anything sort of that leads to the broadcaster misrepresenting the subject that is being reported about.

This research found out that the rush to report an event has led to stories that leave out some aspects thus compromising the integrity of the information that is broadcast. This rush to report stories as they happen has led to journalists skipping carrying out a comprehensive research in order to get all the details surrounding a news story. Faced with this pressure, reporters are vulnerable to what realists believe man to be when opportunity offers – immoral, which would then reflect in their reports. According to realists, man is by nature egoistic and thus inalterably inclined towards immorality (Donnelly, 2000). Donnelly further asserts that:

All men are wicked and that they will vent to the malignity that is in their minds when opportunity offers (Donnelly, 2000: 9)
Indeed, in a complex world where information is no longer a scarce commodity, the role of the journalist has become more important than ever (Potter, 2006). Potter says that unlike a propagandist or a gossip the journalist sorts through the information available and determines how much of it is valuable and reliable before passing it to the public.

Thus, this study finds out that the issues surrounding international politics, stereotypes and the need to keep ratings high in CNN and BBC contributed most on how the two broadcasters reported about Kenya’s security, economic and governance issues. The next final chapter contains conclusions and recommendations based on the data that has been analyzed so far.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0 Introduction.

This chapter summarizes the key findings and recommends a way forward as identified during the course of the study.

10.1 Key findings

This study found out that most events reported by CNN and BBC on Kenya’s security, governance and economic issues within the period of this study actually occurred. However, the study also established that Kenya is misrepresented and negatively portrayed by the two broadcasters. As this research found out majority of the stories featured by CNN and BBC were about negative occurrences in the country. That means the people whose interaction with Kenya is only through the two channels hardly know anything positive about it and thus perceive the country negatively. Still, even those stories that CNN and BBC aired were misrepresented thus further enhancing the negative portrayal of the nation. Misrepresentation in the stories was characterized by use of wrong comparisons, stereotyping, at times exaggerating occurrences while at other times trivializing them, use of alarming phrases to describe situations and use of condescending language.

Stereotype is a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of something or a person (Bordalo, Coffman, Gennaioli & Shleifer, 2015). The two international media houses framed most of their stories to suit various stereotypes about Kenya as having characteristics such as insecure, corrupt, badly governed, et cetera. This informed for instance branding the country with alarming phrases such as “hotbed of terror”.

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The levels of reporting employed by CNN and BBC in terms of researching exhaustively on all aspects of an event so as to publish a complete and informed story fell short in most cases. This was again replaced by employing stereotypes to augment assumed answers on causes of various happenings. For instance, as established earlier in this study, due to the assumption that there are high chances of eruption of chaos during general elections in Kenya, the broadcasters while reporting on security situation in the run up to the 2013 general elections announced the inevitability of clashes. The research established that the reports were not informed by facts around that specific period but the long held view that Kenyans must always engage in violence during general elections since historically that has mostly been the case.

The study also found out that there were many glaring contrasts on same events reported by CNN and BBC vis a vis various local media houses and other sources of information. Some of those differences were on representation of facts where in some cases local media went as far as accusing their foreign correspondents of cooking up figures as well as airing fake news. Comparing Kenyan events with supposedly similar events elsewhere also fell far off the mark. This was particularly on security issues and specifically terrorism where the country was said to be doing worse than states that statistically are ranked way worse than Kenya. This kind of representation was due to lack of research at times and at other times due to influence of international politics in the media houses.

10.2 Conclusion

The portrayal of Kenya by CNN and BBC is generally influenced by the correspondents views and editorial policies of those broadcasters which themselves (editorial policies) are based on the interests of the countries where those channels originate from. Most stories are framed to reflect
the already assumed status of the Kenyan society and the wider African continent as places where not so much positive news is expected anyway. Most stories are not deeply researched and there is little effort to ensure facts are unearthed; instead, a reporter drives into conclusions deliberately or otherwise intended to confirm that the happening being reported falls into what the society is believed to represent. That is the reason for example an event such as a terrorist attack happening in Kenya and a similar one happening in the US will be represented differently by CNN and BBC in the manner in which the reports from either of the two places will be framed.

This study also noted that economic considerations may determine why a country could be portrayed in a certain manner. For example, a perception has already been created across the world that Chinese goods are not durable which could make it harder for China to convince international markets that some of their goods are actually durable. In contrast a perception has also already been created that German goods are durable which could make them more attractive in the international market.

An economy is what stakeholders make of it as economic institutions are manmade. That means economic institutions can be created, destroyed, replaced or changed. For example, capitalism and communism are forms of economic institutions that have dictated economies of various countries depending on the ruling political establishments. During the Cold War, the capitalist U.S. or the Communist Soviet Union would fund for a revolution in a country that they wanted transformed into their respective ideologies. That in most cases happened through violent means. After the fall of communism, manipulation is gaining traction as a way of influencing economy of a country. This is done through perceptions created by media reports framed to achieve some
intended purpose. The purpose could be to accept a particular diagnosis to heal the economic woes of a country possibly through the international monetary institutions or foreign loans.

This research also noted that even reporters who are not originally from the U.S or Britain where CNN and BBC are domiciled get indoctrinated so that they report in full compliance with the two institutions’ respective organizational cultures. Nonetheless, it cannot be concluded that all stories broadcast by CNN and BBC about Kenya are skewed to achieve a pre-determined purpose or portrayal. However, this research has noted that they have already created a culture where the West reporting positively about the rest of the world and especially Africa and in this case Kenya is an exemption rather than a norm.

10.3 Recommendations

Having established the power of perception and the ability of media portrayal to create one, this study came up with the following recommendations:

- The study noted that in the *Kenya foreign policy paper of 2014*, media does not get even a single mention. There is no mention of strategies the country intends to put in place to guide how to respond to misreporting of the country by international broadcasters or how to engage those broadcasters to avoid propagation of undesirable portrayal. It is in this view that this study recommends inclusion of media strategies in the foreign policy paper. Strategies that could ensure Kenya is reported factually by the leading international broadcasters, and countermeasures are put in place that the state can employ swiftly whenever an undesirable perception is created by the international media channels.

- Kenyan citizens and other stakeholders should make it a habit to air their views through the social media and any other means available to them to express their displeasure to the
international media channels whenever they feel those broadcasters have misrepresented the country. As noted in data analysis, this method proved effective in pushing international broadcasters to strive towards more factual and balanced reporting thus restoring a desired image for the country.

- Kenya and indeed Africa should strive to establish a broadcaster with international reach and appeal. The channel should not be established for positive propaganda purposes but to churn out a load of balanced African stories on all aspects of everyday life in the continent. It should have correspondents reporting from across the world so as to have an international appeal and thus attract diverse audience.

The strategy of churning out many African stories every day would have two powerful effects. One of the effects is that the world would be informed much more about other events that occur in Africa besides the few that are reported by CNN and BBC which are in most cases selectively negative which have led to the continent being perceived undesirably. All the stories, including art, sports, tourism, cultures, et cetera should be adequately covered just like reports on security, governance and the economy.

The second effect would be that CNN and BBC as well as the rest of the international media would improve in the manner in which they tell the few stories that they report about the country. That is because in a bid not to get too far off the mark about a story, knowing the same audience will get another version from the African channel, the international broadcasters would strive to publish as much a balanced report as possible. Such stories are also more likely to be richer in terms of research and consequently the international audience would be able to get more details of an event and hence develop a
perception that is based on greater knowledge. Knowledge based perception of Kenya by other countries would be beneficial in international engagements such as trade.

10.4 Future Research Area

In the course of this study, the researcher noted that international media plays a major role in manipulating viewers perceptions of foreign products. In that regard, a research should be undertaken to establish the role of the international media in influencing Kenyans appetite for foreign products vis-a-vis local products.
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