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Voices in Small Spaces

A Report of the Public Survey on The Role of Media in Promoting Transparency and Accountability in Kenya

The Kenya Media Program (KMP)

Report Prepared by Dr. Hezron Mogambi and Jason Oyugi
Bridge Africa ADC
March 2015
About This Report

This survey report is a product of The Kenya Media Programme (KMP) which is a programme of the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (HiVOS). The aim of the programme is to strengthen the existing media landscape in Kenya. As a dedicated media facility, the KMP provides a framework of various interventions aimed at improving the professionalism and effectiveness of the media in Kenya. The KMP was implemented with the generous support of the DFID, The Royal Netherlands Embassy, Danida and CIDA under the Drivers of Accountability Programme (DAP) in Kenya. The views contained in this report do not reflect the opinion of the DAP partners or HiVOS.

The public survey was undertaken by Bridge Africa ADC, a research and development organization in Eastern and Southern Africa with a focus on governance, public policy and communications.

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## Abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMI</td>
<td>African Media Initiative</td>
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<td>AMWIK</td>
<td>Association of Media Women in Kenya</td>
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<td>CCK</td>
<td>Communications Commission of Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIMA</td>
<td>Centre for International Media Assistance</td>
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<td>CSO(s)</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization(s)</td>
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<td>FES</td>
<td>Friedrich Ebert Stiftung</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>German Society for International Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information Communication Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPDC</td>
<td>International Program for the Development of Communication</td>
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<td>KCA</td>
<td>Kenya Correspondents Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCOMNET</td>
<td>Kenya Community Media Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>KICA</td>
<td>Kenya Information and Communication Act (2013)</td>
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<td>KUJ</td>
<td>Kenya Union of Journalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCK</td>
<td>Media Council of Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDI(s)</td>
<td>Media Development Initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDEVA</td>
<td>Media Development in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Media Focus in Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>NED</td>
<td>National Endowment for Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO(s)</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAN-IFRA</td>
<td>World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers</td>
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</table>
Executive Summary

The Kenya Media Programme (KMP) envisages a second four-year phase effective April 2015 and hopes to address sector wide efforts and challenges faced by the media. This is part of the reason why it was necessary to undertake a national public survey to establish how effective the media is in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya. The outcome of this research which was undertaken between March 9-18, 2015, will help demonstrate KMP’s impact and how the programme has performed against its revised framework.

A total of 1,428 respondents (718 males and 710 females) were interviewed from a sample of 32 counties countrywide. Most of the respondents were under the age of 55 years with 19% of the age 18-24 years, 26% of the age 25-29 years, 20% between 30-34 years and 14% between 35-39 years of age. The sample design of 1,428 respondents was based on a clustered, stratified, multi-stage, probability sample design. This ensured that every individual is given equal and known chance of being included in the sample. As a result, the survey outcome provides an unbiased estimate of the views of the national target population.

Summary of findings

a) Media landscape

Notably however, the media landscape in Kenya has not changed significantly since the inception of the Kenya Media Programme. The challenges that informed the founding of KMP and the programming choices of it identified based on the 2010 baseline survey are still valid even though developments in media legislation as well as the proliferation of technology have created both new positive and negative developments for media.

In the baseline survey for example, prohibitive entry costs for media ownership was cited as a key impediment to media development. Since then, media duopoly, a shrinking legal environment even amid the realization of an expanded bill of rights in the constitution and civil liberties, ethics and integrity questions in media and politics, insufficient technical capacities among journalists and the politics of ethnicity have all been important factors in determining the new place of media in the Kenyan society.

b) Media freedom and its role in governance

Five years after the promulgation of the constitution, the findings from this public survey show that confidence in the fundamentals of democracy remain strong - with strong support especially among young people for the supremacy of the legislature at (74%), rule of law (76%), presidential term limits (84%) and the freedom of the media at (79%). On media freedom and oversight, 78% of the respondents agreed with the statement - The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption and just 17% saying too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country. The findings also both reflected the premium different age groups place in the media as a platform for oversight as well as possibly the understanding of other related complex aspects of media oversight such as self and state censorship. Young people place a higher premium on the freedom of media because it is a major tool for interaction for them as shown later in this report on the findings on the uptake of social media. It also means that younger people are more likely to take action based on media reports on corruption and poor governance because they believe its the right thing for media to do.
c) Shrinking public spaces for individual liberties
During the survey, when asked the question, on how free they feel to speak, associate by joining political parties or make personal choices with respect to vote, a majority of Kenyans felt they were freer to choose their leaders than they were to associate or speak. The freedom of speech therefore received the lowest score with just 53% feeling completely free as opposed to 80% feeling completely free to vote. Twice as many people were able to clarify they did not feel free at all to speak as compared to those who felt they were not free to associate politically or vote.

The survey findings clearly demonstrated the need to invest in the enabling environment for a free and independent media in Kenya. Notably, the shrinking public space for freedoms of speech will certainly have serious negative impacts on a key pillar of the Kenya Media Programme – Improving Transparency and Accountability if for example, new legal proposals such as those contained in the security amendment bill and similar legislation are successfully enacted.

d) Radio is the most common source of news and information
A total 77% of the respondents, said that radio was their most common source of information followed by TV (54%) and newspapers at 21%, mobile phones at 17% and 9% from the internet and friends alike. Most (80%) of the respondents had at least listened to radio over the last one day with TV a distant second at (55%) followed by newspapers (10%). The use of the phone however was high too with 64% saying they had at least sent text messages and a staggering 20% saying they had listened to radio through a mobile phone. In particular, the finding that there exist strong public support for vernacular radios are a strong broadcasting and educational tool, for communication and information sharing, to improve awareness and knowledge of solutions to community development problems. Above all however, they are an appropriate medium continue to facilitate the interface between duty bearers and rights holders. Such support must however include key areas of weaknesses for most vernacular stations based on a case by case basis that that include content development, human resources, infrastructure, quality and standards.

e) High trust in media
In this survey, respondents’ were asked about their opinion on which institution is trusted most. The results revealed that a sizable percentage of Kenyans (76%) continue to have a great deal or fair amount of trust in the media just a percentage point higher than trust for religious leaders. The impact of trust in media is important because people must regularly choose whether to believe messages coming from institutional or alternative sources as well as whether to simply rely on other non institutionalized media sources to form their beliefs. In the extreme, the partisanship and unresponsiveness to information that results from media distrust could prevent the public from holding politicians accountable for policy outcomes.

f) Media and public interest
Asked to state to what extent they felt the media speaks in favour of different members of society, at least two in three people (67%) felt media speaks according to the wishes of politicians with just over half saying its according to the wishes of the rich, 47% according to the wishes of government and about a similar percentage 46% according to the wishes of ordinary people. This finding is not strange, and while it does not reflect perception of the independence of media, it certainly reflected the public interpretation of the domination of politics in news. The high confidence and interest in media means that the potential for KMP and other similar programmes remains strong and promising.

g) Low impact of code of conduct on performance of journalists
Although media houses have adopted the code of conduct for journalists, corruption among journalists and editors is still significant in Kenya and even though the MCK uses the code of conduct to arbitrate between complainants on the one hand, and journalists and media houses on the other, compliance with MCK’s decisions is still low due to various weaknesses in the Media Act, 200. Subsequently, the impact of this code of conduct on journalistic performance has been marginal. A number of media houses however make effort to inform the public about the media houses policy on corruption of journalists, The Daily Nation for example occasionally runs full page ads for the public to report cases of brown envelope journalists – cases of journalists form Nation Media Group who demand favours to publish stories.

h) Growing interest in investigative journalism
One clear research finding from the public survey was the fact that there is a significant amount of appreciation of investigative stories with Jicho Pevu** the most recalled of all TV investigative series. Certainly, the survey taking place just one week after the restoration of TV broadcast from the main TV stations during the week of March 18 was slightly disadvantaged by the long broadcast downtime of 26 days but many respondents were still able to recall specific stories on Jicho Pevu and The Inside Story recording the highest recall at 55%.

i) Strong culture of public participation
In the findings of the survey, there was strong support for citizens’ participation especially in the processes of
voting as well as paying tax. A total 86% of the respondents mentioned good citizens should always vote while 78% mentioned they should always pay tax as good citizens. In terms of actually taking up the space to participate however, there was a marked reduction with just an average of 19.5% mentioning they had taken any action to participate in public demand for accountability. Of the various platforms for participation, the majority of those who had taken some action were at 27% saying they had joined others in the community to request action from government, 23% had filed at least a complaint with a government official while 16% had contacted media. From the survey, media still provides the most powerful catalyst for increasing public information and knowledge that facilitates transparency and accountability.

j) Slow migration to digital broadcast reception
From the survey, up to 75% of the respondents understood why the TVs were off-air with 45% saying it was unfair and 9% saying it was fair for the TV stations to be off-air. However, only 52% of the respondents mentioned that they own set-top boxes with 45% saying they didn’t. Among those who own set-top boxes, 71% owned Pay TV set top boxes with those who did not own them citing high costs (53%) as the main reason why they had not migrated. From these findings, high initial costs are a significant barrier to digital migration which make low cost Pay-TV set top boxes most favourable due to their initial low costs. However, the slow migration to digital TV receivers could have also been occasioned by numerous legal and mandate stand-offs between government, media houses and consumer organizations which keep shifting the dates and deadlines for digital migration until March 2015 when this was finally settled. Even then, there is still public uncertainty as to the best options for purchasing the set top boxes based on the wide and growing variety of set top boxes.

k) Access to social media
In the survey, the findings showed a remarkably high level of access to social media. From the findings, 49% as opposed to 51% of the respondents have access to social media which means access to social media countrywide is significantly high. Facebook (65%) is the most widely known platform followed by WhatsApp (35%), Twitter (31%), Youtube (12%) and LinkedIn (10%) rounding up the top five (5). The Communications Authority of Kenya in the most recent estimates in the third quarter of the FY 2014/15 estimates that the total number of data/internet subscriptions grew remarkably by 10.8 percent to reach 16.4 million from 14.8 million subscriptions reported last quarter.

The use of social media as a platform for accountability is a critical engagement public platform even for KMP. Lessons from other parts of the world reflect this growing strategic importance of social media which is evidenced from the assertion by the World Bank that while much has already been written about the Arab Spring what is already clear from the current body of work being produced is that it was the use of social media that acted as the catalyst for change in an already unpredictable environment. (Source: The World Bank, June Hanan, Using Social Media for Good Governance, April 2014)

Conclusions and Recommendations

In sum, all the findings demonstrated the high degree of expectation by the public on the media to continue playing a stronger watchdog role in governance landscape. The findings point strongly to the need to enhance capacity building for media that could take at least three interrelated pathways;
• Building capacity of individual journalists in areas such as journalism and public interest, objective reporting and investigative journalism among others.
• Building the capacity of media organizations to avoid elite capture by the government, political parties or commercial purposes.
• Strengthening the policy and regulatory environment
• Supporting journalists to follow up on stories especially those on accountability
• Investing in Vernacular Radio stations and tapping on to the opportunities for devolution.
• The findings clearly demonstrated the essential role media can play as an important channel for communication and delivery of information between county authorities and the public and contributes to a more transparent and accountable governance in the counties.
• Use of social media as a tool for promoting better governance and accountability. Already, there are examples where social media in Kenya has been used to create the means to improve governance and which KMP can build on.

In order to respond to all these issues, KMP would need to redesign a more comprehensive Media Support Framework that is based on a more robust analysis and integration of the different spheres of the media sector with quality journalism for good governance and democracy as an overarching outcome. Such analysis would also need to be done for all segments belonging to and interacting with the media sector.

Jicho Pevu1 (translated in English as ‘An Inside Look’), is a regular investigative expose on KTN that deals with a variety of issues including governance, social affairs, religion etc.
1.0 Introduction

The Kenya Media Programme (KMP) is a programme of the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (Hivos) whose aim is to strengthen the existing media landscape in Kenya. As a dedicated media facility, the KMP provides a framework of various interventions aimed at improving the professionalism and effectiveness of the media in Kenya. The priority areas for KMP’s intervention include:

1. Quality journalism for good governance and democracy;
2. Infrastructure and institutional development for media organizations;
3. Development of local content;
4. Safety and Protection of journalists;
5. Media Policy and Legislation; and
6. Media accountability

KMP’s overall objective is to contribute to a responsible, accountable and transparent governance environment and therefore to a more stable Kenya. Accordingly, the expected outcome of the programme is that the media is more effective in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya.

KMP implemented a four-year media-strengthening programme in Kenya. The programme’s first phase started in April 2011 and ended in March 2015. In its first four years KMP was funded by the DFID (UK), DANIDA (Denmark), CIDA (Canada) and RNE (Netherlands). A baseline survey was conducted in 2011 to inform KMP’s programmatic activities. Between 2011 and March 2015, KMP awarded 86 grants to individual journalists, 16 large grants to media organisations, organized 13 stakeholders meetings throughout the country reaching 826 journalists through 9 training projects.

As a result of KMP’s work, the journalists’ skills set in investigative journalism, data journalism, reporting were improved; 102 investigative and public interest stories were published / broadcast through small grants to individual journalists; an estimated 10 million people were reached weekly through support for the development of media products and programmes (usually a series), distributed through a variety of platforms, including national TV, radio (including community radio) and websites. A mid-term review was carried out in 2013, with the aim of assessing progress towards achieving the goals, following the project outline as agreed upon in the formulation phase. It recommended a revision of KMP’s results framework that would enable KMP present different results in a more logical way.

1.1 Rationale and objectives of the survey

KMP envisages a second four-year phase effective April 2015 and hopes to address sector wide efforts and challenges faced by the media. This is part of the reason why it was necessary to undertake a national public survey to establish how effective the media is in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya. The research findings will help demonstrate KMP’s impact and how the programme has performed against its revised framework.

In so doing, the survey focused on providing input to the following main questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question 1: Is the media effective in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya?</th>
<th>Research Question 2: How can citizens capacity to hold powers to account through media be enhanced?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key information areas include:</td>
<td>Key information areas include:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Assessing citizens’ perceptions of the media’s role in advancing transparency and accountability in Kenya</td>
<td>Determine the current status on citizen’s civic engagement on transparency and accountability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Assessing the extent to which media facilitates citizens access to information and transparency</td>
<td>Determine the percentage of the general public that has used the KMP media products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Establishing how media institutions understand and act on their public interest roles</td>
<td>Establish the specific factors that facilitate the use of media as a catalyst for civic action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Establishing how journalists understand and act on their role as watchdogs of democratic principles of transparency and accountability</td>
<td>Determine the effectiveness of KMP supported products in improving transparency in Kenya in comparison to other similar products</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Establish whether the adherence to the Code of Conduct based on recommendations from Media Council of Kenya’s media monitoring Reports has improved performance.</td>
<td>Establish in what circumstances media products lead to continued citizen engagement</td>
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</table>

The survey also aimed to qualitatively and quantitatively describe the prevailing situation before the start of KMP’s interventions as well as at the end of the interventions.
1.2 Conceptual Approach

The Accountability Framework (Source: World Bank)

For much of modern democratic history, the media has been considered one of the most powerful and central forces for accountability. They receive special protection within most democratic constitutions expressly because an informed citizenry and a “fourth estate” capable of acting as a check on executive power they are considered to be critical to good governance. In Kenya, this role has come under great pressure lately. In undertaking this task, the main thrust of the survey will be anchored on our understanding that the program was designed based on the need to promote a system of social accountability. Some perceive accountability as an essentially ex-post phenomenon while others argue that principles of accountability should be applied before, during and after the exercise of public authority (Ackerman, 2004). Some observers emphasize a distinction between government responsiveness vs. government accountability while others understand them as going hand in hand.

In democratic states, the principal means by which citizens hold the state to account is elections. Elections, however, have proved to be a very weak and blunt instrument with which to hold government accountable. Social accountability is about affirming and operationalizing direct accountability relationships between citizens and the state. Social accountability refers to the broad range of actions and mechanisms beyond voting that citizens can use to hold the state to account, as well as actions on the part of government, civil society, media and other societal actors that promote or facilitate these efforts.

Traditionally, citizen or civil society-led efforts to hold the government accountable have included actions such as public demonstrations, protests, advocacy campaigns, investigative journalism, and public interest lawsuits. In recent years, the expanded use of participatory data collection and analysis tools combined with enhanced space and opportunity for citizen/civil society engagement with the state have led to a new generation of social accountability practices. They emphasise a solid evidence base and direct dialogue and negotiation with government counterparts. These include, for example, participatory public policy-making, participatory budgeting, public expenditure tracking, and citizen monitoring and evaluation of public services.

Social accountability mechanisms complement and enhance conventional internal (government) mechanisms of accountability. Social accountability includes efforts to enhance citizen knowledge and use of conventional accountability can be defined as the obligation of power-holders to account for or take responsibility for their actions. Power-holders refers to those who hold political, financial or other forms of power and include officials in government, private corporations, international financial institutions and civil society organizations (CSOs).
mechanisms of accountability (for example, through public education about legal rights and available services and use of media) and efforts to improve the effectiveness of internal accountability mechanisms through greater transparency and civic engagement (for example, citizen and community participation in public commissions, hearings, advisory boards and oversight committees). Strengthening legislative oversight and links between parliamentarians, citizens and civil society organizations are also important ways to enhance social accountability.

The concept of social accountability underlines both the right and the corresponding responsibility of citizens to expect and ensure that government acts in the best interests of the people. The obligation of government officials to be accountable to citizens derives from notions of citizens' rights, often enshrined in constitutions,
and the broader set of human rights. Social accountability initiatives help citizens understand their civic rights and play a proactive and responsible role in exercising those rights.

1.3 Survey Methodology and Sampling Tools

A key issue that defined the approach and methodology of undertaking this task was our understanding that government accountability is a broad notion. It sometimes even includes good governance, on the how of governance, rather than on what it delivers. In this study, and in line with the question asked by KMP, we focus on social accountability. Social accountability is concerned with the extent to which governments deliver what people demand (and pay for with their taxes), in particular on universal social goods such as health care and education. We use the definition of service-delivery focused government accountability in line with Khemani (2005: 186), who gives three criteria.

A public agency is accountable for service delivery if it (1) assumes and is assigned responsibility, (2) has some minimum resources and capacity, and (3) undertakes appropriate actions towards service delivery, given resource and capacity constraints. For this understanding of government accountability, Shah (2008) has argued that citizen-centric governance is the most effective approach to enforce service delivery. This government accountability model for service delivery implies, according to Shah, responsiveness, fairness, responsibility, and judicial accountability. This would result, among others, in public services consistent with citizen preferences, improvements in economic and social outcomes and quality of life, improvements in quantity, quality and access of public services, including for the poor, minorities and disadvantaged groups, and better and cheaper services.

Desk Research and Literature Review

The literature review was defined by the conceptual framework above. In so doing, the review looked at comparative cases where such surveys have been done, what have been the main tools of analysis and challenges. At a broader level, this also helped the contextual setting upon which the programming happened including the media and legal landscape, democratic space, civic competence and media institutions capabilities which all have a bearing on the impacts desired by KMP. Information gathered from this phase was then used to develop various research tools for data collection in the field in a joint planning process with the client and other expert resource persons.

Important set of documents for review at this stage included the various project documents including programme document, progress reports, annual reports, technical studies reports and results framework. Once this was done, a key and critical step here however was the review of the KMP evaluation and research questions with a view of striking a direct correlation with project results framework, programme performance indicators and targets. At the local government level, the desk review also considered the qualitative analysis of different criteria for social accountability spin offs from the KMP for issues such as:

- Demand for social accountability (production and use of independent media)
- Responsiveness in service delivery (social expenditures, gender equality)
- Standards for service delivery (health and educational outcomes)
- Enforceability (rule of law, government effectiveness, interpersonal safety and trust)

The desk review covered the following documents among others:

- The Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act 2009
- The Independent Communications Commission of Kenya Bill - 2010
- The Media Act 2013
- The Kenya Information and Communications Act 2013
- The Kenya Media Vulnerabilities Study by Peter Oriare Mbeke, Wilson Ugangu, Rosemary Okello - Orlale
- The Media, Legal, Regulatory and Policy Environment in Kenya : A Historical Briefing - Peter Oriare Mbeke

The quantitative phase also involved face-to-face interviews using questionnaires addressing the study objectives. The findings from this phase provided data that was processed to produce two key deliverables; a citizen’s perception report and indices that can be used as benchmarks for future studies. To address possible deficiencies, a sample boost was incorporated to cover the peculiarities of some media outlets chosen for the study. These platforms include QFM, Iqra FM, Musyi FM and West FM.

Media Content Analysis

The analysis of media content involved the deconstruction of pieces of both print and electronic media with both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative research methods involved a more structured and consequently restricted form of gathering information from copies and clips of both print and electronic media. Qualitative methods involved a viewing of the clip and then unstructured open discussions
and debate on the themes and effects of the clips with select audiences in focus group discussions.

Further content analysis also covered the months of November 2013 and February 2014 which helped provide actual data on the coverage of the media as it is currently. A random sample of 28 days (2 weeks in each month) was sampled from issues of print and electronic media both to give sufficient time after the general elections in March 2013 as well as avoid December/January 2014 when the news focus of the media tends to shift from politics and leadership. The analysis of the two months provided a reliable data pool that is not dominated by specific news items. Participating media outlets included the following TV and radio stations covered during the baseline:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Media</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Radio Stations</th>
<th>Television Stations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>The Standard (all editions)</td>
<td>Radio Citizen, KBC Idhaa ya Taifa, West FM, KASS FM, Coro FM, Radio Lake Victoria, Musyi FM, Radio Waumini, Hope FM, IQRA FM</td>
<td>NTV, Citizen TV, KBC TV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weeks slated for sampling included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuous Weeks</th>
<th>From First Sample Date</th>
<th>To Last Sample Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Week 1</td>
<td>November 2nd, 2013</td>
<td>November 9th 2013</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 2</td>
<td>November 20th 2013</td>
<td>November 27th 2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4 Development of data collection tools.

A mix of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methodologies were applied in data collection from the field. For quantitative data, in principle, a set of 3 interrelated data collection tools were prepared and used to design the various tools that covered three broad areas.
The summary of tools and their scope are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose and key questions to be answered</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1 Media institutions capacity and data collection tool: A data capture tool to assess the key media institutions questions to determine capability, understanding and performance and adherence to code of conduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key questions to be answered here will include;</td>
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<tr>
<td>To establish whether the media understands and acts on their public interest role by providing informational and educational media products to the public</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>To establish whether the media understands and acts on their role as watchdog of democratic principles of transparency and accountability</td>
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<tr>
<td>Establish whether the media improve their performance and adherence to the Code of Conduct based on recommendations from Media Council of Kenya’s media monitoring Reports.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 Citizens KMP impact evaluation tool: Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determine the percentage of the general public that has consumed a KMP-supported product</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determine the effectiveness of KMP supported products in improving transparency in Kenya in comparison to other similar products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3 Media information and use tool: Survey - To assess citizens’ perceptions of media’s role in advancing transparency and accountability in Kenya - To determine in what circumstances the public is most likely to be receptive of issues raised in the media - Establish in what circumstances media products lead to continued citizen engagement - Establish the circumstances in which the public is more likely to consume media products that address transparency and accountability issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4 KII guide 1 on Public or citizen baraza discussions FGD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5 KII guide 2 for select beneficiaries of the KMP media grants FGD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6 KII guide 3 with media managers FGD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 Sampling and Data collection

As mentioned earlier, the survey relied on both primary as well as secondary data. The primary data came from a survey of a randomly selected nationally representative sample of 1,428 respondents from 32 counties. The qualitative data came from a number of key expert interviews and focus group discussions with a purposively selected number of respondents. The survey questionnaires were designed by the key partners after which a two-day meeting was held to review and refine the proposed questionnaires. The questionnaires were then pretested prior to administration and adjustments made to ensure they were easy to administer to the respective target groups within a reasonable time.

Prior to the fieldwork, a competitively select group of study supervisors and enumerators were taken through a 3 day training to familiarize themselves with the questionnaires and the general study objectives. The enumerators were selected competitively from the different counties in which they would work to reduce any threats to data quality. The key respondents for this study were adults over 18 years of age.

1.5.1 Sampling procedure

The sample was designed as a representative cross-section of all adult citizens in Kenya. The goal was to give every adult citizen an equal and known chance of selection for interview. This objective was reached by:

- Strictly applying random selection methods at every stage of sampling
- Applying sampling with probability proportionate to population size wherever possible.
- Over sampling to get objective views in some cases where the KMP program was implemented to get representative views.

The sample design of 1,428 respondents was based on a clustered, stratified, multi-stage, probability sample design. This ensured that every individual is given equal and known chance of being included in the sample. As a result, the survey outcome provides an unbiased estimate of the views of the national target population.

Nairobi and Mombasa were pre-selected as the capital city and second most populous city respectively. The remaining counties and districts were clustered into groups of similar characteristics, rural / urban
classification and geographic location. 32 constituencies were then randomly selected from the strata. Constituencies where programmes have been implemented were included in the sample. At the same time, all constituencies where the baseline study was undertaken were sampled. In each constituency, the sample was then distributed proportionately according to the rural/urban divide and interviews done at a household level.

The overall sample size was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Number of interviews</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Langata</td>
<td>Nairobi West</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Roysambu</td>
<td>Kahawa</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyeri</td>
<td>Nyeri Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garissa</td>
<td>Garissa Township</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embu</td>
<td>Runyenjes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru</td>
<td>North Imenti</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>290</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombasa</td>
<td>Nyali and Likoni</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui</td>
<td>Kitui South</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilifi</td>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwale</td>
<td>Lunga Lunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machakos</td>
<td>Machakos and Mavoko</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>Kisumu East</td>
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<td>Bobasi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gem</td>
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<td>Nyamira</td>
<td>Kitutu Masaba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Embakasi Central</td>
<td>Kayole</td>
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<td>Narok</td>
<td>Narok North</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Narok East</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>Naivasha</td>
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<td>Nakuru Town West</td>
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<td>Uasin Gishu</td>
<td>Turbo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Soy</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laikipia</td>
<td>Laikipia East</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiambu</td>
<td>Thika and Ruiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kakamega</td>
<td>West Mumias</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shinyalu</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busia</td>
<td>Matayos</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungoma</td>
<td>Kimilili</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanduyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Embakasi South</td>
<td>Imara Daima</td>
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<td>Dagoretti North</td>
<td>Kilimani</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>286</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,428</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.2 Data Analysis and Report writing

A number of techniques were employed to analyze and truncate the qualitative data that was obtained/collected from both primary and secondary data sources from the field processes including KII notes, FGD records and other information. The analysis included looking at some of the emerging issues, cause and effect relationships of KMP program interventions and citizen voice, media institution capabilities and public perception.
2.0 The Media Landscape in Kenya

Kenya’s media is one of the most respected, thriving, sophisticated and innovative in Africa\(^1\). The media in Kenya has grown in leaps and bounds since independence. From a one-party state to an energetic multi-party system, Kenya has undergone significant changes that have impacted the media and shaped its place in the evolving democracy.

Notably however, the media landscape in Kenya has not changed significantly since KMP’s inception. The challenges that informed the founding of KMP and the programming choices of it identified based on the 2010 baseline survey are still valid even though developments in media legislation as well as the proliferation of technology have created both new positive and negative developments for media development.

2.1 Media diversity

Kenya has a sophisticated, diverse and lively mass media sector characterized by wide television, radio and print media coverage as well as a thriving new social media such as internet and mobile telephony. The types of media which can be classified broadly as private/independent media; the public state broadcaster; the private local language radio; community radio; the independent religious stations; the alternative press; international media and new media. They serve various and diverse information, education, religious, advertising and entertainment needs of various segments of the audiences.

According to the Communications Authority of Kenya, as at October 2012, CAK had issued nearly 365 radio frequencies listed by location of transmitter, about 300 of which are operational, reported ‘on air’. KBC accounts for 85 (22%) of the frequencies, but 64% of these are ‘not on air’. RMS has 63 frequencies – 16% of the total, with only 3 ‘not on air’. In TV Broadcast, there are a total of 22 TV stations with KBC, NTV, KTN, Citizen TV, K24 are the biggest TV stations in Kenya in terms of coverage and viewers. Recently entertainment TV ventured in the Kenyan airspace with the inclusion of Kiss TV, a 24-hour Music TV Station.

On the use of the internet, the estimated number of internet users as of March 2015 increased to 26.1 million up from 23.2 million subscriptions reported over the previous one year period. This marked an increase of 4.8 million subscriptions. Consequently, the population with access to internet grew significantly to stand at 64.3 per 100 inhabitants up from 57.1 per 100 inhabitants.

2.2 Policy and Legal Environment

In the first survey carried out in 2011 for example, prohibitive entry costs for media ownership was cited as a key impediment to media development. Since then, media duopoly, a shrinking legal environment even amid the realization of an expanded bill of rights in the constitution and civil liberties, ethics and integrity questions in media and politics, insufficient technical capacities among journalists and the politics of ethnicity have all been important factors in determining the new place of media in the Kenyan society.

In many complex ways, the interplay between regulation and ownership factors for instance has seen the developments in digital media platforms which are increasingly presenting new, more affordable media production opportunities for new entrants in terms of ownership. This has happened as a result of the new policy directives on digital migration. As a result, old media monopolies are being challenged and a new promise of media plurality is taking shape in addition to intermediated media platforms and channels are becoming more common through Internet radio, TV, blogs and other social media platforms.

At a broader scale, the new media landscape in Kenya following the passage of two laws by the National Assembly on 5 December 2013 – the The Kenya Information Communication (Amendment) Act 2013 and the Media Council Act 2013 is extremely regressive. The new laws empower the state through the Communication Authority to have the power to impose hefty fines on media houses and journalists, recommend de-registration of journalists and make any order on freedom of expression. These legal modifications are extremely repressive.

The effect of these laws is seriously damaging for the media and the right to freedom of expression in the country as the changes introduce undue state interference in media regulation. ARTICLE 19 avers that the Kenyan Government needs to urgently review these laws and ensure they are amended in order to comply with international freedom of liberties and expression. Such retrogressive steps explain why Kenya earned a poorer ranking (90 out of 180 countries surveyed) in the 2014 World Press Freedom Index (www.rsf.org/index 2014/en-africa.php). Kenya’s performance in 2014 was 19 ranks poorer than 2013 when Kenya had improved by 13 ranks compared to 2012.

\(^1\) The Kenyan 2007 media and their aftermath: the role of the media and communication, BBC World Service Trust policy paper
2.3 Media Ownership

According to a recent report “Factually True, Legally Untrue, a report by Internews in 2012”, although vibrant and diverse, it is still grossly inaccurate to describe Kenyan mainstream media as independent. The report notes that in Kenya – as in many countries – the tendency has been for the wealthy to spread their tentacles into as many areas of the economy as possible, regardless of their efficiency. According to the report, the media industry has recently become an arena for such self-enrichment, motivated by potential commercial returns.

The report on media ownership further highlights that there is a strong influence of media ownership on media content irrespective of the effect of management structures – whether corporate or not – on the scope for interference in content, whether by politicians, owners, or editors. The expectation is that corporatisation such as quotation on a stock exchange –distances the owners and the medium, thereby reducing the scope for parochial influences. From the small sample of media houses reviewed, interference and non-interference were reported across the different management structures.

Obvisouly, private media (ownership) is not synonymous with media independence. Patterns of media ownership in Kenya are a confluence of the interests of the narrow ruling elite around politics, commerce and ethnicity. So in a way, what seems to be the diversity of mainstream media in Kenya is actually an expression of its very concentration in the hands of similar-interested political and economic elite, who will leverage ethnic calculus when it suits them to maintain the status quo. So even without being overly parochial in its approach, mainstream media is essentially a tool for the business and political interests of their interconnected wealthy owners.

It is now common practice that to thrive as businesses, mainstream media companies (Nation Media Group, Standard Group, Media Max and Radio Africa) in Kenya deeply rely on advertising revenues. The Government of Kenya agencies are the main advertisers. It therefore naturally makes it bad business practice for media to strongly and decisively engage with emerging policy and legislative measures aimed at curtailing investigative journalism and independent reporting. And as is the case, for most of the mainstream media companies, public officers responsible for the emerging restrictive laws double up as owners or major decision makers on advertising spending. The ownership structures and commercial models of major media companies (which rely on advertising revenue more than selling news) are at the center of media leaders backing off from meaningful contestation for greater media freedoms as recently seen in the lead-up to the enactment of the Kenya Information and Communication Act 2013 (KICA).

2.4 Alternative Media Platforms

On a positive note though, public interest driven advocacy oriented media is gaining ground and expanding side by side with traditional, professional journalism that is more prone to official attacks. For example media engagement models between independent organizations and producers driving specific agenda (e.g. good governance, health services, education, accountability, etc.) through media as well as independent productions are increasingly helping subvert self-imposed limitations on bold journalism by mainstream media houses. Programs like the XYZ Show by Buni Limited and the Sema Kenya radio and TV Show by BBC Media Action are examples of independent media initiatives that employ existing spaces within mainstream media to engage in topics and formats that the narrow political interests and considerations that regular editorial practice may usually not delve into.

Self-driven experimentation with citizen journalism is also on a surge. More and more individuals and groups are taking on social media platforms to independently report, debate and comment on topical issues of the day in bold ways that old media may probably not want to touch on due to political considerations. Social Media is quickly becoming a credible node feeding into the growth of free and plural media. Even mainstream media groups are increasingly opening up their platforms to incorporate audience views through Social Media pathways. Despite problems with quality of information projected and accuracy, there is increasing scope among media development initiatives to engage these developments as a pathway to expand upstream journalism. This will certainly build on the opportunity provided by the expansive potential on the access and use of the internet. From the CAK data and recent reports, the estimated number of internet users as of March 2015 increased to 26.1 million up from 23.2 million subscriptions reported over the previous one year period. This marked an increase of 4.8 million subscriptions. Consequently, the population with access to internet grew significantly to stand at 64.3 per 100 inhabitants up from 57.1 per 100 inhabitants.

The opportunities for all these new technologies have encouraged the development of citizen journalism. Audiences proactively collect and share emerging information with media houses. Media companies have become receivers of content from the public, a shift from its previous role as disseminators of news and
information. Audiences are invading an arena that has been the preserve of journalists. What’s more, people have realized the importance of adopting an intelligent curiosity mindset, where they challenge what is presented before them. All these developments signal a new era of media consumers that are heavily involved in the process of information gathering.

For example, over the past few years social media has emerged as a very powerful frontier for mass communication according to Muthuri Kinyamu, a blogger and editor at the Nairobi based iHUB centre, in 2012, social media went beyond just Facebook friends and sharing funny videos to a platform with the ability to change the world. In Kenya, the Twitter community, known as #KOT (KenyansOnTwitter) is particularly active, using this social media platform for online activism (#PeremendeMovement), praising corporate brands or calling them out (#TwitterBigStick and #TwitterThumbsUp) and even rallying others to help in cases of famine (#Kenyans4Kenya and #FeedKe) or #KOTAgainstMPBonusProtest campaign led by blogger @RobertAlai, that called for Kenyans to meet at Bata Hilton and march to parliament.

A couple of things set Kenya apart in comparison to other African countries especially with regard to active use of social media. Though Kenya lags behind other countries in terms of numbers on Facebook and Twitter, Kenya remains a strong rival in terms of usage and articulating issues. Kenya has been able to stage quite a number of social media initiated success stories.

2.5 Media and Politics

During the 2013 general elections, the most remarkable development innovation in media and political circles was the hosting of the first ever joint presidential debate in Kenya. The debate which brought together all the eight presidential candidates in a single platform for accountability greatly provided excitement and an opportunity to listen to each and every candidate in an unprecedented way, providing information on individual agenda, party politics, development and social and personal issues that enriched national debate.

At the same time, the 2013 general election marked the first time when all political parties and presidential candidates created pages on Facebook and Twitter in which information about their campaign schedule and events was relayed to their followers. They also utilized YouTube to broadcast video messages to the world in general and Kenyans in particular. Using Social networking outreach tools such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, a number of Kenyan political candidates, especially the presidential aspirants, identified supporters and built unprecedented virtual electoral coalitions. They capitalized on this new but powerful medium to explain their manifestos to the voting public, reach diaspora, fundraise, sell their policies and inform people of their activities, question other candidates’ policies and address the concerns of their supporters through this interactive medium.

Politicians’ use of social networks as an avenue for mass communication has impacted the tone of communications put forth to various audiences. Unlike traditional media which is one-sided, social media is more interactive and provides the opportunity to receive instant feedback on any messages put across to audiences. This has created the need for more intentional and relevant communication. Users on sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube range from teens to baby boomers, all of whom are intellectually equipped to challenge what they are told. Politicians making use of social networking sites will be judged by the promptness and relevance of responses to questions posed to them.

While the impact and the effectiveness of using social media in the Kenyan presidential elections is hard to measure, it is clear that it is one of the best ways to connect with tech-savvy voters due to its viral nature, ease of use and low-cost.

4 http://www.nation.co.ke/News/politics/Battle-for-votes-moves-to-social-media/-/1064/1538708/-/i970hxz/-/index.html
3.0 Effectiveness of Media in improving Transparency and Accountability

3.1 Introduction to the Survey Findings

3.1.1 Demographic Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24 years old</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 - 29 years old</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>30 - 34 years old</td>
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<tr>
<td>35 - 39 years old</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>40 - 44 years old</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49 years old</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>50 - 54 years old</td>
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<td>55 years old and above</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>None</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 1,428 respondents with 718 males and 710 female respondents were interviewed from a sample of 32 counties countrywide. Most of the respondents were under the age of 55 years with 19% of the age 18-24 years, 26% of the age 25-29 years, 20% between 30-34 years and 14% between 35-39 years of age.

Out of the total respondents, just 16% had not attained primary level education with the rest 84% having primary school level education and above. The total ratio of respondents with full or part time employment for the interview sample was 66% out of which 26% were engaged in full time formal employment, 6% in part time formal employment and 24% in full time self employment and 10% in part-time self employment. The unemployed, retired and housewives and students formed 11%, 3%, 9% and 9% respectively fairly distributed respondents between urban and rural areas.

3.2 Role of Media in Governance

Kenya’s current constitution was enacted on 27th August 2010 replacing the old one that had been in place since Kenya’s Independence in 1963. The promulgation of this constitution marked the end of one of the longest journeys in Kenya’s history; a two perhaps three decade struggle for reforms. Over 67% of Kenyan voters approved this new constitution in a referendum that paved way for a historic and spectacular moment in Kenya’s democracy.

Five years after the promulgation of the constitution, the findings from this public survey show that confidence in the fundamentals of democracy remain strong – with strong support for the supremacy of the legislature at (74%), rule of law (76%), presidential term limits (84%) and the freedom of the media at (79%).
The high proportion of citizens who support the freedom of media (79%) is particularly encouraging finding from the survey as in a way, it reflects the overall impact of the effectiveness of media in Kenya's democracy. In linking this finding to the first key research question, “Are the media effective in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya?”, one can infer that there is still very strong public support for the role of media as part and parcel of Kenya’s democratic fabric alongside other key tenets such as the presidential term limits, rule of law and the supremacy of the legislature among others.

In examining the form and shape that independent media should take in Kenya, people were asked about the role and position that media should take with respect to issues on poor governance and corruption. In total, 78% of the respondents agreed with the Statement - “The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption” and just 17% saying too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

Notably, younger people (between the ages 18-29 years) at 82% and those above the age of 55 years were the most supportive of the freedom and oversight role of media with middle age people (between 30-44 years) at 78% and (45-54 years) at 72% slightly less supportive of the freedom and independence of media to expose negative events such as corruption and poor governance with a near even divide in rural and urban areas.

These findings both reflect the premium different age groups place in the media as a platform for oversight as well as possibly the understanding of other related complex aspects of media oversight such as self and state censorship. Young people place a higher premium on the freedom of media because it is a major tool for interaction for them as shown later in this report on the findings on the uptake of social media. It also means that younger people are more likely to take action based on media reports on corruption and poor governance because they believe its the right thing for media to do.

At the same time, older people having witnessed the robust role that the press has played in leading the development of the democratic process in Kenya since the 1980s and 1990s which propelled Kenya to the forefront of political reforms, have also witnessed the flip side of the impact of negative press coverage on the image of the country, in post election violence and ethnic mobilization. Sensitivities that dim their views on the concentration of media on negative events. It should not also be misunderstood that this reflects support for state censorship as can be seen in the subsequent finding on a high level of concern for personal freedoms of expression and association. This suggests a need to explore mechanisms that support media in developing robust mechanisms for self censorship in media.

3.3 Freedom of speech is shrinking rapidly

During the survey, when asked the question, on “how free they feel to speak, associate by joining political parties or make personal choices with respect to vote”, a majority of Kenyans felt they were more free to choose their leaders than they were to associate or speak. The freedom of speech therefore received the lowest score with just 53% feeling completely free as opposed to 80% feeling completely free to vote. Twice as many people were able to clarify they did not feel free at all to speak as compared to those who felt they were not free to associate politically or vote.
continue to operate in a very restrained environment with many journalists finding difficulties commenting on certain political and governance issues for fear of being targeted by politicians or the State. It is now standard practice for many journalists to write explicitly about a contentious subject then lie low for a while and eventually reappear in public a few days later when the storm has subsided.

The findings of the public survey together with the discussions with the journalists buttress the report of The International Reporters Without Borders global watchdog group which through its 2014 World Press Freedom Index, noted that parliament in Kenya had continued to pass retrogressive legislation as a way to curtail media freedom in the country. It also pointed fingers at the Government’s response to the 2013 media coverage of the Westgate terrorism attack. Subsequently, Kenya has slipped 19 places in the World Press Freedom Index, registering one of the most noteworthy falls in Africa alongside Mali, the Central African Republic and Burundi. Kenya is currently ranked at position 90 out of the 190 countries that were surveyed, with the index stating that press freedom in Kenya suffered noticeable problems in 2014.

Subsequently, it is clear that the progressive constitution appeared at odds with two restrictive laws passed in December 2013. The Kenya Information and Communication (Amendment) Act (KICA) and the Media Council Act threaten to silence critical and investigative reporting through new regulatory bodies and the possibility of heavy fines. According to Freedom House, reports in 2014 indicated that threats and attacks against journalists during 2013 as a whole still represented an increase over the preceding years. Journalists were threatened, intimidated, and beaten in at least 21 different incidents across the country; in almost half of the cases, the perpetrators were police, while five were perpetrated by government officials.

In 2014 this narrowing of space only intensified even after the outcry from the first set of draconian pieces of legislation in 2013. On 19th December 2014, the President signed into law a security bill that has the power to stop the press from covering terror attacks. The government also criticized the media over allegations that special units are carrying out extra-judicial killings, and a local journalist who reports on security issues was forced into hiding after receiving threats.

Provisions in the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill 2014 allow Kenyan security forces to intercept communications and imprison journalists for covering anti-terrorism investigations and operations, according to news reports. Journalists may have to seek permission from the police before reporting on such events, and those found to have undermined investigations could face a three-year jail term and heavy fines, according to the bill. The reach of the bill includes penalties for outlets that publish pictures of dead or injured victims without police permission, and extends to information posted on social media as well as in the traditional press.

The Media Council of Kenya and other Kenyan press associations denounced the initiative in a joint statement released before the bill was approved and signed. “Terrorism should not affect the importance of freedom of expression and information in the media as one of the essential foundations of a democratic society,” Media Council of Kenya chairman Peter Wakoli said in a statement.

This tough government stance towards the press appears to have been a response to the documentary “Inside Kenya’s Death Squads,” produced by Al-Jazeera in Qatar and broadcast on December 7. The documentary implicated the Kenyan security forces and foreign governments in extrajudicial killings. It included interviews with people that Al-Jazeera alleged were officers from special units who claimed the killings were part of anti-terrorism efforts and had backing from the British and Israeli governments. The claims were also made in a two-part series in September 2014 by Kenya’s investigative program “Jicho Pevu” and the English-language version, “Inside Story,” and in a report published by The Associated Press on December 5, 2014.

These findings clearly demonstrate the need to invest in the enabling environment for a free and independent media in Kenya. Notably, the shrinking public space for freedoms of speech will certainly have serious negative impacts on a key pillar of the Kenya Media Program – Improving Transparency and Accountability if the proposals contained in the security amendment bill and similar legislation are successfully enacted.
3.4 Sources of News and Information

The survey established that the media are still the most preferred source of news and information.

Radio still leads as source of news

68% of the rural population own a radio

25% of the rural population own a TV set

Summary of TV Viewership in the past 4 weeks

Apart from today, when was the last time you

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yesterday (%)</th>
<th>Past 7 days (%)</th>
<th>Past 4 weeks (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listened to radio</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched TV</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read or paged through a newspaper</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent an SMS using a mobile phone</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read or paged through a newspaper online(using the internet)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listened to radio through a mobile phone</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a research in 2006 undertaken by The Africa Media Development Initiative, results showed that among communication services, only radio is widely-owned, by about 68% of the rural population while sixty-five percent of the population had access to TV, compared to 25% who own a TV set. Then, both radio and television recorded relatively high usage on a daily basis for those who had access to these media (TV usage 51.4%; radio usage 78.7%). In this survey almost ten years later, radio ownership has significantly grown with 90% of the respondents reporting owning a radio and 70% owning a TV set.

A total 77%, said that radio was their most common source of information followed by TV (54%), Newspapers at 21%, 17% for mobile phones and 9% from the internet and friends alike. Most (80%) of the respondents had at least listened to radio over the last one day with TV a distant second at (55%) followed by newspapers (10%). The use of the phone however was high too with 64% saying they had at least sent text messages and 20% saying they had listened to radio through a mobile phone. This only attests to the growing use of phone as a medium for passing news and information.
In this survey, respondents’ were asked to state their opinion on the institution that they trusted the most. The results revealed that a sizable percentage of Kenyans continue to have a great deal or fair amount of trust in the media with 76% saying they trust media just a percentage point higher than trust for religious leaders. Among non state actors, traditional leaders have the lowest trust level. It is however noteworthy that the mainstream media in Kenya has historically enjoyed fairly high levels of trust in comparison to other public institutions.

The Police (21%) emerged the least trusted institution followed by Kenya Revenue Authority (32%), IEBC (34%), the County Assemblies (35%), Parliament (37%) and Governors (37%), the Opposition (39%), Kenya Defence Force (41%), The Government (45%) and lastly the courts (46%) and the presidency at 52% having the highest level of trust among public agencies.

As the media expands into new domains of news reporting via social media networks and new mobile technology, there are certainly going to be growing differences in trust between what is normally called “mainstream
media “as people seek out their own personal veins of getting information.

In comparison to the global comparators, according to the Forbes\(^5\) latest survey from 30,000 respondents in 27 countries on public trust in institutions, in 60% of countries. Non-governmental organizations get the highest rating, with 63% of people saying they trust NGOs, but that number is down from 66% in 2014. Business ranks second, with a 57% trust rating, down from 59% in 2014. Media lost ground as well, from 53% in 2013 to 51% in 2014. Trust in government ticked up slightly to 48% from a dismal 45%, but it’s still the least trusted institution.

The impact of trust in media is important because people must regularly choose whether to believe messages coming from institutional or alternative sources as well as whether to simply rely on other non-institutionalized media sources to form their beliefs. In the extreme, the partisanship and unresponsiveness to information that results from media distrust could prevent the public from holding politicians accountable for policy outcomes.

### 3.6 Media and Public Interest

Asked to state to what extent they felt the media speaks in favour of different members of society, at least two in three people (67%) felt media speaks according to the wishes of politicians with just over half saying it is according to the wishes of the rich, 47% according to the wishes of government and about a similar percentage 46% according to the wishes of ordinary people. This finding is not strange, and while it does not reflect perception of the independence of media, it certainly reflected the public interpretation of the domination politics in news.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media's voice</th>
<th>Mostly Always (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>According to the wishes of the private sector</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the wishes of ordinary citizens</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the wishes of the government</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the wishes of the rich</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the wishes of the politicians</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was however strong public opinion on the belief that an independent and pluralistic media is good for good governance, transparency and accountability. Most respondents were supportive of the desire for a free, independent, assertive, vibrant and responsible media that would effectively advance democracy, human rights, good governance and socioeconomic transformation. Such media would certainly provide platforms for campaigning against the culture of impunity that is a key challenge to better governance. For example, 80% of the respondents as opposed to just 14% felt that by criticizing political leaders, the media and journalists, such criticism stops political leaders from doing the wrong things rather than hindering them from doing their work.

### Some people think that by criticizing political leaders, the media and journalists interfere with political leaders who are doing their jobs. Others think that such criticism helps to stop political leaders from doing the wrong things. Which position is closer to your opinion?

| Media criticism interferes with leaders who are doing their job | 14% |
| Media criticism helps to stop leaders from doing the wrong things | 80% |
| Don't know | 6% |

### In general, do you think media organizations and journalists get their facts right or do you think that their stories are often inaccurate?

| Get their facts right | 72% |
| Often inaccurate | 21% |
| Don't know | 7% |

3.7 The role of journalists

What are the most important factors you consider as develop your stories?

- Availability, accessibility and credibility
- To counter stereotypes/biases
- Personal safety
- Media organization’s policies
- Resources to develop stories
- Neglected stories/marginalized stories
- Availability of information and quality
- Anticipated impact and change
- Public interest

Broadly, news serves to inform people about what is going on and the desired situation is to give an objective report on issues of public relevance which enables the public to formulate their own opinions. However, since journalists are human beings, they have their own opinion and if they do not pay attention, this might slip into their reports and influence the readers.

Unbiased reporting is therefore essential in a democratic society. From the survey, it was evident that most Kenyans (72%) feel that journalists and media in general get their facts right while a further 61% felt that media deals fairly with both sides when it comes to reporting politics, leadership and corruption issues. Notably however, a significant proportion of 21% felt that the media is often inaccurate. This means that the public generally feels that they receive unbiased reporting, often covering both sides of the story on issues around politics, leadership and corruption.

In sum however, it was clear that many Kenyans would like to see a media that respects and operates under the principles of public interest and impartially balances competing interests against the attention and susceptibilities of different audiences in Kenya. These trends reflect a strong public perception that a vigilant media is good for democracy and good governance.

3.8 Impact of the Code of conduct for journalists on performance

The Media Act, 2007, contains the code of conduct. MCK has published and distributed hundreds of copies of the code to newsrooms but very few journalists know about or use the code. In focus group discussions with selected journalists during the survey, out of a total of seventeen (17) journalists, only three (3) of them had accessed a copy even though all of them were aware of most of the requirements in the code of conduct. There exists a Media Complaints Commission which is independent of the MCK. The services of the Commission are free and independent of the Media and Government. In general, complaints must constitute a breach of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya (Second Schedule, The Media Act). The Code has 25 Articles incorporating the “dos and don’ts” of the media including fairness and accuracy, right of reply, using unnamed sources, misrepresentation, privacy, use of pictures and names, integrity, accountability, obscenity and bad taste, intrusion into grief and shock, protection of children and victims of sexual violence, acts of violence and hate speech.
According to the MCK Annual Report in 2013, the Complaints Commission of the MCK received a total of 18 complaints of which six (6) were dismissed for want of jurisdiction and three (3) were withdrawn. The Commission heard and determined the nine (9) remaining matters and issued decisions of which two respondents filed appeals with the MCK itself as provided for by law.

In the 2014 report, in the year 2013 the MCK received a total of 17 complaints of which five (5) were withdrawn at the preliminary stage, three (3) were dismissed for want of jurisdiction and the remaining were taken before the Complaints Commission for determination. In the year 2014, the Complaints Commission received 6 complaints of which 2 are still before the Commission to be considered for Mediation pursuant to section 36(1) of the Media Act, while the other four (4) matters are at the preliminary stage of notification provided for in section 35(1) of the Act.

According to Mr. David Onjanji, a freelance journalist based in Busia Kenya, although media organizations have adopted the code of conduct for journalists, they have not been keen to promote its use among their employees. Corruption among journalists and editors is still significant in Kenya and even though the MCK uses the code of conduct to arbitrate between complainants on the one hand, and journalists and media houses on the other, compliance with MCK’s decisions is still low due to various weaknesses in the Media Act, 200. Subsequently, the impact of this code of conduct on journalistic performance has been marginal. The opinions of David were largely shared by other journalists in the focus group discussions.

A key omission in The code of conduct for journalists however is that it only addresses one element of the need for ethics – accountability to the public. In this narrow interpretation, the code does not recognize personal and institutional accountability besides societal accountability. The ethical principle of accountability challenges journalism professionals on all these three levels. On a personal level every journalist ought to be ethically awake almost all the time.
4.0 Enhancing Citizens Capacity to hold leaders to account

4.1 Current status of civic engagement

Which of the following have you done personally in the past one year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a demonstration or protest march</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to pay tax or fee to government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted a government official to ask for help or make a complaint</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted the media, like calling a radio program or writing a letter to a newspaper</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined others in your community to request action from government</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In assessing the place of media in Kenya’s culture of public participation, the survey sought to examine three key interrelated variables from citizens - the public perception of the windows of public participation, their record/track of public participation and the place of media as a platform for public participation. In so doing the respondents were asked three different questions:

In the first instance, respondents were asked for their level of support for the place of public participation and good citizenship. In the second instance, they were presented with a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government performance. For each of these, they were asked whether they had personally, done any of these things during the past year and if they would if they had the chance. In the last instance, they were asked how much they had used the media as a platform of public participation in comparison to other windows of public participation.

In the findings of the survey, there was strong support for citizens’ participation especially in the processes of voting as well as paying tax. A total 86% of the respondents mentioned good citizens should always vote while 78% mentioned they should always pay tax as good citizens. In terms of actually taking up the space to participate however, there was a marked reduction with just an average of 19.5% mentioning they

86% Always vote

78% Always pay Tax

Just an average of 19.5% had taken any action to participate in public demand for accountability.

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6 Any process that directly engages the public in decision-making and gives full consideration to public input in making that decision - American Association of Public Participation
had actually taken any action to participate in public demand for accountability. Of the various platforms for participation, the majority of those who had taken some action were at 27% saying they had joined others in the community to request action from government, 23% had filed at least a complaint with a government official while 16% had contacted the media. The lowest platform of public participation was participation in a protest march or a demonstration.

In this respect, it appears both media and public protest are the least options for engagement with government for recourse with more people preferring engagement before protest. It is also important to note that a significant majority (an average of 80%) had never taken an option to demand accountability over the last one year which could suggest a very low level of confidence in public institutions for their grievances to be addressed. This variable is further examined in section 3.6.

From these findings, in supporting citizens to hold decision makers to account, the media will not always be the first point of call for public redress. However, as the media continues to be the leading source of information and news in 3.4 (radio (77%), TV(54%) and newspapers(21%)), media provides the first step to facilitating public accountability by highlighting cases of corruption that trigger participation in taking some action be it to join others in the community to request action from government or filing at least a complaint with a government official or in media.

### 4.2 Corruption is on the rise especially in public institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>% who paid a bribe/gift/favor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public hospital</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver’s license, passport or voter’s card, or a permit</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get water, sanitation or electricity from government</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance from the police</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of law</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the latest rankings by Transparency International, majority of Kenyans described the level of corruption as high and felt it had increased in the past 12 months up to December 2014. In this survey, when respondents were asked if they felt corruption had increased or decreased over the last year, 70% were of the opinion that corruption had increased with just 16% saying they felt it had stayed the same and 12% that it had decreased.

### Who do you think are most involved in corruption?

- Police: 77%
- Members of Parliament: 58%
- Government officials: 59%
- Local Leaders (like Chiefs, AOs, Village headmen): 52%
- The President and Officials in his office: 45%
- The President and Officials in his office: 36%
- Ward Administrators: 32%
- Religious Leaders: 19%
- Your County Governor and Officials in Office: 48%
- Officers of Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA): 44%
- Judges and Magistrates: 33%
- Members of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF): 27%
- Media/Journalists: 27%

These findings closely reflect findings of the recent latest Round 6 report of Afrobarometer Survey in which Two-thirds (64%) of Kenyans say that the level of corruption in the country has increased somewhat or a lot in the past year. In the Afrobarometer report, three-fourths (75%) of respondents say “most” or “all” of the police are corrupt, followed by government officials (46%) and Members of Parliament (45%) while among non-state actors, business executives are viewed as the most corrupt (38%).
In this survey, when asked which people they felt were involved in corruption, the Police (77%), Government Officials (59%), MPs (58%), Governors (53%), MCAs (52%), KRA (48%), Local Leaders (45%), Judiciary (44%) and the Presidency (36%) following in that order were perceived as most corrupt. The religious leaders (19%) and media (27%) were perceived as least corrupt. This is likely to be a strong reason for the low levels of trust in most public institutions shown in section 3.5 earlier.

The first impact of these high perceptions of corruption in public agencies is evident from the low numbers of people reporting cases of corruption, even as access to basic services in the country continues to be hampered by the vice. In a set of six (6) public service clusters – education, health, civil registration, water and sanitation, justice and law and order, one in every two of the respondents who sought services from the police admitted paying a bribe at least once, 40% for civil registration services and 23% in public hospitals, 22% for water, sanitation and electricity with courts of law registering the lowest level of corruption incidents at 15% in this package of services. Notably, of those who admitted to paying a bribe, only 6% reported the incidents.

When asked whether they agree or disagree with the following statement: “ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption” – 61% of the respondents agreed (30% agreeing strongly) with the statement while a sizeable 28% disagreeing with the statement with 18% of the respondents admitting there was nothing they could do to fight corruption. This is a significant proportion of citizens who feel ordinary people cannot make a difference.

A total of 78% of the respondents however felt they could do something with self restraint from paying bribes as the most effective, reporting corruption and voting in clean candidates or progressive political parties high on the list of personal actions at 38%, 20% and 10% of the respondents respectively. The use of public platforms – media, public petitions and demonstration each scored 2-3% as effective personal initiatives at combating corruption. The findings suggest a strong need for establishing an
effective complaints or referral mechanisms, strengthening sector reforms especially in the police force and service delivery areas as well as building capacity of public agencies to address corruption better.

A number of implications arise from these findings on corruption for media work. Given that corruption incidents are high and reporting is low, media focus should not only be at highlighting cases of corruptions but further work needs to be done in highlighting how initiatives at the individual level are bringing change and impact as well as how certain institutions are addressing complaints, success stories of disciplinary action, prosecution, etc which help improve perceptions that corruption can be tackled. It is anticipated that such reports could increase public reporting, individual initiatives to tackle corruption and creating greater sense of confidence in institutional and legal mechanisms for redress.

4.3 Growing interest in investigative stories

A key element of the KMP program goals of improving accountability and transparency was the focus on promoting investigative journalism as a window for fighting corruption and poor governance. In media circles, investigative journalism is generally regarded as one of the most challenging and yet rewarding branches of media. But it is fraught with many challenges and the ability of investigative journalists to deliver on their assignment is dependent on their capacities, legal regime, ethics, economies, witness protection and the rewarding part that includes it contributing to an open and accountable society, contributing to good governance, promoting speech and democracy and personal improvement.

Do you recall any investigative story you have watched most recently? Which one?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo leasing story</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case files</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption stories</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEBC chicken scandal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jicho Pevu / Inside story</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabete MP murder</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep government on toes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyan killing squad was exposed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumias sugar factory corruption case</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi aviation college: Certificates of doom</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliamentary Accounts Committee expose</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One clear research finding however from the public survey was the fact that there is a significant amount of appreciation of investigative stories with Jicho Pevu the most recalled of all TV investigative series. Certainly, the survey taking place just one week after the restoration of TV broadcast from the main TV stations was slightly disadvantaged by the long broadcast downtime of 26 days but many respondents were still able to recall specific stories on Jicho Pevu and The Inside Story recording the highest recall at 55%. Most respondents could recall at least one investigative story with the story of Pastor Kanyari, Public Accounts Committee Expose and Westgate Attack among the most recalled.

From the focus group discussion with media managers and journalists, a big limitation of producing investigative stories is the capacity to produce the stories, as attested by the following comment from a journalist,

\[This type of work requires a lot of funding because it is resource intensive but you find that in Kenya, few media houses are willing to finance a journalist to carry out the simplest of stories where as in the developed world, journalists can even make up to three air trips or more in a week while following a story and its all on the media house. This is why we found KMP greatly beneficial to us. It gave us the much needed cushion –funds to do the stories.\]
A sample of some of the investigative stories published from KMP grantees

- The root cause of Teenage pregnancies in Suba.
- Mining in Busia
- Illegal logging in Uasin Gishu County
- Public Finance waste in Isiolo County
- Commercial sex work in Juba and Nairobi
- Drug use among the Muslim society
- Fraud in proceeds from aloe vera research in Turkana
- The coffee thieves of Murang’a
- Public hospitals trading in condoms in Murang’a
- Where are the mosquito nets for the mothers?
- Rape and defilement as a tool of gender and sexual violence against women

Another key issue raised by journalists is the case of ethics. The freelance journalists argued that because of low ethics in media, journalists at times terminate good investigative stories when news makers induce journalists with money and other favors quite often, rewarding the journalists much more than what mainstream media houses would officially pay for the production of these stories. Mainstream media houses on the other hand accuse freelance journalists of being the bigger culprits in abandoning the code of conduct while freelance journalists say most of the media houses are dishonest when they file stories and they take away their stories to give to in-house journalists who take the credit.

In mainstream media however, beating deadlines is another stiff challenge facing investigative journalists because sometimes editors feel that the story could be taking too long and due to these pressures, sometimes they are forced to abandon the stories often after spending huge sums of money.

At the same time, due low prioritization among media managers, most media houses do not sufficiently invest in the employment of enough competent personnel especially for investigative journalism and this means therefore that quite often, there is little or no specialization. It is therefore common for a journalist carrying out an investigative story is also supposed to carry out some other duties in the newsroom. All these factors make investigative journalism a difficult option for many media houses.

4.4 Use of KMP products

Over the last two years, how would you describe how the media has covered the following issues:

- Participation in democratic processes such as elections
- Issues about ordinary people’s lives such as insecurity, crime, road accidents
- The ICC process
- Devolution
- Policy reforms (changes in the police judiciary, prisons, health, land sector etc)
- Constitutional implementation
- Impunity (doing things without fear of punishment)
- The judicial nomination process
- Performance of the economy
- IDP stories
- Distribution of resources by the government
- High cost of living
It is clear that news is important and the majority of the respondents follow the news regularly. Respondents were asked how the mainstream media covers key and important governance events and processes. A majority of the respondents (75%) felt that over the last two (2) years, electoral processes had received the best coverage followed by ordinary issues in people’s lives such as security, crime and road accidents (67%) just as much as the ICC process, Devolution (63%), policy reforms and constitutional implementation each at 58% marked the close of the top five list of issues given the best coverage.

In finding out whether media covers issues that are most important in the country, 77% of the respondents said the media covers issues that are most important to the country while 14% felt they do not cover issues that are most important to the country. The number of those satisfied with the quality and quantity of coverage on national issues such as leadership, elections, corruption, government performance and service delivery to the public was significantly high at 81% for both and just 15% saying the quality and quantity of coverage was poor.

In order to explore the impact of the investigative stories in some of the localities where these stories were published, the survey team also undertook qualitative interviews with local citizens in Murang’a District to assess their recall and civic response to the stories developed under the KMP with specific reference to the loss of mosquito nets in the district hospital. The focus group discussion with 17 randomly selected stakeholders in the county were drawn from some representatives of women groups, NGOs, women leaders and health workers.

The main issue we sought for clarity in the interview was to answer the questions, how many local citizens could recall the specific story and why? Secondly, are citizens more engaged with their communities after reading investigative stories in a way that is distinct from problem-oriented stories? In doing this the research team assessed;
During the FGD, each participant was presented with the news article on the story about loss of mosquito nets in the district hospital. For this issue, eleven (70%) of the participants were able to recall the story with clarity while six (30%) were unable to recall. The participants who had been able to recall the story were then presented with a set of further questions on the impact of their story and their opinions. This was compared to those who had not read the story.

From the feedback:
- Those who had read the story appeared to have heighten perceived knowledge and sense of efficacy.
- Most of them perceived that they gained more knowledge about the issue in the article.
- They also indicated that they felt better informed about the issue.
- All of those who had read the story responded that the article had increased their interest in the issue.
- Those who had read the story were more likely to believe they could contribute to a solution to the issue than those who hadn’t.
- Indicated that they felt inspired and more concerned after reading the article.

The discussions also revealed that since the publishing of the story, more new mothers had reportedly began to give positive feedback that they were receiving mosquito nets after delivery as opposed to the period before the story was run. A quick check with the hospital administrator indeed confirmed that changes had been put in place after the exposure. At the national level, this narrative is similar to the investigative expose on Jicho Pevu about Pastor Kanyari which prompted the government to revise guidelines for registration of churches and other religious bodies, public demands for fresh vetting of individuals who had registered churches and individual churches making public pronouncements among their congregations that they do not charge for prayer services.

4.5 Slow progress in digital migration

Digital Kenya is the agency responsible for ensuring the country migrates from analogue to digital television broadcasting before the worldwide deadline of 2015. In Kenya, the digital migration process was started on December 9, 2009 when President Mwai Kibaki, launched the signal in Nairobi. The process however immediately hit a snag after consumer groups and media immediately opposed the pace and timelines for migration setting of a long drawn battle between the Communications Authority and service providers that culminated in the forceful termination of transmission of the signals from Citizen TV, KTN, Nation TV and QTV all of whom command over 80% of local TV audiences on February 15 for 19 days up to March 5th.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which set-top box do you own?</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free to air (one does not require to pay subscriptions)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated TV (TV with an inbuilt tuner and do not require Set Top box)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay TV Set Top Box (One requires to pay subscription)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the survey, up to 75% of the respondents understood why the TVs were off-air with 45% saying it was unfair and 9% saying it was fair for the TV stations to be off-air. 12% of the respondents however said government was to blame, 11% blamed both media houses and government and 5% blamed the respective media houses.

Only 52% of the respondents mentioned that they own set-top boxes with 45% saying they didn’t. Among those who own set-top boxes, 71% owned Pay TV set top boxes with those who did not own set top boxes citing high costs (53%) as the main reason why they had not migrated. From these findings, high initial costs are a significant barrier to digital migration which make low cost Pay TV set top boxes most favourable due to their initial low costs.

Similarly, the slow migration to digital TV receivers could have also been occasioned by numerous legal and mandate stand-offs between government, media houses and consumer organizations who keep shifting the dates and deadlines for digital migration until March 2015 when this was finally settled. Even then, there is still
public uncertainty as to the best options for purchasing the set top boxes based on the wide and growing variety of set top boxes.

The implication of this finding is that a slow digital migration will have a net negative effect on citizens capacity to hold decision makers to account. However, given that policy direction on digital migration is solely limited to TV broadcast, which accounts for at least 54% of news and information sources, this proportion will go down and KMP should explore alternative platforms for providing information and news especially growing social media platforms, SMS information and news sources which have growing audiences.

4.6 Vernacular radio stations have strong support among ordinary Kenyans

Since the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya, vernacular radio stations have been increasingly put on the spot over biased reporting on political issues. The stations have also been accused of using coded language in their messages that is prone to many interpretations, often contributing to hate speech and incitement.
Which of the following is True/False?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>True</th>
<th>False</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular radio stations promote national unity and cohesion</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular radio stations promote negative ethnicity</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular radio stations should be banned</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government keeps a close check on vernacular radio stations</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular radio stations should be allowed to operate more freely</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government should provide tougher guidelines for vernacular radio stations</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In March 2013 for example, the National Steering Committee on Media Monitoring claimed that radio stations were propagating hate speech on their online platforms. The committee also warned that those radio stations would be prosecuted and their licences revoked. During this survey, respondents gave a strong thumb of approval for the continued existence of vernacular radio stations. From the frequency of listenership in the past seven (7) days, vernacular radio stations accounted for up to 35% of those interviewed saying they had listened to them with the rest listening to other national, Kiswahili or English radio channels.

These findings on the strong support for vernacular stations imply the support for vernacular radio stations which is an area that has been hitherto ignored needs a stronger focus. Vernacular radios are a strong broadcasting and educational tool, for communication and information sharing, to improve awareness and knowledge of solutions to community development problems ranging from culture, rural development, education, hygiene and sanitation, agriculture to local governance. Above all however, they are an appropriate medium that continues to facilitate the interface between duty bearers and rights holders. Such support must however include key areas of weaknesses for most vernacular stations based on a case by case basis that include content development, human resources, infrastructure, quality and standards.

4.7 The Place of Social Media in promoting good governance

Over and above the mainstream media, social media has now become one of the most active platforms for communication and networking in Kenya. Kenya in turn has one of the most active online populations on the planet with users increasing in number every day. Majority of the Kenyans online use platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Google+ and Youtube.

Social media platforms in Kenya have gained different uses other than just allowing one to grow their network. Social media has become a tool for social and political accountability; trade their services and products online, public discussion forums, social mobilization and many more uses. From the most recent statistics from the Communications Authority of Kenya, the total number of data/internet subscriptions grew remarkably by 10.8 percent to reach 16.4 million from 14.8 million subscriptions reported last quarter. (Source: Communications Authority of Kenya, Quarterly Sector Statistics Report Second Quarter Of The Financial Year 2014/15)

7 Nation Media, 18 March 2013
Compared to the same period of the previous year, the number of data subscriptions has grown by 24.8 percent. The estimated number of internet users during the quarter increased to 26.1 million up from 23.2 million subscriptions reported in the previous quarter. This marked an increase of 4.8 million subscriptions when compared to the same quarter of the previous year. Consequently, the population with access to internet grew significantly to stand at 64.3 per 100 inhabitants up from the previous quarter per 100 inhabitants. According to the Authority, the growth in internet access and usage could be attributed to the numerous data promotions carried out by the various service providers during the quarter. For instance, one of the service providers offered free social media access by post-paid and pre-paid subscribers on their network.

Most recently human rights activists have used social media to mobilize the public for demonstrations against violence against women after a spate of incidents of women being victimized for their dressing. In Nairobi, citizen journalist Boniface Mwangi mobilized a highly successful public demonstration against the grabbing of land in Langata Road Primary School and besides, currently, a number of political leaders maintain a permanent presence on social media platforms to engage with the public on a regular basis on national, county and constituency issues. Social media has become the most engaging real time platform for social and political accountability.

In the survey, the findings showed a remarkably high level of access to social media. From the findings, 49% as opposed to 51% of the respondents have access to social media which means access to social media countrywide is significantly high. Facebook (65%) is the most widely known platform followed by Whatsapp (35%), Twitter (31%), You Tube (12%) and LinkedIn (10%) rounding up the top five (5).

Subsequently, asked which media platform they had accessed in the last seven days, Facebook (42%) was highest, followed by Whatsapp(38%), Youtube (6%) and Linked In (4%). Slightly more males (52%) than females...
(46%) have regular access to social media with younger more educated Kenyans having highest access and use of social media. By age, young Kenyans are the most active users of social media at 61% with the rate of usage dropping by 10-15 percentage points for every 10 year band up to the lowest usage of 9% for those over 55 years of age. Mobile phones are the most widely used platforms for social media at 88% followed in the distance by personal laptop computers at 6% and shared desktops at the cyber café at 4%. Notably, a majority of users (62%) mainly use social media for sharing information with friends with 16% saying they mainly use it for professional networking.

The use of social media as a platform for accountability is a critical engagement public platform even for KMP. Lessons from other parts of the world reflect this growing strategic importance of social media which is evidenced from the assertion by the World Bank that while much has already been written about the Arab Spring what is already clear from the current body of work being produced is that it was the use of social media that acted as the catalyst for change in an already unpredictable environment. (Source: The World Bank, June Hanan, Using Social Media for Good Governance, April 2014)

In Kenya, the case of Langata Primary School mobilization is a typical case in point. The use and availability of social media easily creates connections between prominent thought leaders and activists to ordinary citizens, rapidly expanding the network of people willing to take action. The events around the Arab Spring, created a new paradigm shift that both State and Non State Actors must now consider: that society is no longer dominated by government or the market, but by the power of communities and groups. The way in which social media works means that information is porous. National borders, government structures or even languages are no longer relevant in this new environment.

4.8 Implication of Findings on media as institutions for public accountability

In Kenya, the Right to Information has its roots well articulated in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This Right to Information includes the obligation of public bodies to disclose information and the corresponding right of every citizen to receive information. Currently, there are no clear provisions defined to enable access of this right by citizens. Within its mandate and place as a public watchdog however, the mass media plays a key role and a vehicle to realize the Right to Information by facilitating information and communication flow between governmental bodies and the different stakeholders within the society. Besides the potential of being a platform for information relevant to development in a country, mass media – following essential governance criteria - can be a key factor for social accountability. This is the underlying reason why media assistance - in general development is an increasingly important component in governance programing.

4.8.1 Building capacity of journalists in public interest

The effectiveness of media to play this watchdog role can be a very complicated process. It depends on how media as a whole view their role in democracy while at the same time, the extent to which public interest is central in their work. In a focus group discussion with a select set of journalists, when asked what are the most important factors they consider when they file their stories, public interest emerged as the most important as defined by the prominence of the issue based on public opinion, anticipated change, availability of information and quality, marginalization and media organizational policies and resources to develop stories as the top five.

In the frame of this intermediary role, media perform a variety of functions:

- Disseminate information on relevant topics
- Give voice to different parts of society, including marginalized groups
- Provide a forum for exchange of diverse views
- Fulfill a watchdog function by observing political processes
- Influence the perception of societal realities
- Contribute to orientation and social integration
- Provide channels to political actors to raise the attention of the public, and to communicate and interact with the people

The discussions with journalists and media managers further revealed that even within media, media organizations themselves are never free of own interests and should not be considered just as a channel. Media can be committed to public interest, can be supportive towards the government or being captured by a political party or commercial purposes. Every media organization also has its own editorial concept – outspoken or not. Even quality journalism is not beyond certain interests and good professionals are always aware that their reporting is never neutral. It depends for example on where one focuses the lens: do you go close to the people or do you cover the institutional discourse! Making a balance between these two probably defines the core elements of the final determinants of media content and whether or not it responds to public interest.
4.8.2 Deepening the focus on the policy and regulatory environment

The democratic transition over the last three years from the coalition government to the Jubilee government has widely exposed the fact that the potential of the media is not only untapped, it can sometimes be blocked. New laws that have been enacted under the current regime violate the right of freedom of expression, hinder journalists in fully fulfilling their duties, restrict access to governmental information or simply intimidate media organizations in order to make self-censorship a common habit.

Within the media houses however, the lack of economic resources also doesn’t allow for free media, be it for a lack of professional education, for a lack of means to do research, or for a lack of infrastructure to produce and distribute information. In many cases the level of professional standards in reporting is very low, thus giving business and political interests the chance to get their biased messages across unnoticed or even to set the political agenda. Yet the Kenyan public today more than ever is expressing greater need for information, orientation and fora for discussion. And in all of the discussions in the FGDs, it was clear that the main determinant of the circumstances when the public is most likely to be receptive of issues raised in the media lies in when their information needs are met.

4.8.3 Strengthening Public Voice

From a rights perspective this means media should meet the essential demands of the core values of democracy - for example in pursuing their freedoms and rights of information, media should be unrestricted in playing its role of public information; in the pursuit of the right to equality it means journalistic practice should provide equal and balanced coverage of the diverse viewpoints and concerns of different layers of society. In terms of pluralism - an independent, pluralistic media sector that provides an intelligent account of the day’s events, gives voice to different parts of society, provides a forum for exchange, and works as a watchdog and in terms of the public participation, this kind of media should be able to contribute to the aims of legitimate and participatory governance and provides necessary elements to enable a transparent, equitable, efficient and accountable management of public affairs both at the county and national government levels/issues.

4.8.4 The opportunities for devolution

From the survey results in 3.5 in this report, Governors at 53% and MCAs at 52% are ranked 4th and 5th respectively in public perception to be involved in corruption. However, there have also been cases such as the KMP products in Murang’a where media exposure led to the improved ability of ordinary citizens to hold decision makers to account for the provision of mosquito nets at the referral hospital. The media forms an important channel for communication and delivery of information between county authorities and the public and contributes to a more transparent and accountable counties.

However, to get maximum impact of media in devolution, the professional capacity of the majority of rural journalists to meaningfully engage in governance process is still low. Even among county governments, there is still apathy on using local media to communicate to the public. This means there are still gaps in both the need for civic awareness on their right to information and the importance of county media sources so as to develop a bottom-up pressure upon county government authorities to improve governance and service delivery.

4.8.5 Use of social media as a tool for promoting better governance and accountability

Already, there are examples where social media in Kenya has been used to create the means to improve governance. Social media provides easy publication and rapid spread of information. By doing so, it creates transparency that can strengthen citizen awareness on actions of government at any level. For citizens, by embedding government information in social media provides hitherto unimagined access to government and the means to connect in real time. But even for government, it offers the ability to rapidly give feedback, information, poll public opinion and perhaps more importantly, forecast broader, societal trends. Notably, KMP can leverage on these elements with an intention to build on the following potential benefits;

- Open up access to government and government officials and create new possibilities for community driven initiatives.
- Social media tools and platforms are relatively low cost and saves time and money. Providing information through social media channels offers real efficiencies in creating faster, easier and cheaper access to information, particularly to younger voters who tend use, read and operate in social media spaces.
- Creates new ways of working. Online collaboration across citizen networks, pressure groups and coalitions have the potential to force change on the decisions and operations of government.
5.0 Conclusions and Implications of Findings on media as institutions for public accountability

5.1 Effectiveness of media in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya

This public survey had sought to answer two key research questions. First, is the media effective in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya?, and second, how can citizens capacity to hold powers to account through media be enhanced? In examining the first of these two core issues, the survey explored a number of interrelated questions both providing direct and indirect evidence on the effectiveness of media in improving accountability. This evidence included the public perception on the role and place of media in Kenya’s democratic space that clearly showed great public confidence in the media as part of Kenya’s governance and accountability architecture.

Public confidence in the main tenets of democracy remained strong with media ranking second (79%) out of four key parameters that included the supremacy of the legislature coming fourth at 74%, rule of law was third at 76% and presidential term limits coming first at 84%. The survey also showed that 78% of the respondents agreed with the Statement - The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption and just 17% saying too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

At the same time, the survey showed that a total of 77% of the respondents said that radio was their most common source of information followed by TV (54%), Newspapers at 21%, 17% for mobile phones and 9% from the Internet and friends alike. In addition to this, the effectiveness of media was reflected in the highest level of public trust in media as an institution at 76% with the first public institution (the Presidency) almost twenty five percentage points lower at 52%. In sum, all these findings demonstrate the high degree of expectation by the public on the media to continue playing a stronger watchdog role in governance landscape. The findings point strongly to the need to enhance capacity building for media that could take three interrelated pathways;

5.1.1 Building capacity of individual journalists

The effectiveness of media to play this watchdog role can be a very complicated process. In part, the success of capacity building for journalists also depends on how media as a whole view their role in democracy while at the same time, the extent to which public interest is central in their work. In a focus group discussion with a select set of journalists, when asked what are the most important factors they consider when they file their stories, public interest emerged as the most important as defined by the prominence of the issue based on public opinion, anticipated change, availability of information and quality, marginalization and media organizational policies and resources to develop stories as the top five.

Even drawing from the survey results alone, some of the areas that individual journalists require capacity building on include journalism and public interest, objective reporting (from the survey, 72% of the respondents felt that journalists and media in general get their facts right, 61% felt that media deals fairly with both sides when it comes to reporting politics, leadership and corruption issues, however 21% felt that the media is often inaccurate)

5.1.2 Building the capacity of media organizations

The discussions with journalists and media managers further revealed that even within media, media organizations themselves are never free of own interests and should not be considered just as a channel. Media can be committed to public interest, but can also be supportive towards the government or be captured by a political party or commercial purposes. In the survey, there was a remarkably high percentage of people, at least two in three people (67%) who felt media speaks according to the wishes of politicians with just over half saying it is according to the wishes of the rich, 47% according to the wishes of government and about a similar percentage 46% according to the wishes of ordinary people. This data can have multiple interpretations.

Every media organization also has its own editorial concept – outspoken or not. Even quality journalism is not beyond certain interests and good professionals are always aware that their reporting is never neutral. It depends for example on where one focuses the lens: do you go close to the people or do you cover the institutional discourse and within what set of rules. The findings from the focus group discussions with selected journalists during the survey for example showed that out of a total of seventeen (17) journalists, only three (3) of them had accessed a copy of their code of conduct even though all of them were aware of most of the requirements in the code of conduct. This could be one of the areas to begin from.
5.1.3 Strengthening the policy and regulatory environment

Media freedom does not exist in a vacuum. When one views it as a medium of public discourse and dialogue, then the environment in which the overall freedom of expression must be enabling. In the survey, it was clear that people feel this space is shrinking. For example, when asked the question, on how free people feel to speak, associate by joining political parties or make personal choices with respect to vote, a majority of respondents felt they were more free to choose their leaders than they were to associate or speak. The freedom of speech received the lowest score with just 53% feeling completely free as opposed to 80% feeling completely free to vote. Twice as many people were able to clarify they did not feel free at all to speak as compared to those who felt they were not free to associate politically or vote.

The shrinking of this space was confirmed by outcomes of separate focus group discussions with journalists, who made it clear that the media on the other hand continue to operate in a very restrained environment with many journalists finding difficulties in commenting on certain political and governance issues for fear of being targeted by politicians or the State.

A number of interventions can be envisioned here as a response to strengthening this environment – first is the dedication of resources to the review and repeal of current laws that constrict media space. The passage of two regressive pieces of legislation by the National Assembly two years ago – the The Kenya Information Communication (Amendment) Act 2013 and the Media Council Act 2013 are a starting point. But the media sector also needs to be proactive in coming up with new legislative proposals and supporting institutions such as the Media Council of Kenya to be a more effective and neutral player in media regulation. Another critical area of investment that directly contributes to greater independence is in supporting legislative action that enforce freedoms and the right of access to information, the building of institutional mechanisms for the protection and safety of journalists as well as rapid response funding mechanisms for the protection of journalists.

5.2 Enhancing Citizens capacity to hold leaders to account through media

The second key research question in this survey sought to explain the issue - how can citizens capacity to hold powers to account through media be enhanced? In examining the second of these two core issues, the survey explored a number of issues - what does the current state of civic engagement look like? Where is media in this whole picture? What are the issues that require accountability and do they resonate with the public? Using KMP products as a reference case, what does the evidence show about the interest of the public in using media to hold leaders to account? What is the potential of new accountability platforms for media engagement?

5.2.1 Following up media stories on accountability

In the survey, in a set of three randomly selected variables for civic engagement – taxation, voting and taking action to demand accountability, a total 86% of the respondents mentioned good citizens should always vote while 78% mentioned they should always pay tax. In terms of actually taking up the space to participate however, there was a marked reduction with just an average of 19.5% mentioning they had actually taken any action to participate in demanding for accountability. Of the various platforms for participation, the majority of those who had taken some action were at 27% saying they had joined others in the community to request action from government, 23% had filed at least a complaint with a government official while 16% had contacted the media. The lowest platform of public participation was participation in a protest march or a demonstration.

The low score for the use of media is not strange. Media will not always be the first point of call for public redress. However, as the media continues to be the leading source of information and news it provides an important first step to facilitating public accountability by highlighting cases of corruption that trigger participation in taking some action be it to join others in the community to request action from government or filing at least a complaint with a government official. In journalistic circles however, one would infer that there is an important need among journalists to follow up on stories especially where corruption and issues of accountability are reported so as to improve public confidence that government officials respond more favorably to media reports than could be currently thought. In subsequent media research work, this is also an area that could be further investigated.
5.2.2 Investing in Vernacular Radio stations and tapping on to the opportunities for devolution

Three key but interrelated findings on media and local governance from the survey support the need to invest in vernacular radio stations and other local media outlets. First, there was strong public support for vernacular radio stations – a combined total of just over 25% of the respondents listen to vernacular stations and an even stronger majority (73%) believe they promote national unity, 84% disagree that they should be banned and 63% thought they should be allowed to operate more freely.

A second related finding to the relationship between media and local governance was on the issues of public perception on who they think are most involved in corruption with Governors at 53% and MCAs at 52% ranked 4th and 5th respectively. A third finding was the case study in Murang’a County where media exposure of the fraud in the distribution of mosquito nets in Murang’a County Referral Hospital led to the improved ability of ordinary citizens to hold decision makers to account for the provision of mosquito nets.

All these three findings show that the media forms an important channel for communication and delivery of information between county authorities and the public and contributes to a more transparent and accountable governance in the counties.

However, to get maximum impact of media in devolution, the professional capacity of the majority of rural journalists to meaningfully engage in governance process is still low. Even among county governments, there is still apathy on using local media to communicate to the public. This means there are still gaps in both the need for civic awareness on their right to information and the importance of county media sources so as to develop a bottom-up pressure upon county government authorities to improve governance and service delivery.

5.2.3 Use of social media as a tool for promoting better governance and accountability

In the survey, the findings showed a remarkably high level of access to social media. From the findings, 49% as opposed to 51% of the respondents have access to social media which means access to social media countrywide is significantly high. Out of these users, a total of 70% use the social media either as a source of news and information or to share news with friends. Already, there are examples where social media in Kenya has been used to create the means to improve governance. Social media provides easy publication and rapid spread of information. By doing so, it creates transparency that can strengthen citizen awareness on actions of government at any level. For citizens, by embedding government information in social media provides hitherto unimagined access to government and the means to connect in real time. But even for government, it offers the ability to rapidly give feedback, information, poll public opinion and perhaps more importantly, forecast broader, societal trends. Notably, KMP can leverage on these elements with an intention to build on the following potential benefits;

• Open up access to government and government officials and create new possibilities for community driven initiatives.
• Social media tools and platforms are relatively low cost and save time and money.
• Providing information through social media channels offers real efficiencies in creating faster, easier and cheaper access to information, particularly to younger voters who tend use, read and operate in social media spaces.
• Creates new ways of working. Online collaboration across citizen networks, pressure groups and coalitions have the potential to force change on the decisions and operations of government.
6.0 Recommendations for Future KMP Program Design

KMP’s overall objective is to contribute to a responsible, accountable and transparent governance environment and therefore to a more stable Kenya. Accordingly, the expected outcome of the programme is that the media is more effective in improving transparency and accountability in Kenya. From the survey, the following are recommendations emerge for KMP future programming;

6.1 Building a comprehensive Media Support Framework

In the implementation of the program, KMP followed the usual project cycle procedures, as do other programmes in development. Over the next phase perhaps KMP may need to analyse and integrate the different spheres of the media sector as the basis for analysis with quality journalism for good governance and democracy as an overarching outcome. Such analysis would also need to be done for all segments belonging to and interacting with the media sector. All these segments simultaneously influence what people get to read listen and view via the media. To do, this can be demonstrated by using a very simple model of the media sector and its audience, consisting of six different spheres in the media sector.

Typology of Comprehensive Media Support Framework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of Intervention</th>
<th>Typical Example building form KMP Phase 1 Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Individual journalists</td>
<td>Support in training professional skills and/or knowledge on specific issues on democracy, good governance, transparency and accountability. These could also include areas such as investigative journalism and other areas of need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Media Organizations</td>
<td>Support to independent, pluralistic media outlets and improving the working conditions; on-site training for editors on ethics, media accountability, journalism concepts; management courses etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Media Sector institutions</td>
<td>Establishing missing institutions in support of a pluralistic media sector (research, education, association of correspondents, union of journalists, media councils). Other interventions that go under this would include support of media watchdog and monitoring groups, support and creation of independent/self-regulatory institutions including ombudsmen, press councils, press complaints commissions, advocacy organizations, etc., Support to expand professional contacts and collaboration between domestic and foreign media companies and institutions and support to media research and media monitoring institutions/groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Economic factors</td>
<td>Enhancing sustainability of media (circulation, printing, broadcasting capabilities including infrastructure, anti-monopolistic activities, media management training)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Policy and Legal environment</td>
<td>Support to institutions engaged in establishing and enforcing media laws and regulations enabling freedom of expression and access to information; safety and protection of journalists etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Societal beliefs and attitudes</td>
<td>Support activities strengthening the demand end of media products such as media literacy, values of freedom and exchange, the rights and duties in democratic societies etc.</td>
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However, it is quite obvious that in many cases when pursuing a comprehensive approach, it will always be necessary to work on different spheres of the media sector at the same time. Comprehensive interventions in various entry points have the potential of being mutually reinforcing, thus enlarging potential outcome and impact. A comprehensive approach also balances the risks of failure when working only in one sphere. This kind of comprehensiveness might also be achievable by good collaboration and coordination with development partners.
6.2 The Potential of Community Media and vernacular radio

The importance of community media and vernacular radio to create an environment for greater accountability has been emphasized in this report. When we talked about governance issues during the survey through our FGDs, the discussions quickly moved into investigative journalism. But often, all it takes is not journalism but simply opening up local spaces and allowing people to air their views and grievances. So the rise of community media is opening up discursive spaces and transforming the local dynamic. There is a need to tap into what is happening at the local level and feed that into the national debate. An example was given of community radio stations in Indonesia forcing local politicians to maintain good roads, by simply allowing local residents to call in and air their grievances. In some of the programs such as those with KOCH FM and other community radio networks clearly demonstrated how these initiatives are already bearing fruits. In Turkana, The Turkana Tribune has been an important force for social mobilization that continues to strengthen media platforms for demanding transparency and accountability.

6.3 Strengthening Media Training

Media training institutions do not have common standards in Kenya. The absence of a harmonized media curriculum, as well as the use of varied syllabi frustrates the achievement of common standards of training. Some of the training institutions have hardly any curricular or syllabi outlines or descriptions of the courses on offer. Entry requirements into journalism courses are not standard either; while some institutions admit students with a B grade in the Kenya Secondary Certificate Examination (KSCE), others admit Grade C and even D. Despite these constraints, some universities and colleges continue striving to attain the highest possible level of quality journalism training. A key area to address in training however is the capacity of practising journalists. KMP should invest in a joint comprehensive needs assessment together with other key players such as KUJ, KCA and the Editors Guild to roll out a needs assessment that can inform the development of a training program to increase skills and knowledge for better practice.
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8. KMP Annual Report April 2011 – March 2012


10. KMP Quarterly Progress Report October – December 2013

11. KMP Quarterly Report April – June 2013


