

**EFFECTS OF SECURITY RISKS ON THE PERFORMANCE OF INVESTIGATIVE
JOURNALISTS IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA**

MONICAH NDANU KIMEU

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Master of Arts Degree in Security Management of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

AUGUST 2023

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented in this university or any other for the award of a degree.

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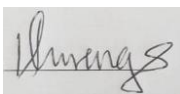
Date: 30th August 2023

Monicah Ndanu Kimeu

AM21/00007/11

Recommendation

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as University supervisors.


Signature: 

Date: 30th August 2023

Prof. Hadija Murenga

Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies

Egerton University

Signature: 

Date: 30th August 2023

Dr. Lydia Mareri

Department of Literature, Languages & Linguistics

Egerton University

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Ms. Peninah Wangare, my beloved aunt the late Mary Wayua and my children Jermaine Waikinda and Salma Kimeu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Almighty God for giving me the inspiration, courage, strength, wisdom, understanding and resources to complete this thesis. On his wings I continue to soar.

With sincere gratitude, I acknowledge the guidance and support of my supervisor Prof. Hadija Murenga, immediate former Dean Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Egerton University. Her academic standards of research, attention to detail when it comes to content and presentation is a source of inspiration, something I hope to carry forward throughout my career.

To my second supervisor Dr. Lydia Mareri, Lecturer in Communication and Media, thank you for setting a good foundation for me in research during my undergraduate studies and now my post graduate thesis. I am fortunate to have been under your guidance throughout my academic journey.

Many thanks to Mr. Joseph Ndung'u Executive Director Kenya Institute of Security and Criminal Justice and Prof Matthew Theuri Associate Professor of Social Sciences, Department of Security Management Dedan Kimathi University of Technology for their vision and invaluable encouragement. To this end, I am proud of what I have accomplished in the security space.

I thank Egerton University, the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies for giving me a chance to pursue my Masters degree and mentoring me this far. I may not mention all respondents by name, but your participation in my research made my study possible and for that I thank you.

More importantly, I appreciate the support of my family members who have been my support system in the pursuit of this Masters degree. Throughout my challenges, discouragement, fear of the unknown they have reminded me the importance of finishing the race. I thank my parents Ms. Peninah Wangare and Mr. George Kimeu, my brother Mr. Boniface Kimeu for their unwavering trust in my abilities to complete this project and whose love and guidance are with me in whatever I pursue.

Lastly and most importantly, I wish to thank my loving and supportive husband, Mr. Godfrey Kanoti for being my greatest champion.

ABSTRACT

Investigative journalism is crucial in a democratic society as it facilitates a watchdog role by delving deeper into public interest issues to expose crimes, misbegotten policies in government and unethical business practices in the corporate sector. This study looked at three security risks involved in investigative journalism and how they affect the performance of investigative journalists. The study was anchored on three theories: the authoritarian, the social responsibility and the protection motivation theories. The study was conducted in Nairobi County Kenya and sampled investigative journalists from four media houses. This study used purposive sampling and snow balling techniques to select 59 respondents and the main tool of data collection was interview schedule. The data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively using descriptive statistics to make conclusions and recommendations. The study found that the predominant security threats were physical violence and tear gas attacks, implying that investigative journalists are not afforded adequate security while undertaking high-risk assignments. It was also found that high risk assignments leave the journalists susceptible to extreme anxiety, physical and psychological stress resulting in depression, anxiety and paranoia. As far as digital security challenges are concerned, results indicated that investigative journalists are affected by digital surveillance and tracking by use of their digital devices, data hacking and disruptive attacks on their computer systems and infrastructure, online intimidation and compromised user accounts leading to increased insecurity in their work. The study therefore recommends that an alarm should be raised to various stakeholders including media owners, media regulators, national security agencies and civil society to act to safeguard the security and safety of investigative journalists. Media houses are recommended to have an established safety and security department that would be the focal point all matters safety and security of the journalists. On the other hand, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) should require mandatory security training for all investigative journalists as part of human resource policy. Consequently, given that the responsibility of safety and protection of journalists rests with the police, it is recommended that media actors and the civil society be proactive to develop relationship enhancement programs to improve the working relations between the police and the journalists. The government is also called upon to be cognizant of press freedom as enshrined in the 2010 Kenyan Constitution and improve on the requirement for safety and security of all investigative journalists while introducing new laws.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFEX:	African Freedom of Expression Exchange
AJEA:	The Annual Journalism Excellence Awards
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCK:	Communications Commission of Kenya
CNN:	Cable News Network
CCTV:	Closed Circuit Television
CJAK:	Crime Journalists Association of Kenya
CPJ:	Committee to Protect Journalists
DRC:	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FXI:	Freedom of Expression Institute
GIJN:	Global Investigative Journalism Network.
GPS:	Global Positioning System
ICC:	International Criminal Court
ICIJ:	International Consortium of Investigative Journalists
IFJ:	International Federation of Journalists
IP:	Internet Protocol
IPI:	The International Press Institute
IRE:	Investigative Reporters and Editors
IWPR:	Institute for War & Peace Reporting
KBC:	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KCA:	Kenya Correspondents Association
KDF:	Kenya Defense Forces
KEG:	Kenya Editors Guild
KMP:	Kenya Media Programme
KMWG:	Kenya Media Working Group
KTN:	Kenya Television Network
KUJ:	Kenya Union of Journalists
K24:	Kenya 24-hour News Bulletin
MCK:	Media Council of Kenya
MOA:	Media Owners Association
MSNBC:	Microsoft National Broadcasting Company
NACOSTI:	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NCHRD-K:	National Coalition of Human Rights Defenders- Kenya
NMG:	Nation Media Group
NPS:	National Police Service
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PEC:	Press Education Campaign
PSTD:	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
RMS:	Royal Media Services
RWB:	Reporters Without Borders
SG:	Standard Group
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

US: United States of America

VPN: Virtual Private Networks

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Investigative journalism deeply scrutinizes a single topic of public interest to unearth underlying truths that are deliberately omitted, concealed or accidentally overlooked by benefactors to conceal crimes such as corruption, corporate fraud and others. This may involve documents analysis including lawsuits, tax records, databases of public records, government reports, regulatory reports, corporate financial filings and other legal documents, as well as scrutiny of government and business practices and their effects, investigation of technical issues among others (Mudhai, 2008). A journalist therefore may make use of one or more of these tools, among others, in their investigative story. This may take months or years researching on a single topic (Article 19, 2007).

Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE 1983), go a step further to define investigative journalism as “systematic, in-depth, and original research and reporting, often involving the unearthing of secrets, heavy use of public records, and computer assisted reporting, with a focus on social justice and accountability”. IRE in its definition of investigative journalism brings out a standard with which investigative stories must adhere to. A specific criteria and process that distinguishes it from mainstream journalism and as a result gives it leverage in terms of performance in its execution. Other scholars like Anderson and Benjaminson (1976), Greene (1981), Ullman and Honeyman (1983), Gaines (1998), Feldstein (2006) and Houston (2010) support this definition by placing emphasis on performance by emphasizing the importance of the investigative journalist’s initiative in discovering issues and going the extra mile to get to the bottom of things in as far as a particular issue is concerned. A clarification is further made to reiterate that investigative journalism goes beyond reporting investigations made by authorities. Ismail et al (2014) agrees that “investigative journalism should be the original work of the reporter, not resulted from information provided by someone else” (Waisbord, 2000).

Globally, press freedom is on the decline as shown by Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), 2019 risk list that include Countries such as Eritrea, North Korea, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia,

China, Vietnam, Iran, Equatorial Guinea, Belarus and Cuba. Most of these countries have indicators of low governance and transparency scores and display particular risks that underline the need to build investigative journalism capacity. Investigative journalists from these high risk areas have had to deal with physical attacks, government surveillance and censorship, computer hacking, kidnapping, imprisonment and murder with the aim of intimidating them to limit or control the flow of information (Amanpour, 2015).

Between 2006 and 2020, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2021) reported that over 1,200 professional journalists lost their lives. In 2020 alone, UNESCO recorded 62 journalists having been killed just for doing their jobs. According to CPJ (2019), many journalists globally have been killed with more than 60% being murdered with impunity. Extremist groups such as Islamic State and Al-Qaeda consider foreign reporters as bargaining chips and have resorted to murder and kidnapping to gain political concessions or make money through ransoms. The 2020 Covid 19 pandemic also came with its share of security risks. According to Geerdink (2020), the International Press Institute (IPI) recorded 400 instances of media freedom violations related to the COVID-19 pandemic through its media freedom monitoring. These violations included verbal or physical attacks, arrests and charges, censorship inform of excessive ‘fake news’ regulations as well as restrictions on access to information. Reporters Without Borders (RWB) also documented attacks on journalists. In their 2020 World Press Freedom Index, at least 125 journalists in 29 countries were attacked. Some were expelled, others were interrogated and arrested, others had to deal with police violence, some, their press passes were withdrawn and electronic devices seized, and in some instances they were required to give public apologies.

In Africa, investigative journalism remains in the grip of insecurity characterized by violence because of government’s failure to tackle the issue of impunity. Most often than not, reporters have been unable to pursue societal ills because powerful figures who wield undue influence over local media - financial, corporate or political – are involved or because it is simply too dangerous (Kilman, 2017). Despite the harsh circumstances of reporting investigative stories, courageous investigative journalists in Africa still brave it out and imperturbably fight through a swamp of economic saboteurs, white collar crimes and political con-man ship. This however is marked with dire consequences.

Berger (2011) observes that in Cameroon, between 1990 and 2003, more than 100 journalists were imprisoned. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), between 1997 and 2001 when Laurent Kabila was in power, 160 journalists were jailed. Berger also refers to a study detailing how 48 journalists were murdered during the genocide in 1994 in Rwanda, and quotes six other African countries where elections and liberalization of the media in the 1990s were followed by an explosion of violent conflict of which journalism had contributed in fanning hatred. CPJ (2012) provides a record of 112 journalists killed in Africa between 1992 and 2011, most of the fatalities occurring in poverty stricken countries that were at war. Between January-September 2021, African Freedom of Expression Exchange (AFEX 2021), reported eleven journalists having been killed across sub-Sahara Africa. A culture of impunity that is thriving in many African governments is attributed to the silence on crimes against investigative journalists, coupled with the lack of thorough investigations.

In Kenya, press freedom credentials are highly ranked in Africa after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution that helped achieve protection rights and interests of many groups, including journalists. According to the RWB 2020 World Press Freedom Index, Kenya dropped 3 slots from position 100 in 2019 to 103 in 2020 of 180 countries with a score of 33.72 from 32.44 in press freedom. Despite this drop, Kenya maintains leadership in press freedom performance in Eastern Africa with Tanzania ranking at position 124, Uganda 125, Rwanda at 155 and Burundi at 160. For decades Kenya has performed better than its East African neighbors and has continuously provided a safe haven for investigative journalists from the region fleeing threats in their home countries. As a result, it is said that Kenya is still a fairly safe environment for journalists to work because of its broad plurality of media, bold investigative journalists, and Kenyans' healthy demand for news and information compared to its neighboring countries like Somalia that features in the lists of the most dangerous countries for investigative journalists as regularly compiled by non-governmental media organizations like the CPJ, Article 19, RWB, Freedom House, International Federation of journalists (IFJ), and the International Press Institute (IPI).

Despite the press freedom credentials, the MCK has over the years noted with concern the increasing number of investigative journalists being assaulted, facing threats and harassment and in extreme circumstances murdered in the course of duty. IPI has reported deaths of a number of investigative journalists in Kenya. In May 28, 2008, Trent Keegan, a New Zealand photographer for Irish and New Zealand papers was murdered. In January 29, 2009, Francis Nyaruri, of the weekly citizen was killed. The same fate saw Bernard Wesonga of the Star, Mombasa on March 21, 2013 and Rulhila Adalia- Sood of Kiss TV and East FM on September 21, 2013 during the terrorist attack at Westgate Mall (KMWG, 2014). In 2021, Thiong'o (2021) reported the deaths of veteran science journalist Gatonye Gathura and Joshua Nanjero both of the Standard Group (SG) media. Others include Hudson Wainaina a photojournalist with SG and Domitila Katila of the Nation Media Group (NMG). The four deaths in 2021 have seen the Kenya Editors Guild (KEG) join MCK in calling for investigations into the murders of investigative journalists.

In the August 8th 2017 general elections, a number of investigative journalists were prevented from reporting during the election campaign. They were physically assaulted, harassed, and intimidated. Duncan Khaemba and cameraman Otieno Willis of a local daily, were arrested by Kenyan police as they were reporting on post-election violence against protestors in the Kibera slums of Nairobi on Saturday August 12. The duo was, reportedly accused of wearing unlicensed bullet proof gear, including vests and protective helmets (Omwoyo, 2018). How does having protective gear on dangerous beats make investigative journalists need for safety and security turn out to be perceived as a crime?

Security risks physically and psychologically affect journalists. The advent of technology and the internet of things, has also caused digital security risks that have become a major concern. This is a phenomenon that has affected journalists' world over and journalists in Kenya are no exception. According to research conducted in 2019 by Lokman Tsui and Francis Lee at the Chinese University of Hong Kong on 'How journalists understand the threats and opportunities of new technologies: A study of security mind-sets and its implications for press freedom', journalists were found to have differences in perception of security risks depending on how novice or advanced their understanding of security risks are concerned. The study concluded that journalists with novice security mind-sets took different actions that produced different outcomes and behavior than those with advanced security mind-sets.

Whether novice or advanced mindsets, it is clear investigative journalists face security risks that come with various challenges that affected their work performance. According to MCK (2019), journalists in Kenya have had various challenges such as the lack of witness protection policy for journalistic work that forces investigative journalists to hide faces of witnesses for confidentiality purposes which in most cases make the story lack credibility. Conflict of interest also causes investigative journalists various challenges especially when they have to run a story that is incriminating one of their media advertisers or one of the shareholders. Investigative journalists get conflicted when they have to consider the revenue they get from the advertisers and or the impact publishing an incriminating story may have on their job and career. Investigative journalists sometimes are also restricted by the advertiser's code of conduct that was issued under the Media Act of 2013.

The Official Secrets Act 1970, revised (2012) and amendment (2020) on the other hand limits the abilities of journalists in investigative beats. The act gives precedence to nationalism in that if the government considers the information to be critical to national security, it becomes the state's official secret. Such information, therefore if released is regarded as a threat to national security and as a result, journalists in investigative beats risk imprisonment if they were to get their hands on such information (Article 19, 2020).

Nature and importance of the story as perceived by the investigative journalist is another challenge. While a story may seem important to the journalist, depending on prevailing circumstances, politically, socially and economically, the story may turn out to be irrelevant to the editor and general audience. Credibility of the media house and the journalist can also affect how the audiences take up an investigative story. For instance, if a media house or an investigative journalist is known to be biased in their publications, even when the story fairly investigated and published it may be seen as witch hunting (Ojiambo, 2017).

In recent times, investigative journalism in Kenya has gained mileage with key media houses such as NMG, Royal Media Services (RMS) and the SG consequently investing in the area and running stories that have been investigated (Ojiambo, 2017). Independent not-for-profit investigative journalism organizations have also come up such as Africa Uncensored, a Kenyan Investigative journalism production company founded by three of Kenya's best investigative

reporters John-Allan Namu, Kassim Mohamed and Mohammed Ali (Institute for War Reporting [IWPR] 2022).

This study therefore sought to investigate what ails effective journalism more so in the investigative stories where security risks have an implication in journalism work.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Investigative journalism is an essential component in journalism /media practice as a social institution. It plays a critical role of checks and balances to see whether government, state organs (judiciary and parliament), business sector and other organizations are engaging in actions that are in line with the expectations of the society. It strengthens the media watchdog role and serves in the interest of the public by holding those in power accountable. However, considering the important role that investigative journalism plays in society, it falls short in its current dispensation as it is mired in insecurities. As a result, investigative journalists have to contend with security risks (physical, psychological and digital) associated with the profession while reporting stories that expose wrong doing to bring those culpable to book. That notwithstanding, there is inadequate support by media owners, the government and other stakeholders to guarantee their safety and security thus affecting their performance negatively. In Kenya, investigative journalists have been able to show gaps in the security industry and have helped police with further investigation. Despite this, investigative journalists remain vulnerable to compromising professional objective reporting due to lack of protection and a safe environment for them to conduct thorough investigations. It is on this backdrop that this study attempted to unravel the effects of security risks on the performance of investigative journalists that hamper their effectiveness in living to the full expectation of investigative journalism.

1.3. Study Objectives

To get a clear understanding of this current study, descriptions of the broad and specific objectives have been outlined below.

1.3.1. Broad objective of the study

This current study investigated security risks affecting the performance of investigative journalists in Nairobi, Kenya.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- a) To analyze types of physical security threats that affect effective performance of investigative journalists.
- b) To determine psychological disorders experienced by investigative journalists that affect their psychological health in execution of their work.
- c) To evaluate digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work.

1.4. Research Questions

How do types of physical security threats faced by investigative journalists hamper effective performance at work?

- a) What psychological disorders experienced by investigative journalists affect their psychological health at work?
- b) How does digital security affect the performance of investigative journalists?

1.5. Justification of the Study

There are several reasons why this current study is important. To begin with, many societal ills (in government, corporate world and the social – cultural environment) would go undetected by the concerned authorities if investigative journalists do not go the extra mile to examine and highlight issues of concern to the public.

Similarly, there is need to assess the security risks involved in investigative work of journalists as this would give them a head start on the dynamics of their work as far as their security is

concerned. They would be able to identify and assess the risks involved in a particular assignment beforehand and take appropriate counter measures.

On the other hand, media regulatory bodies and media houses would be able to understand security challenges facing investigative journalists. While their core mandate is to ensure the promotion and maintenance of high professional standards in journalism work, they would be called upon to include an element of journalists' safety, protection and security in their policies.

Further, the study findings are hoped to open avenues for state (the National Police Service and the Judiciary) and non-state (Civil Society and Academia) actors to dialogue on rights and roles of journalists even as they engage in responsible media practice. These actors have a responsibility to promote awareness of the media's social role including promoting and defending journalists' civil rights as regarding safety, protection and security.

Finally, the study provides a framework for future studies and intellectual discussions on investigative journalists' security and safety concerns.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This current study was conducted in Nairobi County that plays host to over 120 media enterprises including Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), NMG, RMS and SG (that are the leading media enterprises in Kenya) as the media houses under study. Nairobi County was selected as the study area because it is the hub of cases involving security risks affecting journalists in Kenya. The choice of KBC, NMG, RMS and SG was informed by the fact that investigative journalism is a costly endeavor and only the major media houses afford budgets to sustain investigative reporting. This current study therefore targeted investigative journalists from KBC, NMG, RMS and SG.

This current study has a number of limitations. To begin with, not all media organizations in Kenya were included in the study. Out of over 120 media enterprises in Nairobi, only four were involved in the study. The four media enterprises were selected because of their capacity to allocate resources for investigative journalism as the biggest media enterprises in Kenya. On the

other hand, majority of investigative journalists were identified to be in the four media houses under study.

Despite the small sample size, availability of respondents was a real challenge due to the nature of work of investigative journalists and the choice of the data collection tool (the interview schedule). However, the data collection tool was instrumental in collecting qualitative data as regards the nature of investigative journalist experiences.

The other limitation was that the study did not extend to other media stakeholders. While the study analyses the effects of security risks on investigative journalists, it does not engage other stakeholders on their views of the perceived security risks and their call to action thereof. This study has given recommendations on the same on areas of further research.

Lastly, the researcher has a personal experience as an investigative journalist and therefore has her own views regarding effects of security risks on the performance of investigative journalists. That notwithstanding, the researcher was conscious of this and endeavored to be objective to ensure reliable conclusions.

1.7. Definition of Terms

Beat - A beat is the subject area that a reporter is assigned to cover and write about. It is a genre of journalism that can be described as the craft of in-depth reporting on a particular issue, sector, organization or institution over time. In this study, it is used to describe investigative journalism.

Covid 19 - Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) which is an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

Digital security risks - Digital security risk is any event or action that could cause a loss of or damage to a computer or mobile device hardware, software, data, information, or processing capability. It includes but not limited to online espionage, malware attacks on websites and computer systems and hacking of confidential information, cyber stalking and online intimidation.

Doxing - Searching for and publishing private or identifying information about a particular individual on the internet, typically with malicious intent.

Fourth estate - Describes journalists and the news outlets for which they work. It's an acknowledgment of their influence and status among the greatest powers of a nation.

Gag laws - Any law that limits freedom of the press. In this study the term has been operationalized to mean instituted censorship or restricted access to information

Governments - Systems of state control including political authority by which countries or communities are administered and regulated.

High risk assignments - High risk assignments refer journalistic work that involves working in conditions where the likelihood of physical harm (death, injury or health issues) is significantly higher than normal. In this study, it is used to describe assignments allocated to investigative journalists.

Investigative Journalism - Investigative Journalism means the unveiling of matters that are concealed either deliberately by someone in a position of power, or accidentally, behind a chaotic mass of facts and circumstances - and the analysis and exposure of all relevant facts to the public. UNESCO.

IP address - A unique string of characters that identifies each computer using the internet protocol to communicate over a network.

Investigative Journalist - A man or woman whose profession is to discover the truth and to identify lapses from it and report in whatever media available. The act of doing this generally is called investigative journalism and is distinct from apparently similar work done by police, lawyers, auditors, and regulatory bodies (Andrea, 2011). In this study the term has been operationalized to mean a person who conducts investigations and reports on the same with the aim of revealing important information to the public through the media.

Killing a story - Deleting or cancelling a story so that it is not published.

Market mechanism - A system of the market where the forces of demand and supply determine the price and quality of goods and services traded.

Media house - Service organization that specializes in planning and purchasing advertising campaigns in mass media and have a wide range of responsibilities including creating, distributing and promoting content inform of films, television/ radio shows, news, documentaries and other forms of entertainment.

National security agencies - Kenya government agencies dealing with national security matters including the NPS and KDF.

Not-for-profit investigative journalism organizations - These are organizations that practice journalism for non-profit instead of a for-profit business. They are entities that do not seek to earn a profit for their founders and shareholders and rely on donations to survive and carry out their programs.

Performance - The action or process of doing a task or function. In this study the term has been operationalized to mean finding and presenting “the facts” and also “the truth about the facts” through the media with the purpose of providing information the public to make the best possible decisions about their lives, their communities, their societies, and their governments.

Physical security risks - Physical security risks are threats emanating from violent physical attacks, burglary, theft, vandalism, riots, terrorist attacks, or chemical, biological or nuclear

accidents, natural disasters (earthquakes, hurricanes, floods) or pandemics to persons, hardware, software, networks and data from physical actions and events that could cause serious loss or damage to a person, an enterprise, agency or institution.

Political bigwigs - Elected political officials such as governors, senators, members of parliament and influential state appointed officials who wield power in the executive, legislative and judicial systems of government.

Protection - Protection refers to ‘measures taken to influence other actors to enhance security such as deterrence, evacuation, hiding or any other support that will minimize the consequences of risk. In the study, the term has been operationalized to mean the measures taken to safeguard the life of the investigative journalist.

Psychological security risks - Psychological security risks are threats emanating from stressors that can exert a deleterious effect on a person’s emotional well-being. They include but not limited to intimidation, assault, trauma, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder.

Risk - There has been no universally accepted definition of risk. However, in this report ‘risk’ refers to ‘possible events, however uncertain, that result to harm’ In this study, the term means the dangers the investigative journalists are exposed that may endanger his/her life.

Safety - Freedom from risk or harm as a result of unintentional acts such as accidents, natural phenomena and illness.

Security - Freedom from risk or harm resulting from violence or other intentional acts.

Security risk - Security risk is represented as any event that compromises the freedom from harm of assets, operations and objectives of an organization. In this study, it has been operationalized to mean a range of threats (physical, psychological, digital) confronted by investigative journalists.

Source - A person, publication, or other record or document that gives journalists timely information.

Surveillance - This is the monitoring of behavior, activities, or information for the purpose of influencing, managing or directing. This can include observation from a distance by means of

electronic equipment, such as CCTV, or interception of electronically transmitted information, such as Internet traffic. It can also include simple technical methods, such as human intelligence gathering and postal interception.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviewed available literature on what investigative journalism entails, effects of security risks including physical, psychological and digital on the performance of investigative journalists in their work. The review looked at these risks in the context of safety and the consecutive impact of the same to investigative journalism work. This chapter presents three theories that explain how the study variables played out in the study area. They include: authoritarian theory, social responsibility theory and the protection motivation theory. The chapter also presents a conceptual framework which explains the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

2.2. Investigative Journalism

According to UNESCO (2018) investigative journalism involves exposing to the public matters that are concealed—either deliberately by someone in a position of power, or accidentally, behind a chaotic mass of facts and circumstances that obscure understanding. Kaplan (2007) goes a step further and defines investigative journalism as systematic, in-depth, original research and reporting, often involving the unearthing of secrets. Some journalists call investigative journalism as simply ‘critical and thorough journalism’. There is also an element of analysis, understanding the phenomena under investigation in terms of depth and breadth, duration of the investigation, resources needed and support from various stakeholders including sources (Mudhai, 2008; Article 19, 2007). For other scholars like Gripsrud (2000), Greenslate (2008), Coronel (2010), and Bisilki and Opoku (2019), investigative journalism is also seen as a tool for watch dog purposes in keeping the public informed and holding those in power accountable. For Ongowo (2011), it is a rewarding branch of media practice that promotes good governance, freedom of expression and democracy. In these definitions, one this is clear, investigative journalism is an important branch of journalism that bears responsibility, demands respect for the principles of investigative journalism, requires strong journalistic ethos and gives prestige and

prominence to those who skillfully execute it well. However, it is mired with safety and security risks as discussed in this chapter.

2.3. Investigative Journalism Contexts

Investigative journalism serves its purpose from different contexts as discussed below safety and security risks notwithstanding.

2.3.1. Government and Public Sector

Investigative journalism exposes wrong doings in government from local and international perspectives. It looks at public interest issues from local, national and foreign points of view. Talk about local community issues, national issues (social, political, economic) as well as international issues (business, foreign policy and governments). Investigative journalism plays a big role in exposing activities of politicians and public servants that may be corrupt or unjust. The various exposes as a result carry inherent security risks to the individual journalist following up on a particular public interest story. Greenslade (2008) notes that some officials in government make decisions they know may not be in the best interest of the public they serve or may make deals with foreign bodies whose interests go beyond the good of the community to harm the environment or destroy people's homes. Sometimes politicians and public servants stay long in office, get comfortable and forget the public has the right to know what is happening. Greenslade continues to argue that people have a right to know what people they elect to public office do with their taxes and other forms of wealth they allow them to administer to allow them make informed decisions on how to vote in the next general election. A study conducted in Ghana dubbed 'Investigative Journalism in Ghana, Challenges and Ethical Contentions' by Bisilki and Opoku (2019) corroborates in its findings that investigative journalism plays a crucial role in the fight against corruption and other societal vices in government institutions.

2.3.2. Business and Corporate Sector

In the business and corporate sector, investigative journalism exposes ills that would otherwise go undetected. Business and corporate entities are driven purely by profits and as such, sometimes engage in unscrupulous deals, break the law and make mistakes that they would like to keep secret to maintain and grow their profits. Perhaps they have embezzled or lost money.

Perhaps they are engaging in unorthodox practices to beat the competition and do not mind cutting corners to achieve their objectives. Perhaps they are engaging in non-environmental friendly projects and they do not want people to oppose a development they are planning (Kieran, 2000). Greenslade (2008), Bisilki and Opoku (2019) agree that as a result, investigative journalism has a critical role to play both in government and the business sector. Corporate entities have some responsibility to their internal and external publics as they make money from them use their human capital resources, interact with the environment to utilize natural resources as well as use services provided by taxpayers. These activities affect the community and as a result the community has a right to know what they are doing. There are various examples of other individuals and organizations who like to be coy with things that affect the public; a charity organization may conceal what they are doing with donor funding, sponsors to a football club may be secretly negotiating terms that are unfavorable to the fans and players, a man might be selling dog meat as acceptable beef to the people. These ills, however minute or magnanimous in their impact to society need to be exposed so that the public is able to make decisions from an informed point of view devoid of sheer ignorance and within safe security boundaries.

According to OECD (2018), the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), through the Panama Papers investigation, (which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting in April 2017), emerged after a five-year investigation that revealed financial secrecy hubs and published top ten countries where intermediaries in corporate fraud operate: Hong Kong (China), United Kingdom, Switzerland, United States, Panama, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Brazil, Ecuador and Uruguay. More recently in 2022, ICIJ published its biggest expose in their Paradise Papers investigations. They involved 380 investigative journalists from six continents and exposed the use of offshore financial centers by more than 100 multinational companies to conceal certain transactions (Mustufa, 2022).

While such exposes are the objective of investigative journalism, it is devoid of journalists to be without cushioning from interested parties in government and the corporate world locally and internationally who want to benefit from public coffers without accountability. This not only interferes with development, but it also takes away democratic gains that people have fought for since yester years. Simply put, investigative journalism is important as it provides citizens with information by engaging in watchdog activities. Locating investigative journalisms role in a

democratic setup, Coronel (2010) notes that high impact journalism that focuses on the investigative aspect of stories has made the media an effective and credible watchdog thus boosting its credibility, authenticity and support among the public. Despite this achievement, security awareness is lacking leaving the journalists exposed to threats and intimidation from individuals they subject to public scrutiny for accountability purposes. This research as a result, sought to find out, what challenges in terms of safety and security, inhibit journalists from living up to the full expectation of their profession.

2.3.3. Society and the General Public

For the general public, investigative journalism is instrumental in exposing individual criminals who leech on the ignorance and weakness of people in society. While the government and the business sector grapple with corruption scandals, issues to do with abuse of office and mismanagement of resources, the society has to contend with day to day criminals that interfere with the safety and security of the community. Assault and murder cases, sexual and gender based violence cases, burglary just to mention but a few are some of the societal ills that are sometimes exposed by journalists and help the police fight crime though the criminal justice system. However, sometimes the police lack capacity and adequate resources to effectively do their jobs. Sometimes the law has loop holes that limit police powers as defended by lawyers. The entire spectrum of the criminal justice system from the police to the judiciary can be curtailed through corruption. Journalists as a result are called upon to expose wrongdoing in collaboration with the civil society and other law-abiding citizens (Gripsrud, 2000). This can only be achieved if the security needs of journalists undertaking investigative beats are supported and provided for.

According to this current study, investigative journalism exists not only to uproot corruption but also to be the voice of the society. The question that arises therefore is if investigative journalism is a critical element in society, what limits its authenticity? The objectives of this study sought to find out security risks involved in journalism that hinder achievement of purposes for which investigative journalism is supposed or espoused to realize. They are discussed in detail under three paradigms: physical security risks, psychological security risks and digital security risks.

2.3.4. Investigative Journalism as a Rewarding Career

Investigative journalism as a career carries with it industry respect and is ranked highly in terms of skills and professionalism. Exceptionally good investigative stories are recognized by the civil society and international bodies and as a result journalists are rewarded heavily. Some rewards get to benefit the media houses and the nation/country is recognized as a proponent of freedom of expression (GIJN, 2019). The Private Eye's Paul Foot Award for investigative journalism is an example. It is given to outstanding journalists' in the United Kingdom who have carried investigative and campaign stories on various causes (Private Eye, 2019). Another example is the annual Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting given to outstanding journalists for distinguished investigative reporting in the United States administered by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. The prize is considered most prestigious (Ax, 2023). The Global Shining Light Award by the Global Investigative Journalism Network is another prestigious award given to a developing or transitioning country for investigative stories done under duress, threat or in dire conditions (Global Investigative Journalism Conference 2023). In Africa, a number of awards have recognized outstanding investigative journalists including the Wole Soyinka Award for investigative reporting in focused themes of government regulatory failures, corruption in the public and corporate spheres as well as human rights in Nigeria (Ojuroungbe & George, 2022). In Kenya, the MCK has the Annual Journalism Excellence Awards (AJEA) and recognized exemplary investigative journalists. In 2021, MCK published AJEA winners where six journalists including Beatrice Kangai, Lina Mwamachi, Waihiga Mwaura, Jamila Mohamed, Asha Mwilu and Nelson Aruya got the investigative reporting awards (MCK 2021). These awards give purpose to journalists carrying out investigative stories because of the prestige and recognition as a result. They are centered on performance of journalists in their investigative work.

2.4. Performance Metrics for Investigative Journalism

Outstanding journalism work is centered on standards of performance as espoused in particular criteria. Artkinson (2011) distinguishes three sets of criteria for standards of performance of journalism namely, ethical, commercial and theatrical. For investigative journalists their benchmark standard lies under the ethical criteria as also emphasized by Lacy and Rosenstiel (2015) in their product approach to defining and measuring quality of journalism work.

The ethical standard by Artkinson assumes a third party role of an investigative journalist where he/she communicates by contextualizing information about the actions of those in power and have control over citizens and enabling deliberative engagement through media for accountability purposes by (1) looking at long-term benefits to society, rather than short-term benefits to individuals, (2) needs and (inclusive) rights rather than wants and (exclusive) choices, (3) collective goals—democracy, learning, participation, engagement—rather than individual benefits, and (4) substantive message content over format and distribution.

Lacy and Rosenstiel (2015) on the other hand qualify the product approach as a public interest criterion, relating more to government and political news in which investigative journalists can control or influence the character of the content they produce and can infer the interests of audiences. Both performance metrics center down in particular principles or elements that investigative journalists should adhere to in order to approach quality work and achieve desired performance levels. First and foremost, in any investigative journalism work first obligation is to the truth and loyalty is to citizens. As a discipline it is subject to verification and its practitioners must maintain an independence from their sources and benefactors. Investigative journalists must also serve as a monitor of power and must provide a forum for public criticism. At the same time investigative journalism work must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant and it must present the news in a way that is comprehensive and proportional. They also (investigative journalists) have an obligation to exercise their personal conscience, intuition as regards assessing their safety and security concerns (Lacy & Rosenstiel, 2015). These elements determine performance metrics in awarding investigative journalism awards are that highly valued in the journalism world.

Infact, some investigative journalism awards consider among others the effort the investigative journalist has put into collecting facts, level of difficulty in working conditions in the context of threats to media freedom and personal safety as well as themes that touch on human rights and public interest issues (Ojuroungbe & George, 2022). Kaplan (2007) agrees with this fact reiterating that there is great incentive for journalists to pursue this line of work despite inherent security risks involved in investigative journalism.

On the other hand, Nord (2007) notes that there are other factors that influence the performance of investigative journalism. Countries with strong market mechanism may leave the media industry prone to softer and less serious news stories as compared to countries with low market mechanism that grapple with governance issues thereby creating avenues for investigative journalism work. Level of journalistic professionalism is another factor. Countries that take investigative journalism seriously may allocate sufficient resources for investigative journalism work whether in terms of training or work execution as seen in Central and Eastern Europe (Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). The size of media organization constitutes another important factor when it comes to performance of investigative journalism. Economic pressures resulting in no specialized personnel hired purely for investigative stories makes effective investigative journalism difficult (Berkowitz, 2007). This may be a challenge for small media houses.

Organizational challenges notwithstanding, investigative journalism performance boils down to the investigative journalists. As a result, investigative journalism effectiveness is directly proportional to the level of risk in terms of safety and security of the journalists involved while conducting investigations with or without organizational support. This is not only reflected in the recognition of those who have delivered stories despite the dangers involved, but also validates that there is indeed need to safe guard those who choose the dangerous path of pursuing stories that may be detrimental to their safety and security.

This current study therefore sought to highlight that if certain safety and security measures are considered, investigative journalism in Kenya could achieve its objective in society without dire safety and security risk elements.

2.5. Challenges of Investigative Journalism as a Profession

As a profession, investigative journalism is critical in unraveling hidden secrets and scandals for the greater good. It has been regarded as challenging due to various reasons including lack of capacity and resources to conduct investigations, restrictive legal regime, ethical dilemmas, economies of scale, witness protection issues just to mention but a few (Ojiambo, 2017).

In terms of capacity, investigative journalism is resource intensive when it comes to issues of funding and intense human resource engagement. Karadimitriou et al. (2022) reiterates this in

their research that proved that the performance of investigative journalism is influenced by the overall robustness and stability of media markets. In developed countries, investigative journalism has its place on the table. Journalists in these areas are specialized and will be fully funded. A journalist can be allowed to make air trips while following a story on the media houses account or travel abroad to follow up on an interesting story (Ojiambo, 2017). This is done with full consideration of the security risks involved and mitigation measures undertaken as appropriate. In the United Kingdom, media outlets are committed to investigative journalism. They invest significant resources to in-depth reporting despite the financial constraints that may be influencing the commercial media sector. The media in the United Kingdom is keen to unravel mishaps between the monarchy and government, investigation being the ultimate strategy on which media outlet breaks the news first (Moore & Ramsay, 2021). Another good example is in Central and Eastern Europe, where investigative journalism is seriously invested due to its strong presence and stable media markets. Countries like Poland, Estonia, and the Czech Republic, have commercial media organizations that allocate surmountable resources to investigative reporting (Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). The media organizations in Europe are huge conglomerates and as such constitutes another important determinant to how investigative reporting is conducted. In Kenya the story is no different. Investigative journalism is left to the media big wits such as NMG, SG, RMS, Radio Africa and locally-based international ones such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) who have sophisticated equipment and facilities that enhance their ability to deliver professional services and products (Oriare et al., 2010). The rest (smaller media outlets) are unwilling or lack capacity to finance a journalist to carry out an investigative story. According to Oriare et al. (2010), despite Kenya having a robust tradition of investigative reporting, the quality and quantity of investigative reports is low due to low numbers of trained investigative reporters and miniscule budgetary allocations. This explains why the safety and security of journalists undertaking investigative stories is not a priority thus the importance of this study.

The other key challenge of investigative journalism is daunting legal barriers. The absence of legal rights for journalists to access public information in many countries limits the work of investigative journalists. While some countries have laws granting journalists the right to petition for information, sometimes some government offices lack resources to attend demands and the

laws are rarely enforced (Waisbord, 2002). On the other hand, some countries such as Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico lack laws protecting journalists from revealing their sources while professionally journalists have a right to secrecy when it come protecting their sources. Some sources are unwilling to be identified for security reasons while others desire anonymity and investigative journalists need to guarantee them confidentiality and protection. Waisbord (2002) notes that lack of legal backing to protect sources discourages them from providing information that is crucial in supporting investigations for the journalists. In Kenya, Ongowo (2011) observes that journalists are forced to hide the faces of witnesses and sources of their stories due to lack of a witness protection policy. This challenge, Ongowo reiterates, makes it harder for journalists to access information and makes their stories lack credibility. Investigative journalists are therefore conflicted between loyalty to their sources and objectivity as well as and protecting themselves. A psychological factor that stresses the journalists when they have to make certain decisions regarding the storyline as identified in this study.

Gag laws are also another challenge for investigative journalists. In Kenya, the Official Secrets Act 1970, revised (2012) and amendment (2020) limits journalists in their investigative stories. According to this act, any information that is regarded by the state as a threat to national security is considered an official secret and any journalist who writes any story about it risks imprisonment (Ongowo, 2011). That notwithstanding, in 2012, Kenya was grappling with a new law that was trying to gag the media by interfering with freedom of expression and giving the minister for information powers to raid media houses. The new law was putting to question registration of journalists as professionals and their unions. Libel laws in the same document were also used to victimize journalists. The bill was termed ‘draconian’ by various stakeholders of the industry (CPJ, 2013). However, the amended version of Kenyan media bill that was passed into law (the Media Act, 2013) by President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2013 saw the formation of MCK to regulate the industry with powers to impose fines that could cripple some media groups. The following year saw the enactment of the Kenya Information, Communication (amendment) Act 2013 (KICA) that imposed tough penalties on journalists and expanded offences for which they could be punished. In 2014, President Uhuru Kenyatta also passed into law the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill that had brought contentions on various clauses among them that the police must approve publication or broadcasting of information relating to investigations on terrorism.

Concerns regarding media muzzling using the law saw KEG, Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ), Kenya Correspondence Association (KCA), Reporters without Borders (RWB), CPJ and other civil society human rights organizations cry foul as the media houses and individual journalists were left with no choice but to self-censor to survive. This was a major blow to investigative reporting in Kenya (Ohito & Ayaga, 2015).

The legal regime in Kenya as espoused under the constitution includes laws and statutes that are sometimes restrictive and even prohibiting to investigative journalism. Worse is the fact that laws do not protect journalists in terms of compensation in cases where their security is compromised or overlooked by their employers and other stakeholders or in defamation lawsuits (CPJ, 2013). A good example is a Kes 22 million (over \$200,000) judgement issued by the High Court of Kenya in 2021 over defamation claims against the star newspaper and its journalist Felix Olick that was reported on 28th July 2021 by Kiai (2021). This judgement scared the media fraternity in Kenya causing concern over sustainability of the media in Kenya. Article 19 raised an alarm that the Kenyan courts were awarding disproportionate damages against the media. This study therefore sought to understand how these challenges contribute to perpetuation of journalists' insecurities while they carry out their assignments.

There is also the case of media ethics as the other challenge for investigative journalism. According to Ojiambo (2017), there are scenarios where journalists forfeit good investigative stories if the culprits promise to pay more than the employer. Some journalists even use the investigative story as leverage to blackmail the culprit. Ojiambo (2017) reiterates that this happens in Kenya and many African countries on many occasions. This current study attempted to answer why some journalists succumb to pressure to kill a story as a result of ethical dilemmas they face in the course of their work posed by certain security threats. Vested interest by media houses is also another challenge that touches on media ethics. An investigative journalist cannot write an incriminating story on the media houses internal or external publics i.e. advertisers or shareholders as this would translate to loss of revenue (Ongowo, 2011). Media ownership also ties to this challenge as pointed out by former Chairman of Ghana's National Media Commission Kabral Blay-Amihere during the opening ceremony of the West Africa conference on Investigative Journalism in Accra in 2018, a situation he believes "does a lot to affect the integrity of the media". According to Kabral, the increasing media ownership by politicians and

their surrogate's compromises media ethics not just in West Africa but from a global perspective (Ekuful, 2018).

Redundancies of investigative journalists and job insecurity is another challenge. Global economic crises and advancement in technology due to digitization has seen and increases in staff downsizing post covid-19, rendering remaining workers in media organizations overworked with increased tasks and responsibilities. This ends up disadvantaging investigative journalism, which requires time, money, and qualified personnel. A study on the working conditions of journalists in Switzerland reveals a very low level of satisfaction among print journalists and an even lower one for online journalists due to work load (Karadimitriou et al., 2022). This goes against professional investigative reporting requirements that demands thoroughness and preciseness. Ansell and Nazakat (2016), note that time should not be an issue for good investigative stories to be developed. They add that good investigative journalism performance could go months on end. However, due to employer pressures caused by economic uncertainties, journalists doing investigative stories face the challenge of meeting deadlines and end up running incomplete stories especially when the employer feels the story is taking too long or is using too many resources. As such, sometimes the journalists are forced to abandon the investigation and the story fails to see light of day. On the same note, some media houses have limited human resources in a bid to increase profit margins and as a result, there is little or no specialization at all. This translates to a journalist carrying out an investigative story also doubling up other duties in the newsroom (Ojiambo, 2017). This places emphasis in the achievement of results first without due regard to other factors (like security and safety) in the course of investigative journalism. This study underpinned that psychological stress is a factor to be considered when it comes to journalists taking up investigative stories.

It is clear that investigative journalism in Kenya is yet to get its place on the table. This study attempted to bring out the importance of investing in this area in due consideration safe and security of journalists.

2.6. Security and Safety in Investigative Reporting

Investigative journalism has inherent safety challenges and poses security risks to the individual journalists. UNESCO through their United nations (UN) plan of action on the safety of

journalists and the issue of impunity 2013 recognizes the need to improve the safety and security of journalists and other media workers (UNESCO, 2018). In Kenya, the National Baseline Survey conducted in 2013 by various stakeholders including CPJ, (National Commission of Human Rights Defenders – Kenya (NCHRD-K), MCK, Kenya Media Programme (KMP) among others termed as ‘Safety and protection of Kenyan journalists: Is it common sense or common cents?’ also recognizes the security and safety challenges of journalists in their line of duty (Gachie, 2013). In 2017, the Eastern Africa International Day to End Impunity Conference: National Mechanisms for Safety of Journalists held in, Nairobi, Kenya saw the establishment of national mechanisms for the safety of journalists in Eastern Africa (UNESCO, 2017). As a result, KMWG established a general framework to guide the media stakeholders in Kenya in handling the issue of safety and security of media practitioners nationally. These reports among others have highlighted importance of safety and security of journalists and have served the purpose of raising an alarm against violence towards journalists and have promoted protection of journalists. This current study was premised on the understanding that the actors in the criminal justice system, public servants and private sector players, military officers and others who come into contact with journalists need to respect their independence.

To comply with international obligations and standards, governments are legally required to investigate journalists’ killings and prosecute those who are culpable as a human rights requirement. Justice is expected to play its role and deter future violence. However, this only applies to the willingness of the United Nations and its agencies - of which Kenya is a part of- as the custodians of international instruments to enforce safety and security for the benefit of journalists and other media personnel. According to UNESCO (2018), it is the responsibility of the United Nations and its agencies to enshrine the right to physical integrity for all human beings.

Draghici and Woods (2011) observe that while internationally the responsibility of protection of journalists lies with the government, the media houses and the journalists are not exonerated from the responsibility of properly assessing the risks to their safety and security. Avoiding reckless assignments and taking all necessary precautions for reporting in dangerous zones should be a prerequisite of all media engagement. In the wake of increased violence touching on media practitioners, some news organizations are careful not to send journalists to war

environments as noted by Draghici and Woods (2011). Media employers therefore have a special duty of care to their staff covering hostile situations. Adequate safety and security training, proper equipment and protective gear and social cover are a requirement as discussed in the recommendations of this current study. Some international organizations such as IFJ for example have invested considerable resources in safety training programs for over 1000 journalists, employed and freelancing across of the world. The Federation has also produced the first and most comprehensive international code of conduct for the safe practice of journalism. A survival guide ‘Live News’ with safety top tips for journalists was published at the start of the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and has since served as a reference for war reporting (Kilman, 2017).

This current study revealed that security and safety of journalists is still not taken seriously most especially after witnessing attacks on journalists being condemned by media organizations, human rights groups and advocates for media freedom and rights. Investigative journalists in Kenya are therefore left vulnerable physically, psychologically and digitally as far as their safety and security is concerned.

2.6.1. Physical Security Risks

Miranville (2019) acknowledges that battlefield hazards such as tear gas attacks, terrorist bombings, crossfire, artillery, landmines, stampedes caused by crowds, sexual harassment, physical assault, cluster bombs, booby traps, and air strikes; kidnapping for ransom or due to political reasons; traffic hazards; ports and border crossings, threats and challenges as well as other interactions with potentially hostile militia; untrustworthy and doubtful or fearful sources, witnesses, and others; common crime such as theft and burglary, incidents caused by weather; natural hazards, such as hurricanes and floods; and health related risks ranging from water/air-borne diseases to pandemics like Covid 19 pose serious threats to journalists in the field.

Journalists play a critical role in ensuring that the public access information (Ongowo, 2011). In Kenya, journalists undertake authoritative investigative tasks that expose societal vices; political and economic conspiracies, fraud, corruption and cartels, abuse of office just to mention but a few. These activities as a result function as a catalyst to the democratic space enjoyed in Kenya backed by the 2010 constitution. As public watchdogs, journalists have challenged government and the private sector when inflation and other economic factors frustrate the public. They have

exhibited courage in difficult circumstances despite the fears that come along with it. As a result, some journalists have been kidnapped, others disappeared mysteriously while some have been injured in the course of duty, their equipment confiscated, intimidated, jailed or killed in the course of their efforts to serve the public. In the wake of Covid 19, (Geerdink, 2020) journalists have risked their health through lack of personal protective equipment and harassment by security forces. The findings of this current study rubber stamps these security risks.

Despite the risks however, without a doubt journalists have played an important role in the struggle for transparency and accountability in our democratic process and have remained in the forefront of political, economic and social transformation. They have played their role as the fourth estate by providing information and allowing people to enjoy the freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Kenya Constitution 2010. Over and above, journalists allow people to exercise their right to access information. According to Gachie (2013), interfering with journalists' abilities to live up to this role, compromises on their ability to carry out their work in a free and safe environment. Journalists sampled in this current study to a great extent agreed with Gachie as some have had to kill stories out of fear and need for safety and security. It is imperative as a result that journalists' on dangerous or risky assignments undergo some hostile environment training course to acquire skills and knowledge on how to prepare for dangerous assignments where necessary and understand various remedial measures available to them in case of physical injuries as appropriate. It is important that risk of censorship is mitigated from a safety and security perspective.

Gachie (2013) observes that a good number of journalists have reported harassment and their equipment confiscated by police and close protection officers of politicians. This and among many other reasons bring to the fore the major concern of safety and protection of journalists in Kenya. The 2013 National Baseline Survey report on the safety and security of journalists conducted in Kenya contextualizes the status, explores the environment and maps out the landscape, issues and concerns on safety of journalists in Kenya. It proposes safer working environment for journalists and stipulates safety and protection guidelines (Gachie, 2013). Indeed, world leading broadcasting house like the BBC incorporates safety in its work. There are clear guidelines laid down for journalists operating in hostile environments. A good example is one of their principal guidelines that requires all news gathering activities and, or, proposals to

work in hostile environments, on high risk activities or high risk events must be referred to Head of Newsgathering and BBC Safety's High Risk Team (RWB, 2020). Kenyan media houses should have such guidelines in place. They should be able to develop standard operating procedures or protocols that will help journalists prepare in terms of safety and security in beats that are perceived dangerous. Kenya's progressive Constitution that was promulgated on August 27, 2010, has an elaborate and liberal Bill of Rights that gives all media houses strength and moral authority to exercise their duty of care to their journalists and freely exercise freedom of expression, press (media) freedom and access to information. It is for this reason that Kenya is perceived as a vibrant democratic and inclusive society. Gachie (2013) reiterates that journalists must fully benefit from the new constitution where basic human rights, the rule of law, transparency and good governance reign supreme. This must therefore be captured in the human resources policy in the various media houses and the MCK should ensure that both freelance and employed journalists are protected. This current study corroborates that despite Kenya being perceived as 'progressive' as regarding a vibrant democratic space for journalists to operate from, there is no standard safety and security policy for journalists that has been adopted across the board, a fact that is currently lacking.

As a result, the journalists are left vulnerable because in many cases they are viewed as trouble makers by governments or terror groups and are sometimes referred to as "dead men walking". In the past decade, over 600 journalists have been killed worldwide because of covering stories that touch on violence and war, trafficking (human and drugs), guerrilla groups and militia, corruption and other illegal activities. More than 90 per cent of the assassinations on journalists in many countries around the world go unpunished according to CPJ. These deaths arise from kidnappings, physical assault, stray bullets and bomb attacks (Hackett, 2005). Kenya is no different as the same has been reported and documented in the 2013 National Baseline Survey report. A case in point is the Northern part of Kenya, a region prone to frequent community conflicts over resources, cross border raids and terror attacks. Journalists covering stories in this region face serious security risks. This explains why journalists who are very few in number from the marginalized area cover investigative stories. You will find in an estimated population of slightly over 2 million people, there are less than 10 full-time journalists in an area. Gachie (2013), notes that more than a dozen journalists have quit their careers in journalism in Northern

Kenya because of the risks involved. Threats, environmental frustrations and poor packages have contributed to this situation. It is evidently tough working in such environments, and in some cases journalists are forced to relocate without any help. This current study extrapolates these observations as evidenced by the findings and discussions.

Investigative journalists in the course of their work encounter serious physical safety challenges and are therefore entitled to protection under local, international and humanitarian law. According to Manilla Times (2013), UN Deputy Secretary General Jan Eliasson said with concern, “Every time a journalist is killed or intimidated into silence, there is one less voice to speak on behalf of the victims of conflict, crime and human rights abuses, one less observer of efforts to uphold rights and ensure human dignity”. It is therefore important that physical security of journalists in their various beats is taken seriously. This current study reiterates this as a fact. However, journalists also have a responsibility to themselves and to others to protect themselves if they are going to cover stories in dangerous zones.

2.6.2. Psychological Security Risks

Journalists are professional first responders to crisis and disaster. They are resilient in the face of the crisis as they describe what is happening, they support individuals and communities to understand what is going on and contribute to citizens’ preparedness, response, recovery and mitigation (Rupar, 2020). They cover road accidents and plane crashes, war and terrorism, natural disasters like floods, drought and famine, crime including child abuse, rape, murder, sexual violence, riots, and torture, disease and pandemics. As a result, they bear the psychological impact of that responsibility. According to Center (2007), the aftermath of all of these things emerge in the form of psychological stress that include loss, bereavement, extreme human distress, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms including irritability, intrusive recollections though flashbacks, hostility, numbing, hyper-vigilance, avoidance and hyper-arousal, social isolation among others that lead to serious social relationship challenges and trauma posed by various psychological security risks.

Psychological security risks traumatize even the most seasoned and professional journalists when they are exposed to traumatic events that are tragic or those that touch on their emotions. This is according to Feinstein et al. (2015) who explain that when journalists experience or witness

traumatic events such as actual or threatened death, serious injury, or other threats to their physical integrity, they become psychologically disturbed and in certain instances, cause trauma. Common scenarios include pandemics, bombings, torture, violent assaults, rape, impact of natural disasters, or serious accidents. This results in intense fear, anxiety, helplessness or horror. Deloire (2015) explains that psychological stress resulting from trauma triggers the brain to release hormones, such as adrenalin causing varied individual responses including heightened emotionality, numbing and disassociation, increased alertness or sense of presence, fight and flight responses that are characterized by increased heart-rate, sweating, dry mouth, loss of bowel control etc. This explains how paranoia in some journalists is perpetuated in how they view some assignments and ultimately how they end up compromising their objectivity. Despite these psychological risks, journalists in their various assignments try to do their work within a code of professional ethics. This includes being fair to all parties involved in any news story. This current study reveals that psychological stress is a factor that journalists contend with in reporting stories.

Ethical dilemmas notwithstanding, journalists experience increased psychological insecurity and have to deal with constant threats, bribes, gifts and freebies from their employers, other authorities, family and friends not to mention conflicts with their own cultural values and belief systems (Center, 2007). Over time, the journalists become psychologically distressed and are unable to live healthy and happy lives with others. The findings of this current study attribute to this fact.

Gifts and freebies depending on how they are delivered, psychologically compromise a journalist. Henshall and Ingram (1992) give an example of commercial companies that try to buy journalists friendship by giving them small packages that bear gifts, travel vouchers and complementary access to some exclusive events locally or abroad. He argues that while often these gifts and freebies may be legitimate, they should not be so big as to compromise journalists loyalty and journalist-source relationship. Henshall warns that all gifts and freebies however small should be declared to the editor and if the editor considers any gift as too large or too generous to be accepted, the investigative journalist should return it, politely but firmly. This ensures professional relationships are maintained with emphasis on moral and ethical standards. According to this current study, unconscious psychological manipulation is a factor that could

potentially affect journalists. Ongowo (2011) reiterates this by bearing in mind that journalists do not usually earn big money thus are sometimes vulnerable to bribes i.e. for a favorable story to be written, or an unfavorable story to be ignored. From a psychological perspective, they can easily be manipulated or coerced as willing or unwilling victims. This ends up compromising the credibility of the journalist, raises integrity issues and causes the journalists to lack respect with those they interact with professionally.

Henshall and Ingram (1992) add that psychological security risks also manifest themselves in form of work pressures and investigative journalists have to find a balance to be objective in their reporting. Employers top the list when it comes to subjecting the journalists to undue pressure due to deadlines, advertisers and media owners' interests. These pressures cause investigative journalists to submit incomplete stories or compromise content that is unfavorable to media owners (even when they are newsworthy) lest they risk their stories being killed or removed from their job assignments. Findings of this current study revealed that a significant number of investigative journalists are sometimes compromised to write stories in a particular way there by sometimes, causing them psychological disturbances.

Other authorities including the government, the police and corporate entities may threaten, make laws or put in place policies to sanction investigative journalists from accessing information that would otherwise put their organizations in bad light in the public limelight (Ongowo, 2011). This makes it difficult for the journalists to have meaningful relationships with various individuals in government/ corporate as they are left in perilous positions. If perceived biased with the opponents, investigative journalists presence is often unwelcome especially when they are suspected of being spies. This psychologically disturbs the journalists and in extreme cases, compromises the security of their family members or friends. Ongowo (2011) notes that some investigative journalists family members and friends end up kidnapped for ransom or held as hostages and sometimes even killed. As a result, the journalists exhibit various reactions including finding it difficult to fall or stay asleep, being uncharacteristically irritable or angry, difficulty concentrating, being overly aware of potential dangers to self and others, being jumpy or easily startled at something unexpected as revealed in this current study. Others include losing control of emotions in a moment of panic or being overwhelmed by an experience, experiencing persistent shame about behavior or response towards a particular stimulus, lacking good social

support in the form of friends, colleagues or family and subsequently using alcohol or non-prescription drugs to suppress symptoms of distress (DeLoire, 2015). These psychological security risk factors affect journalists in the investigative beat as evidenced by this current study.

To deal with these risks, investigative journalists need to know up front what their media organization will do if they are injured, kidnapped or killed. Are there any trauma debriefing sessions offered? Are there any fall backs in case of mental health issues, or legal implications? These questions were asked in this current study and the respondents felt that the concerns should be addressed as part of managing would be psychological security risks. During the study, the journalists to a great extent agreed that editors and other managers in the newsrooms need to understand better the roles and needs of investigative journalists they send into risky assignments. Tolerance of investigative journalists anxiety, fear and sometimes confusion was suggested as a reprieve for psychologically disturbed journalists. The psychological security risk factors ultimately affect the journalists relationships with sources, employers, other authorities as well as friends and family. It is therefore important to ascertain their impact on journalism work.

2.6.3. Digital Security Risks

Digital technologies over the years have expanded the freedom of expression space for journalists and media practice. Journalists use desktop or laptop computers, mobile phones and social media platforms and networking websites in their day-to-day work. Use of the internet has become journalists major research avenue in the wake of major technological advances in the area. The internet has opened unprecedented platforms for information sharing and virtual meeting rooms where individuals can debate key issues, dissect information, provide contrary views and data as they associate with each other. The digital age has offered the opportunity for people to realize the right to freedom of expression and association like no other time in history (Henrichsen & Lisosky, 2015).

However, according to UNESCO global report 2017/2018, parallel to the growing digitization of journalism, exceptional benefits to both media practitioners and consumers of journalism, worrying trends have emerged. Investigative journalists have become soft targets and their security compromised as a result. The digital sphere has evolved in terms of data storage capabilities, digital attack technologies, surveillance and speed of information transmission. The

digital environment has become more sophisticated, affordable and more personalized. This makes investigative journalists increasingly vulnerable to digital attacks, locally and internationally from both state and non-state actors as discovered in this current study.

Examples that highlight some of the major digital security risks include digital surveillance and tracking through cell phone linked geo-location data that has broken international barriers. Data hacking, denial of service attacks, disruptive attacks on websites and computer systems, data mining and confiscation of digital hardware are some of the digital security risks that have gone beyond international standards on privacy and freedom of expression. Others include online intimidation, software and hardware exploits without the knowledge of the target, character assassination and smear campaigns, compromised user accounts, confiscation or theft of digital resources among others. In recent cases, investigative journalists social media accounts, such as Twitter, and Face book have been hacked and their private messages exposed to the public. Others have had their private information obtained and published in a practice called ‘doxing’. Journalists world over have reported digitally-mediated harassment through threats of death against themselves and family members, violence, rape and sexual harassment, insults among others. Death threats are now emailed, or in boxed directly in mobile devices in response to web-based content rather than in newspapers or in broadcasting. In most cases, this abuse occurs with impunity. More extremely, some media practitioners in the global arena have been killed for their online journalism. From 2011-2013, 37 of the 276 killings of journalists condemned by the UNESCO were killings of journalists whose primary platforms were Internet-based (UNESCO 2018). In this current study, a good number of journalists sampled in the study stated that their safety and security had been compromised through digital surveillance and tracking through cell phones, laptops, tablets and CCTV cameras.

Denial of service attacks is another digital security risk that is used to bring down media websites or deny airing rights. In 2015, Kenya transitioned from analog to digital television, with the objective of expanding content, and efficiently using broadcasting resources in meeting one of the goals of the Vision 2030 development blueprint. However, this development also enhanced media control in the emerging TV landscape. In 2018, the Jubilee government forces through the Communications Authority of Kenya put four major television stations off air for covering a mock inauguration by opposition candidate Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement

and ignored a court order to turn stations back on for almost a week. Investigative journalists are also threatened and intimidated when their personal lives are exposed on social media in various communications meta-data mining activities in a bid to silence and intimidate them (Harwood et al., 2018). This current study adds to Harwood, Herrick & Ugungu discussions as it discovered that journalists' digital security and that of their associates is to a great extent compromised via phishing campaigns, compromised user accounts and devices that identify journalists' sources and networks.

In various parts of the world, a number of states across multiple regions have put in place legislative acts that have been seen as working to silence digital publications, prosecute whistle blowers and expand arbitrary surveillance across multiple digital platforms. Surveillance and tracking powers of police and intelligence agencies has seen the gains of the digital era threatened (Harwood et al., 2018). The data protection Act of 2019 in Kenya seeks to establish a legal and institutional mechanism to regulate the collection, storage and processing of personal data in order to protect the privacy of individuals. However, the Act fails to adequately balance the right to freedom of expression, the right access to information with the right of privacy. Instructively, Article 52 of the Data Protection Act provides a narrow definition of journalistic exemption. It fails to distinctively elaborate on that exemption because as it were, journalists and the media are not exempt from registration requirements, and depending on the situation, may be obliged to inform the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner about the type of personal data being processed, purpose and category of data subjects. This conflicts with the journalists' right to freely practice investigative journalism in protecting sources where necessary.

Hoesley (2014) notes that journalists ability to and perform the role of scrutinizing the conduct of public life and exercise their rights has been seriously constrained by laws and practices of governments. Pressures to suppress critical media coverage and defamation lawsuits are in the rise and negatively affect media freedoms as they impose new limits on freedom of expression and the free flow of information. As a result journalists' organizations like Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) report that self-censorship and use of pen names to express themselves through internet sites or social networks has become an alternative for the journalists, out of fear of physical or legal reprisals for what they write or say or report (Miranville, 2019). In this current study, investigative journalists in Kenya use various digital

security measures to avoid scrutiny that may compromise their safety and security including use of strong passwords, keeping their computer operating systems updated with latest security patches and updates, encrypting data, using anti-virus software's, use of firewall protection, use of IP disguiser blockers and as well as use of anti-censorship software's where necessary.

Digital security risks have therefore seen journalists and members of the media exposed to job insecurity due to intense pressures, and risk being intimidated, harassed or face violence. Investigative journalists jobs most often than not are resisted or opposed by powerful and sometimes violent forces in society because it involves scrutinizing peoples' public life, investigating crime and corruption. As a result, Hoesley (2014) reiterates that some journalists have been forced to quit the profession and relocate or leave their home countries. Some have been exiled and forced into hiding or come out publicly to declare their lives are in danger and in extreme cases are obliged to accept the protection of police, when that possibility exists. This current study confirmed online intimidation and harassment, compromised user accounts, theft and confiscation of digital resources that increase job insecurity.

According to Henrichsen and Lisosky (2015), most journalists facing threats to their physical safety due to their vulnerability to digital threats are often unwilling to take steps to mitigate digital risks or unable to do anything about it. The UNESCO global report 2017/2018 in one survey found that journalists facing work related threats, only 18 per cent used email encryption, while 41 per cent of respondents had no idea how to protect themselves from digital security threats. The survey also indicated that despite journalists being aware of risks to their digital security, the technical aspect of digital security tools makes it difficult to adopt and learn without prior training, leading few journalists to implement the tools correctly, if at all. Material resources are reported to also often be limited in their availability and unaffordable to purchase relevant software or multiple devices to mitigate security risks. In Kenya the same seems to be the case as a little attention is paid to the impact of digital surveillance on the security of journalist during their assignments as was reported by a good number of journalists in this current study.

Despite this, this current study noted number of steps that investigative journalists can take to ensure their digital security and recommended training as a key element in dealing with some of

the inadequacies noted. Training specifically on the fundamentals of digital safety for journalists and media professionals in their work, such as use of passwords, end-to-end encryption, malware detection software, virtual private networks (VPNs) and avoidance was recommended. Introduction to various security tools and platforms available online, including anti-censorship software, IP blockers and other security tools was also recommended with emphasis on the importance of security and privacy settings in selecting email, blogging and other digital services.

The need for digital security training to enhance investigative journalists digital security awareness was emphasized in this current study. Investigative journalists needed to be sensitized on their electric gadgets security such as mobile phones, tablets, laptops so that all media (interviews, photos or videos) recorded using these devices, or sensitive data such as sources and contact information, may remain secure if a reporter's phone is lost or stolen. This current study revealed that investigative journalists needed training on the use of digital security tools to protect themselves as well as information on privacy laws and constitutional rights regarding freedom of speech, information and expression to enhance their digital security.

2.6.4. Impact of Security Risks on Performance

Professional decisions are made by investigative journalists every day based on a number of internal and external factors that determine their performance. According to Lacy (2000) and Ruggiero (2000), from a historical perspective, journalists performance was measured through the notions of demand and production. Demand considers why consumers seek journalism and how journalism serves particular audience needs while production relates to an assessment of content where journalists control elements of their work to meet presumed needs of the audience in terms of civic and cultural influences (Lacy & Rosenthal, 2015). When a story achieves news values such as "human interest," "the unusual," "prominence and importance," "conflict and controversy," "proximity" and "timeliness" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013), it is considered newsworthy whether by demand or production metrics. Stories in the investigative beat have news value and as such newsworthy however, according to this current study these aspects demand a certain level of performance by journalists that most often than not is hampered by security risk factors.

In recent times due to the advent of technology, journalistic performance can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively. Metrics in social media and online surveys enable journalists to create a more realistic picture of their audiences in the digital age. The metrics are capable of quickly and accurately measuring audience engagement. Ruggerio (2000) notes that journalists actively respond to the notions of demand and production to produce newsworthy stories that can be measured using various metrics to determine impact to the audiences. Results of this current study prove that internal (psychological security risks) and external (physical and digital security risks) factors hamper effective execution of journalistic work as authentic and newsworthy. This current study ascertains that when security risk to undertake a certain story is high, the lower the journalists performance and when security risk to undertake an assignment is low, objective reporting of newsworthy stories occurs. This current study concluded that the higher the risk factors in terms of safety and security of investigative journalists, the lower their performance in their journalism work.

2.7. Knowledge Gap

Past scholars such as Coronel, (2010); Spark, (2009) have argued that investigative journalism often places media practitioners in conflict with some special interest audiences such as corrupt business men/women or government officials, the rich and powerful elites, the political class, among others who seek to conceal information. Scholars who have written on ethics of journalism such as Kieran (2000), De Burgh (2008), Sanders (2010), and Frost (2015) agree that in some situations, journalists are left with no option but to engage in questionable tactics to access or obtain information because of bottle necks in the information flow. Journalists are forced to hide the identity of their sources, use deceit, invade privacy of individuals and even buy information from whistle-blowers to be able to expose wrongdoing against the society. Conversely these scholars have pointed out that many countries across the globe have seen journalists put themselves at high risk each day covering dangerous stories such as terrorism, violence and war, drugs and human trafficking, guerrilla groups, just to mention but a few. To this end, some governments in recent times have put up some measures on how to improve on the security of journalists conducting investigations around the world. Many reforms have been made particularly on ensuring the freedom of investigators and media houses as whole.

In Kenya, many security risks affect the performance of investigative journalism including: physical, psychological and digital as shown in this current study. However, scholars like Ongowo (2011), Gachie (2013), and Ojiambo (2017) in their studies have only dealt with the threats faced by journalists generally in their line of work. Analysis of security risks holistically has largely been lacking and it is on this basis that this current study sought to fill this gap by carrying out an assessment on specifically security risks factors affecting the performance of investigative journalism in Kenya.

2.8. Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by three theories: the authoritarian theory, the social responsibility theory and the protection motivation theory.

2.8.1. Authoritarian Theory

The philosophy of Plato (407-327 BC) was the origin of the Authoritarian theory of mass communication. The theory holds that journalism should always let the interests of the state in maintaining social order or achieving political goals come first (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm 1956). After the invention of the printing press, the English monarchs used this approach in managing journalism. They used censorship, taxation and licensing, and made laws that restricted press freedom. At the bare minimum, the press was expected to obey the established order and do nothing to challenge the government. Journalists were not expected to criticize government officials or the political and business elite. Press freedom was only allowed without prior censorship, only if the state retained the right to punish journalists and media outlets in case they overstepped explicit or implicit limits on reporting, editorial policy and commentary. This theory therefore holds that government authorities have direct control of the media and powerful ruling minorities can exercise power over the media. It also holds that the media has no power to criticize government decisions and policies or its work and that people who try to offend the government warrant punishment and threats. The state has the right to license and cancel licenses to the media houses.

In context to this current study, authoritarian theory was used to explain the reasons why governments, political bigwigs and influential business leaders interfere with journalism work in a bid to control what is published. They would wish to control the negative and paint the positive to the masses to maintain power, propel their businesses without due responsibility. However, this theory does not leave room for scrutiny by the fourth estate in areas that seem suspicious or warrants investigation as far as government operations are concerned. It is on this premise that this current study introduces the social responsibility theory.

2.8.2. Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory posits that press freedom is entrenched on the journalist's duty of care to journalism ethics and has a voluntary duty to perform positive functions as originally described (Siebert et al., 1956). It upholds idealistic journalism approach to objectivity that stresses the balancing of opposing viewpoints, factual (especially investigative) reporting over commentary, and the journalist's maintenance of the neutral observer role (Schudson, 2001). This idealistic approach to journalism has been embraced globally, even among journalists in high risk countries where highly polarized political cultures make it difficult to put it into practice (Benson, 2008).

According to Baker (2002) and McQuail (2005), most journalistic professional exhortations about ethics are emphasized in the social responsibility theory. Despite capitalist media ownership and funding, individual journalists are assumed courageous enough and capable of performing their democratic responsibilities in their stories.

The social responsibility theory is premised on press freedom without censorship only if press content is open for discussion in a public panel and the media is open to public criticisms or professional self-regulation or both. The theory moves beyond the simple "objective" reporting (facts reporting) to "interpretative" reporting (investigative reporting) within the confines of the journalist's frame of reference. The social responsibility theory applies a democratic approach in its processing where the media practitioners are guardians of that process. The duty of care to the community or the media audience squarely lies on the media actors as they become vigilant on behalf of the citizens to be honest and impartial. The theory balances the press freedom with responsibility.

The basic principles of the social responsibility theory as summarized by Dennis McQuail (1987) include: that media has certain obligations to the society and should accept and fulfill them; that high professional standards to these obligations are expected based on truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance in formativeness and in-formativeness; that the media should self regulate within the framework of law and established institutions in accepting and applying those obligations; that the media should give access to various viewpoints and responses in a bid to be pluralist and

reflective of the diversity of the society; that high standards of performance and intervention are expected by the society and the public as a right.

As noted earlier, social responsibility theory does not criticize capitalist media ownership and funding (Baker 2002; McQuail 2005) but rests its argument on responsibility on the part of the journalist.

In context to this current study, this theory accommodates investigative journalism as the ultimate responsibility rests on the journalists. While with the authoritarian theory it is important to reign supreme on who is in charge, the social responsibility theory brings about the importance of being careful to report objectively only that the ultimate responsibility lies with the journalist. However, the social responsibility theory does not scrutinize the journalists in terms of security risk factors that affect their performance as they execute their duties hence the study introduces the third theory – the protection motivation theory.

2.8.3. Protection Motivation Theory

When journalists are following up on public interest stories that warrant some investigation and that may result in various negative exposes, there is a tendency to be careful, stealth and guarded in case of a backlash from the affected parties.

The protection motivation theory claims that (with urgency) people take protective action when they are motivated by risk factors in various situations and that there is a relationship between risk perception, injuries and incidents (Inouye, 2016). To better understand how and why individuals respond to potential threats to their health and safety, this theory was developed by Ronald Rogers in 1983.

The protection motivation theory explains that when people anticipate negative consequences, they are most likely to protect themselves. It emphasizes that people have an inherent desire to avoid negative consequences and if they had the ability to take preventive measures they naturally would.

According to Clubb and Hinkle (2015) the protection motivation theory proposes that protective behaviors are perpetuated by individual cognitive processes (caused by either individual or

environmental factors) that provide either encouragement (courage) or discouragement (fear) from engaging in particular activities or actions.

The protection motivation theory was developed to explain how individuals are motivated to react to perceived health threats in self-protective ways either through threat or coping appraisals. For example, a person will eat healthy foods, exercise regularly and keep sugar levels in check to avoid diabetes (threat appraisal) or in the event they already have diabetes, they will eat more vegetables than starch to avoid a spike in the sugar levels (coping appraisal). Over the years however, the theory has been applied to many other contexts at individual and organizational levels including information security behaviors (Rogers, 1983).

In this current study, its application is contextualized by external (environmental) factors and internal (intrapersonal) factors that provide investigative journalists with suggestions regarding potential victimization threats (physical, psychological, digital), potential protective options (that are largely lacking), and reasons why they should (incentives) or should not engage (avoid) in a given protective response.

Environmental factors include victimization threats by employers, other media stakeholders, sources or the police. Others include directly witnessing acts of victimization such as physical assault by police, loss of employment, rape, kidnapping among others. Intrapersonal factors include journalists individual characteristics (temperaments) or experiences that may influence their perceptions of security risks and willingness to use protective measures. Rogers in his protection motivation theory identifies two intrapersonal factors: personality variables and prior experiences that contribute to knowledge of potential threats and perceptions of threats and potential protective responses.

From a cognitive perspective, Rogers identifies two cognitive mediating processes by which journalists perform this assessment. The maladaptive response process, more commonly referred to as the threat appraisal process where journalists assesses the potential benefits of continuing with a particular beat even though it may expose them to potential threats and consider intrinsic rewards such as gaining recognition, industry respect or extrinsic rewards such as media awards or 'fear-arousal' response associated with more emotional reactions to potential threats where

journalists consider the extent to which the potential threats pose harm (severity) or their own risk factors for being susceptible to a given threat (vulnerability) such as avoidance of a particular story, killing it or resigning.

While the authoritarian theory stresses the importance of maintaining social order and that the government of the day reigns supreme, the social responsibility theory gives journalists the democratic right to do objective reporting as the ultimate responsibility lies with them. The protection motivation theory on the other hand brings out the aspect of security risk where journalists even as they observe their right to objective reporting, have to consider environmental and intrapersonal factors in assessing security risks as far as their safety is concerned in investigative beats.

2.9. Synthesis of the Theories

This current study used authoritarian theory of journalism, the social responsibility theory of journalism and the protection motivation theory to rationalize the relationship between the variables and to explain why journalism as a profession faces various security risks in its execution. Authoritarian theory posits that journalism should be subordinate to the interests of the state therefore no reporting should be allowed that goes against the wishes of the government. The theory recognizes that journalism has power to set societal agendas as it transmits knowledge and information to the public matters that are deemed important. As a result, emphasis is placed on media control by government so that social order is maintained.

The social responsibility theory recognizes the power of journalism and its impact to social economic and political development. However, the theory is democratic in its approach. It gives the journalists the opportunity to interrogate issues and take a neutral position in delivering ‘objective reporting’ in the wake of both virtues and vices in society. The social responsibility theory makes the journalist an independent monitor of ‘power’ so that journalism work is able to achieve its ‘watchdog’ role over the powerful few in society on behalf of the many to guard against tyranny and abuse. The social responsibility theory introduces journalism as the ‘fourth estate’ and gives the profession a seat at the table of high and mighty influencers of society. This means that journalists have a responsibility to be investigative in nature and give objective, factual and critical reporting to the public. This element of ‘investigative nature’ introduces an

element of security risk to the journalist that forms the basis of the third theory the protection motivation theory.

The protection motivation theory put into context the aspect of security risks that journalists face. It examines the safety aspect and allows journalists to evaluate security risks (physical, psychological, digital) of the potential threats in the course of their work from an environment and intrapersonal perspective to get adaptive responses, or coping mechanisms for the journalists to evaluate potential responses that could protect them from a given threat. The summation of considerations associated with the threat and coping appraisal processes produce journalists 'protection motivation' that gave basis to this current study.

2.10. Conceptual Framework

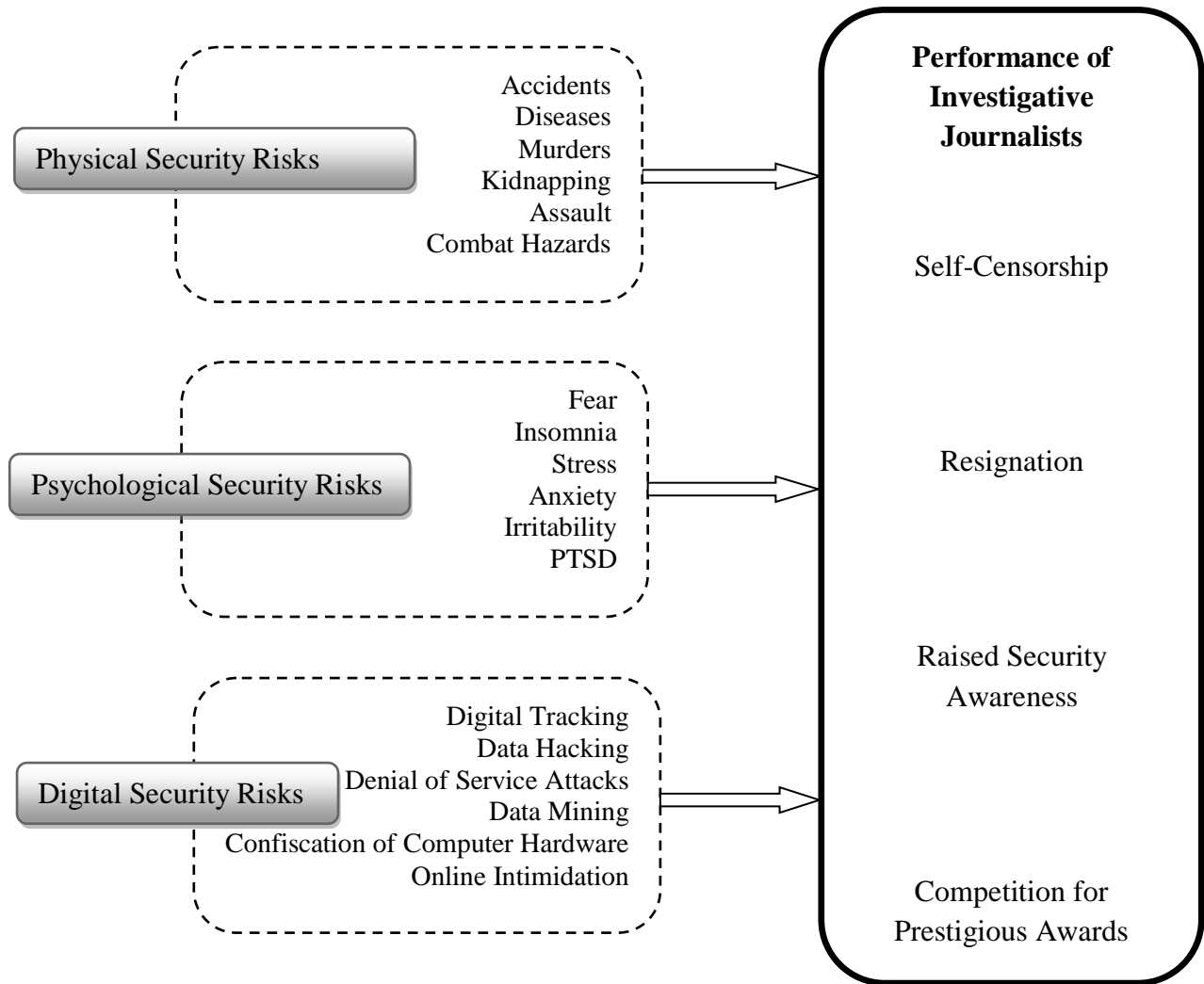
In this section, the conceptual framework is presented in a schematic interpretation as shown in Figure 2.1 below. It identifies physical, psychological and digital security risks as the independent variables and performance of investigative journalists as the dependent variable. Each independent variable has outlined possible effects that may compromises the performance of journalists eliciting various effects as depicted below.

Figure 2. 1

Conceptual Framework

Independent Variables

Dependent Variable



As shown in the conceptual framework in Figure 2.1, the independent variables (physical security risks, psychological security risks and digital security risks) elicit certain responses in terms of performance (dependent variables) that cause journalists to engage in the investigative beats motivated or de motivated thus affecting outcomes in terms of quality of stories in their journalistic work.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used to conduct this research. It explains the research design, study area, target population, sampling procedures, data collection instruments, as well as data collection procedures and analysis.

3.2. Research Design

This study used a descriptive survey design to clearly capture the target population and to explore the various relationships between the variables. Creswell (2014) places usefulness of this design because apart from just describing, survey can be used in explaining and exploring existing status of two or more variables at a given point in time. In this current study, the design was useful because it aided in establishing patterns of opinions and responses, as well as the generalization of the research findings. This design was deemed appropriate because of the qualitative nature of the study.

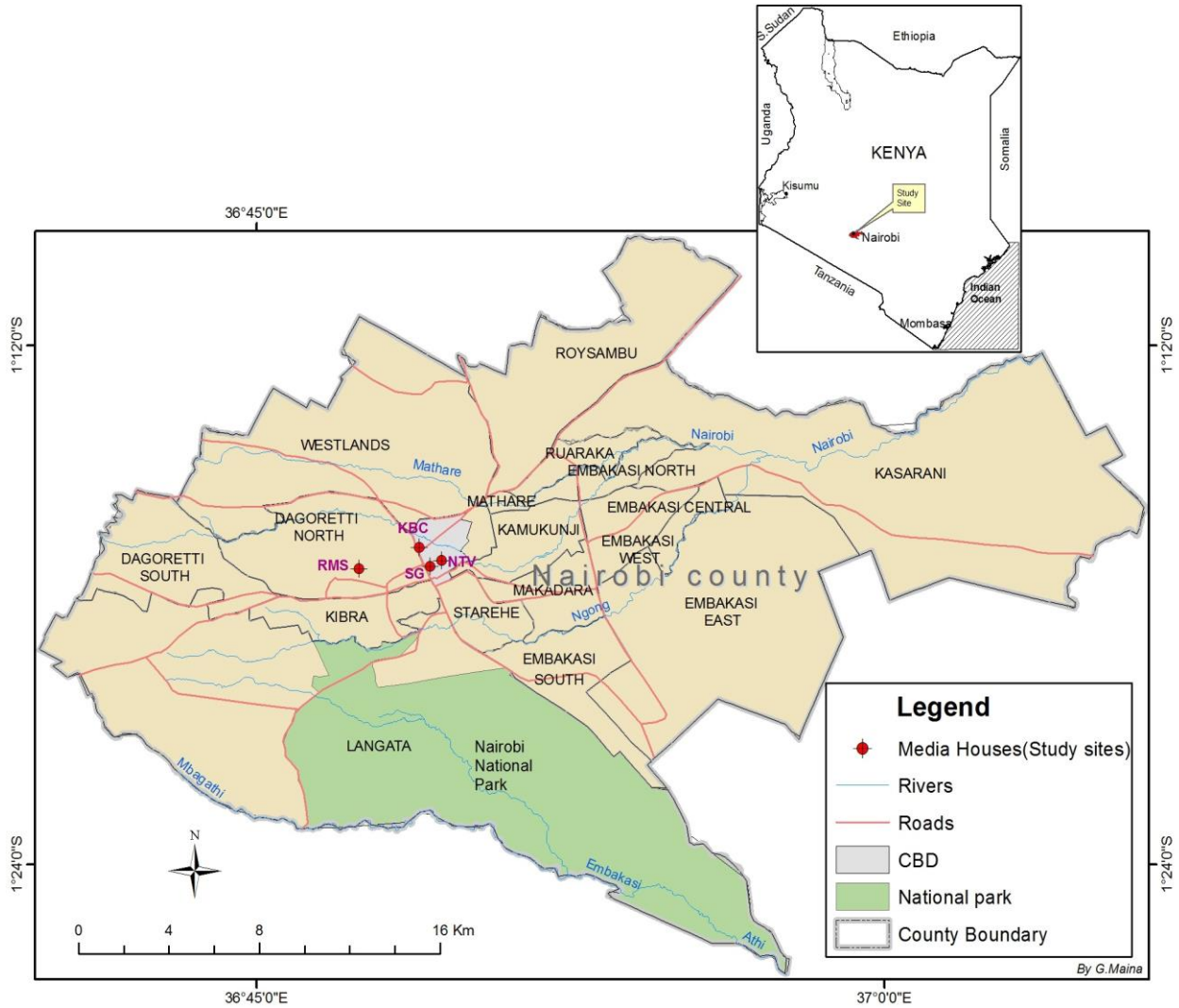
3.3. Study Area

This study was conducted in Nairobi County which hosts 120 media enterprises. It targeted investigative journalists from four media enterprises including KBC, NMG, RMS and SG that form the main media houses in Kenya with KBC being state owned and the rest privately owned. (See Figure 3.1).

The rationale for carrying out this study in Nairobi is informed by the fact that all major media houses are headquartered in Nairobi where majority of journalists are housed. Nairobi is the hub of cases of security risks on journalists in Kenya. According to Article 19 (2018), from May 2017 – April 2018, 84 incidents of violations against individual journalists and media workers, were recorded majority 36% being from Nairobi county recording 30 cases.

Figure 3. 1

Nairobi County Map Showing Media Houses Under Study



3.4. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this current study was sampled investigative journalists (male and female) from the four leading media houses within Nairobi area namely NMG, SG, RMS and KBC. The sample respondents had special relationship with the phenomenon under investigation, sufficient and relevant work experience in the field of investigative journalism.

3.5. Study Population and Sample Size

This current study population target was 589 journalists as shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3. 1

Target Population of Respondents

Category	Target Population
KBC	76
NMG	276
RMS	153
SG	84
Total	589

Source: MCK (2019)

The study obtained a sample size using the Mugenda and Mugenda (2013) formula for target population of less than 10,000.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2013), when the study population is less than 10, 000, a sample size of between 10 and 30% is a good representation of the target population and hence 10 % is adequate for analysis. Bearing in mind that non-probability samples are more often very small due to the nature of issue under investigation, the descriptive nature of this current study supported the sample size. Table 3.2 below shows the various samples per media house.

Table 3. 2

Sample Size of Respondents

Category	Target Population	Procedure	Sample Size
KBC	76	$76*0.1$	8
NMG	276	$276*0.1$	28
RMS	153	$153*0.1$	15
SG	84	$84*0.1$	8
Total	589		59

3.5.1. Sampling Procedure

The study employed non probability sampling method and used purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling procedure was used to select both the study area and unit of analysis. According to Showkat and Parveen (2017), purposive sampling procedure uses the judgment of an expert in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind and is more readily accessible, less costly, more convenient and selects only those individuals that are relevant to the research design. In the case of this current study, respondents were practicing journalists from the selected media houses.

3.6. Methods of Data Collection

This study used interviews as the method of data collection.

3.6.1. Data Collection Procedures

The researcher sought authorization from NACOSTI to conduct the research. The researcher used the research license to access the media houses in Nairobi and to schedule interviews through the editors or program producers with select investigative journalists.

3.6.2. Research Instruments

This study employed an interview schedule as the instrument used for capturing data to analyze the study objectives. The choice of the instrument was based on the targeted population, nature of questions and sensitivity of the study.

The study specifically employed semi-structured interview schedule through personal interviews where the researcher interacted face to face with the respondents. According to Gillham (2005), semi-structured interviews are the most important way of conducting research interviews because of flexibility of structure and quality of data obtained (based on open-ended questions and useful when collecting attitudinal information). This enabled the researcher to probe further and observe respondents.

3.6.3. Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The research instrument was formulated with sound reflection of the objectives of the study. This enabled the researcher to formulate simple, unambiguous, logical and comprehensive questions. Before adoption of the research instrument, it was subjected to scrutiny by the supervisors and at different stages of proposal defense to ensure that all the concepts under investigation are measured. The researcher pilot-tested the instrument with 6 journalists from independent not-for-profit investigative journalism organizations before the main field data collection. According to Connelly (2008), a pilot study sample should be 10% of the sample projected for the study.

3.7. Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed data for this current study both quantitatively and qualitatively using descriptive statistics by generating means, standard deviations, frequencies and percentages and was statistically analyzed in line with the study objectives to make conclusions and recommendations. Qualitative data was analyzed thematically for opened ended questions.

3.7.2. Data Analysis Procedure

Data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively based on the data collection instruments. The data from the tools were coded and entered into SPSS computer aided software to allow the researcher process and analyze the data. Qualitative data was gathered using interview schedules that were coded and thematically analyzed where content matter of responses were transcribed into text. Responses with familiar themes or patterns were grouped into coherent categories. The data was then thematically coded such that similar themes were categorized and filed together, organized, and summarized. Subsequently, the identified themes were quantified and analyzed using descriptive statistics. This quantitative analysis involved summarizing the frequencies, means and standard deviation, and distributions of the themes to provide a concise and numerical representation of the qualitative findings.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

There are certain ethical protocols that were followed by the researcher as approved by Egerton University Ethics Review Committee. First, the researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the University to emphasize the purpose of the research as purely academic. Once mandated, the

introduction letter was used to seek written authority from NACOSTI to carry out the research. Second, the researcher assured respondents of their rights to confidentiality and privacy. The researcher got informed consent from the journalists by explaining of the purpose of the research and guaranteed confidentiality during the interviews. The overarching principle of ethics in research is that the respondent must always have to give their informed consent (Akaranga & Makau, 2016).

Thirdly, recorded data was given anonymity in the study where requested or deemed appropriate to uphold the principle of anonymity. The researcher also checked the accuracy of encoding of the responses so as to ensure that the statistics generated from the study are truthful and verifiable to ensure the integrity of data. Lastly, the study tried as much as possible to comply with national policy guidelines on fundamental ethical principles regarding protection of human rights.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents results and discussions of the findings. The purpose of the study was to investigate security risks affecting the performance of investigative journalists in Nairobi, Kenya. The study objectives were: to analyze types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of investigative journalists, to determine psychological disorders experienced by investigative journalists that affect their psychological health in the execution of their work and to evaluate digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work. Data was collected by the use of an interview schedule and analysed using descriptive statistics. The findings were presented in form of Figures and Tables. The results were presented for each of the themes drawn from the objectives and were interpreted accordingly.

4.2. Response Rate

Fifty-nine respondents were purposed to be interviewed from four media houses in Kenya. However, only 54 were available representing a 91.5% response rate which was considered high enough to provide sufficient information on security risks affecting the performance of investigative journalists in Nairobi, Kenya.

4.3. Demographic Information

The demographic information of the respondents lays a foundation on which the interpretations of the study are based. The emphasis of the demographic information is on the respondents' age, education level, marital status, work experience and respondents' area of specialization. The sections that follow capture the background information.

4.3.1. Respondents Age

The results in Table 4.1 indicate that 37% of the respondents were between 31 to 35 years, 24.1% were between 41 to 45 years, 22.2% were between 18 to 30 years, and 16.7% were between 36 to 40 years of age. Notably, the journalists are of diverse age sets though those between 18 to 35 years were the majority.

Table 4. 1

Respondents age

	Frequency	Percent
18-30 Years	12	22.2
31-35 years	20	37
36-40 years	9	16.7
41-45 years	13	24.1
Total	54	100

4.3.2. Respondents Gender

The study deemed it essential to establish the gender of the journalists in the targeted media houses in Kenya. Table 4.2 illustrates the results of the current study. The findings indicated that the majority (57.1%) of the journalists were male, while 42.6% were female. The findings suggest a relatively high absorption of male individuals into employment as journalists in the targeted media houses in Kenya.

Table 4. 2

Respondents Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Male	31	57.4
Female	23	42.6
Total	54	100

4.3.3. Respondents Education Level

The education level of journalists is a crucial element in discerning security risks affecting the performance of journalists in Nairobi, Kenya. In this regard, the analysis sought to determine the journalists educational qualifications. Based on the findings in Table 4.3 below, 50% of the journalists had an undergraduate degree, 46.3% postgraduate degree and 3.7% Diploma. The results suggest that the media houses employ individuals of higher academic attainment, as indicated by most journalists with an undergraduate and postgraduate degree.

Table 4. 3

Respondents Education Level

	Frequency	Percent
Diploma	2	3.7
Undergraduate Degree	27	50
Postgraduate Degree	25	46.3
Total	54	100

4.3.4. Respondents Marital Status

The study inquired about the respondents' marital status. As indicated in Table 4.4, 64.8% of the respondents are married, while 33.3% are single. Notably, the majority of the journalists (64.8%) working in the targeted media houses are married. Therefore, it means that the news stories that they cover could pose a security threat to themselves and their family members.

Table 4. 4

Respondents Marital Status

	Frequency	Percent
Single	18	33.3
Married	35	64.8
Other	1	1.9
Total	54	100

4.3.5. Respondents Work Experience

The work experience is vital in assessing the respondents' knowledge of the security risks affecting their performance. As shown in Table 4.5, 48.1% have a job experience of over 10 years, 33.3% for 7 to 10 years, 16.7% between 4 to 6 years, and 1.9% for up to 3 years. Notably, the bulk of the journalists have worked in the journalism field for over seven years; hence they have sufficient knowledge and experience to give an account of the security risks affecting their performance.

Table 4. 5

Respondents Work Experience

	Frequency	Percent
0.-3 years	1	1.9
4-6 years	9	16.7
7-10 years	18	33.3
Over 10 Years	26	48.1
Total	54	100

4.3.6. Respondents Area of Specialization

The study sought to establish the areas of specialization for the journalists. As shown in Table 4.6 below, 24% of the journalists are in general news, 20.3% business segment and 14.8% politics and governance. Further, 11.1% cover health, 11.1% technology and innovation, 5.6% education, 5.6% security, crime and courts, 3.7% sports, 1.9% arts and entertainment and 1.9% accidents and disasters. Evidently, the journalists have diverse areas of specialization with some in areas whose news stories have the potential of security risks. They are, therefore, better placed to give an account of how security risks affect their performance.

Table 4. 6*Respondents Area of Specialization*

	Frequency	Percent
General news	13	24
Accidents and disasters	1	1.9
Politics and governance	8	14.8
Education	3	5.6
Health	6	11.1
Technology and innovation	6	11.1
Business	11	20.3
Sports	2	3.7
Security, crime and courts	3	5.6
Arts and entertainment	1	1.9
Total	54	100

4.4. Physical Security Threats

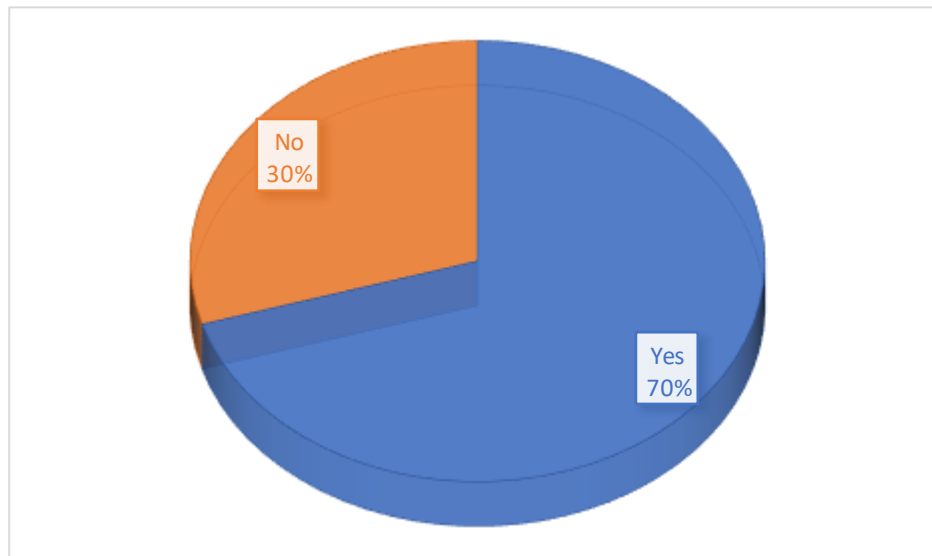
This current study's first objective was to analyze the types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of investigative journalists. The specific focus was on whether the journalists have experienced physical security threats, the type of physical security threats they are mostly exposed to, if the threats have affected their work and the remedial measures to address physical security risks. The findings are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.4.1. Experience of Physical Security Threats in Journalism Work

The study sought the respondents view on whether they have experienced physical security threats in their journalism work.

Figure 4. 1

Experience of Physical Security Threats in Journalism Work



As indicated in Figure 4.1 above, 70% of the respondents confirmed that they had experienced physical security threats in their line of work. It is only 30% of them that have not been exposed to physical security threats. This points to the fact that physical security threats are a common phenomenon, as indicated by the majority of journalists.

4.4.2. Physical Security Risks

The study sought to determine the physical security risks that primarily affect investigative journalists. The findings are as presented in Table 4.7. Notably, 61.1% of the journalists were exposed to physical violence, 50% teargas attacks, 37% theft and 35.2% sexual assault. Further, 5.6% are exposed to crossfire, 1.9% traffic hazards, 13% natural hazards such as floods, 1.9% abductions, 1.9% bombs, and 7.4% health risks such as waterborne diseases. The most common form of physical security risks for the journalists is physical violence and tear gas attack.

Table 4. 7*Physical Security Risks*

	Frequency	Percent
Physical violence	33	61.1
Teargas attack	27	50
Theft	20	37
Sexual assault	19	35.2
Crossfire	3	5.6
Other:	12	22.2
Traffic hazards	1	1.9
Natural hazards	7	13
Abduction	1	1.9
Bombs	1	1.9
Health risks	4	7.4

4.4.3. Effects of physical security risks

The study enquired from the journalists on how the physical security risks have affected them. Table 4.8 shows that 96.3% of the journalists confirmed that they had been threatened, 61.1% harassed, 33.3% injured and 25.9% equipment confiscated. Notably, the journalist's line of work poses security risks that threaten their overall wellbeing. These threats could potentially affect the performance of the journalists.

Table 4. 8*Effects of Physical Security Risks*

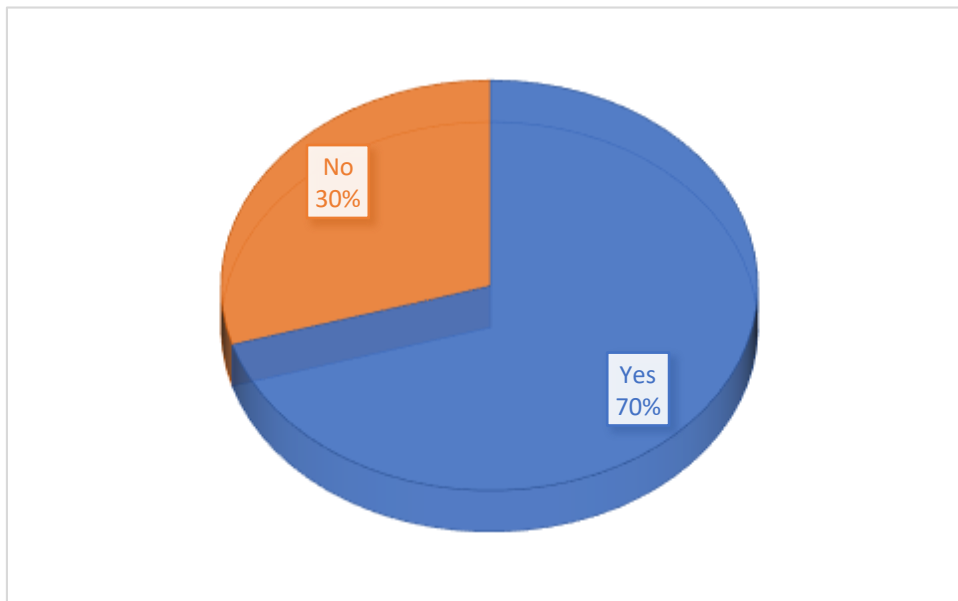
	Frequency	Percent
Intimidated/threatened	52	96.3
Harassed	33	61.1
Injured	18	33.3
Equipment confiscated	14	25.9

4.4.4. Journalists' perceptions on physical security risks

The study sought to establish if the physical security risks have affected investigative journalists work.

Figure 4. 2

Journalists' Perceptions on Physical Security Risks



As evidenced in Figure 4.2, 70% of the journalists confirmed that the physical security risks had affected their work. On the other hand, 30% of them stated that the physical security risks had not affected their work. It seems depending on stories covered some of these journalists have not experienced physical security risks.

4.4.5. Impact of Physical Security Risks

The study enquired from the journalists on the impact of physical security risks on their work. As indicated in Table 4.9, 63% of the journalists have withdrawn from covering the story, 50% self-censored, 31.5% of the journalists noted that their objectivity had been affected, 24.1% killed

their stories. In comparison, 7.4% stated that the physical security risks did not affect their work. Evidently, the physical security risks adversely affect news stories of the journalists as majority of them have withdrawn from covering stories that could have potentially informed the public on a particular issue.

Table 4. 9

Impact of Physical Security Risks

	Frequency	Percent
Objectivity has been affected	17	31.5
I have self-censored	27	50
I have withdrawn from covering the story	34	63
I have killed stories	13	24.1
None really	4	7.4

4.4.6. Remedial Measures by The Media Houses

The study deemed it necessary to ascertain the remedial measures by the targeted media houses to address the physical security risks their journalists are exposed to. Based on the findings in Table 4.10 below, 64.8% of the journalists noted that they are briefed and debriefed on physical security threats and remedial measures on special assignments. Further, 22% indicated that there is a security safety policy to address physical security risks. 18.5% of the journalists stipulated that they undergo personal security training while 16.7% had no remedial measures in dealing with physical security risks.

Table 4. 10

Remedial Measures by the Media Houses

	Frequency	Percent
You are briefed and debriefed on physical security threats and remedial measures on special assignments	35	64.8
You undergo personal security training	10	18.5
There is a security safety policy to address physical security risks	12	22.2
None	9	16.7

4.5. Psychological Security Risks

This current study's second objective sought to determine the psychological disorders experienced by journalists that affect their psychological health in their work. The findings are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.5.1. Psychological Disorders

The study sought investigative journalists opinions on some of the psychological disorders they experience when covering sensitive incidences such as pandemics, accidents, suicides, rape cases, murders, child abuse and torture, and domestic violence. From the findings in Table 4.11, 55.6% noted that they face extreme anxiety, 50% physical and psychological stress and 46.3% trauma. Also, 16.7% of them experienced increased alertness, 16.7% numbing and disassociation, 5.6% empathy, 5.6% insomnia, 5.6% avoidance, 3.7% fight and flight responses and 1.9% sympathy. Overall, the most common psychological disorders among the journalists were extreme anxiety, physical and mental stress, and trauma.

Table 4. 11

Psychological disorders

	Frequency	Percent
Extreme anxiety	30	55.6
Physical or psychological stress	27	50
Trauma	25	46.3
Increased alertness or sense of presence	11	20.4
Numbing and disassociation	9	16.7
Empathy	6	11.1
Insomnia	3	5.6
Avoidance	3	5.6
Fight and flight responses	2	3.7
Sympathy	1	1.9

4.5.2. Impact of Covering Sensitive Incidences

This analysis section highlights the impact of covering sensitive incidences such as pandemics, accidents, suicides, rape cases, murders, child abuse, and torture on the journalists psychological health. The findings in Table 4.12 show that 10% of the respondents noted that journalists experience depression when they cover sensitive incidences. Notably, they indicated that they are likely to suffer from depression if they do not seek counseling services. Besides, they feel that depression emanating from covering such incidences might cost them money for treatment. The respondents alluded that depression might lower their productivity at work and lower their general quality of life. Moreover, it emerged that covering tragedies such as accidents sometimes causes a great deal of depression.

Further, 5.6% of the respondents stated that journalists have post-traumatic stress disorder. Specifically, it emerged that journalists are traumatized when they cover sensitive incidences. In some instances, they do not realize they have PTSD until later when the situation has worsened. It is therefore instrumental to offer counseling for journalists since they may not know they are traumatized.

Additionally, 11.1% of the respondents stated that journalists suffer from panic and anxiety attacks when covering sensitive incidences. Further, 11.1% of the respondents stipulated that there are journalists who suffer from paranoia. Some of the journalists mentioned that there is mistrust among journalists and their editors. In some cases, the journalists fear each other and feel that they are a social threat whenever they do a story. Moreover, 16.7% of the respondents noted cases of mental instability among some of the journalists due to covering sensitive incidences.

Further, 20.4% of the respondents elucidated that journalists suffer from emotional instability due to covering sensitive incidences. Specifically, the respondents alluded that some of them suppress feelings that often erupt later without notice. Some exhibited violent behaviour. There are also cases of emotional fatigue and avoidance by the journalist to address their feelings after

covering sensitive incidences. Moreover, there are cases of emotionally stressed journalists that require continuous mental health treatment to address the issue.

Finally, 16.7% of the respondents espoused that covering sensitive incidences causes behavioral change. On behavioral change, the journalists do not tell the truth and exhibit withdrawal from meaningful life activities. Some became alcoholics to numb thoughts, anger towards family or those close to them. Additionally, some journalists developed resilience and tolerance from covering sensitive incidences.

Table 4. 12

Impact of Covering Sensitive Incidences

	Frequency	Percent
Depression	10	18.5
PTSD	3	5.6
Anxiety	6	11.1
Paranoia	6	11.1
Mental instability	9	16.7
Emotional Instability	11	20.3
Behavioral change	9	16.7
Total	54	100

4.5.3. Empathy in Journalism Work

The study requested the journalists opinions on whether they empathize with their news sources.

Figure 4. 3

Empathy in Journalism Work

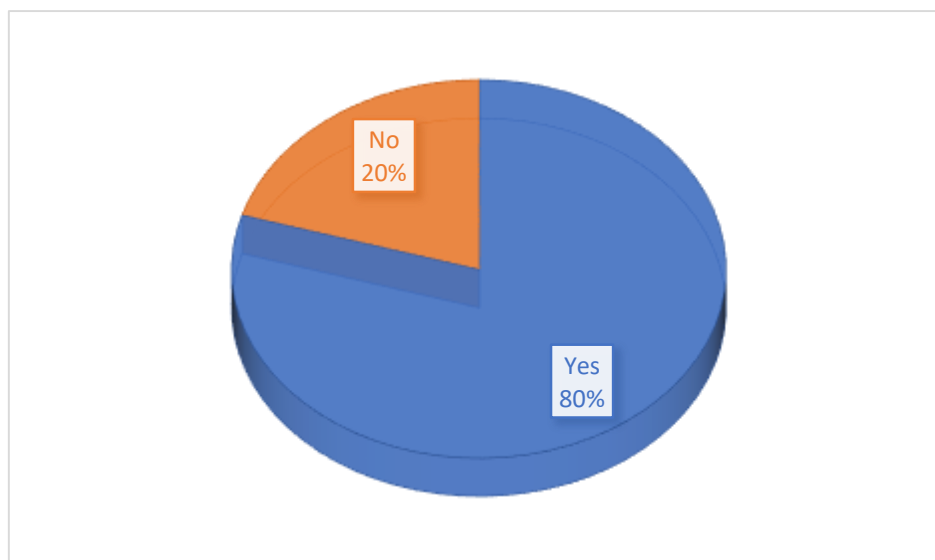


Figure 4.3 above illustrates the findings. Notably, 80% of the journalists confirmed that they empathize with their news sources. On the other hand, 20% of them denied that they empathized with their respondents. It appears that the majority of the journalists from the targeted media houses empathize with their respondents. This implies that a majority of journalists understand the perspectives of their news sources, a significant factor in drawing out the true picture of a situation.

4.5.4. Effects of Empathy in Journalism

The study deemed it necessary to establish how investigative journalists' empathy affects how they cover their news stories. The study identified five key themes on how empathy affects the journalists' stories. The first central theme was objectivity. As shown in Table 4.13, 38.9% of the journalists noted that empathy affects the story's objectivity. They specifically stated that they

sometimes put themselves in the victims' shoes, making it difficult to give a balanced perspective on the story. The resulting outcome is a one-sided story biased towards the respondents' view instead of the actual case of how the story ensued. In fact, some of the journalists noted that there is a likelihood of telling half-truth and having a story entrenched in bias. It is a fact therefore that journalists' emotional connection to a story affects objectivity.

The next theme was the angle taken on the story. On this theme, 7.4% of the journalists confirmed that whenever journalists empathize with their respondents' they are likely to abandon pursuing a certain story angle for fear of sounding insensitive. Thus, there is a possibility of the journalists not giving an accurate portrayal of the story for fear of sounding insensitive to the respondents.

On a similar theme, 7.4% of the respondents believed that empathy affects the journalists' professionalism while doing the story. They argued that the journalists tend to focus more on the subject than the substratum issue at hand while telling the story. They also noted that there is a possibility of getting too involved in the story such that you are unable to meet the deadline of submitting the story.

On the other hand, some journalists felt that it positively impacts their stories when they empathize with their respondents. Specifically, 3.7% felt that having empathy humanizes the subject. In that way, they alluded that it makes them tell a story from the victim's eyes and give it a human touch. Besides, 3.7% noted that it improves the quality of the story because of the human interest aspect. They further stated that stories are told better when journalists empathize with their sources. For some of them, they find it unnecessary to keep their emotions from the story.

Overall, the journalists feel that there are both benefits and drawbacks to empathizing with their respondents. The benefits are humanizing the subject and improving the quality of the story. However, the disadvantages are the loss of objectivity and professionalism while doing the story. There are also 3.7% of the journalists who felt that showing empathy does not affect their stories.

Table 4. 13

Effects of Empathy in Journalism Work

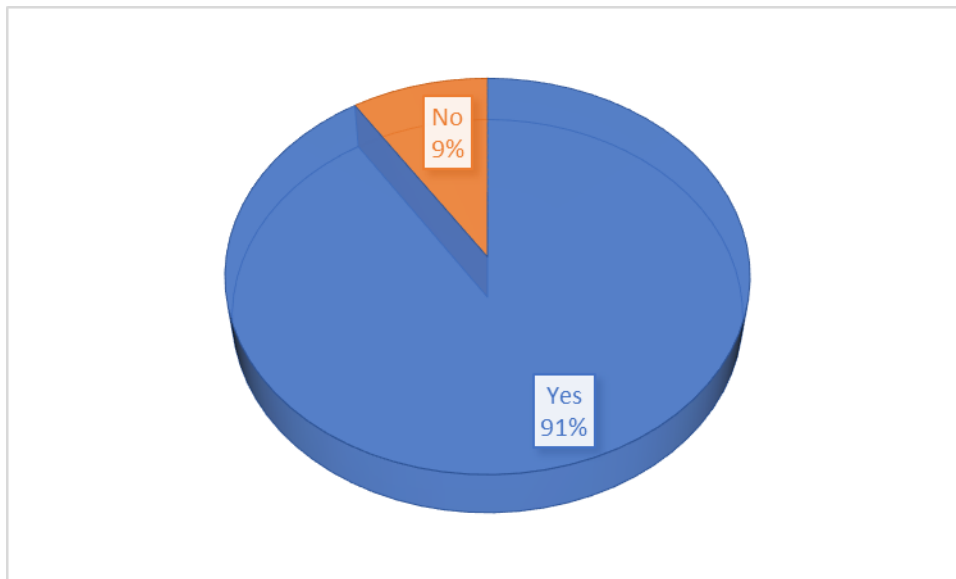
	Frequency	Percent
Empathy affects the objectivity of the story.	21	38.9
It humanizes the subject	2	3.7
It is likely to influence the angle taken on the story	4	7.4
Improves the quality of the story	2	3.7
It affects the journalists' professionalism while doing the story	4	7.4
Does not affect the story	2	3.7

4.5.5. Unconscious Bias/Compromise in Investigative Journalism

The study sought to determine if sometimes journalists are unconsciously biased/compromised to write stories in a particular way by freebies and gifts, short deadlines, and undue pressure.

Figure 4. 4

Journalists' Responses on whether they are Biased/Compromised



The findings in Figure 4.4 indicate that the majority (91%) of the journalists are sometimes compromised to give specific stories in a given way due to tight deadlines and, in some cases, gifts.

4.5.6. Remedial Measures by Media Houses

The study enquired from the respondents on how their employer handles cases of compromised psychological health among the employees. The findings are illustrated in Table 4.14. Notably, 59.3% of the respondents confirmed that counseling services are offered and 50% medical insurance coverage. Besides, 24.1% of the respondents noted that their employers are tolerant of traumatized journalists during assignments. Also, 9.3% confirmed that there are team-building exercises for debriefing. It is apparent that media houses are keen on matters psychological and mental wellbeing of their employees.

Table 4. 14

Remedial Measures by Media Houses

	Frequency	Percent
There are counselling services offered	32	59.3
There is medical insurance coverage	27	50
Employers are tolerant of traumatized journalists	13	24.1
There are team-building exercises for debriefing	5	9.3
None	10	18.5

4.6. Digital Security Challenges

The third objective of this current study looked into the digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work. The findings are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.6.1. Digital Technologies and Tools

The study enquired from the respondents on the digital technologies and tools they use in their line of work. As shown in Table 4.5, 90.7% of the respondents stated that they use laptops, 87% mobile phones, 72.2% email and collaborative tools and 63% desktop personal computers. Also, 22.2% utilize the internet, 13% networking websites, 9.3% video and audio recording devices and 1.9% GPS.

Table 4. 15

Digital Technologies and Tools

	Frequency	Percent
Laptops/tablets	49	90.7
Mobile phones	47	87
Email and collaborative tools	39	72.2
Desktop personal computer	34	63
Internet	12	22.2
Networking websites	7	13
Video and audio recording devices	5	9.3
GPS	1	1.9

4.6.2. Security Risks Related to Digital Technologies and Tools

The study enquired from the respondents on the security threats they have encountered due to digital tools and technologies in their journalistic work. Table 4.16 illustrates the findings. Notably, 55.6% stated that they have encountered digital surveillance and tracking through cell phones, laptops, tablets and CCTV. Besides, 16.7% have experienced data hacking and disruptive attacks on computer systems and infrastructure. As well, 22.2% have encountered online intimidation, 13% compromised user accounts and 3.7% confiscation or theft of digital resources.

Table 4. 16

Security Risks related to Digital Technologies and Tools

	Frequency	Percent
Digital surveillance and tracking	30	55.6
Data hacking and disruptive attacks	9	16.7
Confiscation or theft of digital resources	2	3.7
Compromised user accounts (intercepted emails or stolen data)	7	13
Online intimidation	12	22.2
None	4	7.4

4.6.3. Digital Security Measures

This section of the analysis highlights the digital security measures used by journalists to protect or increase information security. As shown in Table 4.17, 81.5% of the journalists noted that they use strong passwords for their email or other internet accounts. Further, 38.9% keep their operating systems updated with the latest security patches and updates. Besides, 37% of them encrypt data, 37% use a VPN and 35.2% a secure backup to prevent information loss. In addition, 31.5% stated that they use anti-virus software, 25.9% safe deletion of data, 20.4% firewall protection, 18.5% IP disguisers/ blockers and 13% anti-censorship software.

Table 4.17

Digital Security Measures

	Frequency	Percent
Using strong passwords	44	81.5
Updating operating systems	21	38.9
Encrypting data	20	37
Using a VPN	20	37
Secure backups	19	35.2
Using anti-virus software	17	31.5
Safe deletion of data	14	25.9
Firewall protection	11	20.4
Using IP disguisers/blockers	10	18.5
Using anti-censorship software	7	13

4.6.4. Safety Challenges in the Use of Digital Technologies and Tools

This current study also looked into the critical safety challenges in utilizing digital technologies and tools in journalism work. As illustrated in Table 4.18, 79.6% of the respondents noted that surveillance and digital attack technologies are becoming less expensive and more prevalent. In that way, they are exposed to more digital attacks while utilizing digital technologies and tools. In addition, 75.9% stated that the digital security of journalists and their associates could easily be compromised via phishing campaigns. Other than that, 63% of

the journalists stated that commercially available digital security tools are too expensive and not user-friendly. Besides, 51.9% of them confirmed increased insecurity due to compromised user accounts and devices to identify journalists' sources and networks. As well, 42.6% stipulated that there is a lack of publicly available data documenting types of digital attacks and threats those doing journalism face.

Moreover, 3.7% confirmed many of the challenges emanating from government and organizations with the knowledge, resources and knowhow to compromise security. In the same way, 3.7% stated that there is surveillance by state players.

Table 4. 18

Safety Challenges in the use of Digital Technologies and Tools

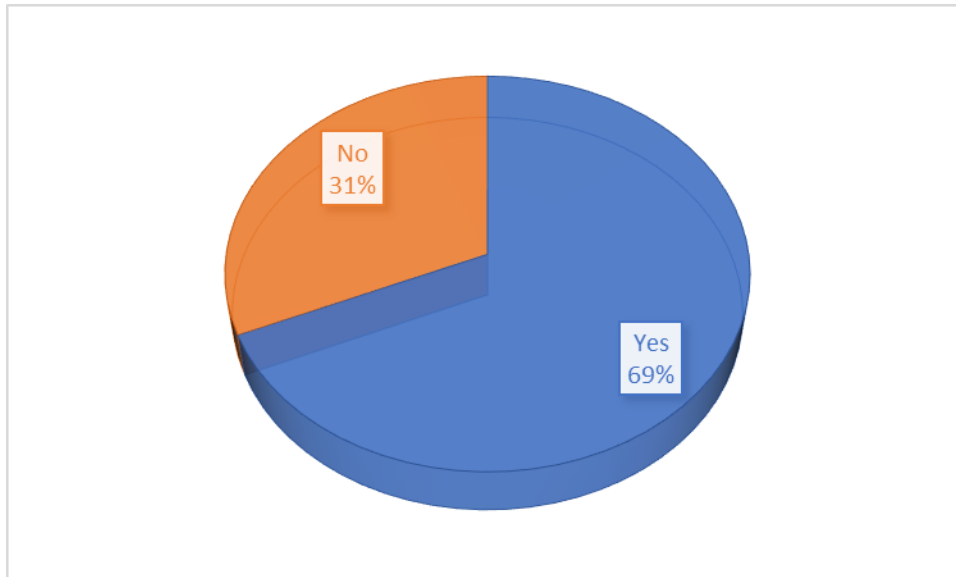
Challenges	Frequency	Percent
Surveillance, data storage capabilities and digital attack technologies are becoming less expensive and more prevalent	43	79.6
Commercially available digital security tools are too expensive are not always user friendly	34	63
The digital security of journalists and their associates (sources, families, colleagues) can easily be compromised via phishing campaigns	41	75.9
Increased insecurity due to compromised user accounts and devices to identify sources and networks of those doing journalism	28	51.9
Lack of publicly available data documenting types of digital attacks and threats those doing journalism face.	23	42.6
Many challenges emanate from government and organizations with the knowledge, resources and knowhow to compromise security.	2	3.7
Surveillance by State players.	2	3.7

4.6.5. Journalists' Training on Digital Security Awareness

The study enquired from the respondents if they have undergone any training to raise their digital security awareness.

Figure 4. 5

Journalists' Training on Digital Security Awareness



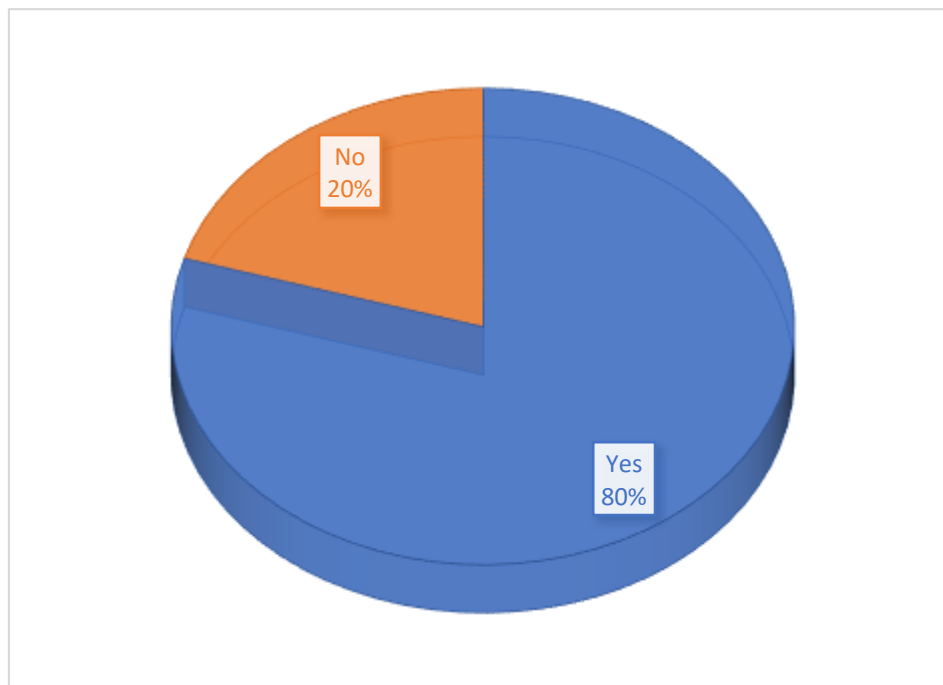
From the findings in Figure 4.5, 69% of the respondents have undergone training to increase their digital security awareness. However, 31% of them have not undergone any training. This therefore means that a significant portion of the journalists is likely to be victims of digital attacks because of the possibility of limited digital security awareness.

4.7. Exposure to Security Concerns

The study sought to determine if the journalists had experienced any security concerns. Figure 4.6 below highlights the results.

Figure 4. 6

Exposure to Security Concerns



Notably, a majority (80%) of the journalists had experienced security concerns. It means that journalists' line of work faces a high risk of security threats.

4.7.1. Security Concerns By Journalists

The study investigated the types of security issues that are of concern to investigative journalists. As shown in Table 4.19, 92.6% of the respondents noted that their personal safety was of utmost concern, 46.3% security of informants and 40.7% security of information. In addition, 31.5% stated that the security of colleagues and professional acquaintances was of concern to them and 31.5% the security of their families.

Table 4. 19

Security Concerns by Journalists

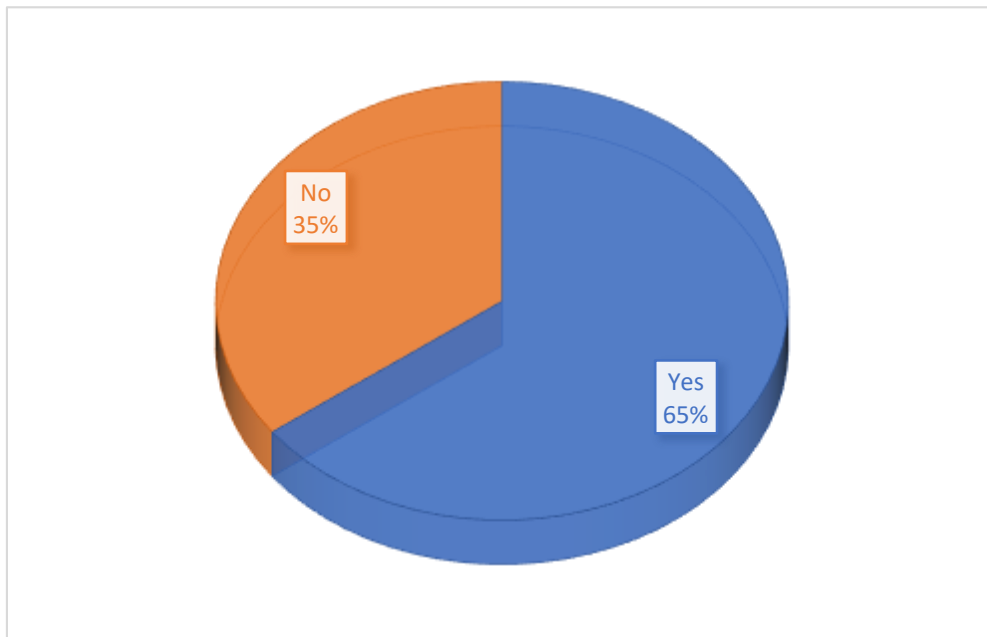
	Frequency	Percent
Personal safety	50	92.6
Security of information	22	40.7
Security of informants	25	46.3
Security of colleagues and professional acquaintances	17	31.5
Security of family	17	31.5
None	2	3.7

4.8. Security and Safety Training

The study sought to determine if the respondents have participated in any security and safety training that teaches them how to stay safe. Figure 4.7 illustrates the results.

Figure 4. 7

Security and Safety Training



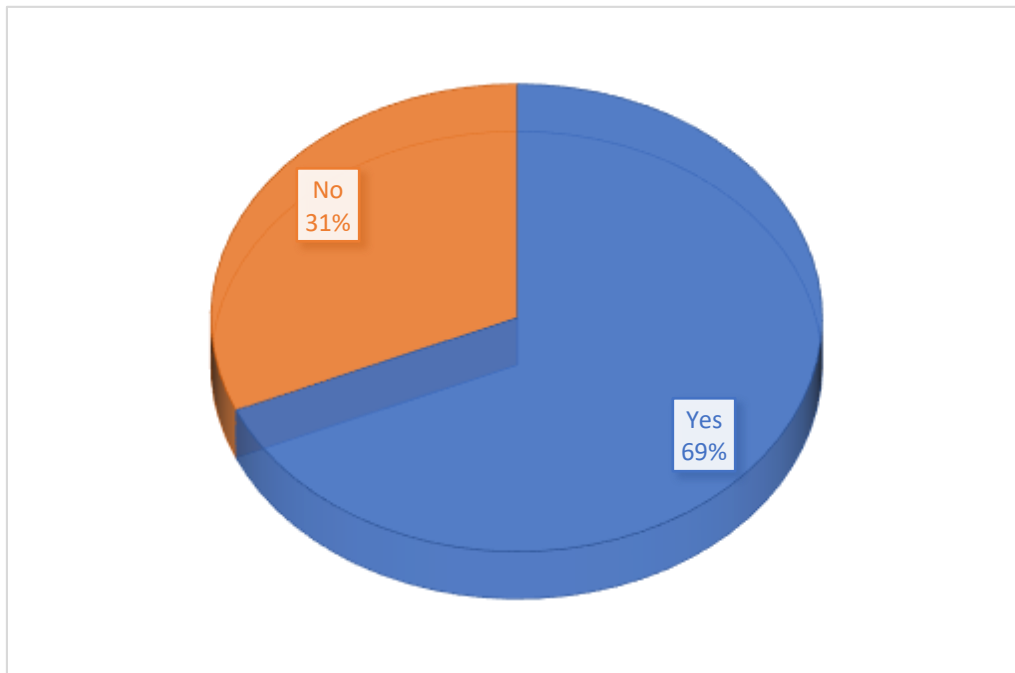
Notably, 65% of the respondents confirmed that they had undergone training in staying safe, while 35% had not undergone this training. The implication is that a significant portion of journalists might not know how to keep safe while undertaking their duties.

4.9. Security and Safety Protocols

The study enquired from the respondents if there were security and safety protocols for journalists in the organization.

Figure 4. 8

Presence of Security and Safety Protocols



As illustrated in Figure 4.8, 69% of the respondents noted that there were safety and security protocols in place, while 31% of them stated that there were no safety and security protocols. The implication is that, in some media houses, journalists are likely to encounter security threats due to the lack of safety and security protocols.

4.10. Discussion

This chapter has described findings of this current study. The discussions of the findings are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.10.1. Physical Security Threats

This current study's first objective was to analyze the types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of investigative journalists. As per the results, 70 % of the respondents confirmed that they had experienced physical security threats in their line of work while 30% had not. Seventy percent is a significant percentage to indicate that indeed there was a basis for conducting this current research and therefore importance for delving deeper on the issue. According to the 2013 National Baseline Survey report, Gachie (2013) points out that physical security threats are the first line of attack to the journalists most especially by the police and politicians. The research findings of this current study indicate that the most common form of physical security risks for investigative journalists included physical violence (70%) and tear gas attacks (50%). Others included threats, harassment, equipment confiscation and vandalism. Notably, investigative journalists work poses certain physical security risks that threaten their overall wellbeing and potentially affect their performance. This implies that in Kenya, physical violence and tear gas attacks especially during demonstrations, mass actions, illegal gatherings just to mention but a few, do affect the effective performance of investigative journalists depending on certain factors (who is involved, what is the storyline, where and when the incident is occurring and how it is being covered). The results of this current study correspond with Miranville (2019), who established that battlefield hazards such as tear gas attacks and physical violence constitute serious threats to journalists in their work. Similarly, Gachie (2013) reports that more than a dozen journalists have quit their careers in journalism in Northern Kenya because of physical security risks involved. Geerdink (2020) in a similar vein adds to security risks posed by other hazards and gives an example of the Covid-19 pandemic where journalists risked their health without proper personal protective equipment as they covered the pandemic even as they were harassed by security forces.

As a result, this current study corroborates with the 2013 National Baseline Survey Report that sampled 282 journalists 89.1% of whom indicated had experienced some form of bodily harm specifically confirming that indeed there is a level of impact to the journalists work. In the 2013 National Baseline Survey report, 94.4% of the journalists almost lost their jobs while 47.7% withdrew from covering the story, self-censored, or killed their stories. Evidently, the physical security risks adversely interfere with journalists' abilities to live up their role especially when they are forced to withdraw from covering a story that could have potentially informed the public on a particular issue and or could have stopped a societal vice that potentially has impacted masses negatively.

Notably, 30% of the sampled respondents have not experienced physical security threats in their line of work. From the findings of this current study, majority of the journalists who reported to not have experienced physical security threats represented particular areas of specialization including arts and entertainment, sports and culture as well as education. This gives an indication that certain journalism beats are more affected by security and safety risks than others.

As discussed in the introduction of this current study, investigative journalism plays a critical role of checks and balances to see whether government, business and other organizations are engaging in actions that are consonant with societal expectations. When this is curtailed because of physical security risks, it is imperative that an alarm is raised to various stakeholders including media owners, media regulators, the civil society to act to safeguard the security and safety concerns of the journalists so that can be supported to live up to their role.

4.10.2. Psychological Disorders

This current study's second objective sought to determine the psychological disorders experienced by investigative journalists that affect their psychological health in their work. The findings showed that the most common psychological disorders among the journalists were extreme anxiety (55.6%), physical and mental stress (50%), and trauma (46.3%). Notably, they indicated that they are likely to suffer from depression if they do not seek counselling services which they felt might lower their productivity at work and lower their general quality of life.

Surprisingly, a significant number of respondents (16.7%) noted cases of PTSD which led to mental instability among some of the journalists due to covering sensitive incidences such as actual or threatened death, serious injuries, or other threats to their physical integrity. As a result, some journalists (20.4%) suffer from emotional instability thereby exhibiting violent behavior and behavioral change as others turn to alcohol as a coping mechanism. These findings are supported by the 'Trauma and Journalism Guide for Journalists, Editors and Managers' by Center (2007), that reiterates that journalists who are affected by PTSD end up having serious social relationship challenges and trauma posed by various psychological security risks. In addition, the findings of this current study agree with the argument of Deloire (2015) that psychological stress resulting from trauma triggers the brain to release hormones, such as adrenalin causing varied individual responses including heightened emotionality, numbing and disassociation, increased alertness or sense of presence, fight and flight responses that are characterized by increased heart-rate, sweating, dry mouth, loss of bowel control etc. This explains how paranoia in some journalists is perpetuated in how they view some assignments and ultimately how they end up compromising their objectivity.

In addition, results of this current study showed that 80% of the journalists from the targeted media houses empathize with their respondents and identified four key themes on how empathy affects the journalists' stories; empathy affects the story's objectivity and professionalism; empathy make them abandon pursuing a certain story angle for fear of sounding insensitive and empathy humanizes the subject. According to the respondents of this current study, empathy has both benefits and drawbacks. The benefits include humanizing the subject and improving the quality of the story while on the downside objectivity may be compromised depending on how emotionally involved the journalist may be during news production. Research findings conducted by Gluck (2016) in his study, 'Empathy as a central resource in journalistic work practice' concluded that empathy provides grounds for journalists to deal with emotions in reporting, thus affecting the emotional regulation of journalists during news production. In this regard, a comparative approach between this current study and the Gluck (2016) study conducted in UK and India demonstrates a large transnational agreement about the impact of emotions to the relevance of empathy in journalistic work practices.

Further, a high significant number of journalists (91%) indicated that they are sometimes compromised to do specific stories in a given way due to freebies, tight deadlines and, in some instances, gifts. The results are consistent with Center (2007) report that journalists experience increased psychological insecurity and have to deal with constant threats, bribes, gifts and freebies from their employers, other authorities, family and friends not to mention conflicts with their own cultural values and belief systems. Similarly, Henshall and Ingram (1992) confirmed that gifts and freebies depending on how they are delivered, psychologically compromise a journalist. Also, Ongowo (2011) supports this current study results by indicating that journalists are sometimes vulnerable to bribes i.e. for a favorable story to be written, or an unfavorable story to be ignored.

It is evident that from various research discussions including this current study, that journalists' do experience psychological disturbances that affect their psychological health in the course of their work. However, while this is true, there is an element of personal values, experiences and cultures that heighten investigative journalists susceptibility to depression, anxiety, paranoia and other mental wellness challenges that can be left for further studies.

4.10.3. Digital Security Challenges

Third objective of this current study looked into the digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work. The findings indicated that indeed journalists use digital technologies and tools where 90.7% confirmed their basic technological tool being laptops, followed by mobile phones at 87% and email and other collaborative tools as well as desktop computers at 72.2% and 63% respectively. This gives a basis into the investigation of security risks and challenges that may be encountered as a result.

This current study revealed that 55.6% of the sampled population had encountered digital security risks through surveillance and tracking through cell phones, laptops, tablets and CCTV. 16.7% experienced data hacking and disruptive attacks on computer systems and infrastructure, while 22.2 % have been intimidated online and user accounts compromised. As a result, some journalists have taken steps to mitigate these security risks as confirmed by this current study where 81.5 % of them use passwords on their emails and other internet accounts. However, other

results of this current study also indicate relative use of other methods of managing digital security breaches such as use of data encryption at 37%, use of IP blockers and disguisers at 18.5%, safe deletion of data at 25.9% just to mention but a few. These results concur with Henrichsen and Lisosky (2015), who acknowledge that digital attacks are often difficult to identify and deal with without a high level of digital expertise.

In terms of challenges in the use of digital technologies and tools in journalistic work, key among them as reported in this current study was that surveillance, data storage capabilities and digital attack technologies are becoming affordable and more prevalent for use by criminals who target journalists security and safety at 79.6 % while 75.9% also reported that their digital security as journalists and that of their their associates (sources, families, colleagues) can easily be compromised via phishing campaigns. As a result, compromised user accounts and devices can be used to identify the sources and networks of those doing journalism, leading to increased insecurity as reiterated by Henrichsen and Lisosky (2015) .With results also showing that only 69% of respondents of this current study have undergone training to increase their digital awareness, concerns regarding journalist's vulnerabilities and exposure to threats and intimidation cannot be overstated (Henrichsen & Lisosky, 2015).

According to a research conducted by Inter-news Centre for Innovation and Learning in Pakistan targeting 37 journalists and 15 bloggers in 2012, there is a direct relationship between digital and physical security risks in that security threats encountered digitally manifest physically, a fact that this current study has confirmed. As a result, there is room for more research to understand how digital security risks also threaten physical and psychological safety of investigative journalists.

4.10.4. Exposure to Security Concerns

This current study sought to look at how exposed journalists were to security concerns. Notably, a majority (80%) of the journalists in this current study had experienced security concerns. According to the 2013 National Baseline Survey Report, 91% of the respondents indicated that they had experienced a security threat during the course of their work. 41% said these threats came from politicians while another 34% indicated that the security threats came from organized

groups. A further 8% indicated that the threats came from business people, 4% from their employers and 3% from organized goons and religious groups. Results from these two studies corroborate in that journalists' line of work has a high risk of security threats.

This current study delved deeper to find out the types of security concerns that most affected the journalists. 92.6% of the respondents noted that their personal safety was of utmost concern, 46.3% security of informants and 40.7% security of information. In addition, 31.5% stated that the security of colleagues and professional acquaintances was of concern to them and 31.5% the security of their families. The 2013 National Baseline Survey Report indicated that 48% of the respondents had been exposed to serious security threats while 35% hadn't. It is evident that security concerns, heightened by threats, harassment and other forms of violence are a serious inhibitor to journalism work. Managing these security concerns will therefore be in the best interests of the journalists and the profession as a whole.

4.10.5. Security and Safety Training

This current study sought to determine if the respondents have participated in any security and safety training that teaches them how to stay safe. 65% of the respondents confirmed that they had undergone training on safety and security, while 35% had not undergone this training. The implication is that a significant portion of journalists might not know about security how to keep safe while undertaking their duties.

According to the 2013 National Baseline Survey Report, 75% of respondents in the study had been trained on safety and security by the MCK, while only 11% had been trained by their employers and 14% by other stakeholders. These statistics show that there is growing awareness on the need for training in safety and security as media houses today have increased training in this area as shown by this current study. At 65% however, as per the results of this current study more needs to be done to ensure all journalists have undergone this training.

4.10.6. Security and Safety Protocols

This current study enquired from the respondents if there were safety and security protocols for journalists in the organization. 69% of the respondents noted that there are safety and security protocols in place, while 31% of them stated that there are no safety and security protocols. The implication is that, in some media houses, investigative journalists are likely to encounter security challenges within and without their organizations due to the lack of safety and security protocols. According to RWB (2020), one of the world's leading broadcasting house, the BBC, has an elaborate safety protocol for journalists. They have a principal guideline that requires all news gathering activities and, or, proposals to work in hostile environments, on high risk activities or high risk events must be referred to Head of Newsgathering and BBC Safety's High Risk Team.

In Kenya, the National Baseline Survey report on the safety and security of journalists conducted in 2013 mapped out the landscape, explored the environment, contextualized the status and distilled the issues and concerns on safety of journalists in Kenya. It proposed safety and protection guidelines to enhance safer working environment for journalists to operate. The report went ahead to recommend development of a safety and protection national protocol, curriculum and training manual with relevant and domestic context to be used in media training institutions, media houses, and related institutions to mitigate security and safety risks facing journalists in Kenya. While the MCK published the survey report and the safety protocol and manual for journalists developed as a result, its practicability and application is still lacking in some media houses to date.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study, which sought to investigate security risks affecting the performance of investigative journalists in Nairobi, Kenya. Specific objectives and research questions guided the study. This chapter, therefore, presents the summary of the research work and conclusion drawn from the study, recommendations and areas for further research in relation to data analysis.

5.2. Summary of Findings

The purpose of this current study was to investigate security risks affecting the performance of investigative journalists in Nairobi, Kenya. The study's objectives were to analyze types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of investigative journalists, determine psychological disorders experienced by investigative journalists that affect their psychological health in execution of their work and evaluate digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work. The study relied on a descriptive survey design and utilized an interview schedule in data collection. The data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively.

The findings on the types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of investigative journalists indicated that most journalists had experienced physical security threats in their line of work. These threats mainly included physical violence and teargas attacks, others including theft, sexual assault, crossfire, traffic hazards, natural hazards such as floods, bombs, health risks such as waterborne diseases. As a result of some of the aforementioned physical security threats, the journalists noted that they were threatened, harassed, injured, and equipment confiscated in some instances. Thus, the majority (70%) of the journalists stated that the physical security risks had affected their work. Consequently, some of the journalists (63%) had withdrawn from covering the story, (50%) had self-censored, (31.5%) had their objectivity affected while others (24.1%) had killed their stories. Among the remedial measures by the

media houses to address the physical security threats their journalists were exposed to included; briefing and debriefing on safety and security to some assignments as confirmed by 64.8% of respondents, security training as confirmed by 18.5% of the respondents' and having in place security safety policies to address physical security risks and personal security training. However, only 22.2% of the respondents ascertained that indeed there was a working security and safety policy in their media houses.

Regarding the psychological disorders experienced by journalists, the study revealed that whenever they cover sensitive stories such as pandemics, accidents, suicides, rape cases, murders, child abuse and torture, and domestic violence, they face certain psychological disorders. 55.6% of the respondents confirmed that they face extreme anxiety. 50% of the respondents ascertained that they have experienced physical and psychological stress, and trauma. 20.4% reported to having experienced increased alertness, 11.1% empathy, 5.6% insomnia, 5.6% avoidance, 3.7% fight and flight responses and 1.9% of respondents were sympathetic.

As a result, the journalists had to deal with depression as indicated by 18.5% of the respondents, PTSD at 5.6%, anxiety and paranoia at 11.1%, mental and emotional instability at 16.7% and 20.3% respectively including behavior change at 16.7 %.

Despite facing psychological disorders, most of the journalists (80%) believed that they empathized with their news sources. Further, whenever they showed empathy while covering their news stories, 38.9% of the respondents noted that it affected the objectivity of the story, 3.7% noted that they humanized the subject, 7.4% agreed that the psychological disorders influenced the angle taken on their story, 3.7% noted that the quality of their story improved, and 7.4% noted that sometimes journalists' professionalism was affected the while doing the story.

Additionally, a significant portion of the journalists (91%) confirmed that they are sometimes compromised to give specific stories in a given way due to tight deadlines and, in some cases, gifts and freebies. Furthermore, in handling cases of compromised psychological health among the employees, 59.3% of the journalists noted that they are offered counseling services and 50% ascertained that they have medical insurance coverage. 24.1% of the respondents also confirmed

that employers are to some extent tolerant of traumatized journalists during assignments. 9.3% of the respondents also confirmed that their organizations organize team-building exercises that go a long way in releasing work related stress.

The findings on the digital security challenges encountered by investigative journalists in their work indicated digital surveillance and tracking is a major concern especially by use of their digital devices. 90.7% of the respondents noted that they had encountered surveillance through their laptops and tablets, 87% through their cell phones and 72.2% on email and collaborative tools. This poses serious security concerns as 55.6 % of the respondents confirmed that they had encountered security risks as a result cell phones, laptops, tablets and CCTV surveillance being top on the lists. 16.7% of the respondents further noted that they had experienced data hacking and disruptive attacks on their computer systems and infrastructure. Additionally, 22.2% had encountered online intimidation, 13% of the respondents had compromised user accounts while 3.7% of the respondents had their digital resources confiscated or stolen.

Regarding the digital security measures used by investigative journalists to protect or increase information security, the results indicated that 81.5% of the journalists use strong passwords for their email or other internet accounts. Further, 38.9% keep their operating systems updated with the latest security patches and updates, 37% encrypted data and used VPN while 35.2% used a secure backup to prevent information loss. In addition, 31.5% used anti-virus software, 25.9% deleted data safely, 20.4% of the respondents used firewall protection, while 18.5% used IP blockers and 13% used anti-censorship software.

Concerning the critical safety challenges in utilizing digital technologies and tools in journalism work, 79.6% of the journalists noted that surveillance and digital attack technologies are becoming less expensive and more prevalent while on the other hand commercially available digital security tools are too expensive and not always user friendly as reported by 63% of the respondents. In addition, the digital security of journalists and their associates could easily be compromised via phishing campaigns as noted by 75.9% of the respondents. Besides, there is increased insecurity due to compromised user accounts and devices to identify journalists' sources and networks as ascertained by 51.9% of respondents not to mention a lack of publicly available data documenting types of digital attacks and threats those doing journalism face as

indicated by 42.6% of the respondents. Moreover, 3.7% noted with concern that there is surveillance by state players.

5.3. Conclusions

This section presents the drawn empirical conclusions from this current study. The conclusions are explained per the objectives of the study and are presented in the following sub-section.

5.3.1. Empirical Conclusions

This current study revealed that a majority (70%) of the respondents had experienced physical security threats in their line of work. It is evident that journalists are exposed to physical security risks when they cover stories that are considered sensitive, stories that have some investigations attributes and stories that touch on public welfare and exposes that reveal societal ills. The predominant security threats were physical violence at 70% and tear gas attacks at 50% implying that journalists are not afforded adequate security while undertaking high-risk news stories. These high percentages indicate that there is either a missing link or a lack of willingness and or attention by the NPS and other security agencies to protect journalists during high risk encounters as they cover stories. Notably, 30% of the sampled respondents reported not having experienced physical security threats in their line of work. A keen look at their specialization, these journalists were mostly from beats such as arts and entertainment, sports and culture as well as education. While this does not exonerate the risk aspect, further studies need to look at the type of stories they cover be it news stories, feature stories, investigative stories to ascertain risk levels as regarding these beats.

Other results indicated that journalists do experience psychological disorders as a result of their work that consequently affect their psychological health. The findings of this current study showed that the most common psychological disorders experienced among the journalists were extreme anxiety (55.6%), physical and mental stress (50%), and trauma (46.3%). Notably, the results indicate that whenever journalists cover news stories on sensitive stories such as accidents, rape cases, kidnapping and murders, they face extreme anxiety, physical and psychological stress. From the results, the trauma cuts across the board as even the most seasoned and professional journalists are exposed to trauma after covering some sensitive stories.

Notably, the media houses have taken some steps in addressing some of the psychological challenges. Fifty-nine point three percent of journalists acknowledged that their organizations offer counseling services to journalists with psychological health issues while 50% of the journalists interviewed confirmed that they have medical insurance coverage. This means that the media houses have to some extent support services available for journalists due to the high prevalence of psychological disorders in the targeted media houses. However, 18.5% of journalists reported no support services have been offered to them despite having psychological health challenges. This means that there is no policy across the board to address issues to do with psychological health challenges of journalists. Nevertheless, despite covering stories that could lead to PTSDs, results also indicated that 80% of investigative journalists empathize with their news sources resulting in varying outcomes in their execution of work. For some, their objectivity is impacted (38.9%), others offer a better perspective of the news story (3.7%) by humanizing the story while others at 7.4% empathy influences the angle of the story. These empirical results help the researcher conclude that investigative journalists psychological health during their work is very important if they are to live up to their expectation as the fourth estate to give stories that are factual, of human interest and independent from undue psychological influence or manipulation.

Finally, with the rapid digitalization in Kenya, investigative journalists encounter a constant evolution of digital security challenges in their work as evidenced by research findings of this current study. In fact, with the wide availability of surveillance and digital attack technologies, 55.6% of the journalist interviewed reported to have been tracked, 16.7% having experienced data hacking and disruptive attacks on their cell phones and computer systems. Some respondents (22.2%) have encountered online intimidation while 13% have had their email user accounts compromised. These results are indicative that journalists have a difficult time executing their assignments effectively. As a result, a good number of investigative journalists have sought remedial measures to deal with these digital challenges key among them use of passwords (81.5%), use of patches and updates (38.9%), encrypting data (37%), use of backups at 35.2%, safe deletion of data at 25.9%, firewall protection at 20.4% just to mention but a few.

While some of these remedial measures have seemed to work, various challenges in their use (digital technologies and tools) still pose a challenge. Seventy-nine point six percent of the

respondents noted that surveillance and digital attack technologies were affordable in the market thus more prevalently used by would be interested parties to curtail journalists work. 75.9% of the respondents also stated that their digital security and that of their associates could easily be compromised via phishing campaigns. On the other hand, 63% of the journalists stated that commercially available digital security tools were too expensive and not user-friendly while 51.9% of them confirmed increased insecurity due to compromised user accounts and devices to identify journalists' sources and networks. Forty-two point six percent also stipulated that there is a lack of publicly available data documenting types of digital attacks and threats those doing journalism face for them to leverage on the information for protection purposes. In terms of training to enhance their digital security awareness, 69% responded to having received some form of training on the same while 31% hadn't. It is therefore the conclusion of this current study that a significant portion of journalists in this digital era are most likely to be victims of digital attacks.

The results of this current study as far as digital security risks are concerned conclude that investigative journalists remain vulnerable to digital attacks and risk having their privacy infringed by third parties such as hackers having access to sensitive information. It therefore becomes challenging to engage in effective journalism since the journalists and their news sources could potentially be exposed through digital attack technologies.

Consequently, security risks as evidenced by results herein (physical, psychological, digital) affect investigative journalists and they are not able to effectively play their role of sensitizing the masses on pertinent issues affecting the society. This is most particular since their security is not guaranteed in all the three aspects. The journalists may not have the confidence to expose issues such as corruption and other injustices that ill the society thereby limiting the role of the media as the fourth estate. Despite this, there is hope as some of the media houses are actively engaging in remedial measures to improve the security situation of investigative journalists.

5.3.2. Theoretical Conclusions

This current study used three theories: the authoritarian theory, the social responsibility theory and the protection motivation theory.

The authoritarian theory posits that journalism should be subordinate to the interests of the state therefore no reporting should be allowed that goes against the wishes of the government. According to the background of the study, the literature review in this current study and the empirical results discussed in the sub-section above, this theory has largely been overtaken by events as the media has gained some freedom of expression in their reporting especially after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution that helped achieve protection rights and interests of many groups, including journalists. The government in 2013 established the MCK through the Media Council Kenya Act, No. 46 of 2013 for purposes of setting of media standards and ensuring compliance with those standards as envisaged by Article 34(5) on Freedom of the Media of the Constitution of Kenya. MCK as a result is the regulator of media practice in Kenya as an independent national institution responsible for the regulation of the conduct and discipline of journalists. This way, media is able to self-regulate within the confines of the law by promoting and protecting the freedom and independence of the media, ethical and professional standards amongst journalists and media enterprises without direct interference from government.

The social responsibility theory on the other hand posits that press freedom is entrenched on the journalist's duty of care to journalism ethics and has a voluntary duty to perform positive functions as originally described (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm 1956). As evidenced by discussions in this current study and results thereof, the social responsibility theory is alive and is embraced by the workings of the MCK as an independent regulator of media practice in Kenya. However, Ojiambo (2017) brings alive the fact that capacity of media houses in terms of financing, the legal regime, witness protection challenges, media ethical dilemmas, poor economy gives lee way to interested parties from the corporate world as well as state actors to interfere with journalism. Despite this challenge, other media stake holders such as KEG, KUJ, KCA, RWB, CPJ and other civil society human rights organizations remain watchdogs and advocates of media freedom in Kenya.

The protection motivation theory as the last theory used in this current study claims that people take protective action when they are motivated by risk factors in various situations and that there is a relationship between risk perception, injuries and incidents (Inouye, 2016). This theory put into context the aspect of security risks that journalists face. It examines the safety aspect and allows journalists to evaluate security risks (physical, psychological, digital) of the potential threats in the course of their work from an environment and intrapersonal perspective to get adaptive responses, or coping mechanisms for them to evaluate potential responses that could protect them from a given threat. The protection motivation theory emphasizes that people have an inherent desire to avoid negative consequences and if they had the ability to take preventive measures they naturally would. Based on the study findings, journalists who have faced physical security threats, psychological disorders and digital security risks have compromised their objectivity, self-censored or killed their stories as a coping mechanism; have been traumatized, tracked and intimidated (negative consequences) just to mention but a few and without remedial measures end up affecting their overall performance as journalists. Similarly, in this current study's literature review, Gachie (2013) reports that more than a dozen journalists have quit their careers in journalism in Northern Kenya because of physical security risks involved. This current study therefore supports the protection motivation theory which states that when people anticipate negative consequences, they are most likely to protect themselves.

5.4. Recommendations

Recommendations for this current study are made based on the findings of the study's three specific objectives. The first objective set out to analyze types of physical security threats that affect effective performance of investigative journalists. It was found out that physical security risks constitute one of the factors that compromise the performance of investigative journalists in Kenya. It is imperative that an alarm is raised to various stakeholders including media owners, media regulators, national security agencies and civil society to act to safeguard the security and safety of investigative journalists on high risk assignments so that can be supported to live up to their role. Briefing on type of wear, professional equipment and identification required in any high risk assignment should be facilitated. Situational awareness should be a pre-requisite of any hostile environments /high risk areas undertaking by investigative journalists to inform appropriate physical safety equipment and other useful supplies needed. Medical insurance

coverage should be guaranteed as a remedial measure in case of physical injuries for all investigative journalists in media houses.

The second objective set out to determine psychological disorders experienced by journalists' that affect their psychological health in execution of their work. It was found out that the most common psychological disorders among the journalists were extreme anxiety, physical and mental stress, and trauma. This is an indication that mental health issues including depression are most likely to affect investigative journalists in high stress environments by lowering their work productivity and their general quality of life. It was also found out that sometimes journalists are compromised through manipulation to report certain stories in particular angles when they receive freebies, gifts or bribes. This current study therefore recommends that all investigative journalists should be keen on matters self-care and need to have coping skills to manage their emotional reactions to events surrounding them. This can be facilitated by availing psychological counselors in the media houses as a human resource requirement to help with emerging mental health issues or outsource counseling services for the same purpose. Team building activities are also recommended as a way of allowing investigative journalists to relax and rejuvenate from work related stress as well as enhance their social skills and relationships at work. Furthermore, it is recommended that all media houses should adopt a gifts declaration policy where all investigative journalists are required to declare any gifts, freebies and even bribes to their managers as a way of ensuring objectivity is maintained in all journalistic work.

The third objective set out to evaluate digital security challenges encountered by journalists in their work. It was found out that journalists are susceptible to digital security threats because their work involves use of technological gadgets such as laptops, mobile phones and desktop computers. It was also found out that digital security risks encountered were surveillance and tracking through cell phones, laptops, tablets and CCTV, data hacking and disruptive attacks on computer systems and infrastructure, online intimidation as well as compromised user accounts. As a result, it was discovered that some journalists have taken steps to mitigate the security risks by use of strong passwords on their emails and other internet accounts, data encryption, use of IP blockers and disguisers as well as safe deletion of data. Despite this, it was found out that digital attack technologies were easily accessible to criminals due to affordability thus making journalists more vulnerable to frequent attacks not to mention vulnerability of their associates

(sources, families, colleagues) via phishing campaigns and compromised user accounts. This current study recognizes that journalists in this day and age cannot work without digital technologies and that they should concern themselves with cyber security and take defensive measures to not only protect their personal data, but also of their organizations. This current study therefore recommends training in digital cyber security as a critical element to enhance investigative journalists risk management skills when it comes to digital tools and technologies.

Physical, psychological and digital security risks according to this current study pose security concerns to investigative journalists and should not be overlooked. As evidenced in this current study, security concerns are heightened by threats, harassment and other forms of violence. These safety and security concerns transcend investigative journalists' personal safety, security of their information, security of their sources, security of the colleagues and professional acquaintances as well as security and safety of their family members. It is therefore recommended that all investigative journalists' have a duty of care to themselves to be risk sensitive and to make apt decisions regarding their personal safety within and without their working environment. It is also recommended that all media houses should have a safety and security department that will be the focal point in matters security of investigative journalists. Matters to do with security training (hostile environment training, cyber security training, mental health and security training), high risk assignment briefing and debriefing, need for counselling services among other security issues will be managed by the security department and not the human resource department to ensure the security aspect is incorporated.

From a holistic perspective, this current study recognizes that the MCK has a critical role to play in regulating media houses and the media practice as a profession. It is recommended that a standard security and safety guide should be developed for use by all media houses and as part of human resource policy require mandatory security training for all investigative journalists. It is also recommended that security and safety training be incorporated in all media studies curriculums across the board at the academic levels.

In addition, it is recommended that media actors and the civil society be proactive to develop relationship enhancement programs between national security agencies and investigative journalists. This will not only improve working relationship between investigative journalists and

the police, but it will also support concerted effort among stakeholders in the protection of investigative journalists' and prosecution of all criminal acts affecting investigative journalism in accordance with the law.

Finally, this current study recognizes the critical role journalists play in society. Ileri (2016) spells out these roles as providing citizens with information, are advocates for social change, support official policies, motivate people to participate in civic activities, and act as watchdog for the people, business community, the government and the society at large. This current study therefore recommends that journalists be given room to exercise their duties in a conducive environment as enshrined in the 2010 Kenyan Constitution. It calls upon the government while introducing new laws to be cognizant of press freedom as enshrined in the constitution and improve on the requirement for safety and security of all journalists most especially because Kenya is a signatory to international and regional instruments that promote the right to freedom of expression and access to information. The journalists must continuously play their role despite safety and security challenges as the fourth estate to relay credible and factual information to the public in a bid to inform, educate and entertain the society at large.

5.5. Areas for Further Research

The study's broad objective was to investigate security risks affecting the performance of journalists in Nairobi, Kenya. The study has highlighted the types of physical security threats that affect the effective performance of journalists, the psychological disorders experienced by journalists' that affect their psychological health in the execution of their work and digital security challenges encountered by journalists in their work. From the research discussions, areas for further studies were identified. It was evident that that journalists' do experience psychological disturbances that affect their psychological health in the course of their work. However, elements of personal values, childhood experiences and cultures that heighten journalists' susceptibility to depression, anxiety, paranoia and other mental wellness challenges were not factored in a good area for further studies.

On digital security risks, this current study's discussions revealed that there is a direct relationship between digital and physical security risks in that security threats encountered

digitally end up manifesting physically, a fact that this current study confirmed. As a result, there is room for more research to understand how digital security risks also threaten physical and psychological safety of journalists.

There is also room for future scholars to exam linkages between physical security threats, psychological disorders experienced by journalists and digital security challenges encountered by journalists with the performance of journalists in different locations say among the East African community countries.

In addition, future studies could expand the scope to cover more media houses in Kenya and do comparative studies on security risks facing the established media houses and the newly established media houses in Kenya.

Finally, there is also an opportunity to engage other stakeholders on their views of the perceived security risks facing investigative journalists as a mechanism for validation for the need of protection of investigative journalists.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Schedule

Section A

Introduction

- Thank participants for their time
- Introduce self
- Highlight purpose of research
- Discuss confidentiality
- Agree on duration
- Agree how interview will be conducted
- Give opportunity for questions

Demographic data	Prompts
• Age of the respondent	
• Sex of the respondent	
• Education level	
• Marital Status	
• Work Experience in journalism?	In years
• What journalism beat do you specialize in?	<input type="checkbox"/> General news <input type="checkbox"/> Accidents and disasters <input type="checkbox"/> Politics and governance <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Health <input type="checkbox"/> Technology and innovation <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Sports <input type="checkbox"/> Security, crime and courts <input type="checkbox"/> Arts and entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Human Rights (including women, children, minority rights) <input type="checkbox"/> Others (Specify) _____

Section B: Research Questions

Physical security risks	Prompts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describe your experience of physical security threats in your journalism work? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describe types of physical security threats you have experienced that risked effective performance in your work 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain some of the physical security risks that affect journalists generally 	<input type="checkbox"/> Physical violence <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual assault <input type="checkbox"/> Theft <input type="checkbox"/> Teargas attack <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic hazards <input type="checkbox"/> Cross fire <input type="checkbox"/> Landmines <input type="checkbox"/> Booby traps <input type="checkbox"/> Bombs <input type="checkbox"/> Abduction <input type="checkbox"/> Natural hazards e.g. floods <input type="checkbox"/> Health risks e.g. Covid 19 <input type="checkbox"/> Others (Specify) _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Please elaborate how physical security risks have affected your work? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describe the kind of impact physical security risks had on your work? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Please explain some of the remedial measures that have been put in place by your employer to address some of your physical security risks? 	

Psychological security risks	Prompts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Journalists are professional first responders to crisis and disaster. What are some of the psychological disorders that journalists experience when covering sensitive incidences such as pandemics, accidents, suicides, rape cases, murders, child abuse and torture, domestic violence among others 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are journalists psychological health impacted as a result? 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do journalists empathize with their respondents and how does that affect stories? As a result, how do they deal with emotional respondents during interviews? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are there instances where sometimes journalists are unconsciously compromised to write some stories in a particular way by use of freebies and gifts, short deadlines and undue pressure? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain how your organization handles journalists whose psychological health has been compromised? Explain 	

Digital Security Risks	Prompts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Which digital technologies and tools do you use in your journalistic work? 	<input type="checkbox"/> Desktop personal computer <input type="checkbox"/> Laptops/tablets <input type="checkbox"/> Mobile phones <input type="checkbox"/> Email and collaborative tools (e.g. google docs) <input type="checkbox"/> Internet <input type="checkbox"/> Networking websites (face book, twitter, linked in) <input type="checkbox"/> GPS <input type="checkbox"/> Video and audio recording devices <input type="checkbox"/> Others (Specify) _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain how digitalization has brought unprecedented challenges in journalism? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain why digital security is a concern for journalists? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describe some of the security threats you have encountered as a result of the use of digital tools and technologies in your journalistic work? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What digital security measures do you use to protect or increase security of information? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the 3 key safety challenges to the use of digital technologies and tools in journalistic work? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have you undergone any training to raise your digital security awareness? 	

Section C: Questions on general impact of security risks

General Impact of security risks	Prompts
• What types of safety and security issues have been of concern to you	
• What type of training have you participated in that touches on security and safety of journalists how to stay safe?	
• What are some of the safety and security protocols in place for journalists in your organization?	

Section D: Conclusion

Summarize the points reported and ask the respondent if the summary is correct.

Thank participants for their time.

Appendix II: Letter of Clearance for Research

EGERTON

Tel: Pstn: 254-51-2217620
254-51-2217877
254-51-2217631
Dir./line/Fax: 254-51-2217847
Cell Phone



UNIVERSITY

P.O. Box 536 - 20115
Egerton, Njoro, Kenya
Email: bps@egerton.ac.ke
www.egerton.ac.ke

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR, GRADUATE SCHOOL

Ref: **AM21/00007/11**

Date: **4th February, 2021**

The Director General
National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation,
P. O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir,

**RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMIT – MS. MONICAH NDANU
KIMEU REG. NO. AM21/00007/11**

This is to introduce and confirm to you that the above named student is in the Department of Peace, Security & Social Studies, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, Egerton University.

She is a bona-fide registered M.A. student in this University. Her research topic is “Effects of Security Risks on the Performance of Journalists in Nairobi, Kenya.”

She is at the stage of collecting field data. Please issue her with a research permit to enable her undertake the studies.

Your kind assistance to her will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,


Prof. Nzula Kitaka
DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES



NK/00

Appendix III: NACOSTI Research License


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **208528** Date of Issue: **20/February/2021**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Miss. Monicah Ndanu Kimeu of Egerton University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: **EFFECTS OF SECURITY RISKS ON THE PERFORMANCE OF JOURNALISTS IN NAIROBI, KENYA** for the period ending : **20/February/2022.**

License No: **NACOSTI/P/21/9079**

208528

Applicant Identification Number


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**EFFECTS OF SECURITY RISKS ON THE PERFORMANCE OF JOURNALISTS IN
NAIROBI, KENYA**

**Monicah Kimeu,
Hadija Murenga**

*Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies
Egerton University
Njoro, Kenya*

&

Lydia Mareri

*Department of Literature, Languages & Linguistics
Egerton University
Njoro, Kenya*

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to evaluate how physical security risks as envisioned by journalists, especially those in investigative beats, affect their work performance. The study was anchored on the protection motivation theory. Using purposive sampling and snow balling techniques, 59 respondents from four media houses in Nairobi Kenya were selected to participate in the study. The main tool of data collection was an interview schedule. Data analysis was conducted using descriptive statistics by use of quantitative and qualitative methods to make conclusions and recommendations. This study has established that journalists face security threats that may become manifest through physical violence; this causing extreme anxiety, physical and psychological stress. The centrality of this finding is that it helps to elucidate the reasons behind less innovative practice on the part of journalists, and why they engage in a no-holds barred self-censorship, withdrawal from covering certain stories, 'killing the stories...' or compromising objectivity in their work. The study recommends to Kenyan media houses the need to ensure that journalists ought to undergo thorough briefing and training on undertaking risky assignments and operating in hostile or unfriendly environments. Indeed, there should be a security safety policy requirement overseen by the Media Council of Kenya to mitigate the journalist security risks in all media houses. Security training as an academic add to all levels of journalistic training should also be considered.