

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REPORTING INVESTIGATIVE
DOCUMENTARIES ON TELEVISION IN KENYA**

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for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Journalism and Mass Communication of
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EGERTON UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This Project Report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree in any other university.

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Recommendation

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DEDICATION

To my dear children, Wendy Nafula and Jude Wafula. May this be an inspiration for you to work hard.

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To the Almighty God, Thank you for your sufficient Grace and love. Thank you for holding my hand even when the going was tough.

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ABSTRACT

In Kenya, Investigative journalism is not fully embraced but it is clear that the documentaries have become popular. However, few Kenyan media practitioners and media houses have dared this form of journalism. The fact that the production of investigative documentaries requires huge amount of financial input, and high-risk engagements, the researcher thought it interesting to establish the motive behind some media houses in Kenya, consistently engaging in this form of reporting. The study was structured along three objectives; to identify the political and economic factors influencing the production of investigative documentaries, to establish the impact of political economic factors on television reporting of investigative documentaries, and to determine the political economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya. The study was based on the conceptual framework of the political economy theory of media, which studies the content of programs or the effects that media have upon people. The study focused particularly on KTN's investigative documentaries *JichoPevu* and *The Inside S*. The target population for the study were the producers, editors and reporters of the documentaries. Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents who provided the primary data for the study using questionnaires. Data obtained from filled out questionnaires was then analysed quantitatively in line with the research questions and presented in graphs and tables. The study findings led to the conclusion that public opinion and public interest are the most influential political economic factors in the production of investigative documentaries. This study will benefit policy makers and media regulatory bodies such as the Communications Authority of Kenya, the media council of Kenya and the government in embracing investigative journalism and to know the motives behind journalists who always engage in this form of journalism. The findings of the study will also add to the knowledge on media studies on investigative journalism as well as political communication, on the ethics, risks and importance of reporting investigative documentaries.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The job of journalists is to inform, and educate people of what is going on in the community, the society and the world around them. Journalists do this by finding facts and telling them to their readers or listeners. In much of their work, the facts are easy to find in such places as the courts and parliaments, disasters, public meetings, churches and sporting events. People are usually happy to provide journalists with news. Indeed, in many countries, thousands of people work full time in public relations, giving statements, comments, press releases and other forms of information to journalists. Throughout the world, though, there are still a lot of happenings which people want to keep secret. In most cases these are private issues which have no impact on other people such as relations within a family or a bad report from school. These personal aspects can remain secret. In many other cases, governments, companies, organizations and individuals try to hide decisions or events which affect other people. When a journalist tries to report on matters which somebody wants to keep secret, this is investigative journalism.

Societies need investigative journalism because, People have a right to know about the society in which they live. They have a right to know about decisions which may affect them, even if people in power want to keep them secret. People in power - whether in government, the world of commerce, or any other group in society can abuse that power. They can be corrupt, steal money, break laws and do all sorts of things which harm other people. They might just be incompetent and unable to do their job properly. They usually try to keep this knowledge secret. Investigative Journalists try to expose such abuse. Journalists also have a duty to watch how well people in power perform their jobs, especially those who have been elected to public office. Journalists should constantly ask whether such people are keeping their election promises. Politicians and others who are not keeping their promises may try to hide the fact; journalists should try to expose it.

Journalists should be able to expose abuse, corruption and criminal activities in all fields of public life, Governments, These range from local councils to national parliaments and foreign governments. Sometimes politicians and public servants are actually corrupt and should be exposed and removed from office. But often they hide a decision because they know the public may not like it. They might keep a deal they have made with a foreign timber company secret because it will harm the environment or destroy people's homes. Often politicians and public servants spend so long in office that they forget that the public has the right to know what is happening.

Political economy has played a key role in socio-economic of investigative journalism. While on the other hand, it was argued that marketization resulted in a shift in media revenue rising from advertising to sales and in hyper-competition through mass appeal (Chambers 2001). It is equally contended that advertising held too much sway and competition among the media dwindled as consequence of the concentration of ownership (Daniel 2000). This warranted the researcher to want to find out why media owners engaged in this form of journalism despite its high demand of finances.

The challenges for investigative journalism are seen as transcending the historical task of promoting democracy of reviving the Fourth Estate itself (Schultz 1998). Many view investigative journalism as a apotheosis of journalistic practice in affording its practitioners freedom (Malarek 1998). It is regarded as offering a site where journalist can demonstrate their commitments to freedom, justice and truth to prove their courage (Pilger 2004).

According to Mbeke (2010, p.38) investigative journalism in Kenya, although started in the 1970s, is not well developed. Investigative journalism took root in Kenya in the early 1990s because of market forces, tolerance of it within media houses and the availability of a cadre of well trained and working journalists at the time. According to Kiai (2010, p.108) a strong market demand for investigative reporting has arisen as a result of “the growing public disgust with corruption in Kenya.” This kind of reporting is gaining popularity, especially with globalisation and the advancements made in information and communication technology together with the political freedoms Kenyans have enjoyed over the last decade or so. However there are “obvious and serious gaps in the quality of investigative reports in Kenya.

Statement of the Problem

The rise of investigative journalism is an integral part of the journalistic endeavours in Kenya. However, this endeavour has been hindered by political and economic factors determined by ownership, market structures, technologies, labour practices and government policies. The fact that the production of investigative documentaries requires huge amount of financial input, and high-risk engagements. As a result of these influencing factors, the quality of investigative journalism in Kenya has diminished in terms of accuracy, depth and scope. The study therefore sought to establish the impact of political and economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya, and to establish the motive behind some media houses in Kenya engaging in this kind of reporting.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- i. To identify the political economic factors that affect reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya.
- ii. To establish the impact of political economic factors on television reporting of investigative documentaries in Kenya.
- iii. To determine the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What are the political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya?
- ii. What impact do political economic factors have on reporting investigative documentaries on television reporting in Kenya?
- iii. What are the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study assesses the dynamics of political economic factors that contribute to the production of investigative documentaries and challenge investigative journalists on their understanding of their work. The study identified the political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries which will help journalists and media houses to engage in this form of journalism. The study uncovers the impacts of investigative journalism and documentaries that result from the practice. This will benefit the public as truths about certain secrets will be uncovered. The study findings will also benefit policy makers and media regulatory bodies such as the communications commission of Kenya, the media council of Kenya and the government in discovering the motives behind the documentaries to know the implications and appreciate them as they are. The findings of the study will also add to the knowledge and the literature of media and the political economy.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focused on one television channel; the Kenya Television Network (KTN). This is because it was easier and more objective to focus on a single television channel; and furthermore focusing on one channel enabled the researcher to provide more conclusive results. The researcher gave questionnaires to editors, producers, reporters and camera men who routinely work on the documentaries. The study concentrated on identifying and describing the political economy of reporting investigative documentaries. In this study, the researcher had anticipated some difficulty in having the respondents give all the required information for fear of intimidation. Standard group media also refused interviews and this limited the researcher in achieving conclusive results. The questionnaires were also blinded such that even the researcher wasn't able to tell who filled which questionnaire.

1.7 Definition of Term

Documentaries: works, such as television program, presenting political, social, or historical subject matter in a factual and informative manner and often consisting of actual interviews accompanied by narrations.

Investigative Journalism: this is the reporting and exposing of information that is of public interest. It is a form of journalism in which reporters deeply investigate a topic of interest (mostly kept secret) such as serious crimes, political corruption or corporate wrong doing. This may take months or even years of research and preparing a report.

Political Economy: this is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including media. It links media and communications through the working of both economic and political systems and how social power is exercised in society. Political economy how economic theory and methods influences the ideology. It is the interplay between economics, law and politics, and how institutions develop in different social and economic systems.

Production: TV production is the process of developing a television show from its early writing stage through acquiring talent and a crew, securing a set or location, and shooting, editing, and preparing it for broadcast. Different types of shows have different production methods, each geared toward efficiently creating the final product and delivering it to an audience

Television: a system for transmitting visual images and sound that are reproduced on screens, chiefly used to broadcast programs for entertainment, information, and education.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a review of research studies on investigative journalism, its history, current state and political economy. The chapter concludes by an explanation of the theoretical framework that will be used in grounding the study.

2.2 Investigative Journalism

Feldstein (2006) has argued that investigative journalism has no difference with muckraking journalism. Waisbord (2000), in analysing the understanding of investigative journalism in South America argue that the definitions provided by United States scholars that evolve around two dimensions - that emphasises on methods that reporters use to get information and the definitions that prioritises the consequences rather than the methods - are not accepted by South American practitioners. In the first dimension - Waisbord (2000) criticised United States scholars' definitions that evolve around the methods that reporters use to get the information whereas scholars like Anderson and Benjaminson (1976), Aucoin (2000), and Gaines (1998) stressed that it should be the original work of the reporter, not resulted from information provided by someone else. Waisbord (2000) said that South American journalists reject this understanding because they are sceptical about making newsgathering methods one of the salient characteristics of investigative journalism. According to Waisbord (2000), investigative reports typically mix journalists' efforts and information leaks. Sometimes leaks spur investigations, but knowledge that specific reporters are working on particular stories also prods sources to contact newsrooms. Cut-and-dry distinctions miss the fact that both reporters' own work and leaks are essential in newsgathering routines of muckrakers. Moreover, he added, methodology-centred definitions of investigative reporting reflect the working conditions of United States journalists that make possible for reporters to rely solely or mainly on their initiative and efforts. In South America, the absence of regulations that require filing public documents and authorise public access excludes the possibility of reporters obtaining official information without help from sources. Thus, journalists need to combine personal efforts and information supplied by sources.

In criticising the second dimension where United States scholars define investigative journalism in terms of their consequences like what Protes (1991) define as “the journalism of outrage”, Waisbord (2000) said that the main strength of this approach is that it opens a new analytical dimension that is more concerned with the linkages among journalism, public opinion, and policymaking than discussions about technique and strategies. It also calls attention to the strong moral component of investigative reporting. However, Waisbord (2000) argue that this dimension of definition is not definitely true because reactions are contingent on a number of factors unrelated to a reporter’s work, such as the mood of public opinion, the dynamics of policymaking, and specific ingredients of denunciations. He added that a story can incite controversy or have no repercussions, depending on previous stories or existing beliefs about the subject.

Waisbord (2000) also found that this dimension is not appropriate with South American environment because in South American societies, where there is widespread scepticism about the honesty of public officials and where denunciations of wrongdoing have become regular in recent years, exposés may have less impact than in situations where government officials are widely expected to obey the law or are seen as decent and trustworthy persons. Some stories have a strong impact, triggering congressional investigations and public mobilisation; other exposés barely register on the public radar. Waisbord (2000) pointed out the tradition of the modern United States with the idea that investigative journalism is characterised by a detailed factual exposure has excluded other style of writing that do not conform to the idea. He said that the Latin American cases suggest that investigative journalism may adopt different practices according to the traditions and principles that inform news production. Waisbord (2000) summarised that investigative journalism is better characterised by reporters work that dig out information about power abuses that some implicated parties want to keep hidden rather than news gathering method or specific public reaction because the meaning of investigative journalism varies according to dissimilar press traditions and conditions for journalistic practice.

Overall, practicing investigative journalism is definitely different from daily reporting as it has to be 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. Although investigative journalism also follows the tradition of 5Ws

and 1H, it actually put more effort in answering the question “why” such as: Why people are trying to keep it as a secret? Why people are doing it? Why no actions taken? Or why people abandoned the issue?

2.3 The State of Investigative Journalism in the World

Feldstein (2006) affirmed that most writing on investigative reporting has largely been restricted to how-to trade school manuals by journalistic practitioners. Proffess et al (1991) supported this with the opinion that knowledge about investigative reporting continued to be based largely on normative and anecdotal accounts of individual exposes often written by muckrakers themselves. Authors like Anderson and Benjaminson (1976); Bolch and Miller (1978); Gaines (1998); Mollenhoff (1981); Weinberg (1996) and Houston (2004) are all media practitioners who write about their experience doing investigative journalism. Not much was written to investigate the field itself.

There are only a few researches found so far that touched on the state of investigative journalism. Their research yielded various results with some scholars arguing that investigative journalism was dying while others said it was still strong and in shape. For example, through their research Tumber and Waisbord (2004) have argued that despite obvious limitations in the context of state-controlled media, investigative news has cautiously emerged in Chinese television. The news media have also brought out cases of corruption in other Asian countries such as Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia where the press has long been under tight controls. Press revelations on corruption, social behaviour and human rights abuses triggered numerous scandals and the resignation of various officials. In some cases such as Japan, the foreign press has played an important role in exposing graft. (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004, p. 1143)

Stein (1998) also gave the same opinion when he said that investigative reporting is far from being dead, or is even sick, as some media critics have asserted. He quoted I.R.E. executive director Brant Houston who was upbeat about the state of investigative reporting, which he described as being “in good shape, although some of it is loose and shoddy”. In fact, a report found that there was a more substantial commitment to investigative writing in newsrooms that were more financially vulnerable. This may be because those publications felt more need to compete for investigative stories (Meek, 2005). Waisbord (2000) when commenting on the state

of investigative journalism in South America said that there are signs that show the increasing support for investigative journalism as it has become more visible and legitimate in the region.

Watchdog reporting was relegated to marginal, non-mainstream publications during democratic periods, and to underground, clandestine outlets during dictatorial regimes. Today the situation is markedly different. Investigative journalism has gone main-stream making strides in media organisations that traditionally sacrificed the denunciation of power abuses for economic benefits and political tranquillity.

Meanwhile, Remollino (2007) stated that investigative journalism exerts strong impact on the Philippines, even with its limited exposure. He elaborated further by saying that reports of the Philippines Centre of Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) do not always get to be published in major periodicals while television investigative reports are only shown during wee hours when most part of the nation is already in deep sleep. Remollino (2007) explained that Philippine is experiencing such impact because there will always be a considerable portion of the reading and viewing public eager to read or view in-depth reports on the latest scams and scandals, and an even bigger public discussing the contents of investigative reports with prolonged interest when they live in a society where people in power always try to keep everything secret from the public.

Another research by Willnat and Weaver (1998) found that the public opinion on investigative reporting remain constant from 1980 to 1997. They compared data from five polls conducted between 1980 and 1997. They also reviewed a February 1997 survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research for the People and Press. They found out that 84% of the 1997 respondents said they approve of investigative reporting in general, up from 79% in a 1981 Gallup survey. Willnat and Weaver (1998) conclude that survey finding indicate that people still favour press that uncovers corruption. They also suggest that public support for investigative reporting is increasing.

Another research relevant to this study was conducted by Barnhurst and Muts (1997) where they content analysed three American newspapers in terms of the application of the traditional 5W1H (What, Where, When, Which, Who and How) in news writing. They found out that the definition of news has changed in the 20th Century as the stories grew longer, include more analysis, expanded from specific locations to broader regions, placed more emphasis on time frames other

than the present, and named fewer individuals and more groups, officials, and outside sources. They also found out that these trends has affected each newspaper's coverage of three topics namely crimes, accidents and employment. Therefore, they concluded that for a story to be qualified as news in the 20th century, journalists should include context of social problems, interpretations and themes. Their findings show that investigative journalism is growing as the new definition of news, which has all-important criteria of an investigative report.

However, there are also researches that found negative results on the state of investigative journalism. For example, in a research by Just, Levine and Regan (2002), it was found that investigative journalism is dying. Although 75% of 103 American newsrooms surveyed said that they still do investigative reporting but 25% of the newsrooms acknowledged that they did no investigative work whatsoever. From 75% stations that practices investigative journalism; only 25% have full time investigation units. The researchers also found out that only 2% of stories in local news in that particular year were labelled by stations themselves as investigative. Much worse only 1% of those were original station-initiated investigations. In their five years study, these researchers also found out that the level of original watchdog reporting has steadily decline. In that particular year, there is less than one investigative story published of every 150 stories. They also investigate the reasons underlying the situation from the news directors. It is said that the short supply of time and resources had contributed to the situation.

In another research by Daniel and Armao (2000), it was found that the appearance of investigative stories has nose-dived from 1980 to 1995. They give example of Chicago Tribune, which published 30 investigative reports, but none was found published in 1995. The researchers said that such important journalism has virtually disappeared in all press but in few newspapers. Investigative stories have been replaced by smattering of enterprise stories and many of them were the result of fine efforts but lacking the basic of investigative journalism.

2.4 The State of Investigative Journalism in Kenya

The media in Kenya today is ranged against powerful forces. Politics and the economy have merged, shrinking the media's traditional investigations turf (Ongowo, 2011). Each day the options of who and what the media can investigate appears to be narrowing down. Yet the media still feels it has a duty to the public. So instead of delving into substantive investigations, the

media is teetering more and more towards a populist genre of investigative journalism and involves significant revelation, but whose subject matter raises no substantive issues of public policy (Okwatch 2014).

However there are “obvious and serious gaps in the quality of investigative reports in Kenya. The investigative reports lack depth, accuracy, scope and facts. Generally what comes across is that the stories are often done in a hurry with no adequate follow-up” (Mbeke, 2010, p.41). The number of cases brought by various Kenyan politicians and celebrities before Kenya’s media regulator—the Media Council of Kenya, is a testimony of those gaps Mbeke refers to.

According to the Media Council of Kenya, breach of ethics of journalism formed the bulk of complaints from politicians, business people and celebrities between January and December 2010.

“A total of 44 complaints were instituted with the Council. Of these, 3 complaints were by the Press against Government authorities for violation of press freedom and 41 complaints were directed against the press for breach of journalistic ethics” (Media Council of Kenya, 2011).

Investigative journalism in Kenya is hampered by the fear of defamation and criminal libel, the fear of victimization, inadequate financial resources and waning editorial commitment (Mbeke, 2010, p.43). Journalists in Kenya have to swim against the tide of opposition to their work just to get a single story published or aired.

While dealing with the aforementioned obstacles, journalists, in the course of their duty, have to be extremely careful, when dealing with the choice between what is moral or immoral if published. They even have to deal with moral and legal issues regarding how they obtain information. The information that investigative journalists seek—that which touch on corruption, immoral behaviour and other vice are always private or hidden by the power elite and as such journalists are forced to dig deep to obtain information.

Indeed, investigative journalism’s key controversy has centred on how journalists obtained information. “It has always been an ethical and legal grey area, in which journalists have often

stepped over the boundaries in pursuit of stories” (Greenslade, 2008, p.324) and “sometimes it isn’t easy to avoid ethical problems” (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p.98).

2.5 Factors that influence production of investigative documentaries

There is a range of factors that have an impact on the quality of journalism and willingness of professionals and media companies to undertake this work. According to research by Ongowo, (2011), the extent to which the environment is enabling or restrictive has a significant impact on journalists’ ability to write investigative features. Areas of crucial importance revolve around legal, regulatory and security challenges. Ongowo cites that, often legislation to protect whistleblowers and witnesses is weak. If the police and other security forces are underequipped, underfinanced and, importantly, corrupt, they will not offer reliable protection to journalists who receive threats. This becomes even more of a problem when members of the police are themselves investigated by journalists.

Mbeke (2010) has argued that restrictive libel laws mean that media houses can easily be taken to court, and may suffer costly defeats – something that journalism companies with limited finances cannot afford. In Kenya, Nicholas Biwott, a close ally of former president Daniel Arap Moi, successfully sued two bookshops for selling a book that included a negative depiction of him (Waisbord, 2001). A corrupt judiciary exacerbates this situation.

Veteran Zimbabwean journalist Trevor Ncube noted that even though there had been an overall liberalization in the African media industry, this trend has been reversed in recent years (Ongowo, 2011). In Uganda, for example, the government seeks to introduce a license for newspapers to be renewed annually, and has also proposed legislation under which journalists can be imprisoned for vaguely defined economic sabotage. None of this helps to strengthen the commercial viability of neither media outlets nor their ability to create strong content. The Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) has gazetted broadcast regulations that restrict ownership of frequencies and would, if fully implemented, restrict broadcasters to one frequency only, and forcing them to give up a large part of their current business (Ongowo, 2011). Reducing media houses’ size also reduces revenues, making their operations less efficient and translating into smaller budgets for training journalists. It also leaves them more vulnerable to

libel suits. In addition, there is often a lack of legal frameworks requiring filing of documents and guaranteed access to information.

Besides a difficult legal environment, the small size of the private sector in developing countries and the resultant commercial challenges to media houses can exacerbate difficulties.

The media sector across the African continent has grown strongly, but the relatively small size of the formal economy and resultant small advertiser pool render media vulnerable to pressure not to investigate critical stories or face the loss of advertising revenues. In Kenya, Synovate (a media monitoring firm) estimates that 20 firms controlled 54% of the advertising market in the second quarter of 2004 (Synovate, 2010). One example of the consequences is the case of the investigative pullout of the East African Standard ('The Big Issue'), which was discontinued after an issue focused on investigations implicating one of its key advertisers. In Uganda, mainstream media outlets have gradually made a shift from hard news to more entertainment, partly in reflection of the consumerism of a growing middle class (Ongowo, 2011). Media houses may prefer features and paid-for advertorials over hard-hitting stories as audiences may feel numbed and powerless by a succession of corruption stories.

Given the small advertiser pool in the private sector, an important share of media revenue in developing countries also comes from governments (Waisbord, 2001). This contributes to making media vulnerable to political pressure. Another consequence of limited revenues is that journalists are often paid very little, making bribes more attractive.

Ongowo (2011) further argues that a small market size means that there is limited scope for several large media houses which may have more financial and other clout to resist political pressure. They also have more resources to pay for qualified staff, let them investigate a story that may not immediately yield headlines, and have budgets for training and legal services. However, there is a danger that a small number of larger media outlets quickly fall into line and adopt a similar position on a topic.

Media houses owned by government are typically more pliable to government pressure, especially in an environment characterized by weak governance. They can be compromised beyond merely skewing news reporting to the government's agenda. Research from Waisbord (2001) provides anecdotal evidence that Ugandan state-owned New Vision employs state

security staff as editorial staff and these have used interviews to collect information on people who are critical of the regime. If politicians own media outlets, either directly or through front companies, political and personal priorities will affect the impartiality of reporting even in those media firms that were not set up for political purposes. Kenya's Standard Media Group, one of the largest in the country, for example, is partly owned by former president Daniel Arap Moi. Politicians also often set up small local language FM stations to support their agenda in their region.

A country's weak governance environment is equally reflected in the media sector. It is common to offer cash to journalists for coverage of even a small, non-contentious story. Some journalists barely earn enough to make a living and are understandably vulnerable. Others accept significant sums of money, for example, to suppress unwanted stories. This affects all levels of the hierarchy in media houses (Ongowo, 2011). Finally, it may be observed that the wider social educational environment creates additional challenges.

The public school system in many African countries is not conducive to the analytical, inquisitive nature of investigative journalism. Often underfinanced and badly managed, its teaching is focused on learning by rote rather than making critical inquiries. This is exacerbated if a country's culture teaches deference to superiors. English (or French) is often a second language and spoken alongside local languages, while neither one is taught systematically (Waisbord, 2001).

Ultimately, this also limits the impact of international study resources, training and background materials. Even in a relatively free media environment, this lack of critical skills affects work in general, not just investigative journalism: often journalists do not follow stories through consistently, nor are they able to explain more complex technical issues to their audiences. Coverage can become sensationalist, superficial and, at times, skewed and threatening.

2.6 The Implications of Reporting Investigative Documentaries.

The production and distribution of social-issue documentaries can have a wide range of significant impact on community organizations, educational institutions, citizens, and policy makers. Unfortunately, the conventional approach to assessing political implications provides

only a very limited and inadequate accounting. Most assessments, following a “distribution-centred model,” focus primarily on the effects a documentary may have on individual citizens reached through mainstream distribution channels. Throughout production and distribution, the media house navigates the policy process, interacting along the way with individuals within the relevant issue network: the set of activists and policymakers, at all levels of government, concerned about the issue. Producers and activists seeking to maximize political impact, and scholars seeking to understand political impact, benefit from conceptualizing the production and distribution of a social-issue documentary as an intervention into a policy process. Impact occurs primarily through the linkages between the production company and the components of the relevant issue network. A documentary “works” within an issue network by being linked to activists and policy makers at all levels. The deeper and broader these linkages are, the greater the opportunity for political impact. Individuals are still important, but individual activists and individual policy makers are of more interest than individual citizens. Political impact is most likely to occur when at least one element of the issue network puts the documentary to work within the network, using the documentary to approach other elites, to mobilize their own and other groups, to mobilize individual citizens, and ultimately to change public policy (Whiteman, 2007).

Although research relying on a distribution centered model of impact is useful, for most films it may actually prove to direct our attention to the circumstances under which film is least likely to have impact. An issue-centered model moves the focus beyond the impact on individual citizens to include two additional arenas of potential impact: (a) activist organizations and social movements and (b) decision makers and political elites. Research on social movements provides important insights into the dynamics of activist groups, their objectives and resources, and the possible roles for film and video. Tarrow’s (1994) analysis of how mass media become a resource for social movements suggests two possible roles for film: helping new movements gain initial attention and helping “established movements maintain support by bolstering the feeling of status of their members and communicating their activities to their supporters” (p. 127). Gaventa (1980, p. 223) found that participation in the production process can help activist groups communicate internally and refine their objectives, and the distribution of finished films to activist groups can help mobilize and educate existing members (Gaventa, 1980, p. 225). More generally, film also plays a role in the ability of activist groups to develop and sustain “parallel

public spaces'' that will both mobilize their supporters and challenge the dominant discourse (Whiteman, 2004).

Social movements continually struggle to create public space for discussion of the issues they think are important and films can become a crucial part of that struggle (Whiteman, 2003). Film can be used to create a space in which citizens can encounter issues. Once produced, organizers and other supportive groups and individuals can use a film to create a space within which citizens can encounter, discuss, and decide to act on the issues raised in the film.

Decision makers and elites represent a second arena of potential impact. It's evident that the production process had an effect on decision makers and elites (Gaventa, 1980, p. 224). Proress et al. (1991), investigating the effects of investigatory journalism on the policy making process, provide a useful framework that can be adapted for use in for considering the potential impact of documentary film. To assess agenda-building effects, they identify three aspects of agenda building that might be affected: Media/film might affect the priority of an issue, the pace of consideration, and the formulation and content of specific policy proposals for reform (particularity). To assess impact on policy out-comes, Proress et al. (1991), identify three types of impact: deliberative ("when policy makers hold formal discussions of policy problems and their solutions, such as legislative hearings or executive commissions"), individualistic ("when policy makers apply sanctions against particular persons or entities, including prosecutions, firings, and de- motions"), and substantive ("regulatory, legislative, and/or administrative changes").

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The study used the political economy theory of media by William Stanley Jevons (1871) Herman Edwards and Naom Chomsky (1988) to explore the investigative documentaries. The theory studies the content of the programs or the effects media have upon people. Some study how audiences use media. A growing number study at technology and how that changes the media experience. Nearly all of this research assumes a certain type of media system and that the nature of this system is inviolable. It also assumes a certain type of economic structure as being a given and inalterable. The political economists of media do not believe the existing media system is natural, inevitable, or impervious to change. They believe the media system is the result of

policies made in the public's name, but often without the public's informed consent. They believe the nature of the media systems established by these policies goes a long way toward explaining the content produced by these media systems. Political economists of media believe that assessing policies, structures, and institutions cannot answer all of the important questions surrounding media, but they believe their contributions are indispensable to the comprehensive study of media.

(Herman Edwards, Naom Chomsky 1988), assume the media system is an important factor in understanding how societies function, but they do not assume it is the only or most important variable. In many cases, the work of political economists of media demonstrates how media affect other, more deep-seated tendencies in society, such as racism, sexism, militarism, and depoliticisation. The significance of media varies depending upon what is being considered.

How political economy of media proceeds is somewhat more complicated. It is a field that endeavors to connect how media and communication systems and content are shaped by ownership, market structures, commercial support, technologies, labor practices, and government policies. The political economy of media then links the media and communications systems to how both economic and political systems work, and social power is exercised, in society. Specifically, in the United States and much of the world, what role do media and communication play in how capitalist economies function, and how do both media and capitalism together and separately influence the exercise of political power? The central question for media political economists is whether, on balance, the media system serves to promote or undermine democratic institutions and practices. Are media a force for social justice or for oligarchy? Moreover, equipped with that knowledge, what are the options for citizens to address the situation? Ultimately, the political economy of media is a critical exercise, committed to enhancing democracy. It has emerged and blossomed during periods of relatively intense popular political activism, initially in the 1930s and 1940s, and then decisively in the 1960s and 1970s.

There are several argumentative tenets of political economy of media in studying the past, the present, and the future. Five of them were used to explore the issue at hand in the proposed study. They included:

- i. The nature of journalism and its relationship to democratic practices; how media firms and markets operate
- ii. Understanding propaganda, from governments, commercial interests, and private parties
- iii. The communication policymaking process in the investigative journalism
- iv. The nature of commercialism and its impact upon culture and policy making process

These tenets form the basis upon which the study was founded and analysed for the motive behind media houses and journalists investing colossal sums of money in the documentaries. The study based on these tenets will achieve the objective of to identify the political economic factors that affect reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya, to establish the impact of political economy in reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya, and what are the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design to be employed, the study population, the location of study, the sampling procedure and the sample size, instrumentation, validation of the instruments, data collection procedures and finally data analysis procedures.

3.2 Research Design

To get a proper and deep understanding of the Political Economy of reporting investigative documentaries, the mixed methods design was employed. According to Cresswell (2012), a mixed methods research design is a procedure for collecting, analyzing, and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative research and methods in a single study to understand a research problem. Quantitative method in the data collection process includes the use of close-ended questions while qualitative methods meanwhile include the analysis of open-ended questions.

Through the design, the respondents were able to provide their responses and their knowledge regarding the subject of investigation.

3.3 Location of the Study

The study focused primarily on KTNs investigative documentary productions *JichoPevu* and *The Inside Story*. Since the study was interested in the political economy of reporting of investigative documentaries, KTN(and by conduit, *JichoPevu/Inside Story*) were ideal for this study because they are arguably the most popular investigative productions currently airing on any Kenyan television channel.

3.4 Target Population

The target population for this study was the television personnel who were producers, editors and reporters of KTN's *jichopevu/inside story*. The aforementioned groups were the ideal respondents for this study because they determined what to be broadcasted and what was avoided based on media house rules.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents who provided the primary data for the study. The researcher sampled producers, editors, cameramen and reporters who routinely work on investigative documentaries from Standard Media Group's *JichoPevu/Inside Story*. The researcher selected three producers, three editors, two reporters and two camera men. The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which enabled the researcher to answer the research questions. The sample being studied was a representative of the population. (Patton, 2002) Purposive sampling was preferred because the characteristic of the respondents was already known and their selection determined.

3.6 Data Collection

The primary data for this study was collected using mixed research methods (Creswell, 2012) the researcher used questionnaires to gain information from producers, editors and reporters involved in the preparation of these investigative documentaries on KTN. The questionnaire was in sections to categorise the different respondents. Data collected was based on three major objectives: to identify the political economic factors that affect reporting of investigative documentaries, to establish the influence of political economic factors on television reporting of investigative documentaries in Kenya and to determine the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya. The researcher took the questionnaires to the respondents personally. The design preferred in this study allowed respondents to write about their experiences and give information that was obtainable through questionnaires that had structured close-ended and open ended questions. Involved integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches to generating new qualitative approaches to generating new knowledge

and can involve either concurrent or sequential use of these two classes of methods to follow a line of inquiry. Stange K et al (2006).

3.7 Response rate

Fowler (2004) describes response rate in a research context as the extent to which the collected set of data includes all sample members of the targeted population. It is calculated by the number of questionnaires collected or the number of people with whom interviews are completed divided by the number of the entire sample. In this study, data was collected from producers, editors, cameramen and reporters. A total of 10 questionnaires were distributed and all 10 were returned. This represented 100% response rate. Babbie (2002) posits that a response rate of above 50% is adequate for analysis and therefore, 100% response rate, was considered as being excellent for analysis.

3.8 Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher was compelled to compile and analyse the results and drew conclusions and recommendations. The researcher then followed the following steps of analysis.

- i. Reviewing the questionnaires.
- ii. Grouping the questionnaires according to respondents position in the production crew i.e., producers, editors, camera men, and reporters.
- iii. Coding and analysing the data, where the researcher used her personal knowledge and experiences as tools to make sense of the material (McCracken 1988). The analysis of the data was done in line with the research questions such that they are well and exhaustively answered.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a letter signed by the Coordinator of the Board of Postgraduate studies, Egerton University allowing the researcher to go out and collect information.

The researcher also promised the respondents that the information gathered would be treated with utmost confidentiality.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, REPRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter dealt with data analysis, presentation and interpretation. The results of the study were presented and discussed in relation to the research questions outlined in chapter one. This study aimed at investigating the political economy of reporting investigative documentaries on television in Kenya. In analysis, data from questionnaires was coded and analyzed into quantitative summary reports using spreadsheets on Microsoft Excel.

4.3 RQ1: What are the political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya?

The researcher set out to identify the political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya. The findings are presented in the sections below.

4.3.1 Story-worthiness of Investigative Documentaries

Based on the first objective, story-worthiness was one of the political economic factors that affected the reporting of investigative documentaries, the researcher wanted to find out why story-worthiness was considered worthy of being investigated in an investigative documentary.

The following is the figure showing the data of story – worthiness of investigative documentaries.

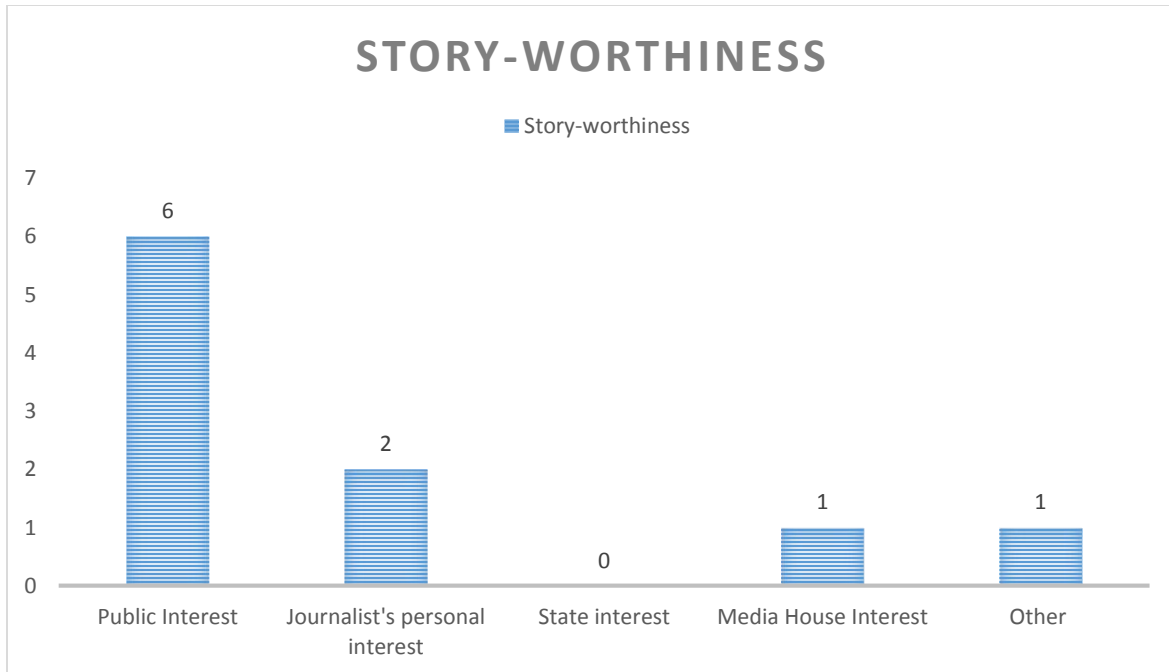


Figure 1: Story-worthiness of Investigative Documentaries

It was clear that public interest was a major factor in determining the story-worthiness of an investigative documentary with 60% of respondents saying as much. This finding complements that of Okwach (2014), who argues that while politics and the economy have merged, shrinking the media's traditional investigations turf, the media still feels it has a duty to the public. 20% of respondents in the study indicated that a journalist's personal interest influenced the story-worthiness of an investigative documentary. While personal interest may prove a motivating factor in carrying out investigative journalism, it may also prove a hindrance when a journalist's perspective is blurred by personal motives or a raging vendetta against the subject of the documentary. Media house interest – which could include editorial policy and the pursuit of higher ratings – was thought to be an influential factor by 10% of respondents. Media owner's interest was also given as an influencing factor in determining the story-worthiness of an investigative documentary, and this reason may throw up a number of ethical dilemmas for the journalist conducting the investigative journalism. It was also perhaps unsurprising that state interest was not considered a factor. According to Ongowo (2011) Media houses owned by government are typically more pliable to government pressure, especially in an environment characterized by weak governance. They can be compromised beyond merely skewing news reporting to the government's agenda.

4.3.2 Decision Making on Production of Investigative Documentaries

Another factor considered as a political economic factor in objective one, is decision making. The researcher wanted to find out who the final decision-maker is in the production of investigative documentaries such as the *Inside Story* and *JichoPevu*.

The figure below represents the data collected from respondents.

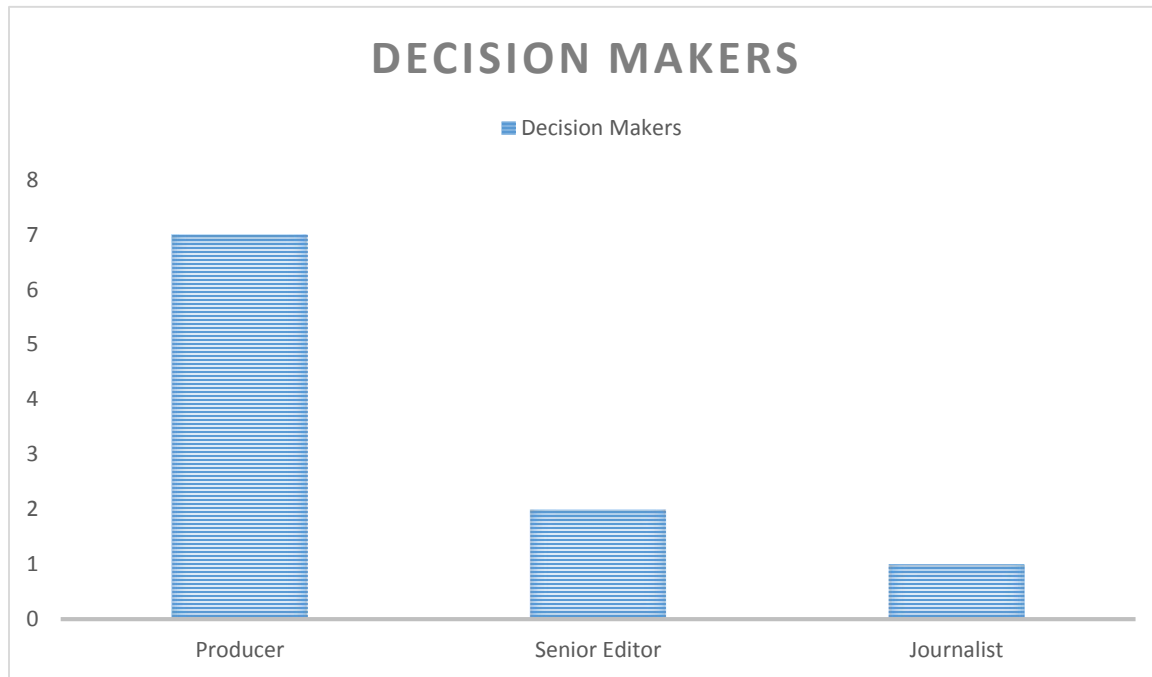


Figure 2: Decision Makers

70% of respondents in the study said that the final decision during the selection of stories produced for an investigative documentary came from the producer. 20% of respondents said the final go-ahead comes from the senior editor while 10% of respondents said the final decision is at the discretion of the journalist intending to cover the story. These decision makers have however come under criticism for the quality of work they produce. Mbeke (2010) has argued that there are obvious and serious gaps in the quality of investigative reports in Kenya, accusing them of lacking depth, accuracy, scope and facts. He further claimed that generally what comes across is that the stories are often done in a hurry with no adequate follow-up. It is therefore imperative, that decision makers, in the production of investigative documentaries ensure production is of a particularly high standard.

4.4 RQ2: What influence does political economic factors have on reporting investigative documentaries on television in Kenya?

The research set out to find out what the political economic factors are, and the impact of political economic factors on the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya based on objective two. The findings are presented in the following sections.

4.4.1 The Influence of Political Economic Factors on the Production of Investigative Documentaries

The research wanted to find out from respondents what they thought are the key factors that determine the production of an investigative piece once a story is selected for production, and their impact on the production of investigative documentaries. With the help of a questionnaire, respondents were asked to pick more than one political economic factor by determining the production of investigative documentaries.

The figure below shows how the political economic factors impact the production of investigative documentaries data collected from respondents

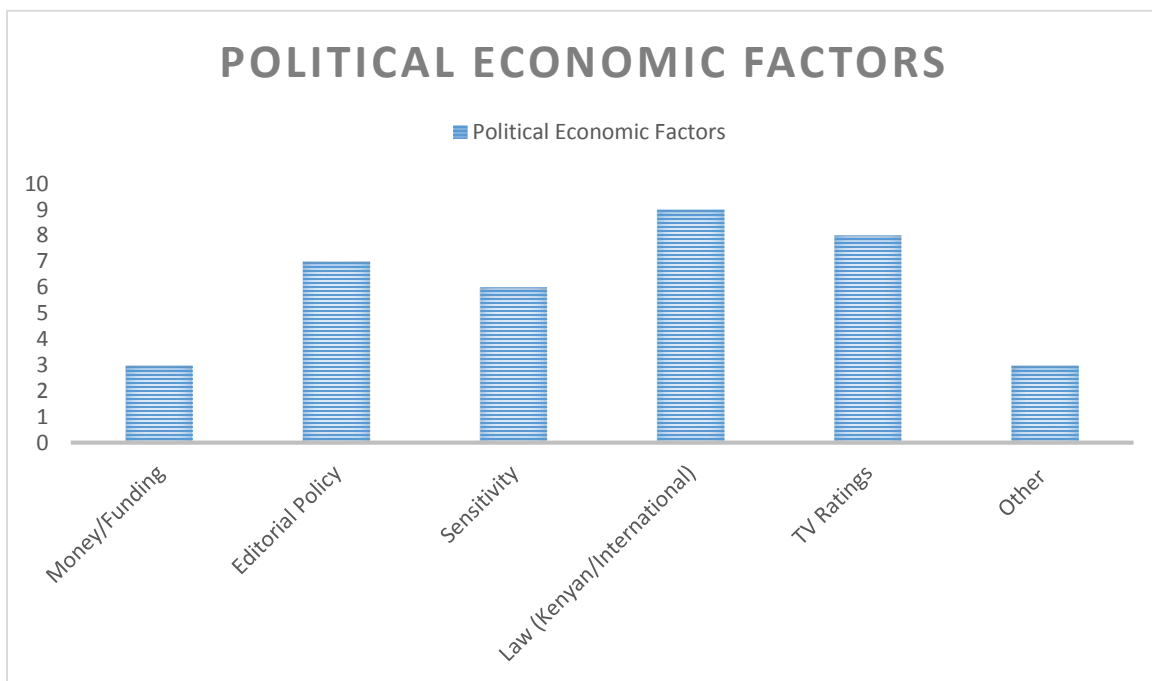


Figure 3: Political Economic Factors

The law, either national or international, was given by 90% of respondents as the major political economic factor that determines the production of investigative documentaries from start to finish. Restrictive laws may mean that media houses can easily be taken to court and may suffer costly defeats that could bankrupt the media house involved. Also, the weakness of legislation to protect whistleblowers and witnesses may hinder production of investigative documentaries. 80% of respondents also thought television ratings are a key determining factor in the production of an investigative documentary. Higher television ratings will mean more advertisers, and consequently more advertisers will mean higher revenue. If an investigative piece is not deemed commercially viable, it may well be scrapped in favor of another that will draw bigger audiences. Editorial policy and sensitivity were said to be important political economic factors by 70% and 60% of respondents respectively. Sensitivity of a story may be defined here as a story which touches on national security, cases of rape and gruesome murder. 30% of respondents also gave other political economic factors that determine the production of investigative documentaries, including media ownership, and media regulations. Vested interests from the powers that be may push/coerce media owners to significantly alter the course of an investigative documentary.

4.4.2 Rating the importance of Political Economic Factors

The researcher also asked respondents to rate the political economic factors that influence the reporting of investigative documentaries, listed in terms of their importance during the production of investigative documentaries based on the second objective.

The figure below represents the data collected from respondents

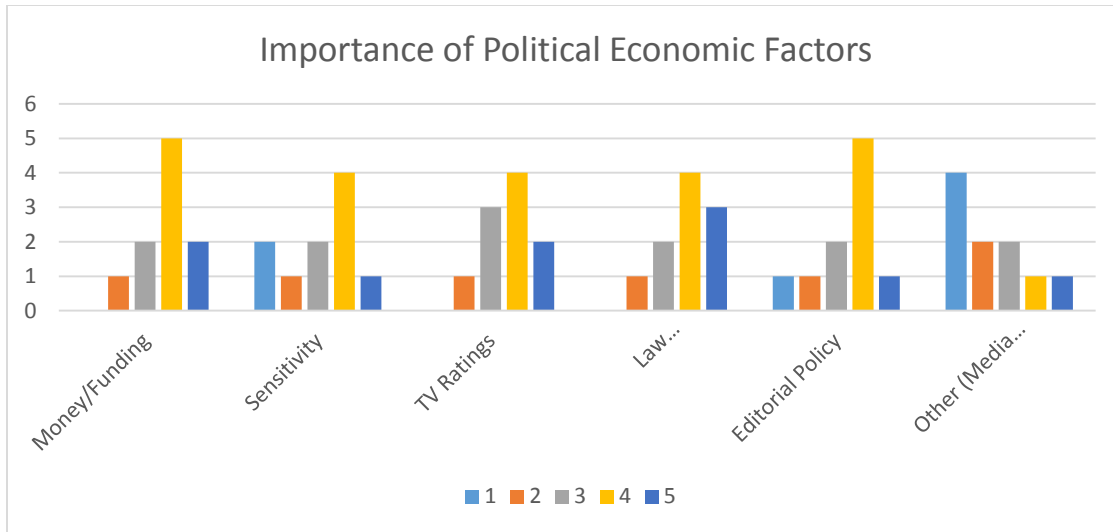


Figure 4: Rating the importance of Political Economic Factors

Going by the ratings given, the law was rated by respondents as the most important political economic factor. The law was given a rating of at least 3 out of 5 by 90% of respondents, a rating of 5 being the most important. At least 30% rated the law 5 out of 5. Editorial policy was also rated highly among respondents by its importance, with 80% giving editorial policy a rating of at least 3/5. 50% of respondents gave editorial policy a rating of 4/5, indicating its value during the consideration for production. Money/funding for the project was also rated at least 3/5 by 90% of respondents but only 20% gave it the highest possible rating in terms of importance. It is plausible that the media houses conducting these kinds of investigative journalism are willing and able to provide funding for the projects. However, the funding required for the project has to be weighed against the potential benefits that the media house stands to accrue from producing the documentary. If the project doesn't justify the monetary outlay being proposed, then it has to be scrapped. Media ownership and regulations were not considered very important by respondents, with 60% giving these factors a rating of 2/5 or less.

4.5 RQ3: What are the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya?

The research set out to determine the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya based on objective three. The findings are presented in the sections below.

4.5.1 Media house gains from airing investigative documentaries

The research asked respondents to opine, what a media house has to gain from producing and airing investigative documentaries based on objective three.

Table1: Gains from airing Investigative Documentaries (Media House)

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
<i>Higher television ratings</i>	2	20	20
<i>Greater credibility with audiences</i>	1	10	30
<i>Enhances the media house's sense of social responsibility</i>	1	10	40
<i>Fulfilling the surveillance function of the media</i>	2	20	60
<i>Gives the media house an opportunity to set the agenda</i>	2	20	80
<i>An opportunity for the media house to influence public policy</i>	1	10	90
<i>Provides a reference point for activist groups</i>	1	10	100
TOTAL	10	100	100

Respondents gave a number of responses that reflected their opinions on what media houses have to gain from airing investigative documentaries. Higher television ratings were given as a gain by 20% of respondents. As explained earlier in this research, higher television ratings seem to be relatively high on the list of considerations that a media house makes. An investigative documentary must draw in significant numbers. Also, respondents thought that by airing

investigative documentaries, a media house gains a lot of credibility by virtue of daring to expose the ills that belie government, religion, legislature and other areas of public interest. The media also has a social responsibility to its audiences to expose these ills and airing investigative documentaries was thought to enhance their sense of social responsibility by 10% of respondents. 20% of respondents also thought that by airing investigative documentaries, media houses gain by fulfilling their function of surveillance. The media house also gets an opportunity to set the agenda by airing investigative documentaries. 10% of respondents thought that airing investigative documentaries serves as an opportunity for the media house to influence public policy while another 10% thought media houses gain from airing investigative documentaries by providing a reference point for activist groups. These findings are supported by Edwards and Chomsky (1988) who believe the media system is the result of policies made in the public's name, but often without the public's informed consent. They believe the nature of the media systems established by these policies goes a long way toward explaining the content produced by these media systems.

4.5.2 Journalist gains from airing Investigative Documentaries

The research also asked respondents to opine, what an individual journalist has to gain from producing and airing investigative documentaries.

Table 2: Gains from airing investigative documentaries (Journalist)

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
<i>Personal Recognition and Reward</i>	2	20	20
<i>Greater credibility with audiences</i>	1	10	30
<i>Social justice</i>	3	30	60
<i>Fulfilling the surveillance function of the media</i>	2	20	80
<i>Gives the journalist an opportunity to set the agenda</i>	2	20	100
TOTAL	10	100	100

30% of respondents opined that the pursuit of social justice is what journalists have to gain most from producing and airing investigative documentaries. According to the US National Association of Social Workers, social justice is the view that everyone deserves equal economic, political and social rights and opportunities. With the much vaunted fourth estate tag that the media has, it is imperative that journalists fulfill an obligation to their audiences in pursuit of justice where the three branches of government may fail. Personal recognition and reward were thought by 20% of respondents to be personal motivators for journalists. While it may seem selfish, McClelland's (1961) human motivation theory identifies three motivators inherent in every human being; a need for achievement, a need for affiliation, and a need for power. These investigative journalists may be motivated by achievement, and according to McClelland people motivated by achievement thrive on overcoming difficult problems and to keep them engaged they need challenging but not impossible projects. 20% of respondents respectively also thought that journalists are individually motivated by fulfilling the surveillance function of the media and an opportunity to set the agenda for their audiences. 10% of respondents thought that journalists are motivated by the opportunity to gain greater credibility with audiences, to produce and air investigative documentaries. It is clear that most journalists don't do this for fame, they engage

in investigative journalism to fight for human rights. Most of the journalists who dare to do investigative documentaries want justice for the victims and the truth to be known.

4.5.3 Respondents’ Sentiments on Newly Enacted Media Laws

The study sought to find out what respondents felt about the newly enacted media laws and how they would affect the production and airing of investigative documentaries based on objective three.

Table 3: Media Laws and their effect on Investigative Documentaries

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
<i>They are unconstitutional and give government too much control over media</i>	4	40	40
<i>They limit freedom of expression and would restrict content of investigative documentaries</i>	2	20	60
<i>They regulate the media fairly and don’t have any effect on production and airing of investigative documentaries</i>	1	10	70
<i>They are draconian and non-progressive and would severely compromise production of investigative documentaries</i>	3	30	100
TOTAL	10	100	100

The media laws in question are the The Kenya Information Communication (Amendment) Bill (KICA Bill) 2013 and The Media Council Bill 2013. Respondents’ generally had negative responses to say about the media laws with at least 90% lamenting the provisions in those two bills. 40% of respondents said the laws are unconstitutional and give government too much control over the media; 30% said the laws are draconian, non-progressive and would severely hamper the production and airing of investigative documentaries; while 20% said the laws limit freedom of expression and would restrict the content of investigative documentaries. However, 10% of respondents gave the laws their seal of approval, saying the laws regulate the media

fairly and don't have any effect at all on the production and airing of investigative documentaries. Chapter four of the constitution of Kenya the Bill of Rights: part 2. Rights and fundamental freedoms, clause two gives a journalist freedom to engage in broadcasting or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information. This clearly shows that these amended media laws have been created to hinder journalists from exercising this freedom. This means that justice is being denied to the victims involved and those committing these violations go free. The government interference in these broadcasts pose a threat to the journalists who engage in reporting investigative and therefore deny the audience a chance to know the truth.

4.5.4 Investigative Documentaries as Drivers of Change

The research asked respondents to indicate whether they thought an investigative documentary had ever driven change in executive, legislative or judicial agendas, and those who answered yes were asked to elaborate on the particular documentary and the change it had brought about.

The figure below represents the data collected from respondents

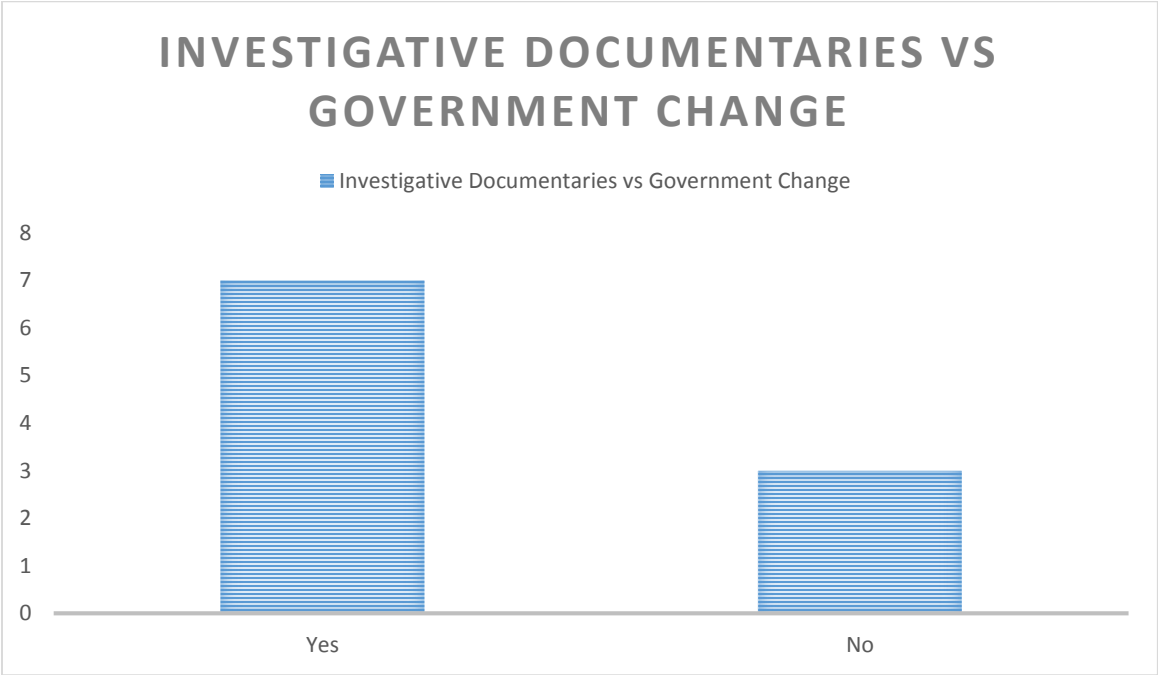


Figure 5: Investigative Documentaries as Drivers of Change

70% of respondents said that indeed an investigative documentary has helped to drive change in executive, legislative and judicial agendas, while 30% of respondents said investigative documentaries had not helped bring change in government agendas. The elaborations the

respondents who said “yes” gave are presented in the table below. It is however important to note that the actual change that respondents indicated may not be objectively measurable using research tools.

Table 4: Investigative Documentaries as Change Drivers

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
<i>KTN exposé on the sale of the Grand Regency Hotel, led to a parliamentary vote of no confidence in Finance minister Amos Kimunya</i>	1	14.3	14.3
<i>BBC News Night program on Anglo-leasing corruption allegations that led to government inquiries and resignations</i>	1	14.3	28.6
<i>KTN exposé on the execution of Erastus Chemorei which led to an inquest into his death and the drug trade in Kenya</i>	1	14.3	42.9
<i>JichoPevu/Inside Story on alleged government mercenaries ArturMargaryan and ArturSargsyan that led to investigations on their activities in Kenya</i>	2	28.5	71.4
<i>KTN documentaries on radicalization of youths at the Coast that directly or indirectly led to killings of radical sheiks and more exposés</i>	1	14.3	85.7
<i>Investigative documentary detailing on the corruption in the judiciary, eventually leading to the setting up of the judges and magistrates vetting board</i>	1	14.3	100
TOTAL	10	100	100

Respondents listed a number of investigative documentaries, mostly presumably done by KTN, the television station that this study focused on. The one exception was the BBC News Night

documentary that featured former Governance and Ethics permanent secretary John Githongo, making corruption allegations against a number of ministers in the then government. A number of other investigative documentaries were given by respondents as drivers of change in governmental agenda, including the documentary on the impropriety that characterized the sale of the Grand Regency Hotel; the alleged extra-judicial killing of Erastus Chemorei; the documentary on the illegal, yet, government-sponsored activities of two Armenian mercenaries; the radicalization of youths into terror groups such as *Al Shabaab* in Coast province; and the documentary on corrupt activities in the judiciary. These documentaries saw justice prevail and action taken to prosecute the people involved. For instance the deportation of the two Armenian mercenaries, and the sacking of members of the judiciary involved in corrupt deals. However exposes like the alleged extra judicial killings of Erastus Chemorei were down played by the government and the people involved were only transferred to different offices. The audience knew the truth but the government then did not take any action to bring to book the violators of this crime. Investigative documentaries are really drivers of change if justice is fair. The government must be ready to accept criticism and the truth once exposed and take action to whoever has committed the crime for justice to prevail.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The study sought to investigate the political economy of reporting investigative documentaries on television in Kenya. The study sampled producers, editors and cameramen from KTN, which airs *JichoPevu/Inside Story* documentaries. This chapter presents a summary of the major findings of the study and offers a summary on the data collected, analysis of data, and recommendations based on the findings.

5.1 Summary of the study

As stated above, the study set out to investigate the political economy of reporting investigative documentaries on television in Kenya. Study objectives were formulated and research questions were derived from the objectives. Questionnaires were the instruments used in collection of data. Quantitative data collected, was then coded and inputted in spreadsheets on Microsoft Excel. The results were carefully analyzed and presented to represent the actual findings from study respondents. Qualitative data was closely analyzed qualitatively and important information extracted from what the respondents said. The data was then presented making relevant citations in comparison with the studies that had been done earlier and that related to the topic of study. Summary and conclusions were derived from the findings of the study.

5.3 Major findings of the study

As per the first objective, which was to identify the political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries on television in Kenya, the findings revealed that story worthiness of investigative documentaries, and decision makers were the major political economic factors that affect the reporting of investigative documentaries, Story worthiness is determined by public interest, journalist's personal interest, state interest, and media house interest. In this case public interest was the major determinant on story worthiness of an investigative piece, as shown in *figure 6* with 60% of respondents saying as much. This finding complements that of Okwatch (2014), who argues that while politics and the economy have

merged, shrinking the media's traditional investigations turf, the media still feels it has a duty to the public. State interest should also never be a factor because more often than not, state interest in a growing democracy like Kenya's, conflicts with public interest. Decision making is determined by producers with 70% of respondents, senior editors, and the journalist as shown in *figure 7*.

As per the second objective which was to establish the influence of political economic factors on television reporting of investigative documentaries in Kenya. It was established that several political economic factors impacted in the reporting of investigative documentaries. They included: money/funding, editorial policy, sensitivity of the story, the law, and television ratings. As shown in *figure 8* the law was given 90% of respondents as the major political economic factor that impact the reporting of investigative documentaries. The participants in the study also rated the importance of the political economic factors during the production of investigative documentaries as shown in *figure 9*, going by the ratings given, and the law was rated as the most important political economic factor that has impact on the reporting of investigative documentaries. The law was given a rating of at least 3 out of 5 by 90% of respondents 5 being the most important. Editorial policy and money/funding for the documentaries, were also rated as critical political economic factors that impact and influence the production of investigative documentaries. The study establishes that media ownership should never be in consideration as a political economic factor as it would mean production is biased towards what ownership wants. Respondents also did not think media regulations was a big factor as it is a measure of the courage that it takes to produce and air the documentaries.

Based on the third objective, to determine the political and economic implications of reporting investigative documentaries in Kenya. The research established that media house gains for airing these documentaries, journalist gains for reporting investigative documentaries, the newly enacted laws, and investigative documentaries as drivers of change, were analysed. As reflected in *Table 1*, media houses stand to gain a lot from producing an airing investigative documentaries on television in Kenya. Higher television ratings, credibility with audiences and social responsibility are some of the gains that media houses stand to gain. By virtue of daring to expose the ills that belie government, religion, legislature and other areas of public interest, the

media house gains credibility, ratings and retains its sense of social responsibility all in one go. The media function of surveillance is also important to media houses conducting investigative documentaries; while setting the agenda and an opportunity to influence public policy are some of the other gains a media house stands to accrue from airing investigative documentaries. These findings are supported by Edwards and Chomsky (1988) who believe the media system is the result of policies made in the public's name, but often without the public's informed consent. They believe the nature of the media systems established by these policies goes a long way toward explaining the content produced by these media systems.

An individual journalist conducting investigative journalism, as well as the media house, also has to gain from producing and airing investigative documentaries. These motivating factors presented in *Table 2*, show that the pursuit of social justice is what journalists have to gain most from producing and airing investigative documentaries. According to the US National Association of Social Workers, social justice is the view that everyone deserves equal economic, political and social rights and opportunities. Personal recognition and reward are also gains that journalists find to be personal motivators for journalists. Journalists are also individually motivated by fulfilling the surveillance function of the media; an opportunity to set the agenda for their audiences; and to gain greater credibility with audiences, by producing and airing investigative documentaries.

The study sought to find out what respondents felt about the newly enacted Kenya Information Communication (Amendment) Bill (KICA Bill) 2013 and The Media Council Bill 2013 media laws and how they would affect the production and airing of investigative documentaries. The former creates a Communication and Multimedia Appeals Tribunal, which falls under the state controlled Communication Authority; The Tribunal will have power to impose hefty fines on media houses and journalists, recommend de-registration of journalists and make any order on freedom of expression. The Media Council Bill meanwhile establishes the Media Council of Kenya, in order to promote and safeguard media freedoms in the country and establishes the Media Council's Complaints Commission.

Participants of the study generally had negative responses the media laws with at least 90% lamenting the provisions in those two bills. According to civil society group Article 19, the two bills grant power to the state to control broadcast media regulation by creating executive

discretion over appointments to the Board of the Communication Authority, which will regulate the broadcast and telecommunications sector; they create punitive penalties for media outlets and journalists contrary to recognized regional and international standards; they undermine the independence of the Complaints Commission of the Media Council of Kenya by giving the state controlled Multimedia and Communications Tribunal jurisdiction to hear appeals from the Complaints Commission of the Media Council of Kenya; they create unjustifiable restrictions on the practice of journalism by prescribing minimal educational standards in order to qualify as a journalist; and they allow legislators to revise the code of conduct of journalists via the inclusion of the Journalists Code of Conduct as part of the law.

Figure 10 shows the responses given when respondents were asked whether investigative documentaries had been institutional drivers of change. The majority of respondents (70%) said that indeed an investigative documentary has helped to drive change in government agendas. Respondents elaborated on a number of investigative documentaries that they thought had helped drive change. The documentaries they listed were done by KTN, the television station that this study focused on with the one exception being the BBC News Night documentary that featured corruption allegations from former Governance and Ethics permanent secretary John Githongo. Inasmuch as all these documentaries are credited with being drivers of change in government agenda, it is difficult for the researcher to establish whether these changes were cosmetic, for the benefit of Kenyan people, or whether they were genuine changes that would bring institutional change all across the board. However, taking a quick look at the current political economic atmosphere in Kenya would seem to suggest the changes were merely reactionary.

5.4 Conclusion of the study

In lieu of the findings above, it was evident that a lot of political economic factors influence the production and airing of investigative documentaries. The most important considerations were the law, public opinion and public interest. Therefore, a conclusion can be made that an investigative documentary lives and dies with the interest it would generate from the public. The political economic environment is also critical to the production of investigative documentaries. If the environment is not conducive, production would be impossible, especially the newly enacted media laws which were a major area of concern for media practitioners. The law would severely limit the scope and depth of investigative documentaries. However much gains the previous investigative documentaries have made, it is important that future productions ensure the standards of quality are raised such that they will be better and more effective drivers of change.

5.5 Major recommendations from the study

- i. Based on the audience's response, research should also be conducted on how these political economic factors influence the reporting of investigative documentaries in Kenya. A distinction on how political economic factors impact investigative documentaries and the influence of the political economic factors
- ii. The government and regulatory bodies should ensure that freedom of expression is not in any way limited, because without the media to put checks and balances on the government, a growing democracy like Kenya's may regress and turn government into a shambles.
- iii. Editorial policies should also allow individual journalists to create independent angles for their investigative documentaries, removing shackles that may come from media owners, producers or senior editors. Journalists should go beyond economic factors as not all stories are profitable.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

- i. Since the study was generalized to a number of political economic factors, further research could pick and concentrate on one particular factor, investigating conclusively how it influences television reporting on investigative journalism.
- ii. A comparative study between two media houses airing investigative documentaries (e.g. KTN and NTV) could also be done to get different views.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

My name is Stellah Matofari. I am a student at Egerton University undertaking a Master of Arts degree in Journalism and Communication. I am conducting a research study in partial fulfillment of my academic requirements. The information provided herein will be handled with strict privacy and confidentiality; for academic purposes and will in no way whatsoever be used to jeopardize the standing of study participants.

SECTION A (was filled by producers, editors and reporters)

1. What makes a story worthy of being investigated in an investigative documentary?

Public interest Journalist's personal interest

State interest Media house interest

Other (please specify)

2. Who makes the decision to select which stories will be produced for an investigative documentary?

.....
.....

3. Once a story is selected for production as an investigative piece, what are the key factors that determine its production from start to finish?

Money/Funding Editorial policy

Sensitivity Law (Kenyan/International)

TV Ratings Other (please specify)

4. Please rate the factors listed above in terms of importance for production. (1 is most important and 5 is least important)

	1	2	3	4	5
Money/Funding					
Sensitivity					
TV Ratings					
Editorial policy					
Other (please specify)					

SECTION B (was filled with reporters and camera men)

5. In your opinion, what does a media house have to gain by producing and airing an Investigative documentary?

.....

.....

6. In your opinion, what does a journalist have to gain by producing and airing an investigative documentary?

.....

.....

7. How do you feel about the newly-enacted media laws and how they would affect the production and airing of investigative documentaries?

.....
.....
.....
.....

8. Has an investigative documentary ever driven change in government, legislative or judicial agendas?

Yes No

If “Yes” please elaborate which particular documentary it was and what change it brought about.

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.....
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