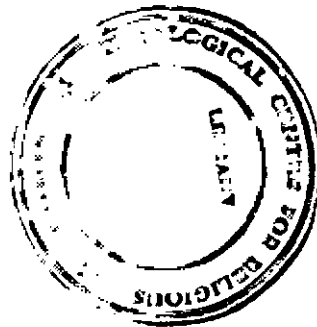


CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN AFRICA  
TANGAZA COLLEGE  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL MINISTRY

# PRESS FREEDOM AND NETWORKING

A FULL-SCALE PROJECT  
AS A PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
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IN SOCIAL MINISTRY



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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEAC	British East India Company
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITU	International Trade Union
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KPU	Kenya Peoples Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KMMCB	Kenya Mass Media Commission Bill
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPAS	New People Arabic Service
NPAS	New People Arts and Studio
NPB	New People Books
NPDC	New People Documentation Centre
NPFS	New People Feature Service
NPJTC	New People Journalism Training Centre
NPMC	New People Media Centre
NPMPP	New People Mini Printing Press
NPNC	New People Networking Centre
NPRS	New People Radio Service
OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
OECD	Organisation of European Community Development
PCKB	Press Council of Kenya Bill
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation
UNESCO	United Nation Education Science Culture Organisation

# CHAPTER I

## PRESS FREEDOM AND NETWORKING

### 1.0 BACKGROUND OF PROBLEMS FACING THE PRESS AND IN KENYA

Mass Media is best defined as the various methods to communicate to majority of people in a short period of time using television, newspapers, magazines and the radio. The mass media in Kenya has changed during the 1990s wherein there was freedom of expression after the 1992 multi-party general elections. The change enforced the vital role of the media in any evolving democracy, that is, constructive engagement with and constructive criticism of decision-makers and policy makers at every level. By informing the public of actions that adhere to or deviate from the public interests, the independent media enables the public to make informed choices and to participate more effectively in national processes of political, economic, social and cultural development.

However, critical examination reveals that the change in the media is fragile since it has not been supported by the evolution of a vision and a comprehensive, enabling policy and regulatory framework that would promote and protect the freedom of expression and information, and the evolving right to communicate.<sup>1</sup>

An absolute affirmation of the State's appreciation of the media's role - which is based on the state's legal obligation to uphold human rights and norms in policies and regulations governing the media's establishment, management, sustainability and content - is necessary for healthy and independent media. A framework must also be an actualisation that will satisfy both the real information and communication needs of the entire population, and as well as the international investment interests of the media.

However, we hear of dailies and weekly papers being banned for publishing articles that "endanger the welfare of the nation." Powerful individuals

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<sup>1</sup> Institute of Economic Affairs, "Our Problems Our Solutions. An Economic and Public Policy Agenda for Kenya", (Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1998) p. 34.

are continually harassing journalists as they exercise their profession. It is through these tough realities that the writer deemed it important to write a relevant research study in search for a possible solution to these pressing problems of media centres and journalists as they try to promote the ideals of democracy.

## **1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

In the global arena, the challenges that was present in the past was to define and to develop strategies that would permit communication for, of and from the developing countries of the South, which were caught in between the two poles of Western/Northern capitalism and Soviet/Eastern communism. Nowadays, the challenge is to come up with communication strategies to recognise and address the vastly changed international politico-economic scenario in which the negative consequences of political and financial monopolies, environmental degradation and unsustainable development are increasingly being felt worldwide. Existing mass media and information systems are ill equipped to inform people about these occurrences even though they have the intention of doing so. They are even less well placed to explain and how these scenarios directly affect the well being of individuals and groups in today's rapidly deteriorating social environment.

Human rights are being curtailed in Kenya, one of the countries that signed the international declaration for the promotion of human rights. The press, in particular is in a situation of total subjugation through the existing legal policies on the mass media. In the process, the welfare of the people is being jeopardised since abuses and atrocities are misreported. These laws do not promote the enhancement of fair reporting and instead, promote the qualms and wishes of some powerful individuals and is commercial tide that is fast invading the country.

Journalists that are disseminating articles tackling socially relevant issues are being harassed. There are no clear-cut laws that protect journalists and the present legal laws are all done in such a way as to oppress them all the more.

These elements are forcing some of them to play the tune of powerful agents of oppression.

For these reasons arise the needs of networking and media association. There is lack of collaboration and networking among the different independent and democratic media groups on the different social issues affecting the country. This is the reason why the writer has taken upon himself to explore the area of Press Freedom and Networking in his research study.

## **1.2 MAIN OBJECTIVES**

This research study is intended to locate the root cause of the problems that beset the press in Kenya. It will be done in such a way that the history of the country will be considered. The writer believes that the present governance of the country is a result of its history.

Moreover, the research study is intended to come up with a proposed solution to the problems affecting the different media centres and journalists. It is also intended that this full-scale project would be a basis for networking with other media centres towards the promotion of press freedom.

The study will also discuss global issues that affect communication, and have a great impact on the local press. It will attempt to find ways and means to respond to the present challenges through the different initiatives undertaken by organisations promoting alternative and democratic communications. The writer finds it beneficial to consider these points in order to come up with viable solutions on these problems.

## **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research questions in this research study shall be the following points:

- Is Kenya living to the ideals of democracy?
- What are the factors that contribute to this situation, particularly on the issues of freedom of speech and expression?

- What is the status of the press in the country and how are the press people practising their profession? Are they free to express their opinions concerning relevant social issues in the country?
- Are there any legal structures concerning the press? Are these laws protecting media practitioners and media centres?
- Is there an association of media practitioners in the country?
- Is there co-ordination and networking among the media centres here in Kenya?

This study will be an occasion to discern about alternative responses to the current deplorable situation of the country. Efforts will also be made to find ways and means to come up with a viable solution for media centres and media practitioners to practice their profession in promoting the rights of the individuals. Particular attention will be given to the alternative and democratic media centres and media practitioners in terms of empowerment and training.

## **1.4 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS**

Democratic ideals, as prescribed in the International Charter on Human Rights, are not being upheld in Kenya. Daily occurrences of violent dispersal of people who wanted to express their dissatisfactions on issues relating to state policies have caused the lives of ordinary people. It has also affected innocent civilians, even donor agency personnel, who were just present at the wrong place and at a wrong time. These are considered to be the result of hopelessness and helplessness as people are pitted against powerful forces of oppression.

With these scenarios, the press has a great role to play in airing their views. However, not all the existing media centres and journalists are united in this work. In fact, some are being controlled by the State and others are oriented towards mentalities promoting commercialism and consumerism. Only a handful of these organisations are really taking up a stand with the oppressed and the persecuted, and they are all non-profit media organisations that depend entirely on local and foreign donors.

## **1.5 CONCLUSION**

This chapter gives a brief insight about the mode and movement of the research study. The writer sees these concepts as important to the research study since it is the basis for the presentation of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER II LITERARY REVIEW

### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter will discuss Kenya's history and it will also include the press as the different periods are mentioned. Resulting from this discussion, the current situation of the press will be mentioned.

Moreover, networking as a strategy and as an opportunity for alternative and democratic media will be mentioned and it will be done in such a way that it will be presented as a tool of empowerment to both media practitioners and the recipients.

### 2.1 HISTORY: PRESS AND DEMOCRACY IN KENYA

The wave of democratisation during the last years sweeping through Africa transforms existing societies. The nature and extent of that transformation in each country depends naturally upon the objective conditions and the history of the countries concerned. There are, however, some similarities since some countries have the same experience of colonialism.

It is through this approach that determines what should be done to avoid miscarriage of democracy and ensure an orderly and progressive social transformation in these countries.

- The systems and structures of governance depend primarily upon the position held by the majority of the people in a given society. Some of these can be truly democratic particularly in a society where such people are in a position to exercise basic human rights. These are:
- the right to life,
- the right to liberty and security of person,
- the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law,
- the right to equality before the law,
- the right to an effective remedy by a competent fair and impartial tribunal,

- the right to freedom of movement,
- the right to peaceful assembly and association,
- the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and opinion,
- the right to take part in the government of the country directly or through freely chosen representatives,
- the right to work and to a just remuneration and equal pay for equal work,
- the right to education and where such people have duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of their personalities is possible

Therefore, democracy means more than multi-party politics. One aspect of exercising the right of freedom of association in the political arena should not be equated with democracy.

## **2.1.1 POLITICAL HISTORY OF KENYA**

### **a. Kenya under the British Crown Colony.**

The East African coast was known to the outside world for centuries and the Omani Arabs had set-up a series of trading posts from the Somali Coast to Southern Tanzania. The hinterland of that area was populated by a number of different tribes; the largest of which were the Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo and Maasai, whose origins were either of Bantu or Nilotic (Luo) or Hamitic (Masai). During the pre-colonial period, there were few large and important kingdoms and social organisations were based on small and dispersed units. These tribes were agriculturists and pastoralists in nature and there was inter-regional trade between them.

Kenya, as we know today, was carved out and moulded by the British government during the European scramble for Africa with the Congress of Berlin in 1884-85. It was given a British administrative structure that has nothing in common with the traditional models and systems of administration. Although the new structure made use of local administrators, they merely served as puppets to facilitate British colonial exploitation of Kenya's human and natural resources.

Communities that were previously independent but now colonised witnessed organised destruction of their socio-political and economic systems

and imposition of new value systems. They were made to pay the costs of administration through forced labour, taxation and alienation of land.

European capitalism started when the British East Africa Company (BEAC) obtained a trading concession from the Sultan of Zanzibar through the British Government in 1888. After the British government took over the BEAC in Uganda and declared the area as protectorate in 1893, they declared Kenya a second protectorate in 1895 – an area that lay between Mombasa and the eastern end of the Rift Valley. The official policy from the 1900s was to make Kenya a settler territory and in 1920, it was accordingly declared a British Crown Colony.

The press in Kenya, like the press in South and Central Africa, was largely created for its settler population. The presence of the European settlers left a mark on the press in Kenya.

A member of the Asian community, A.M. Jevanjee, established the first paper in the Kenyan coastal town of Mombasa in 1902. In 1910, it moved to Nairobi and became known as the *East African Standard*. The standard was and remained a voice for settler demands from the British government, including demands for more soldiers to deal with the native problem. In 1930, Jevanjee was asked by the colonial governor to relocate to Tanganyika (Tanzania) and set-up a newspaper there.

After World War II, the Standard Group's papers tried rather timidly to increase circulation and prepare for independence by appealing to non-white readers. Names of Africans and Indians began appearing in the letters columns but the Standard newspapers never really succeeded in being anything but papers for the white settlers. It became a big surprise when the British government announced that Kenya would become independent. The *Standard* had largely ignored the winds of change sweeping over Kenya and the British Empire in the 1950s. Its orientation changed abruptly with the country's independence in 1963.

The Indian community, who were engaged in trading, were able to amass enough capital in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to produce a string of papers

while the Kenyans were not that successful. They did not have the economic base to support newspapers which, unlike their South African counterparts, were developing into an African urban labour class. Moreover, the colonial government discouraged indigenous newspaper production. Newspapers targeting African readership was supported by missionary efforts or by the colonial government themselves in the 1950s.

Despite the difficulties, an indigenous press was established and it began to crystallise anti-colonialist sentiments. Among them was a newspaper entitled "*Muigwithania*" (*Work and Play*), founded in 1925 by Johnstone Kamau. His publication was the first African-owned paper in East Africa. Later on, he changed his name to Jomo Kenyatta and established the African National Union (KANU). He championed a string of newspapers, mainly in the Kikuyu dialect. A number of other editors, many of whom eventually gained positions during the independence, operated vernacular presses. They were censored during the Kenyan emergency period except for the *Nyanza Times*, run by Oginga Odinga, who later became vice-president under Kenyatta. To counter the effects of these papers, the colonial government established the Kenyan Vernacular Press in 1952. European editors working for this press were "*instructed to encourage the expression of African opinion, provided it supported the general objectives of the government.*"<sup>2</sup> These were eventually closed after the creation of the government-controlled press for Africans.

In the political scene, there was a split in the ranks of the ruling group comprising of a coalition of the nationalists of the '40s' and the '50s'. The radicals became increasingly distinct from the inner core of the ruling party and in 1966, Oginga Odinga was removed from the vice-presidency of KANU. Odinga and other dissidents, who were mainly from the Luo tribe, left to form an opposition party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU). It called for measures such as nationalisation of all foreign land holdings and enterprises, ceilings on land holdings and so on.

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<sup>2</sup> Louise M. Bourgault, *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 165

The opposition party kept up a stream of criticism against the government but the most serious threat to the stability of the regime came in July 1969 with the assassination of the powerful Luo government minister, Tom Mboya. It sparked off racial riots between the Kikuyu and the Luo in Nairobi and in the next two weeks, the government took the opportunity to imprison major KPU leaders and ban the party. Although banning KPU brought formal political party competition to an end, Kenya nevertheless remained a multiparty state until the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1982 when the Republic's Fifth Parliament hurriedly enacted a constitutional provision that formally rendered Kenya a one-party state.

Despite the implementation of the one-party rule, there had never been a consensus in Kenya over its desirability. In fact, when the constitutional amendment was rushed through parliament, the immediate attention was to preempt oppositionists George Anyona and Oginga Odinga's move to form an opposition party. In the light of this clampdown on venues for free expression and freedom of association, an attempted coup of military officers took place. It was bloodily crushed and many Kenyans who held dissenting views were forced to into exile or adopted clandestine methods of political expression. Universities were repeatedly targeted for a major crackdown that led to the arrest of many scholars who were consequently forced to go into exile. This event provided the government with the excuse to step up suppression of every form of dissension. The limited democratic space that had existed quickly collapsed and the citizens had lost faith and hope in the country's political machinery and leadership.

## **b. The Independent and Post-Independent Kenya.**

Kenya became a self-governing entity in 1963 after a bloody struggle against Britain's seventy years of colonialism. At that time, Kenya was a multiparty state with KANU as the ruling party and KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) as the main opposition party. However, Kenya became a de-facto one-party state after KADU was dissolved and merged with KANU.

At this time, African news accounted the euphoria of independence and occupied a large bulk of news space. Links between the *Standard* and the South

African Press Association were severed. The newly established Kenya News Agency now provided news directly to the paper. Its editorial tone also shifted with Kenyatta, who was earlier despised as an evil genius but later became a man to thank for. The *Standard's* staff was all almost all white until 1965 and all were British-trained until that time. The historic rivals of the *Standard* papers were the Nation Group, or the East African Newspapers Ltd. It was and is being financed by the Aga Khan of the Ismaili Islamic sect. The *Daily Nation* and the *Sunday Nation* began publishing in 1960.

In 1962, the group issued the *Taifa Leo*. All three papers were distributed in Tanzania and Uganda. The Nation Group brought a new tabloid format and exciting layouts for the first time to East Africa. They used web offset, which was considered very new, not only in Africa, but also, in the world during the 1960s.

The Nation papers had the most extensive string of correspondents in all of East Africa. Human interests and spot news tended to predominate but most of the news was given over to African coverage. Despite its wide appeal, the Nation papers were considered foreign by the East African governments, including Kenya. In the early 1960s, all of their staff was white except for two reporters, one Asian and one African named George Githii. Eventually, Hilary Ng'weno was appointed editor and more efforts were made to indigenise the staff after 1965. In 1965, George Githii moved his position as reporter of the *Nation* to that of private secretary to the Prime Minister and personal assistant to the President.

On ascending to power in 1978 following the death of Jomo Kenyatta, President Daniel Arap Moi pledged a government based on what was known as the "*Nyayo philosophy*."<sup>3</sup> The government was to be a continuation of the policies of the Kenyatta regime in which he had served as vice-president for twelve years. Known to be a near monarchical presidency, it had scant respect for fundamental human rights and democratic accountability. Between 1963-1992, Kenya experienced a high-handed political leadership in dealing with any form of dissent, from murder of opponents to detention without trial. Corruption and mismanagement of public institutions became rampant.

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<sup>3</sup> Nyayo means "footsteps" and is the official "philosophy" of the regime.

Against a background of autocracy, Moi's first actions were aimed at pacifying a restless country and gaining legitimacy and within a few years, he began to reassemble the machinery for repressive governance. The Press was not spared from the government crackdown and this inflicted fear among Kenyans to express themselves openly. Newspapers were subjected to a lot of censorship. By the time the clamour for multipartyism reached its apex in 1990, various voices of unofficial expression, particularly the media, had been silenced through a combination of sanctions. *Beyond*, a publication of the National Council of Churches of Kenya, was banned in 1988 for exposing fraud in the general elections. The *Financial Review*, published by Peter Kareithi, was also banned at the same year after it exposed corruption by powerful government personalities. He later on became one of the founders of the Kenya Human Rights Commission. Other media groups opted for safer option of self-censorship to survive the government's crackdown. On the threshold of the return to competitive politics in 1991, no less than twenty publications stood officially banned.

The repeal of section of 2A of the constitution and the multiparty elections in December 1992 created a wide political space which the Kenyan media operate. Previously, the president was the main focus of coverage but now other political personalities are given space for coverage. The wide range of newspapers in the streets now carries stories relatively critical of the government without insisting immediate crackdown. Let us now look on the different types of press that operates in Kenya.

### **c. The Mainstream Press.**

These type of media are the regular newspapers with a wide readership and audience. For a press to be regarded as mainstream, it should be judged on its readership, issues and sales. Fundamentally, it is a commercial venture since it avoids upsetting advertisers, both commercial and government, in order to survive.

The mainstream print media in Kenya consists of the dailies, *Nation* and *East African Standard*, and the weeklies, *The East African* and *The People*. The *Nation* is the local market leader with no government connection in terms of ownership.

The *East African Standard*, formerly an investment of Lonrho International, is owned by private investors with local political partners. Among them is Mark Too who is a close confidant of President Moi.

The *People* is a fast rising publication which has built his reputation for investigative journalism. Kenneth Matiba who is the chairperson of the unregistered opposition party Saba-Saba Asili wholly owns it.

Owing its influence and contribution to the national economy in terms of employment and taxes, the mainstream press in Kenya is a less likely candidate for direct government crackdown with a single exception. President Moi has threatened to ban the *Nation* on various occasions but has never gone beyond mere threats.

#### **d. The Alternative Press.**

This type of press is represented by the *Economic Review*, *Finance*, *Nairobi Law Monthly* and the nascent local languages press. The alternative press seeks to provide opinion that is alternative to the prevailing press. Since the nature of this press is more often than advocacy journals, their main motive is not in profit. Its motive is “*providing explicitly or implicitly political, social and economic alternatives to the status quo*”<sup>4</sup>.

The climax of political agitation for change in Kenya coincided with the emergence of a crusading press that was ready to take on the government on sensitive political and human rights issues. The most prominent among these publications were the *Nairobi Law Monthly*, *Finance* and later *Society*, which are all privately, owned publications. They all grew to fill the vacuum created by the muzzling of mainstream press. These emergent publications had nothing to lose unlike the mainstream press where its multinational owners could not risk losing

other businesses through independent journalism. However, these publications have fallen in their circulation with the onset of multipartyism but the decline has also seen the phenomenal development of the local language press such as *Kihooto*, *Murata*, *Menya Wega*, *Mwaria Ma*, *Mwihoko*, *Muigwithania*, *Mayienga*, *Otit Mach* and *Nam-Dar*. These local language press are fast taking over the leadership of the alternative press.

#### **e. The Official Press.**

The government has established a media network that project its image and disseminates the official view through indirect and direct control. In the print media, *Kenya Times*, which is owned by KANU, is the Moi government mouthpiece and it receives virtually all government advertisements. It is immune for its usual actionable articles on opposition personalities.

## **2.2 CURRENT SITUATION OF THE PRESS**

In the absence of a press tradition of freedom and ethical behaviour, journalists have been left to fend for themselves amid widespread intimidation and suppression. They are constantly in danger of attack in a free-for-all atmosphere on which their role, rights and obligations are not universally spelt out or accepted.

The press was an important instrument in the struggle against the colonialist. Prominent leaders during that time, like Jomo Kenyatta (aka Johnston Kamau), have exploited the press to this means. On gaining independence, they drew from their experience of the press' influence in changing the government. This is why these same leaders are trying to control press freedom stating that only the government should have control over such means for the sake of nation-building. Eventually, a systematically eroding of power of the private press and a virtual imposition of monopoly of government-controlled media occurred. Hence, there is an increasing rift between the government and the media, particularly the

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<sup>4</sup>Keyan Tomaselli and Eric Louw, "The Alternative Press" In: *Shackled Messengers*, (Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997), p.6.

press. What the government says about freedom of expression is contrary to the definition of the media. The State often acts as if press freedom were its exclusive concern. Laws that are presently drafted and enacted attest to the fact that they consider themselves sole authority on press freedom. Freedom of expression generally means "*the freedom to disseminate information and ideas through mass media without government restriction.*"<sup>5</sup> In reality, the state is strewn with cases of government harassment and intimidation of journalists while carrying out their professional duties, and of arbitrary detention after publication of articles critical of government policy or exposure of government-related corruption.

The facts mentioned about the press clearly shows the government stance in disseminating news, particularly when these information are critical to the government. They even went to the point of enacting laws ensuring that those news information are controlled. The penal code empowers ministers to declare all past, present and future copies of a publication prohibited. Many publications that are independent in nature were banned as a result of the government directives.

Another strategy the government use to control the press is the crippling of printing press on which the independent press depends. The result of this kind of harassment is that most established printers feel reluctant to deal with independent publications. Small-scale printing firms who take up the challenge cannot adequately cope with the demands and produce low quality work that had an adverse effect on the sales of the publications.

The government exercise to control the press has no direct control over the editorial decisions on *The Nation* and *East African Standard*. However, this is not the case of the government-controlled media. For the KANU-owned *Kenya Times*, the various interests of the government dictate what are to be printed. Editors have to contend with orders from these interests as one former editor points out:

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<sup>5</sup> Penny Dale and New People Staff Writers, *Media and Democracy in Africa: A Long Journey*, In: *New People*, Carmine Curci, editor, No. 49. July-August 1997, (Nairobi. New People Media Centre, 1997), p. 15.

*“A board of directors appointed by the ruling party KANU runs the Kenya Times. However, this board is torn between owing allegiance to the secretariat of the ruling party and to groups close to the president, who is also the state president. The people closest to the president, especially State House operative, will therefore keep tabs on the paper’s day to day operations. The professional head of the newspaper has a more difficult task. He has to deal with the executive chairman of the board, the president’s men based at State House and senior government officials, such as the permanent secretary in the president’s office. Being the mouthpiece of the ruling party, the newspaper becomes a government medium.”<sup>6</sup>*

It is a regular occurrence that the government, through the president, ministers and KANU officials, issues warning to the media for criticising the government and its officers. They accuse the media of negativism, lack of objectivity and unfairness. The dilemma of the media is that the government tends to equate the word ‘objective’ and ‘fair’ with negative reporting on the opposition and other perceived enemies of the regime, and with the praise for the government and its officials. In this way, the government seeks to influence and coerce the media into uncritical submission to the State.

## **2.3 NETWORKING STRATEGY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALTERNATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC MEDIA**

The world that we are living is undergoing tremendous changes due to many factors and one of these factors is in terms of technology. This particular factor is seen as both positive and negative depending on the nature and means it is being utilised. Networking is one of the elements included in this factor and this section of this chapter will present networking as an instrument of positive change, particularly in the field of mass media.

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<sup>6</sup> John Agunda, *The Hassles of Running a Paper*, Kenya: Media Focus, 1995, p. 27 In: *Shackled Messengers*,

### **2.3.1 GLOBAL SITUATIONS OF ALTERNATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC MEDIA**

There is an irrepressible nature and vibrant growth of press freedom world-wide that are usually community-based and media-motivated. These are reinforced by solidarity, struggle for existence and creative expression; media that empower not pacify, that create not simply repeat. The emergence from sometimes desperate circumstances of people striving to articulate a voice, to create an identity and broadcast an image offers inspiration to all those who believe that the media can and must be a force for democracy and development.

However, the fragile and often sporadic nature of alternative and democratic media is demonstrated by the many initiatives that emerge with great hopes and vision. However, they disappear through lack of permanent sustainable base and adverse circumstances beyond their control. It is therefore good to consider the tasks of alternative and democratic media if it is to become a significant force in people's lives, locally and globally. Building beyond isolated and often spontaneous and self-sacrificing media projects towards an enduring and mutually self-sustaining alternative and democratic media sector will require and demand a qualitatively new level of organisation.

There are already existing alternative and democratic media along this line yet further level of solidarity and common action is required before they can create a platform for sustained growth. There is the need to develop a strategy for alternative and democratic media as a whole in order to pull together the different strands around the central theme of media participation and democracy, transcending the individual media to what they hold in common.

There is the assumption that alternative and democratic media cannot be strategically content to simply pursue its own activities, filling what function are available to it yet unaware to the continuing growth of the great forces of the commercial sector. The growth in the alternative and democratic media had been attributed, consciously and unconsciously, to the pressures and response emanating from the commercialisation and privatisation of communication. Many

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*The Media in Multiparty Kenya*, (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997), p. 14.

local alternatives emerge in direct response to local populations and disconnected from their needs. They attempt to compensate for the distortion of media space and communication processes and somehow wrestle back control over content, production and the ultimate purpose of the media.

### 2.3.2 THE NEED FOR A GLOBAL DIMENSION

At the global level, mainstream commercial media enjoy free reign, virtually immune from national structures that until a decade or two ago constrained their activities. They face a *weakened and floundering inter-governmental system that are subservient to the major powers that in turn have virtually identified their own national interests with those of their national interests with those of their roving multi-national corporations and of neo-liberalisation*<sup>7</sup>. Media conglomerates can enter almost any country, confident of their clear identity, universal appeal and marketability of their wares, often backed up by powerful national governments. Their inter-governmental agents, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) smooth the way by negotiating irresistible deals with corrupt and desperate politicians to gain access to the market. It is through this realities that alternative and democratic media cannot afford to ignore this dominance of mainstream media not because of the resultant sterilisation and homogenisation of media content but because in very practical ways it curtails their growth and room for manoeuvre, and their access to resources. The implementation of a neo-liberal agenda in telecommunications by the WTO and the World Bank and others could threaten universal service in many rural areas and poorer areas of developing countries including their access to the e-mail and other services with development and democratic potential. Behind these realities is the lack of coherent alternative. A major success of the commercial media and their attendants has been to present their own globalisation of the media as the only feasible one. In the realm of ideas, as well as in direct influence, alternative and

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<sup>7</sup> Seán Ó Siochrú, *Strategies and Opportunities for Democratic Media*, In: *Media Development*, Vol. XLIII, 3/1996. (England: World Association for Christian Communication, 1996), p 4.

democratic media thus have a major task ahead. The need for a global dimension exists at policy, ideological and at practical levels.

### 2.3.3 MUTUAL ENRICHMENTS AND BENEFITS THROUGH NETWORKING

Huge commercial gains have been derived from linkages between different media, especially film, video, magazines, books and increasing computer software. Such ventures of brand and output that manipulate the desire for identification amid growing diversification is hardly an inspiration of democratic and alternative media. However, collaboration between the different media is valuable in a number of ways stated by Seán Ó Siochrú, namely:

- **Output:** E-mail and internet services can be used as a means to exchange articles, written radio news, audio tapes and even video clips for later broadcast;
- **Sharing:** National or regional support organisations, providing resource centres, newsletters, training, and so forth, can share facilities;
- **Consciousness Raising and Collaborative Action:** The exchange of information amongst media practitioners working in different areas and spheres of democratic media can clarify what they have in common, and can reinforce the trend toward co-operative action and strategic development. This should be extended beyond the media sector in order to find its strength in numbers. More general movements for democracy in communication, academic association and others pursuing the right to communicate are natural allies, and can broaden the effective sphere of influence for democratic media<sup>8</sup>.

### **2.3.4 CLARIFICATION OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

Individual initiatives in democratic media usually have a clear aims and objectives that arise from specific and time-bound contexts. Even organisations at the international level that represent a specific medium, after some time and internal development, are reasonably clear about what intentions they need to achieve.

However, less focus had been undertaken to the role of democratic and alternative media as a whole, through the accumulation of individual initiatives. Against the commercialisation of media and the reduction of output to mass entertainment commodities, democratic and alternative media must be clear on what it is proposing in their place, how they see their role and that of others. These inquiries should be considered if broad alternative and democratic communication movements are to grow in self-understanding and direction. This movement requires a clear identity so that people will recognise it as distinct from commercial media. This element of recognition is the first step in supporting any organisation and such knowledge must be both concrete (the right to participate and to demand that it consider one's views and opinions) as well as abstract (the right to communicate and engage in democratic processes). Creating this identity will bind on questions of participation and the relationship between the audience and the medium considering not only the basis of its content but also of processes, namely, that democratic and alternative media must construct an identity where each specific medium interpret this in its own way.

### **2.3.5 REAL NEEDS AND A FIRM ECONOMIC BASE**

The appeal of commercial media to atomised people, fragmented from each other and seeking some consolation from the daily struggles of life – dreams of release and richness, are considered better than none at all.

On the other hand, the appeal of democratic and alternative media is fundamentally different. There are no quick and easy solutions in offer. What is often offered are struggles, first to understand its nature then to use them as a

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p 5.

tool to challenge the order in which people seek solace and dreams in the first place. They also offer the excitement of learning new ideas and skills, of exploring social relationships, and of engaging in effective collective action. It is only by maintaining the primary focus on real needs and struggles that they can strike a distinct chord with the people.

Since democratic and alternative media cannot afford the luxury of chasing the most lucrative and wealthiest segments of the market, but must instead address pressing human needs. Thus, a need for a secure economic base will always represent a challenge. Those most in need of a voice are usually those least able to pay for it.

Stable economic base is essential for a long-term growth. Traditionally, development-oriented NGOs and national aid agencies have provided economic support but cannot and should not be relied upon to continue supporting initiatives indefinitely. A secure economic base should be forthcoming through initiatives like fund raising and income-generating capacity of the media themselves and also, through securing legitimate, publicly supported, long-term income from other international agencies and philanthropists.

### **2.3.6 FORMING A STRATEGIC CAPACITY**

Previous points mentioned can be achieved only with a strong strategic capacity, from grassroots initiatives to media sectors, and to democratic media as a whole. Commercial media engage simultaneously in competitive activities with their rivals, and in collective activities to support the sector as a whole through constantly recreating and expanding the territory that they dominate. The strength of democratic and alternative media must be explicit co-operation and collaboration. However, a strategic capacity at global level does not come quickly and easily, especially when one is concerned with the participative nature of the process. Learning to intervene effectively to influence governments, inter-governmental organisations and public opinion requires a slow accumulation of experience at all levels, methodically exchange with others through formal and informal means. Lessons can be learned outside the communication sector like

the environmental and gender movements. Conscious and deliberate efforts must be invested in developing and nurturing a strategic capacity among democratic and alternative media.

Along this line, proposed goals were given in order to come up with a strategic goal for democratic media:

- *Clarify the potential and role for democratic media and aims and objectives;*
- *Develop a strategic capacity, building from individual initiatives to global organisations;*
- *Create a clear identity for democratic media, both individually and collectively so that all people can readily understand;*
- *Maintain the focus on people's needs in their real lives, not on competing with mainstream media;*
- *Seek a long-term economic base, a project, national and international levels<sup>9</sup>.*

The present state of reality tells us that achieving these must remain beyond the visible horizon for some time yet. Nevertheless, they offer direction in terms of focusing immediate actions on long-term goals. Moreover, the main priority of democratic media is to continue to create innovative, sometimes alternative, media at grassroots level, experimenting and consolidating achievements. This is consider a wellspring of a movement.

### **2.3.7 CREATION OF A DEMOCRATIC MEDIA ASSOCIATION**

Creating democratic media alliance comprising of an informal grouping of international NGOs then possibly of national ones could form a basis for a deepening of understanding within and between specific media. Ever time and based on progress, this could gradually evolve towards a specific presence, representing in certain domains democratic media as a whole, and acting as a central point of contact and collaboration. This organisation would assist progress in many fronts, among them are:

- *Arena in which to debate and discuss the role of democratic media as a whole, and strategies to promote them;*
- *Facilitate networking and sharing of resources, and collaboration on on-going issues.*
- *Comprising a hub of information on all aspects of democratic media, both for those involved and for others, and even undertake its own research activities;*
- *Process of formulating a specific identity could be initiated, and in long term, this identity could be promoted;*
- *It would offer a single point of contact for lobbying governmental and other organisations, simplifying the logistics of developing such relationships<sup>10</sup>.*

Many of the above elements connect on developing democratic structures, Participative structures are central to constructing and projecting a unique identity and to building intimate sustainable links with people. The strategic capacity to influence any democratic medium will be determined by its ability to mobilise people that in turn depends on how deeply people are committed. Such commitments also supports a major pillar of sustainable economic existence.

Developing democratic structures is not simply a matter of principle but a matter of central necessity. Creating them within the non-governmental sector is not easy and there are few models of relevance. Democratic and participative structures must exist not only at a ground level but also at national and international levels. Such structures would ensure that the centrality of grassroots realities is not lost in international actions.

### **2.3.8 INTERVENTION IN POLICY FORMATION**

Public policy creates both the constraints and the opportunities within which democratic media operate. Effective intervention into policy formation is

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p 5-6.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid . p 6

critical to the growth of the sector. National level policy is still the most important but the global level via inter-governmental or multi-lateral organisations is increasing an influence in the context of neo-liberalisation.

Effective lobbying requires clear, well-constructed ideas and a coherent effective voice. This can be assisted effectively nationally through the various democratic media collaboration to understand issues, explore policy options and influence the outcome. International exchanges of information can also be of use, comparing developments in different countries in terms of policies and lobbying strategies.

At the international level, trans-national alliances are essential. Most inter-governmental organisations will listen only to international organisations, referring others to national governments. There are currently major policy developments of relevance to the future of community media and access to infrastructure and airwaves. At this level, democratic media have virtually no presence. Establishing communications with the ITU (International Trade Union), WTO and UNESCO could be a first step. However, activities of other organisations such as the World Bank, IMF, OECD (Organisation of European Community Development) are intertwined to influence all domains including the media with impetus added in the context of the information society.

Therefore, a strategy should be devised to support national lobbying and construct vehicles for intergovernmental influence. However, the focus should not be solely on securing greater influence for the democratic media sector. Equal importance should be made in pressing for democratic structure of governance in relation to all aspects and at all levels of media policy development and implementation.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION**

The history of Kenya really shows a clear movement influenced by the colonialists until this present day. Through this movement, the country had evolved as a nation. It is also through these movements that the press was

transformed from a press that catered to the settler population to a press that is currently struggling for freedom of expression.

Current technological change, through the invention of the e-mail and internet, have resulted to the increase of co-ordination and networking among organisations according to their profession and points of interest. In the field of mass media, these changes are seen as a means to bring together alternative media network through sharing and exchanging ideas and information in exploring possible means of co-operation in the area of national and global communication. These aspects also include training and policy making. It also offers an alternative to media practitioners of the work they do and the many ways in which they support, preserve and extend the right to communication.

## **CHAPTER III**

# **METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS METHODS**

### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

The chapter will discuss the methodology and data analysis methods of the research study. These aspects are seen by the writer as vital to the study since it will determine its feasibility considering the different elements mentioned in the previous chapter. It is also important to the discussion that will be made in the following chapter.

The chapter will also be discussed its limitations so that future adjustments will be made in coming up with a viable project proposal.

### **3.1. METHODOLOGY**

The work design that the writer will be doing is the qualitative methodology that will employ a case study, research and evaluation. Along this line, the writer will make New People Media Centre as his case study.

The choice of case study and evaluation stems out from the writer's familiarity with the New People Media Centre since he spent time during the long holidays and the school year. Unlike any other media centre, New People is an international magazine that promotes missionary awareness to some major countries in Africa and in the rest of the world. It has sister magazines located in four continents, namely, Europe, Asia, North and South America. They coordinate and exchange materials in publishing their magazines. In this regard, New People offer a wide scope and coverage in its articles. This particular feature of this centre offers a possibility to tap its resources in tackling social issues affecting the country. Other than the magazine, New People Media Centre came up with its feature service that carries original articles about Africa written by Africans that describe their own perspectives on social issues brought about by their respective faiths and beliefs. It also welcomes contributions from non-Africans with wide knowledge and experience about Africa.

In this respect, the writer deemed it necessary to have New People Media Centre as his case study since his research study on "Press and Democracy in Kenya" and his project proposal on networking fit on its structure. Moreover, his project proposal would be incorporated within the structures of New People Media Centre. The probability of the project's implementation is high since there is no existing set-up at the centre, and the project proposal also applies to the its sister magazines situated in other countries.

The methodology of see, judge and act had been applied to the research since the beginning of the writer's study. The writer's past papers (long essay and long-holiday project) are incorporated in the research study and the methodology that was used was the see, judge and act methodology.

In coming up with his analysis, the writer will be using interviews and discussions (formal and informal) in coming up with relevant facts and figures in his analysis. New People Media Centre comprises of people very much qualified in the field of mass media. It is also a non-profit religious organisation and its articles tackle social issues confronting the country and the whole of the continent. Therefore, the centre is credible and is widely appreciated by people from all walks of life, both here and abroad. It also co-ordinates with other media centres in the country and this makes the problem of verifying sensitive issues practically solved. However, the writer will see to it that no persons working in this field of mass media would be jeopardised. Other than the interviews, discussions and questionnaires, the writer will be using the different materials and articles available in the media centre.

### **3.2 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS**

The method of descriptive and exploratory will be utilised by the writer in his analysis. Although small in scale, he firmly believed that it can lead to a more comprehensive work. Preliminary study can explore the problems likely to arise in large-scale research. The results would be largely descriptive and to make it more profitable, the writer deemed it necessary to analyse them. The research study covered primarily the history of Kenya and it describes the country's

movement, from being a colonised country to an independent one. At the same time, the history of the press will be presented during these two periods.

Another method that will be utilised is the comparative analysis. The writer will make a comparative study on the country's history from the colonialist period until the independent and post-independent period.

### **3.3 SHORT-COMINGS OF THE DESIGN USED**

The shortcomings of the research method is in line with its methods since it just describes the historical facts and using inductive reasoning. Majority of its findings are based on works written by prominent people in the field of mass media and the interviews are done to media practitioners who are expatriate. No interviews were done to local journalists because of time factor – the writer has to divide his time between his community and the school where he is studying. However, he made it up through the various literature and dailies that are always available at the media centre. Putting New People Media Centre as the writer's case study may not be the same as with the other media centre in the issues of press freedom and networking.

### **3.4 CONCLUSION**

The case study of New People Media Centre is the right structure to employ such a study. Somehow, it has the requirements of being an independent media and at the same time it has the requirements of implementing a project in the line of networking.

The writer's approach of using historical facts is vital in determining the different points and elements that will be mentioned in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

The results and findings were a product of two and a half years of immersion at New People Media Centre and the country where the structure is situated.

The writer made his long essay along this line wherein some of the points were taken from it. The only addition is the aspect of networking as an alternative solution for a democratic and independent media such as New People Media Centre.

### 4.1 RESULTS AND FINDINGS

New People Media Centre, being a structure situated in Kenya, has many factors to consider in its journalistic activities. It is of utmost importance to know these factors before initiating any activities relating to press freedom.

#### 4.1.1 THREE MAJOR OBSTACLES TO KENYA'S DEMOCRACY

Kenya's post-colonial history, through its presidents, had adopted a two-way approach to development in steering the country towards progress. One approach is to embrace the colonial model and its structures of government following the capitalist system of production. This was clearly manifested by Anyang' Nyong'o:

*"In Africa, therefore, the nature of the state can be understood only from a historical and sociological analysis. While states existed in pre-colonial Africa, the modern state is a hand-me-down phenomenon in many respects. It does not only have a continuity with its colonial predecessors in terms of concrete institutions and apparatuses used by ruling regimes in exercising political power, but the kinds of social relations it needs to sustain in the day-to-day reproduction of society are still very much part of the mode of production dominant in colonial society."<sup>11</sup>*

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<sup>11</sup> Smokin Wanjala, *Presidentialism, Ethnicity, Militarism and Democracy in Africa: The Kenyan Example*, In: *Law and The Struggle for Democracy in East Africa*, (Nairobi: Claripress, 1996), p.87.

This statement, though it was general, reflects on Kenya's government since it was modelled from the British style of governance. The second approach adopted a revolutionary stance after rejecting traditional institutions. It is aimed at establishing structures of governance modelled from the socialist ideology. It was a strategy aimed at eradicating the past colonial injustices while at the same time erecting basic structures upon which the future development would be built.

These two instances show the tendency of experimentation rather than the implementation of time-tested and local environment-related socio-economic and political programmes. The end result is the emergence of despotic and corrupt regimes that daily clothe their perpetration of atrocities and human rights abuses with chants of democratic socialism. The centre of the failure is the problem of accountability, in particular lack of democracy. The people, who should be playing a major role in the affairs of government, have diminished as the political arena has shrunk.

At the close of the eighties, the scenario mentioned straddled the political scene like a colossus. Democracy for the people had become a mere words, a meaningless expression, hollow in its persuasion and meaningless in daily life. However, the end of the Cold War saw the rekindling of hope in the continent as popular clamour for multi-party democracy gains momentum. Hard-core dictators have in the recent past faced unprecedented that challenges to the autocratic system they preside. The changes in the international political scene meant that the old superpower rivalries, which for a long time helped cuddle dictatorship and fascism against popular dissent, are no longer relevant in international relations. A new political climate for the harnessing of democracy appears to be emerging. However, the rebirth of democracy faces major stumbling blocks.

#### **a. Presidentialism.**

The term is used to describe a phenomenon that goes beyond the traditional constitutional doctrine of executive power. It is a feature of African leadership that combine absolute power which African traditional rulers exercised over primitive society and the modern executive authority derived from deficient

'Lancaster House' type of constitutions. The combination of power has produced leaders whose pre-occupation has been to destroy democracy in its evolutionary stages. This phenomenon involves the centralisation of state power in the hands of the president or his office. He is supposed to represent the people as a whole in nearly all matters relating to the country. Many of these leaders derive their authority not from any popular electoral mandate but through sheer incumbency.

It is through this type of leaders that, instead of using their authority to further the development of democratic sentiments, practices and institutions, would throw their energies in constructing all sorts of repressive systems and use their authority to justify the forms of repression engendered by those systems. This type of presidency is an executive monarchy whose very features are undemocratic.

#### **b. Ethnicity.**

According to Chazan and Rothchild, the term is used to refer to as

*"...A subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties, and aspirations; ethnic groups pertain to organised activities by persons linked by a consciousness of a special identity who jointly seek to maximise their corporate political, economic and social interests. Ethnicity, or a sense of people-hood, has its foundation in combine remembrances of past experience and in common aspirations, values, norms and expectations."<sup>12</sup>*

This phenomenon continues to hamper the country's democratisation process. Ethnic groups have been used or manipulated by the leadership as a tool for the perpetuation of the status quo. The peasants belonging to different ethnic groups are not only victims of manipulation but they are also a danger to themselves to the extent to which they are periodically embrace tribal considerations and sentiments over national issues. It remains a major stumbling block in the struggle to recapture the democratic ideal long sabotaged by years of blackmail, corruption and oppression.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid , p. 89

### c. Militarism.

The term is used to describe a situation where the political process is controlled and managed by the armed forces. Hence, it refers to arm intervention in a political situation at a given time in a country's history. The military has not proved to be essential to the conduct of politics in the country although it has become an integral part of the process. As it is seen in other countries, military engagements in political affairs have led to political fluctuation, although not necessarily to political movement. The military can hardly be accounted into having contributed to the democratisation process. These armed men in uniform have been partners with civilian governments in the suppression of contrary political opinion.

#### 4.1.2 LEGAL LAWS OF KENYA

It is clear from the study that there is an amount of suppression being done to the different independent and democratic media in the country that is eventually hinder free expression and development. There are several forms of suppression and one of them comes in the form of legal laws on media.

- a. **The Banning Provisions in the Penal Code.** In January 1996, news about two proposed media bills leaked out namely, the Press Council of Kenya Bill and the Kenya Mass Media Commission Bill. They were drafted in 1995 and were seen as an undermining of press freedom through a catalogue of provisions. They were shelved eventually after fierce opposition. These bills sought to restrict the practice of journalism through requirements that journalists be licensed and have a formal training in journalism to qualify for the license. Moreover, they established mechanisms for registration and de-registration of newspapers by government appointees without recourse to an appellate authority in case of de-registration.<sup>13</sup> It is through this provision that *Inooro*, a newsletter of the Catholic Diocese in Murang'a District was banned.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid . p.11

- b. Law of Sedition (Penal Code).** The vague broadness of this law is best described by the events following Attorney General Wako's directive on February 10, 1993 that Kenyans found with seditious publications would be arrested and persecuted. Six people were arrested in different parts of Nairobi for possession of seditious publications on the day of announcement. Those who were detained were found with various copies of *Finance* magazine. Also arrested were *The Watchman* editors, Rev. Jamlick Miuno and Peter Kihumba. In 1993 alone, at least nine journalists faced sedition charges. Sub-section (A) of Section 57 of the Penal Code allow for the seizure or disabling of a printing press suspected of being used for the printing of a seditious publication. It is under this provision that *Fotoform* printers in Nairobi were dismantled and the printing parts of its machinery and copies of *Finance* on April 30, 1993 were carried away. The proprietor of *Fotoform* and the publisher of *Finance* were both arrested and charged under the sedition law. Following this incident, *Colourprint*, another publishing firm, was also disabled and parts of the printing machinery confiscated by the police.
- c. The Law on Publication of False Reports (Penal Code).** This law had been used to harass journalists for filing reports that reflect the government and its officers in negative light. The Kisii based *East African Standard* reporter, Peter Makori, and his Isiolo counterpart, Kitheka Muuo, were charged with publishing false and alarming reports in 1994. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1995, the latter was charged again in an Isiolo court for publishing a false and alarming report that the Officer Commanding Police Division (OPCD) confirmed.
- d. Law on Subversion (Penal Code).** Under multipartyism, several journalists have been charged with subversion arising from published reports. The *East African Standard* Nakuru Bureau Chief, Ngumo was Kuria, and Kisii correspondent, Peter Makori, were charged with subversion.

- e. **Law of Contempt (Penal Code).** This law was notorious in Kenya for punishing press, especially with regards to scandalising the court. Two journalist with the *People* weekly, Bedan Mbugua and David Makali, were jailed by the Court of Appeals in 1994 for reporting criticism of court decision.
- f. **The Preservation of Public Security Act.** On various occasions, journalists have been arrested and charged for breaching regulations under this law. In 1993, Molo, Londiani, Burnt Forest and Njoro were declared security operation zones. Journalists were banned and often charged for entering the zone. The *Nation* reporter, Joseph Ngugi, was charged on October 27, 1993 for violating the regulations by entering Njoro. Also arrested in the same period was Bedan Mbugua of *the Option*.
- g. **The Law of Defamation.** The case in which a top government functionary, Mr. Joshua Kulei, won Ksh 10 Million in a defamation suit against the largely independent *People* weekly attest to this law. Most publications prefer to settle defamation claim out of court.
- h. **The Official Secrets Act.** In 1993, Londiani in Nakuru was declared a security zone during the continuing ethnic violence hence banning journalists from entering the area.
- i. **Parliamentary Standing Orders.** In 1989, the *Nation* was banned from reporting parliamentary proceedings and its journalists indefinitely expelled from the press gallery. In May 1996, the *People* published a story on illegal allocations of government houses to politically connected individuals based on documents before the Public Accounts Committee. Following this, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Michael Wamalwa Kijana, warned the media that publishing documents before they become official was contrary to the Standing Order No. 161 which decrees the evidence and documents

presented to the committee should not be published or disclosed to any person other than the member before it is presented to the house.

#### 4.1.3 ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS

Another form is in terms of economic constraints. The press is largely dependent on advertisements for its survival. Potential advertisers are scared when the press deals with publications that promote democratic ideals. The conservative corporate sector, which is a stakeholder in the status quo, largely restricts its dealing with the safe press. Press with a high circulation rate like *The People* has not enticed the business sector into overcoming its fear of government victimisation as one circulation manager of a publication explained:

*Most international companies are controlled indirectly by the government. Therefore, although advertising agencies advise them on our circulation, they cannot advertise with us out of fear. The small businesses are no problem. But we have not managed to penetrate a large corporate market. Yet with a circulation of 90,000 we are second only to the Nation Newspapers.<sup>14</sup>*

Moreover a businessman added to the fear of dealing with the independent press:

*We know that these are good papers as we all read them. But what do you think the government would say if I advertised my company in these papers? They will certainly say I am in the opposition and that will be the end. I cannot take the risk.<sup>15</sup>*

Another form comes through harassment wherein media centres and journalists alike are subjected to threats, beatings, arrests and murder for publishing articles that shed light to various forms of corruption and oppression instigated by few powerful individuals. As Article 19 has observed, indeed, the ultimate form of press censorship is the murder of journalists.

The government has consecutively maintained its unrelenting pressure on journalists through its various arms of coercion while it continues its homage to

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Stephen Muketha, Nairobi, March 26, 1997 In: *Shackled Messengers, The Media in Multiparty Kenya*, Kenya: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with a Nairobi businessman Nairobi, March 26, 1997 In: *Shackled Messengers, The Media in Multiparty Kenya*, Kenya: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997, p. 12.

the principle of press freedom. In 1993 alone following the first multiparty elections, no less than nine journalists was charged with sedition.

The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalist (CPJ) noted that as part of the general pattern of restraints on the press journalists was prevented from entering 'classified security zones.' Incidents of harassment of journalists that ranges from assault to confiscation of media equipment such as cameras were reported.

In these attacks, a trend can be discerned of powerful politicians using the security system to silence journalists. High-ranking officials, in most instances, mete out violence to journalists.

Such attacks pose a great danger to press freedom in view of the fact that media houses seldom assist victims. In most cases, even personal items lost or destroyed in an attack are not compensated. The government rarely condemns violence against journalists. Although the police commissioner issued a directive that harassment of journalists would be severely dealt with, not a single police officer so far has been charged over a large number of violent incidents against journalist in the multiparty era. Besides the administration police, notorious in harassing journalists receive their orders from the provincial administration while the presidential escort squad seems to enjoy unspecified immunity.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Johnstone Makau, for instance pointed out that *"the government ensures and will continue to sustain the freedom of the press and expression but efforts to sow seeds of discord and despondency through the press will be dealt with sternly."*<sup>16</sup>

The media in Kenya is often directed to engage in 'development' journalism and castigated for departing from truth. However, evidently the emphasis on the 'responsible' and 'development' journalism is nothing but an attempt to substitute overt with covert censorship. It is only a euphemism for government-say-so journalism and it is just a ploy for media control, as one lawyer states:

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<sup>16</sup> Daily Nation, March 13, 1997 In: *Shackled Messengers, The Media in Multiparty Kenya*, Kenya: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997, p. 16.

*"When one seeks to control the press, subtle methods compared to disabling printers and unfounded sedition charges become inevitable. One of these subtle methods of control is the requirement that the press should seek and convey the truth. Naturally, the following questions spring to our mind: Whose truth? Truth based on which criteria? Is it ideological, political, sentimental or factual truth?"<sup>17</sup>*

The change in the political environment has brought an adjustment to the system of censorship since criticism has become a reality that the government has to live with. Any attempts to control the non-government media through edicts on editorial matters have become impractical.

The most serious threat to press freedom nowadays is self-censorship. Unlike overt government-decreed censorship, it takes place away from the public eye and involves a near conspiracy between the journalist, media manager and the interested party.

This emerging trend is the systematic compromise of journalists, editors and media managers through monetary inducements or promise of better things. Print media has ironically become a target for compromise by politically influential individuals owing to its credibility rating. The nature of the strategy is to approach individual journalists and editors who can then be relied upon to be one-sided in disseminating information. News stories about politically correct individuals are carefully edited which leaves out unfavourable information about them.

Journalists who have a job to keep, are forced under such circumstances, to toe the editor's compromised line. They are forced to file only those stories that will be approved by the editors.

One effective way in maintaining control over the media is the use of correspondents rather than full time staffers in the coverage of specific individuals and functions. They work on a casual-labourer basis where they are paid according to the stories used. Since they have no job security, they cannot stand up against compromised editors. They depend on those editors to approve the stories out of which they earn their livelihood hence they are easy to control.

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<sup>17</sup> Kibe Mungai, LLB Dissertation, University of Nairobi In: *Shackled Messengers, The Media in Multiparty Kenya*, Kenya: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997, p. 17.

Most of them serve the media without being offered formal employment. While ensuring their vulnerability, the system also reduces the company's salary expenditures. Media houses are seldom keen in investing training of journalists since it can boost their confidence thus exposing the company to ethical demands of the problem. Training often helps stem the tendency to self-censorship.

It is widely known countrywide that the economy of the country has a direct impact on any business venture. This can also be applied in the field of mass media where it has a direct influence in the viability of the printed media where it would affect effectively their ability to communicate. It requires a lot of investments and international agencies that were once generous in financing this means now appear to be tired of throwing money into the bottomless pit unless a new political and economic climate would take place. They expect that the funds should be well administered, which in reality it does not happen.

There are shortages of technical equipment, high cost of newsprint and other printing supplies, monopolies of printing houses - often under the control of the government - and unreliable distribution facilities. Advertising also plays an important part in the life of the press since many media houses become dependent on the governments or big business firms controlled by the government which can leave little room for quality and impartial news.

Media training institutions that exist reflect the socio-cultural and educo-political milieu of the country. The news media evolved from a 'settler culture' within which the print media were dominated by and were subordinated to the interests of settler British and Asians.

This aspect had a lasting influence on the development of media training institutions in the respective countries, in which these institutions have experienced only a restrained growth. The immediate post-independent politics of the country characterised by one-party political structures contributed considerably to the slow development of media education. It took nearly ten years after independence before the first academic programme in journalism was

established at the University of Nairobi<sup>18</sup>. After nearly a quarter of a century, this programme has yet to develop beyond a one-year post-graduate diploma certificate, with a curriculum that is remarkable in its limitations due to the small size of staff and students<sup>19</sup>.

Low level of education and lack of specialised training does not bode well for professional integrity. Journalists who do not have a solid ground in economics, politics and social affairs are oftentimes unable to be responsible in reporting and analysing the development and government policies. Inadequate, erroneous and misleading information undermines the credibility of the media. The government came into power on strong human rights platforms and single out the importance of observing and promoting media freedom. However, they conveniently forgot their election promises and pay scant respect for media freedom to the point of deliberately repressing it.

There is an existing press association in the country today which is called Kenya Union of Journalists. However, its members are all coming from certain prominent institutions and schools thus its voice does not cover the consensus of the majority of the journalists here in the country. Therefore, when this group delivers a statement, it does not have a strong impact since it was done by a few.

## 4.2 CASE STUDY OF NEW PEOPLE MEDIA CENTRE

### 4.2.1 HISTORY OF ITS FOUNDATION

New People Media Centre, as in any other media centres, is affected with these factors mentioned but not as much as what the local alternative and democratic media centres had experienced. Started as a missionary magazine for mission promotion, this undertaking did not come into reality overnight. The Comboni Missionaries, with the assemblies in Nairobi (1981), Kinshasa (1984) and Lome (1987), had expressed their desire to have a media centre in Africa. In 1985, the General Chapter of the Comboni Missionaries directed the General

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<sup>18</sup>Charles Akigbo, *Media Education in Africa: Perspectives and Problems*, In: *Africa in Africa Series: Making Media in Africa*, Vol.26, No.1, January-March 1995, Michael Traber, Editor, Rome: IDOC Internazionale, 1995, p.21.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

Administration to establish a missionary animation centre in an English-speaking and French-speaking countries. In 1987, the General Council decided to establish the media centre in Nairobi. The Superior General, with a decree in 21st of December 1987, erected the New People Media Centre. In 1989, the media centre was officially opened and in July of the same year came the first issue of New People Magazine.

There were the usual constraints of implementing projects, namely, lack of personnel and funds. There was also the question of marketing and it is casting its net to attract readers locally and internationally. Then, there was the difficulty of getting correspondents to keep the centre informed of progress and problems within their area of work. In spite of all these difficulties, NPMC was able to overcome these obstacles and now had become a media centre that is internationally known. Besides its maiden project, the New People Magazine, NPMC had initiated other projects like New People Arabic Service, New People Feature Service, and New People Women Service.

#### 4.2.2 EDITORIAL ACTIVITIES

**New People Magazine.** New People Magazine is the first Pan-African Catholic magazine and it is published bi-monthly. The magazine is divided into five sections, namely *Focus On*, *Feature*, *Dossier*, *Church/Mission* and *Rubrics Section*.

*Focus On* deals mainly on current issues such as dealing on the World Council of Churches Assembly in Harare, the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Anniversaries of Churches such as the centenary celebration of the Church in Burundi and others. *Feature* is a section that deals with political analysis and news around Africa. It also covers other topics like media and human rights, gender issues and others. The central part of the magazine is the *Dossier* where it tries to go deeper into some issues such as Globalisation and Africa, African Debt, Women Working for Peace, Reconciliation, Human Rights, Economics of Solidarity and others. *Church/Mission* is the section that deals on the experiences of the Churches

around Africa and the world with a specific attention to missionary awareness. Finally, the *Rubrics Section* cover the editorial, letters, book review, African people and a part dedicated to the preparation to the next millennium entitled *Towards the Year 2000*.

As for its future plan, it will try to improve on the contents and layout, start with a section dealing on the youth and to deal with other topics focusing on the preparation of the African Church towards the Third Millennium.

**New People Arabic Service (NPAS).** Since July, NPMC have started with an eight-page publication of articles in Arabic. This is the first professional missionary publication in Arabic. NPMC have received a lot of encouragement even though there is still the need to improve on its translation and materials coming from Khartoum and Cairo. It is intended that Khartoum may one day start its own publication through the Comboni Missionaries working in that area. It is currently producing 3,000 copies.

As for its future plans, NPMC will try to encourage Comboni Missionaries from Sudan and Egypt to collaborate in this initiative. It will also try to improve its communication among the different local desks (Khartoum-Cairo-Nairobi)

**New People Feature Service (NPFS).** NPFS was started in 1993 and it is a monthly publication that carries original articles about Africa written by African journalists in their own area and field of interests. NPFS is sent to 150 African journalists and 82 newspapers and magazines around Africa. It also serves some journalists and media centres in Europe.

As for its future plan, NPMC will intend to contact other journalists who can collaborate with NPFS. It will also update the addresses and networking.

**New People Books (NPB).** NPB aims at producing missionary books and so far, it had published books such as *Cast Away Fear (1994)*, *The New People of God (1994)*, *Many Voices One Church (1994)*, *They are a Target (1996)*, *Be*

*My Witnesses (1996), Brothers Among Brothers (1998) and Missionary Directory of Kenyan Missionaries (1999).*

As for its future plan, it is currently working on future publications, namely, *Missionary Rosary and Sisters Killed in Africa Over the Last 30 Years.*

**New People Documentation Centre (NPDC), formerly Bakhita Documentation Centre.** Until July 1998, there use to be in the premises of NPMC a documentation centre called Bakhita Documentation Centre that was an ecumenical initiative of several Christian organisations. Lack of funds and difficulties among collaborators have resulted to its temporary closure. However, NPMC have decided to set up its own documentation centre and it has already collected books, documents and magazines about Africa.

**New People Journalism Training Centre (NPJTC).** NPJTC is organising courses in basic journalism where an average of 10 trainees attend the course. NPMC have also received 12 journalism students from Daystar University and Kenya School in Mass Communication for on-the-job training.

**New People Arts and Studio (NPAS).** NPAS is doing the layout of the different publications of NPMC.

**New People Mini-Printing Press (NPMPP).** NPMPP prints newsletters and bulletins of NPMC and it is also available for small scale printing jobs of organisations. This is a source of good income for NPMC.

According to the editor of NPMC, the centre is legally binded on the media laws of the country. As a registered media centre, the magazine had to be submitted bi-monthly to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for screening and censorship. At the same time, the editor is having problem with employing personnel. Newly graduates from media school would ask for exorbitant salaries that do not reflect on their skills needed for the profession. As for the projects that are present, the problem on the personnel and funds needed

to run the projects. This is the reason why he is currently doing many tasks equivalent to the normal three persons who would do the job. As for networking with other media centres in the country, there is little initiative undertaken in this respect by the fact that every centre has its own particular nature and classifications. At the moment, the centre is in collaboration with Catholic media centres, like The Seed and the Pauline Publication, particularly in printing matters but not on articles written. However, the centre is in contact with international press agencies and media centres. Articles would often come via e-mail from journalists stationed in the different countries in Africa and all over the world. This is the reason why NPMC is recognised all over the world and is a member of an association of international media centre.

### **4.3 PROJECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

With these factors contributing to suppression of the press in the country, the future of democracy is seen as bleak. The challenge of coming up with alternative solutions and recommendations that would overcome the current situations is enormous. However, the possibility is there provided that implementers of change will persevere in their quest for freedom in expression.

There is the need to implement a strategy to promote a democratic media that would counter these factors and at the same time develop its own sense of identity, dynamism and destiny. To implement these requires a lot of determination and support since opposition from many sides will appear and try to jeopardise these initiatives.

At this juncture, the structure of New People Media Centre has the possibility to undertake such initiatives since there is already an existing networking being undertaken in disseminating articles of journalists from the country and the whole of Africa. It's Feature Service, which is a monthly newsletter, is a testimony of this undertaking. However, the only thing missing is the element of structure where this department would solely take care of such undertaking without burdening the load of the editor, which is currently doing the task. This department will also shoulder the tasks being done by other

departments with regard to networking and updating addresses. This would ensure the smooth running of the centre.

#### **4.4 CONCLUSION**

The different elements mentioned in this chapter are important and they form the basis for the next chapter, which is a concrete project proposal that will answer to the challenges of press freedom through networking, and meet the concrete needs of New People Media Centre.

## **CHAPTER V**

# **PROJECT PROPOSAL**

### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

The chapter will be the project proposal that will try to meet the needs of the structure under study; namely, New People Media Centre. It is a project that considered all the elements mentioned and discussed in the previous chapters.

### **5.1 PROJECT NAME: NEW PEOPLE NETWORKING CENTRE (NPNC)**

New People Networking Centre is a project within an existing structure of New People Media Centre. This is intended as a pilot project for the other Comboni media centres located in some parts of the world.

### **5.2 PROJECT OVERVIEW:**

#### **5.2.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT**

The New People Network Centre (NPNC) will be a project within an existing structure; namely, New People Media Centre. The media centre is a joint venture of the six African provinces of the Comboni Missionaries here in Africa. These provinces are Malawi-Zambia, Sudan, Egypt, South Africa, Uganda and Kenya. NPNC, which will host the NPNC-FED, is located along Kilimani Road near Adams Arcade and Guadalupe Parish.

The country is in its threshold, in terms of media democracy is concerned. However, media centres and journalists are still experiencing different forms of censorship and harassment from a few powerful individuals as they practice their profession. At the same time, there are few network centres that are promoting and helping local journalists in disseminating their articles, particularly in areas that concerns social issues affecting many people, particularly the poor.

NPNC will be a project that will try to alleviate the problems facing local journalists' inability to disseminate and published their articles due to the following factors stated in Appendix :

Moreover, NPNC will help NPMC in its activities relating to gathering, classifying and filing different articles received and downloaded in the internet and the e-mail. This will lighten the load of the editor who is doing the task at the moment. The project will also act as a network centre between NPMC and the different media centres and journalists in matters concerning media development both locally and internationally.

The project, with the co-ordination of existing developmental projects in the country, will aim at spearheading community media projects that will enhance the traditional way of communication like theatres, dramas and other forms of imparting values to the majority.

### **5.2.2 STATEMENTS OF THE PROBLEMS**

The unstable state of the telecommunications here in the country is in a miserable state and this factor alone can affect the project. It is a fact that telephone lines are being cut particularly during periods when the country is in crisis.

Secondly, the project may experience the possibility of being censured, banned and closure because of its political nature. It may also have an effect on the board of governors and board of directors' disapproval to the network centre.

### **5.2.3 PROJECT GOALS**

To promote Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that *"Everyone has the right of freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."*

## **5.2.4 PROJECT OBJECTIVES**

1. For the project to classify the different articles received and downloaded to the internet and e-mail from the different press agencies, media centres and journalists both locally and internationally.
2. For the project to ensure the free flow and dissemination of confidential and classified articles of local journalists to the different international press agencies and media centres.
3. For the project to act as a connection of NPMC to the different NGOs, existing developmental projects, journalists, media centres and press agencies in matters concerning media development both locally and internationally.
4. For the project to spearhead future projects relating to community based media centres that will be concerned primarily on printed media.

## **5.2.5 ASSUMPTIONS AND RISKS VIS A VIS PROJECT'S PROPENSITY (POSSIBILITY) TO SUCCEED (SWOT ANALYSIS)**

### **STRENGTHS**

1. The NPMC, which house the NPNC, is recognised world-wide as an institution well known in disseminating and publishing good and relevant articles pertaining to African affairs.
2. It is a member of an International organisation of Catholic media centres based in France. This aspect will be of great benefit in times when problems would occur in matters of dissemination and publishing of articles concerning the state of the country.
3. NPMC is a project of the Comboni Missionaries, a Religious congregation that is presently working in four continents and forty countries world-wide. Therefore, the Institute will ably support the project and it is intended that it will become part of structure of NPMC.
4. Technology is present: Internet and e-mail

## **WEAKNESSES**

1. Fear of expressing social issues affecting the country
2. No SWOT analysis done in the plan.
3. The goals of the NPMC was too high
4. Lack of promotion and advertisements
5. Some of the contributors are not qualified as far as the form and content of the articles are concerned.
6. Too many projects and initiatives.

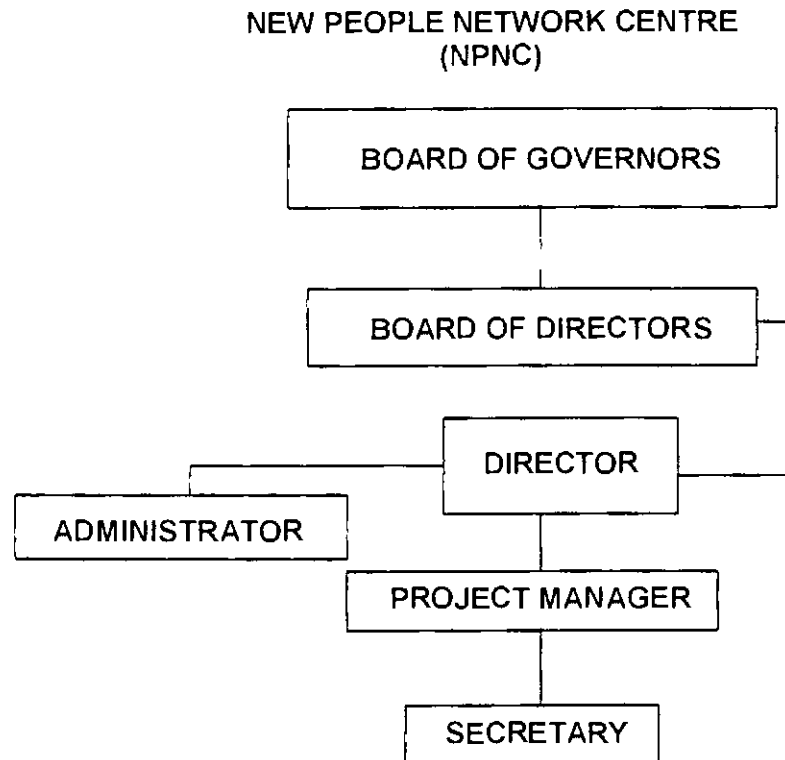
## **OPPORTUNITIES**

1. The presence of international funding agencies for press freedom and development.
2. Possible support from donor countries. They usually give conditions in recipient countries such as relative freedom of expression before granting aid. This element can be tapped to ensure that the project will not be censored and harassed.
3. Involvement of women in the initiative.

## **THREATS**

1. The unstable state of the telecommunication in the country that can really jeopardised the project. This is a major risk of the project, particularly in its initial stage of operation.
5. The scenario of being censored banned and closure of the NPMC by the state over the nature of NPNC.
6. The disapproval of the Board of Governors and the Board of Directors over the feasibility of the project.

## 5.3 PROJECT MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE



### 5.3.1 DESCRIPTIONS OF FUNCTIONS

1. **Board of Governors:** The Board of Governors is composed of provincial superior and delegation superior of the Comboni Missionaries in Africa, namely; Egypt, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan Delegation, Malawi/Zambia, South Africa and Uganda. They meet every year to discuss issues relating to the media centre in line with the different themes and topics to be published during the year as well as for the necessary improvement of the magazine and other initiatives.
2. **Board of Directors:** The Board of Directors are made up of individuals who are specialised in issues relating to mass media, networking and the legal matters relating to the press. They will meet twice per year to discuss on matters relating to the project's standing and, at the same time, to evaluate the project's activities.
3. **Director:** The Director is the over-all in-charge of the New People Media Centre. He has the responsibility for the running of the centre. He is also the acting editor of New People Magazine.
4. **Project Manager:** The Project Manager is the one in-charge of establishing the NPNC in co-ordination with the Director of New People Media Centre (NPMC). He will also act as the technical co-ordinator and the purchasing officer.
5. **Secretary:** The Secretary will deal on the various documents vital to the establishment of NPNC.
6. **Administrator:** The Administrator will deal on the income and expenditures of the project.

## 5.4 Work Breakdown Structure

ACTIVITIES	WORK PACKAGES	ESTIMATED COMPLETION TIME	ESTIMATED COMPLETION COST (Ksh)
<b>PHASE 1</b>			
1. Meet the Board of Governors during their annual meeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reservation of Hostel for the six members of Board of Governors</li> <li>• Hire Video Projector and other materials for presentation</li> <li>• Reservation of Conference Centre at the Comboni Provincial House</li> <li>• Presentation of the Project to the Board of Governors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 3 days</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 1 day</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 30,000</li> <li>• 10,000</li> <li>• 10,000</li> </ul>
2. Fund Raising For the initial expenses of the Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make and send Letter of appeal to the different provinces of the Comboni Missionaries all over the world.</li> <li>• Make and send letter of Appeal to the different major benefactors of the Comboni Missionaries, both local and abroad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 week</li> <li>• 1 week</li> <li>• 1 week</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10,000/-</li> <li>• 10,000</li> <li>• 10,000</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make a letter of appeal and send to the personal benefactors of the community of NPMC.</li> </ul>	• 1 week	• 10,000
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make a project proposal to the funding agencies in line with media development and press freedom.</li> </ul>	• 1 week	• 15,000
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organise fund-raising projects like raffles, competitions etc.</li> </ul>	• 3 months	• 15,000
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organise harambees in the different parishes handled by the Comboni Missionaries and priest-friends</li> </ul>	• 2 months	
3. Apply for 2 Telephone lines for the e-mail/Internet and Fax machine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contact an influential person that can immediately do the job in a month</li> </ul>	• 3 months	• 20,000

<p>4. Process of hiring of Personnel:          Project Manager (full time), Secretary (full time), Technical Advisor (part-time), Purchasing Officer (part time) and Legal Adviser (part-time)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Go to the local newspapers to advertise for the job hiring. (Legal Adviser, Purchasing Officer, Technical Co-ordinator, Secretary)</li> <li>• Go to media schools to check on promising students qualified for the job of Project Manager.</li> <li>• IQ and psychological test</li> <li>• Hire an expert in psychological and IQ testing</li> <li>• First Interview</li> <li>• Second Interview</li> <li>• Hiring</li> <li>• Orientation and Job Descriptions</li> <li>• Hiring an expert in computer literacy</li> <li>• Training of Secretary and Project Manager in 5 Computer Packages (10,000/- per package)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 week</li> <li>• 1 week</li> <li>• 1 week</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 3 days</li> <li>• 1 day</li> <li>• 1 month</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 25,000</li> <li>• 500</li> <li>• 5,000</li> <li>• 5,000</li> <li>• 100,000</li> </ul>
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• PHASE II			
5. Buy necessary things for NPNC	• Buy a car for the official use of NPNC	• 1 week	• 500,000
	• Monitor and Check the prices of the needed computer equipments, telephone systems, photocopy machine. office equipment in the different computer shops	• 1 week	
	• Buy Telephone system compatible for the Computer and fax machine	• 1 day	• 10,000
	• Buy photocopy machine	• 1 day	• 300,000
	• Buy computers and its accessories to a shop offering convenient prices and warranty.	• 1 day	• 25,000
	• Buy the desks, chairs, filing cabinet, bookshelves, locker and tables for computers and photocopy machine	• 3 days	• 116,000
6. Subscribe to Form-net Africa for 24 hour e-mail and internet services.	• Call Form-net Africa for subscription	• 6 days	• 65,000
	• Installation of the system in the Computer		
7. Start the Network	• Build a web-page in the internet in	• 2 weeks	

	<p>promoting the existence of NPNC</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contact local journalists, NGOs, press agencies and media centres.</li> <li>• Contact international funding agencies in promoting the set-up of NPNC</li> <li>• Contact international journalists, press agencies and media centres as a way to promote the set-up of NPNC</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 month</li> <li>• 1 month</li> <li>• 1 month</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5,000</li> <li>• 5,000</li> <li>• 5,000</li> </ul>
	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1.5 Year</b>	<b>2,206,500/-</b>

## 5.5 PROJECT BUDGET

**FOR NEW PEOPLE NETWORK CENTRE FOR THE YEAR 2000-2002**  
**AT THE COST OF US\$ 26,117.00~27,000.00 (1,593,175~1,600,000 KSH)**

ITEMS	PHASE I		PHASE II	
	Income (Ksh)	Expenditures (Ksh)	Income (Ksh)	Expenditures (Ksh)
1. Meet Board of Governors during their annual meeting		50,000		
2. Fund Raising for the expenses of the project		70,000		
3. Apply for 2 telephone lines for the e-mail and the fax machine		20,000		
4. Process of hiring Personnel		135,500		
5. Buy Necessary things for NPNC				951,000
6. Subscribe to Form-net Africa for 24 hours e-mail and internet service				65,000
1. Salaries:				
Project Co-ordinator		360,000		360,000
Secretary				168,000
8. Local Contributors:				
• From the Board of Governors	360,000		75,000	
• From Board of Directors	50,000		50,000	
• From the Harambees in the Parishes	30,000			
• From the fund-raising projects			50,000	
• From Major Benefactors and Patrons	50,000		50,000	
• From Personal Benefactors	25,000		25,000	

9. Maintenance of Cars, Computers and Photocopiers				132,000
10 Expenditures on accessories of computer toner, photocopier toner, papers etc			122,000	
<b>SUB-TOTALS</b>	515,000	635,500	372,000	1,676,000
<b>CONTINGENCIES (15%)</b>	77,250	95,325	55,800	251,400
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	592,250	730,825	472,800	1,927,400
	<b>PHASE I</b>	<b>PHASE II</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	
<b>EXPEDITURES</b>	730,825.00	1,927,400.00	2,658,225.00	
<b>INCOME</b>	592,250.00	472,800.00	1,065,050.00	<i>LESS</i>
		<b>BALANCE</b>	<b>1,593,175.00</b>	

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

The project proposal is not the final proposal since the factors given are not stable in nature that any changes, particularly in the aspect of finance, will automatically affect the project proposal. This is the reason why the writer had made the project in such a way that it is open to any corrections, revisions and additions especially in its SWOT analysis, the Work Breakdown Structure and the Project Budget.

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# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX I

## Kenya Facts and Figures

Kenya is named after Mount Kenya or 'Kirinyaga' - the mountain of whiteness which is almost the centre of the country. Lying on East African Coast, Indian Ocean, Kenya straddles the equator.

<b>Area:</b>	58,264 sq. Km.
<b>Population:</b>	29.7 Million
<b>Head of State:</b>	HE Pres. Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi
<b>Status:</b>	Sovereign Republic in the Commonwealth
<b>Capital City:</b>	Nairobi (Maasai word for a place of cold water)
<b>Languages:</b>	Swahili (National), English (Official)
<b>Religions:</b>	Traditional African, Christianity, Islam
<b>Per Capita Income:</b>	\$250 (1994 figure)
<b>Economic Growth:</b>	0.0 (1985-1994)
<b>Gross Domestic Product:</b>	\$6860 Million
<b>GDP Annual Growth:</b>	0.9%
<b>Life Expectancy:</b>	59
<b>Literacy Rate:</b>	Male: 63.3%
	Female: 75.57
	Average: 69.4

Sources: Widespread.

### I URBAN POPULATION

Urban Centre	1979	1989	Increase(%)
1. Nairobi	827,775	1,346,000	38.5
2. Mombasa	341,148	465,000	26.6
3. Kisumu	152,643	185,100	17.5
4. Nakuru	92,851	162,800	42.9
5. Machakos	84,320	116,100	27.4
6. Eldoret	50,503	104,900	51.8
7. Nyeri	35,573	88,600	59.6
8. Meru	70,349	134,292	90.9
9. Thika	41,324	57,100	27.6
10. Kitale	28,327	53,000	46.5
11. Kakamega	32,025	47,300	32.9
12. Kisii	29,661	44,000	32.6
13. Kericho	29,603	40,000	25.9
14. Malindi	23,275	35,200	23.9
15. Bungoma	25,161	29,100	13.5

Sources: Widespread.

## II POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCE

Province	Population	Percentage (%)
1. North-Eastern	70,076	1.7
2. Coast	360,882	8.5
3. Nairobi	382,386	6.2
4. Western	475,261	12.2
5. Central	664,241	14.5
6. Eastern	677,740	17.6
7. Nyanza	700,916	16.4
8. Rift Valley	1,020,772	22.9

Source: CBS Widespread

## III ETHNIC GROUP ORIGINS

### Ancient Inhabitants:

Boni/Sanye Ndorobo

### Cushitic Speaking People:

Southern Cushites

Eastern Cushites: Somali, Rendille, Orma, Boran, Gabbra, Sakuye

### Bantu Speaking People

Western Bantu: Luhya, Kuria, Kisii

Central Bantu: Kamba, Kikuyu, Embu, Mbere, Tharaka, Meru

Coastal-Hinterland Bantu: Pokomo, Mijikenda, Taita, Taveta,

Swahili/Shirazi, Bajuni

### Nilotic-Speaking People

Highland Nilotes: Kipsigis, Nandi, Sabaot, Tugen, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Pokot

Plains Nilotes: Turkana, Iteso, Maasai, Samburu, Njemps

River-Lake Nilotes: Luo

### People of Non-African Origin

Arab, Asian, European

Sources: Widespread.

#### IV. TOP 30 ETHNIC GROUPS NUMBERS

NAME	POPULATION NUMBER	%TOTAL
1. Kikuyu	4,455,865	20.78
2. Luhya	3,083,273	14.38
3. Luo	2,653,932	12.38
4. Kalenjin	2,458,123	11.46
5. Kamba	2,448,302	11.42
6. Kisii	1,318,409	6.15
7. Meru	1,087,778	5.07
8. Mijikenda	1,007,371	4.70
9. Maasai	377,089	1.76
10. Turkana	283,750	1.32
11. Embu	256,623	1.20
12. Taita	203,389	0.95
13. Teso	178,455	0.83
14. Ogaden	139,597	0.65
15. Kuria	112,236	0.52
16. Basuba	107,819	0.50
17. Samburu	106,897	0.50
18. Mbere	101,007	0.47
19. Dagodia	100,400	0.47
20. Tharaka	92,528	0.46
21. Boran	80,160	0.37
22. Gurreh	80,004	0.37
23. Pokomo	58,645	0.27
24. Bajun	55,187	0.26
25. Kenyan-Asian	52,968	0.25
26. Horma	45,562	0.21
27. Somali	45,098	0.21
28. Gabra	35,726	0.17
29. Kenyan Arab	33,714	0.16
30. Indians	29,091	0.14

Sources: Census 1989, Widespread.

## APPENDIX II

### Print Media in Kenya

#### I ENGLISH PRINT MEDIA

Year	Newspapers (# of copies)	Weeklies (# of copies)
1991	304,400	338,800
1992	299,900	346,400
1993	308,300	348,200
1994	213,100	392,800
1995	231,600	447,600

*Print Medias has suffered due to rising costs and inflationary pressures on the readers and so the circulation have grown marginally. News weeklies increased their overall sales after 1994.*

(Source: CBS Widespread)

#### II SWAHILI PRINT MEDIA

Year	Newspapers	Weeklies
1991	77,700	75,500
1992	79,100	78,100
1993	39,200	48,700
1994	29,600	30,500
1995	32,500	36,500

*Circulation of Swahili publications have declined steadily since the 1992 elections and the stoppage of a major Swahili publication. After promotion, Swahili weeklies showed a small increase in 1995.*

(Source: CBS Newsread)

#### III NEWS AGENCY

##### I Kenya News Agency (KNA)

**Founded:** 1964

**Chief Executive Director:** Mr. Mohammed Ole Mohaa

**Address:** ADD Information House, Hakati Road, PO Box 30025, Nairobi

#### **IV. DAILIES**

##### **1 Daily Nation**

**Address:** ADD Nation Centre, Kimathi St., , PO Box 49010, Nairobi

**CEO:** Mr. Wilfred Kiboro

**CED:** Mr. Wan'gethi Mwangi

**AED:** Mr. Tom Mshindi

**NED:** Mr. Mutegi Njau

**Founded:** 1961

**Circulation:** 250,000

Note: Also publishes a Swahili Version, *Taifa Leo*, with a circulation of 90,000.

##### **2. Kenya Times**

**Address:** Kingsway House, University Way/Muindu Mbingu St., PO Box 30958, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Amboka Andere

**CEO:** Mr. William Kibet

**NED:** Mr. William Omonga

**Founded:** 1983

**Circulation:** 40,000

Note: Also publishes a Swahili version, *Kenya Leo* with a circulation of 5,000.

##### **3. The Standard**

**Address:** Likoni Rd., Industrial Area, PO Box 30080, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Ali Hasid

**CEO:** Mr. Bob Holt

**CED:** Mr. Kamau Kanyanga

**NED:** Mr. Otieno Awiti

**Founded:** 1902

**Circulation:** 60,000

#### **V. WEEKLIES**

##### **1. Coastweek**

**Founded:** 1978

**Address:** Nkrumah Road, PO Box 87270, Mombasa

**CED:** Mr. Adrian Grimwood

## **2. East African**

**Founded:** 1994 (Nation Group)

**Editor:** Mr. J. Odindo

## **3. Economic Review**

**Founded:** 1992

**Address:** Pan-African Ins Arcade, Hurlingham, PO Box 40894, Nairobi

**CED:** Mr. Peter Warutere

**NED:** Mr. M. Gaitho

## **4. Kenya Gazette**

Official Government Publication by the Government Printer

**Address:** Haile Selassie Rd., PO Box 30746. Nairobi

## **5. Sunday Nation (Nation Series)**

**Founded:** 1960

**Editor:** Mr. Bernard Nderito

## **6. Sunday Standard (The Standard Group)**

**Founded:** 1979

## **7. Society**

**Address:** Tumaini House, Moi Avenue, PO Box 12868, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Pius M, Nyamora

**Founded:** 1988

**Circulation:** 30,000

## **8. Sunday Times (Kenya Times Group)**

**Founded:** 1984

## **9. Weekly Review**

**Address:** Stellacom House Off Mombasa Rd., PO Box 42271, Nairobi

**CED:** Mr. Jaindi Kiserio

**Founded:** 1975

**Circulation:** 20,000

## **10. The People**

**CED:** Mr. George Mbugguss

**Address:** Kalamaka Ltd., Waiyaki Way, Nairobi

## **VI MONTHLIES**

### **1. Autonews**

**Founded:** 1981

### **2. Drum Kenya**

**Address:** Kimathi St., PO Box 43372, Nairobi

### **3. Executive**

**Address:** Space Sellers Ltd., Chepkerio Rd., PO Box 47186, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Gordon Boy

**Founded:** 1980

**Circulation:** 10,000

### **4. Finance**

**Address:** 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor, Afro House, Tom Mboya St., PO Box 44094, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Njehu Gatabaki

**Founded:** 1984

**Circulation:** 35,000

### **5. Monthly News**

**Address:** 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Cargen House, Harambee Avenue, PO Box 50736, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** James Kimondo

**Founded:** 1992

**Circulation:** 20,000

### **6. The Nairobi Law Monthly**

**Address:** 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Tumaini House, Moi Avenue, PO Box 53234, Nairobi

**Editor-in-Chief:** Gitobu Imanyara

**Founded:** 1987

**Circulation:** 20,000

## **7. The Kenya Farmer**

**Founded:** 1954

## **8. Parents**

**Founded:** 1986

**Address:** St. Michael's Rd., Off Church Rd., PO Box 50795, Nairobi

**Editor:** Ms. Eunice Njambi Mathu

## **9. Swara**

**Address:** Hilton Hotel, Mama Ngina St., Nairobi

## **10. Step**

**Address:** Victoria House Youth for Christ International, PO Box 58070, Nairobi

**ME:** Konnie Kisuke

## **11. The Thika Times**

**Address:** PO Box 492. Thika.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Stephen R. N. Ndicho

## **12. True Love (Drum Publication)**

# APPENDIX III

## LEGAL LAWS IN KENYA

### 1. The Banning Provisions in the Penal Code

Section 52 of the Penal Code allows the minister to impose ban on any publication - past, current or future - at will. This law had been used in Kenya to silence publications which have shown a measure of independence. The publisher is never given the chance to show proofs on why the publication should not be banned. Neither does the minister have to give reasons for the ban.

### 2. The Law of Sedition

Although sedition is not defined in the Kenyan law, Section 57 of the Penal Code defines a seditious intention as an intention to:

- overthrow by unlawful means the government of Kenya as by law established; or
- bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection amongst the inhabitants of Kenya; or
- excite the inhabitants of Kenya to attempt to procure the alteration, or otherwise than by lawful means of any matter or things in Kenya as by law established; or
- bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against the administration of justice in Kenya; or
- raise discontent or disaffection amongst the inhabitants of Kenya; or
- promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between different sections or classes of the population in Kenya

### 3. The Law on Publication of False Reports (Penal Code)

Section 66 of the Penal Code makes it an offence for anyone to publish 'any false statement, rumour or report which is likely to cause fear and alarm to the public or to disturb public peace.' This law had been used to harass journalists for filing reports that reflect the government and its officers in negative light.

### 4. The Law on Subversion (Penal Code)

Section 77 of the Penal Code prohibits several acts including 'counselling defiance of or disobedience to the law or lawful authority' and 'bringing into hatred or contempt or exciting disaffection against any public officer. Under multipartyism, several journalist have so far been charged with subversion arising from published reports.

### 5. The Law of Contempt (Penal Code)

There are two kinds of contempt recognised by the law in Kenya: civil and criminal contempt. Civil contempt occurs when a party disobeys an order of the court.

There are three general types of criminal contempt in Kenya, namely, publishing a matter which may prejudice a pending trial, scandalising the court and interfering with the judicial proceedings or refusing to reveal sources of information to a competent court or tribunal

## **6. Incitement to Disobedience**

Section 96 of the Penal Code makes it an offence for anyone to utter, print or publish anything that defeats the enforcement of any written law. It is also an offence to publish or print anything that leads to disobedience of any lawful authority.

## **7. The Preservation of Public Security Act (Cap 57)**

Under this act, read together with the Constitution, the president has arbitrary power to invoke emergency regulations in peacetime suspending press freedom among other fundamental rights. This act has been invoked even when the security of the nation has not been in jeopardy. The act allows the detention of persons without trial although no journalist or any person has been detained under this law in the multiparty era.

Section (4)(2)(d) of the Act provides for the censorship, control or prohibition of the communication of any information including any publication or document and prevention of dissemination of false reports.

## **8. The Law of Defamation**

Defamation can be defined as the publication of a statement about a person that tends to lower his/her reputation in the opinion of reasonable members of his/her community.

## **9. The Books and Newspapers Act**

Section II of the Act requires the printer or publisher of a newspaper to execute, register and deliver to the Registrar of Books and Newspapers a bond of 10,000/- with one or more sureties as may required by the registrar. The bonds acts as a security towards or payment of any momentary penalty in case of conviction for offences related to the printing or publication of a newspaper.

## **10. The Official Secrets Act**

A particular place can be declared a prohibited area by the minister of state in the office of the president on the grounds that information or damage thereto would be prejudicial to the safety and interest of the public.

## **11. Parliamentary Standing Orders**

Under standing orders, the parliament has power to punish the press for contempt of parliament and bar them from attending parliamentary sessions.

# APPENDIX IV

## WINDHOEK DECLARATION ON PROMOTING AN INDEPENDENT AND PLURALISTIC AFRICAN PRESS

1. Consistent with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development.
2. By an independent press, we mean a press independent from governmental, political or economic control, or from control of materials and infrastructural essential for the production and dissemination of newspapers, magazines and periodicals.
3. By a pluralistic press, we mean the end of monopolies of any kind and the existence of the greatest possible number of newspapers, magazines and periodicals reflecting the widest possible range of opinion within the community.
4. The welcome changes that an increasing number of African States are now undergoing towards multiparty democracies provide the climate in which an independent and pluralistic press can emerge.
5. The world-wide trend towards democracy and freedom of information and expression is a fundamental contribution to the fulfilment of human aspirations.
6. In Africa today, despite the positive developments in some countries, in many countries journalists, editors and publishers are victims of repression - they are murdered, arrested, detained and censored, and are restricted by economic and political pressures such as restriction on newsprint, licensing systems which restrict the opportunity to publish, visa restrictions which prevent the free movement of journalists, restrictions on the exchange of news and information, and limitations on the circulation of newspapers within countries and across national borders. In some countries, one-party States control the totality of information.
7. Today, at least 17 journalists, editors or publishers are in African prison, and 48 African journalists were killed in the exercise of their profession between 1969 and 1990.
8. The General Assembly of the United Nations should include in the agenda of its next session an item on the declaration of censorship as a grave violation of human rights falling within the purview of the Commission on Human Rights.

9. African States should be encouraged to provide constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press and freedom of association.
10. To encourage and consolidate the positive changes taking place in Africa, and to counter the negative ones, the international community - specifically, international organisations (governmental as well as non-governmental), development agencies and professional associations - should as a matter of priority direct funding support towards the development and establishment of non-governmental newspaper, magazines and periodicals that reflect the society as a whole and the different points of view within the communities they serve.
11. All funding should aim to encourage pluralism as well as independence. As a consequence, the public media should be funded only where authorities guarantee a constitutional and effective freedom of information and expression, and the independence of the press.
12. To assist in the preservation of freedom enumerated above, the establishment of truly independent, representative associations, syndicates or trade unions of journalists, and association of editors and publishers, is a matter of priority in all the countries of Africa where such bodies do not now exist.
13. The national media and labour relation laws of African countries should be drafted in such a way as to ensure that such representative associations can exist and fulfil their important tasks in defence of press freedom.
14. As a sign of good faith, African governments that have jailed journalists for their professional activities should free them immediately. Journalists who have had to leave their countries should be free to return to resume their professional activities.
15. Co-operation between publishers within Africa, and between publishers of the North and South should be encouraged and supported.
16. As a matter of urgency, the United Nations, and particularly the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), should initiate detailed research, in co-operation with governmental (especially UNDP) and non-governmental donor agencies, relevant non-governmental organisations and professional associations, into the following specific areas:
  - (a) Identification of economic barriers to the establishment of news media outlets, including restrictive import duties, tariffs and quotas for such things as newsprint, printing equipment, and typesetting and word processing machinery, and taxes on the sale of newspapers, as prelude to their removal;
  - (b) training of journalists and managers and the availability of professional training institution and courses;
  - (c) legal barriers to the recognition and effective operation of trade unions or association of journalists, editors and publishers;

(d) a register of available funding from development and other agencies, the conditions attaching to the release of such funds, and the methods of applying for them.

(e) the state of press freedom, country by country, in Africa.

17. In view of the importance of radio and television in the field of news and information, the United Nations and UNESCO are invited to recommend to the General Assembly and the General Conference the convening of a similar seminar of journalists and managers of radio and television services in Africa, to explore the possibility of applying similar concepts of independence and pluralism to their media.

18. The international community should contribute to the achievement and implementation of the initiatives and projects set out in the annex to this declaration.

19. This declaration should be presented by the secretary-general of the United Nations General Assembly, and by the Director-General of UNESCO to the General Conference of UNESCO.

# APPENDIX V

## Possible Person and Organisations to Network

### I. PERSONS

#### Seán Ó. Siochrú

- Member of NEXUS, an independent research co-operative based in Dublin engaging research and actions aimed at empowerment.
- International Consultant in telecommunications and Information Society.
- has led large multi-country research initiatives and supported local use of e-mail and internet for disadvantaged groups.
- he is working with community radio in Ireland.
- Chairperson of the Community Media Network
- Vice-Chairperson of the MacBride Round Table on Communications.
- E-mail Address: [sean@nexus.ie](mailto:sean@nexus.ie)

### II. ORGANISATIONS

#### Article 19

- Takes its name and purpose from Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression ; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
- It works impartially and systematically to identify and oppose censorship world-wide
- It believes that freedom of expression and information is a fundamental human right without which all other rights, including the right to life cannot be protected.
- It defends this right when it is threatened, opposes government practices which violate it and exposes censorship.
- Mailing Address: Article 19  
Lancaster House,  
33 Islington High S., London  
N1 9LH, United Kingdom
- E-mail Address: [Article 19@gu.pac.org](mailto:Article 19@gu.pac.org)

#### Vidéazimut

- Is an International Coalition for Democratic Communication with 75 members located in about 35 countries in all continents. The secretariat is currently located in Montreal Canada.
- Mailing Address: rue Jeanne-Mance,  
Bureau 430, Montréal  
Canada

- E-mail Address: [victor@web.apc.org](mailto:victor@web.apc.org)

## **Zebra**

- International Network for North-South Audio-Visual Activities
- Is an international network of NGOs, film and video makers, journalists, academics etc., which are involved in audio-visual activities concerning the North-South relationships.
- Its aim is to facilitate exchange and collaboration world-wide and to stimulate critical reflection upon current activities and the content and quality of production.
- It collects and disseminates information about relevant organisations, activities and new initiatives from all over the world.
- It publishes ZEBRA-NEWS, a quarterly bulletin, and initiates seminars and other projects among its participants
- Mailing Address: Elmegade 5,  
DK-2000 København N,  
Denmark
- E-mail Address: [zebra\\_av\\_net@uniform-bbs.dk](mailto:zebra_av_net@uniform-bbs.dk)

## **CEM (Cultural Environment Movement)**

- Is an educational non-profit US corporation with international, multiracial, multicultural, and multifaith membership and leadership.
- It is a coalition of independent organisations and supporters in every state of the USA and 57 other countries on six continents.
- Its over 150 affiliated and supporting organisations and its individual supporters represent a wide range of social and cultural concerns, united in working for freedom, fairness, diversity, responsibility, respect for cultural integrity, the protection of children and democratic decision making in the cultural mainstream
- Mailing Address: CEM  
PO Box 31847  
Philadelphia PA 19104  
USA
- E-Mail Addresses: [bjrosley@libertynet.org](mailto:bjrosley@libertynet.org)

## **International Women's Tribune Centre**

- is a centre that has supported efforts by women's organisations and community group to improve the lives of women in their countries and communities.
- It has played a pioneering role in translating research findings and policy mandates into highly visual, participatory information materials for use at community level.
- It has developed the largest outreach of women's international networks.
- Today, its material are used by more than 25,000 individuals and organisations world-wide with the majority of contacts in

Asia, the Pacific, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Western Asia.

- Mailing Address: International Women's Centre  
777 United Nations Plaza,  
New York, NY 10017  
USA
- E-Mail Address: [iwyc@igc.apc.org](mailto:iwyc@igc.apc.org) , [wink@igc.apc.org](mailto:wink@igc.apc.org) ,  
[wsource@igc.pac.org](mailto:wsource@igc.pac.org)

### **Inter-Press Service (IPS)**

- Is an international news agency with a presence in over 100 countries
- Is a global communication system for development with the fifth largest international news network in the world.
- Its strategy is a response to the geo-political arena , the impact of globalisation and the unprecedented technological advances in the field of communications.
- Mailing Address: Inter-Press Service  
Via Panisperna, 207  
00184 Rome Italy
- E-Mail Address: [ipstom@gn.apc.org](mailto:ipstom@gn.apc.org)

**And many others...**

# APPENDIX VI

## I. PRICE LIST OF EQUIPMENTS AND MATERIALS

Equipment / Materials	Price(Ksh)
Bookshelf	12,000
Car	500,000
Chair for Project Co-ordinator	17,000
Chair for Secretary	5,000
Computer Pentium II w/o printer	75,000
Desk for Project Co-ordinator	11,000
Desk for Secretary	7,000
Fax Machine	42,000
Filing Cabinet	25,000
Laser printer Computer for Computer	36,000
Locker	15,000
Photocopier	300,000
Power Stabiliser	45,000
Table for Computer and Printer	14,000
Table for Photocopier	10,000
Telephone and Fax Modem	10,000
UPS for Computer	16,000

## II. RUNNING EXPENSES

ITEMS / ACTIVITIES	Every	RUNNING COST (Ksh)
Electricity Bill	1 month	1,500
Maintenance for Car	1 month	5,000
Maintenance Cost for Computer	3 months	6,000
Maintenance Cost for Photocopier	3 months	6,000
3 day Meeting of Board of Governors (6 members)	1 year	9,000
Petrol	1 week	1,000
Paper for Computer Printer, Fax Machine and Photocopier	1 month	3,000
Toner for Computer Printer	6 months	5,000
Toner for Photocopier	4 months	5,000
Salaries:		
Project Co-ordinator	1 month	12,000
Secretary		10,000
Telephone Bill	1 month	17,000

## III MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

ACTIVITIES / ITEMS	COST / EXPENSES (Ksh)
Internet 24 hr application and installation	70,000
Telephone lines application and installation	4,000